CRIMINAL LAWYERS' ASSOCIATION

FOR THE DEFENCE

Criminal Lawyers' Association Newsletter

Vol. 24, No. 1

The Dope Sheet Tours Burma

ကူညီပါရစေ MAY I HELP YOU

Vary E. Murphy 1215-111 Richmond St Toronto ON M5H 2G4

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မူးယစ်ဆေးဝါး တရားမဝင် ရောင်းဝယ်ဖောက်ကားခြင်းသည် ကြီးလေးသည့် အပြစ်ဒဏ်ဖြစ်ပြီး သေဒဏ်အထိထိုက်သော ပြစ်မှုဖြစ်သည်။ DRUG TRAFFICKING IS A SERIOUS OFFENCE WHICH CAN GET DEATH PENALTY.

The Dope Sheet

Burma 2003



COPELAND

first went to Burma in the winter of 1988. Then you were allowed a seven-day visa. I did the seven-day sprint around the country. I fell in love with the countryside and the people, but not the government of Burma.

In the summer and fall of 1988 the people in Burma demonstrated against the then 26 year old military dictatorship run by General Ne Win. The response of the military was to kill 3,000 demonstrators. Ne Win resigned, and after several changes in control, the military, using the name the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) took power. They promised free elections for May of 1990.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi helped form the National League for Democracy and started to campaign for the election. In July of 1989 she was placed under house arrest. The co-leader of the NLD, U Tin Oo, was jailed. Even with its leaders incarcerated the NLD overwhelmingly won the election, soundly defeating the military political party. SLORC refused to honour the election results. (For a slightly longer description of events in Burma see the History item near the end of this article)

After I returned to Canada, in the fall of 1988, as a result of a series of coincidences that are too complicated to relate here, I began working with the Burma democracy movement and doing legal work for refugee claimants from Burma.

In 1993 I went to Burma for a second time. By now tourists were allowed a two-week stay. I revisited some places and people I had met in 1988 and saw some places I had not had time to see my first time through. Some things had changed in those 5 years, but it was still a police state. Many people, when there was no one from Burma to overhear them, expressed strong support for the NLD and Aung San Suu Kyi, and hatred of SLORC. Interest in politics

Upon my return to Bangkok from Rangoon I was invited to travel to Manerplaw on the Thai/Burma border where the Karen National Union was based, and the Burmese democracy movement had its jungle headquarters. Here I found a vibrant collection of people, both Burmans and other ethnic groups, working together for democracy.

Ten years passed. I had continued to work actively with the Burma democracy movement; participating in conferences, demonstrations, supporting company boycotts, lobbying, making contacts with U.S. and other international groups, and doing more refugee claims.

This year, notwithstanding the NLD request that tourists not come to Burma, I decided to go back to Burma in February as an informal observer; to see if I could learn more on a first hand basis, and to see if I could make some useful contacts.

Several years ago I had met U Nyunt Tin, the Myanmar Ambassador to Canada. We had a frank discussion about the situation in Burma and disagreed on almost everything. After I had met him at the Embassy of the Union of Myanmar in Ottawa, at his suggestion, I had written to him, asking for his help in meeting government people in Burma when I next went there. He had not responded to my

A well-informed person advised me that the Ambassador would not likely grant me a visa to go to Burma. So instead of applying for a visa from the Embassy in Ottawa, I went to Bangkok and, using a travel agent there, applied for a visa for travel to Burma. It took only one day for the visa, good for 28 days, to be issued. I arrived in Rangoon on Feb. 3, 2003. I left Burma on Feb. 22, 2003

This article is about my impressions of that trip. It is difficult to be specific in this article, since I am reluctant to say anything that will identify the people I spoke to or the cities in which they live.

All my visits to Burma have had an aura of surrealism about them. The beauty of the landscape, the regal generosity of the people and the palpable atmosphere of fear and repression created by the military produce an unsettling

Military Intelligence, the M.I., is the main instrument of terror and repression in Burma. No one knows who might be a spy. People are afraid to speak out for fear of repercussions not only on themselves, but also on their family and friends. Dialogue can consist of strange and vague partial innuendoes. One is unsure what exactly is implied between the lines.

The M.I. is run by the third in command of the State Peace Development Council (SPDC the new name for the SLORC), Lieut. General Khin Nyunt. He, together with Generals Than Shwe and Maung Aye, run the country. And run it badly.

Inflation is out of control. The national currency, called the kyat, has an official rate of six to the American dollar. In 1988 the black market rate was 35 to the dollar. In 1993 it was 100 to the dollar. In February this year it was 1070 to 1100 to the dollar. The largest bill is a 1000-kyat note. To buy almost anything of substance takes a stack of bills many inches high. Government workers are paid between 6000 and 8000 kyat per month. How they survive is beyond me.

Gasoline prices have increased significantly. Phone rates are being increased five fold.

While in Burma I visited several offices of the National League for Democracy. They have only recently been allowed to open. I met with several senior NLD people, a number of whom had recently been released from jail.

Since October 2000, there have been talks between the SPDC and the NLD, with the assistance of a U.N. Special Envoy. These talks have been in what has been called the confidence-building phase.

My impression from the senior NLD people is that they do not see early progress from the talks. And that view was borne out from meetings I had with ex-pats working in the country and from a meeting with a knowledgeable person who worked for an NGO, which is allowed to operate in Burma.

Travel to Burma

The NLD requests that tourists not come to Burma until the people there are free. The following statement was put out by on Feb. 19, 2003 by 1997 Nobel Prize winner Jodi Williams, who had just met with Aung San Suu Kyi in Rangoon. Ms Williams was quoted as follows:

> "Despite numerous competing demands for the international community's attention, and even though Suu Kvi has been freed from house arrest, the policy of her party remains unchanged: the time is not right for foreign

investment, the lifting of sanctions nor tourism in Burma.'

'The time will be right when there is meaningful dialogue which moves forward the process of democratization in Burma."

As I understand the NLD position they do not want the Generals to benefit from tourism. They do not want uncontrolled tourism, having seen the negative effects in places such as Thailand, with its sex tourism.

Notwithstanding the NLD call for a tourism ban, tourism is increasing. Many of the tourists are from Europe, few from North America. I expect that tourism will continue to increase.

Almost every tourist I met in Burma was using the Lonely Planet guide. The eighth edition of that book came out in Sept. 2002. When the seventh edition had come out in the late 1990's, a campaign to boycott Lonely Planet products was started by the Burma Campaign UK, and was modestly successful. For several years the Lonely Planet people were on the defensive. When the 8th edition came out another effort was made to organize against the Lonely Planet publications. That campaign fizzled.

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on Myanmar has a very good section on whether you should travel to Burma. They deal fairly with both sides of the question. They argue, like the Canadian company Butterfield and Robinson, which just started tours to Burma, that tourism helps the people and exposes them to information from outside which will advance the cause of democracy. And they explain in great detail the NLD position. They suggest that each person must make their own decision on whether to travel in Burma at this time.

Rangoon (Yangon)

There are many more cars on the street. Years ago Ne Win had switched the country from driving on the left side of the road to driving on the right side of the road. But almost all the cars are reconditioned ones brought in from Japan; a left side of the road drives country. I was told that because of the economic problems no more cars are being imported. A modest, reconditioned Japanese station wagon now costs \$40,000. U.S. Yet a half hour cab ride in the city costs 1000 kyat, a cab to the airport in Rangoon costs 3000 kyat (less than \$3 U.S.).

Many more hotels have been built in Rangoon over the last ten years. The world famous Strand Hotel, built by the same family that built Raffles in Singapore, has been extensively renovated as a boutique hotel. The hotels were built for what the generals called The Year of the Tourist, their failed attempt to make Burma a major tourist destination.

Some hotel projects were abandoned in midstream, their weathered skeletons towering over nearby buildings.

The Traders Hotel, on Sule Pagoda Road, is a very high-end modern hotel with room prices posted in the \$150. per night range. But, like other hotels in the city, with careful booking from Singapore, rooms at Traders are available for \$45. per night. And so it is with other hotels. Because of the lack of customers, significant discounts are available. A guy from Montreal I met was paying \$20. per night for a very large room in the Yuzana Garden Hotel that had a list price of \$120. The modest small new hotel where I stayed cost \$15. per night for an attractive comfortable room (breakfast included).

There are many three and four storey buildings set up as shopping malls, complete with escalators. High end, international merchandise is available. But I



could not figure out who was shopping at these places, who wanted, needed or could afford the Mont Blanc pens, designer clothes and fancy cowboy boots.

As in 1988 and 1993, the streets of Rangoon are filled with street vendors, trying to eke out a living selling food, watches, clothing, tools, eyeglasses, sunglasses, cigarettes and betel.

Some new, western style restaurants, bars and coffee shop have opened and the city is visibly cleaner.

Mandalav

Mandalay has always seemed to me to be in the twilight zone. Hot, dusty, spread out, many of its streets little more than very wide sand and gravel paths. Buses from the 1940s still operate, packed with passengers, many of whom hang on to hand grips while perched on a platform extending out from the back of the bus. The bus I rode this time for the mile long journey along the south end of the Royal Palace grounds seemed to be the same one, loaded to capacity, as the one I rode on the same journey in 1988. Cost of the ride, 20 kyat.

And yet much has changed. Fancy hotels are very common, and some like the Sedona, across the street from the southeast corner of the Palace grounds, are close to world class. Rates at the Sedona vary from \$130 to \$300 per night. In Mandalay I stayed in the same modest

hotel where I had stayed in 1988 and 1993. The price for a double, air-con room with hot water was \$6.00 per night, breakfast included.

Electronic gear, TVs, DVDs and CD-Rom players were everywhere. It is beyond my understanding who was buying them in a country that is so poor that the phone book for all the private and government phones in the country is one and a half inches thick. Costs of taxis, meals and drinks are minimal by western standards. Living well on \$20 dollars a day is easy.

While I was in Mandalay in mid-February a crisis in the banking system started. Withdrawals from the bank were limited to 10 lakh kyat per day (one million kyat per day). This is less than \$1000 U.S. There were reports that companies were closing because they could not pay their employees or their suppliers. The Economist magazine of March 22-28 reported that the limit on bank withdrawals was continuing. As I write this article I do not know if the banking crisis is continuing nor do I know what effect it has had on the country.

The Lonely Planet guide has interesting affects on those places and people mentioned in it. After my visit to the NLD office I walked over to the home of a pwe (festival) troupe called the Moustache Brothers. A full page is devoted to them in the Lonely Planet. One of the brothers, Par Par Lay, gained interna-



tional attention by being imprisoned for seven years for making jokes about the ruling generals.

When I arrived at their place I was shown a CD-Rom of the Hugh Grant movie, "About a Boy". In that film, during a phone pitch for Amnesty International, mention is made that in Burma you can be sent to jail for making a joke. The people at the Moustache Brothers place proudly showed me the clip. When they learned I was from Canada they asked me to convey thanks to the Canadian Comedy Association for its help in freeing Par Par Lay.

In Burma, in order to hire a pwe group to perform, permission is required from the local government. In Mandalay, as elsewhere, the State Peace and Development Council appoint the local government. The Moustache Brothers are blacklisted; no one can hire them. They survive by doing a nightly dance, culture and comedy performance in their home. The Lonely Planet guidebook brings the customers. On their behalf I distributed a number of their cards to tourists to encourage them to see the show.

After seeing them perform that night I spoke to one of them about the McCarthy blacklist in the 1950s in the United States. I told them about the Woody Allan movie, The Front. Notwithstanding that they are comedians, they did not know about Woody Allan. The next day I wandered past a CD Rom and DVD store. I checked to see what they had in English language movies. There were some recent American movies including a lot of bad action films, but no Woody Allan. DVDs

of movies cost 1000 kyat a piece, slightly less than an American dollar. The international benefits of disregard for copyright laws.... and probably Thai ingenuity.

Inle Lake

Inle Lake is one of the famous tourist destinations in Burma, its unique lake culture coming, as a tourist magnet, just behind Pagan, with its 2500 temples and pagodas built in the 11th to 13th century. The town of Nyaungshwe at the north end of the lake is the location for most of the tourist hotels. From two hotels in 1988 there are now 33 hotels in the area.

The most fancy hotel is a beautiful place on the lake, called the Inle Princess, owned by a man who had been elected as the area M.P. in the 1990 elections. I had met him in 1993 when he was running a more modest hotel Nyaunghshwe. The Inle Princess is modeled on a prince's palace from the western Shan State.

In 1993, the government controlled all tourism activity. On that trip we had met a woman named Yin Yin who was doing canoe rides in the canals at the north end of the lake. We toured the canals with her and had dinner with her family. In our rented van, we had traveled with her and her youngest sister to the capital of the Shan State, Taunggyi.

Ten years later, after arriving in Nyaunghshwe, I wandered down the street beside the canal leading to the lake to see if the family home was still there. To my surprise and pleasure, I found the Four Sisters Restaurant and Guest House.



I stayed there for several days and was treated like returning family. Yin Yin, the oldest sister, told me that she is the only woman hotel owner on the lake.

Wood fired pizza, milkshakes, and homemade Italian pasta dinners are now available in Nyaungshwe.

State of the Country

The generals have done much rebuilding, most of it appearing to be of religious sites. Repairs to the world famous Shwedagon Pagoda in Rangoon are accompanied by a photo record of the generals involvement, ditto a large new pagoda in Taunggyi and a rebuilt huge hall in Mandalay. The palace grounds in Mandalay were the home of the last king of Burma, King Thibaw, who the British sent into exile in India in 1885 when they conquered northern Burma. The palace grounds had been closed to the public in 1988 and 1993. The huge moat around the palace grounds now has been cleaned up, using forced labour. The generals have rebuilt the original palace complex. Again, accompanied by their photos.

Transportation in Burma is still a disaster. Flights, when available, are cheap to reasonably priced by western standards. But the roads are a mess, the trains slow. Travel almost anywhere takes a very long time. A first class express train from Mandalay to Rangoon costs \$35 U.S. for a tourist. It took 15 hours for me on the train to cover the 695 kilometres, an average speed of 53 km per hour.

Mandalay has a very modern new airport, an Italian Burmese joint effort. Fancy luggage conveyor systems sit virtually unused in the empty terminal, located 50 km. from the city centre. The cab ride to Mandalay takes one hour, at a cost of 9000 kyat.

The government of the United States bars American companies from doing business in Burma. The government of Canada discourages Canadians from doing business in Burma, but it claims that because of the Special Economic Measures Act Canada cannot bar

Canadians from doing business in

In the United States, a group called the Free Burma Coalition has been very effective in persuading companies to cease doing business in Burma. Levi Strauss, Liz Clairborne, Best Western and Pepsi have all pulled out. As did Petro-Canada after an extensive campaign in Canada.

Unocal and Total, who built a gas pipeline into southern Thailand, are feeling the heat of lawsuits, in the United States against Unocal and, in Belgium, against Total. And they are feeling the public relations pressure.

Robert Friedland, a Canadian, whose company Ivanhoe mines copper and gold in Burma, seems immune to any pressure. And Trans World Energy, a TVI owned company based out of Calgary, which is doing joint petroleum exploration in Burma with the government of China and the government of Myanmar, seems to have avoided notice from the activist groups, other perhaps, than the notice of Canadian Friends of Burma, an Ottawa based group.

Triumph, a U.K. clothing manufacturer was recently "persuaded" by the Burma U.K. Campaign to shut down their Burma plant. According to an ex-pat working in Rangoon, this was a good news-bad news situation. 800 workers lost their jobs, which were better than local jobs, if any were available to the now unemployed workers.

During my travels I spoke to many university students. Some spoke excellent English, some limited English. I even taught a couple of English classes, one of which was a history of Canada. Before I taught the classes I was asked not to speak on the politics of Burma. That I only got to do in private, with the few students who felt brave enough to talk politics. Most students admired Aung San Suu Kyi but did not seem to be concerned about politics or interested in doing political work. Only one student I met belonged to the NLD but she had never been to their office or done any work with them.

There was one common theme from the students. When they graduate there will be no jobs available in their field. Many wanted to be tourist guides and live in the dollar economy.

In my visits to the NLD offices I received an NLD pin with the fighting peacock symbol and a pin with a picture



of Aung San Suu Kyi and her father Aung San. It was suggested that I not wear the pins while I was in Burma. I purchased two NLD T-shirts, one with Aung San Suu Kyi's picture and the other with her picture and her father's picture. Both had the NLD fighting peacock symbols on them.

Towards the end of my trip I considered whether to wear one of the T-shirts on the street in Rangoon to see the response I would get. But by then M.I. had infiltrated my mind as well. I decided it would be easier to quietly leave the country. And not show the courage shown by two Brits, James Mawdsley and Rachel Goldwyn, who went to jail for speaking their mind publicly in Burma against the generals.

In Burma there is a three-year-old English language newspaper, the Myanmar Times, published in Rangoon. It is independent of the government. Its international coverage is good. Its local coverage is, not surprisingly, very uncritical of the SPDC. In an editorial in late January, 2003 the paper was not optimistic about the effects of the western efforts to push for governmental change in Burma or about the value of economic sanctions.

Email has come to Burma but in the form of the intranet. Most hotels now have computers that allow you to send an email but will not allow you to access the internet. Replies to your email come to the computer you sent them from. You cannot access Yahoomail or Hotmail. That may create a problem for people like me who are addicted to being in touch with their home and/or their office. For reasons I do not understand the Myanmar Times has access to the internet. At one email place, where computer studies were taught I asked the instructor when the inernet would come to Burma. Their reply: "when the Generals are as smart as a dog".

My last night in Rangoon was partly spent at the happy hour at the world famous Strand Hotel. Hard to find a more elegant place to drink beer at \$1 U.S. per draft and shoot pool. While at the bar I spoke with a person who worked with a western government. We talked about my Burma activism. Eventually the person raised the subject of a new movie called "Burma- Anatomy of Terror" made by Isabel Hegner and narrated by Susan Sarandon. The person I was speaking to was interested in seeing the movie. She/he had heard about it on the Burma Net News, an inter-net based Burma news service. I told her a refugee client of mine had been involved in making the movie and that I had two copies of it. After I left Burma, due to the joys of email communication, I arranged to send a copy of the movie to Burma by diplomatic pouch. I was advised in early May that the movie had arrived in Rangoon.

I concluded my last evening in Burma at the ABC Pub, watching a young Burmese woman with a band singing a good quality English language version of Joan Osborne's "What If God Was One Of Us". I suppose if God was one of us the situation in Burma would have improved a long time ago.

My conclusion, after years of prodemocracy work, my too short run around Burma, talks with NLD people, ex-pats, NGO officials, local people and some journalists... there will be no movement by the SPDC and relations between the NLD and the SPDC will continue to get deteriorate.

History

Burma had a democratic form of government from independence in 1948 until General Ne Win seized power in 1962. In 26 years of misrule, first as a military dictator and, from 1974 under the banner of the Burma Socialist Path Party, he took one of the richest countries in Asia to the status of one of the ten poorest countries in the world.

In the summer of 1988, partly as a result of a wacky demonetization scheme by Ne Win, the people of Burma took to the streets in support of a demand for democracy. Many months before the now better known horrors of Tiananmen Square in Beijing, the Burmese army, the Tatmadaw, killed somewhere around 3,000 pro-democracy demonstrators. The exact numbers are unknown. The army cremated bodies as fast as they could. Many families knew only that their loved ones were gone without a trace.

Ne Win resigned, several rapid changes of government occurred, and the military, under the name State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) came to power. They promised free elections for May of 1990. Aung San Suu Kyi, the daughter of independence hero Aung San, had returned to Rangoon that summer to look after her sick mother. She got involved in the democratic process and came to be one of the leaders of the National League for Democracy (NLD), together with a man named U Tin Oo (U Tin Oo is a former general and was Ne Minister Win's Defence Commander-in-Chief). In July of 1989 Aung San Suu Kyi was placed under house arrest. U Tin Oo was sent to jail. But their imprisonment did not help the SLORC. The NLD overwhelmingly won the election. The Generals of the SLORC refused to recognize the election results. They claimed that the election was to form a Constitutional Convention. That Convention wasn't started until January 1993. It still has not finished its work.

In December 1991, the Nobel Committee recognized the importance of the struggle for democracy in Burma and Aung San Suu Kyi by granting her the Nobel Peace Prize. Since she was still under house arrest, her eldest son received her award.

In 1993 the University of Toronto granted Aung San Suu Kyi a honourary doctorate. Her husband, Michael Aris, an Oxford University Tibetan studies profes-

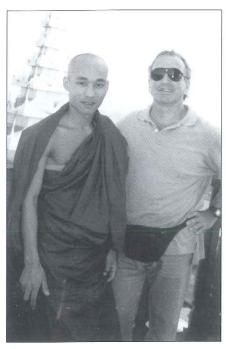


sor, accepted the award on her behalf since she was still under house arrest. Because of my involvement in the Burma democracy movement I was given the opportunity to meet Professor Aris and participate in the degree granting ceremo-

In 1995, under international pressure, SLORC released Aung San Suu Kyi from house arrest. But when she tried to travel in the country the military stopped her and eventually she was again placed under house arrest. More international pressure was placed on the generals, who had renamed their government the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC).

In October 2000 talks started between the NLD and the SPDC. They were assisted by the work of a United Nations Special Envoy, Razali Ismail, who traveled regularly to Burma to try to move the talks forward. The talks were described as being in a confidence building stage. More international pressure was put on the generals of the SPDC. The International Labour Organization condemned the regime for its forced labour policies.

Those of us doing Burma democracy work have followed the reports from Burma closely. Several hundred of the 1500 to 1700 hundred political prisoners were released. In May of last year Aung San Suu Kyi was released from house arrest. She started to travel in the country. Huge crowds greeted her appearances.



The NLD was allowed to reopen some offices. According to the Economist magazine 70 offices were reopened but 300 more remain closed. The International Red Cross has been allowed to inspect prison conditions in the country. Arrangements were made for an Amnesty International delegation to go to Burma (Amnesty reps were in Burma in February of this year).

And then it all appeared to stop. The generals of the SPDC seemed to be prepared to disregard international pressure and not move forward with the talks.

The SPDC had hired a Republicanconnected American public relations firm to advise them. My view is that their advice is for the Generals to make the appearance of responding to international pressure and interest in Burma, while in fact doing nothing to allow the advance of the movement towards democracy.

The Special Rapporteur for Human Rights in Burma, Mr. Pinheiro, appointed by the UN Commission for Human Rights, has for some time been allowed into the jails of Burma to speak to political prisoners. In March of this year he abruptly left Burma after he discovered a microphone attached to the desk in the room where he was doing the interviews. He also reported that government officials have interrogated inmates about what they told Mr. Pinheiro when he has interviewed them in private.



Post-script

"Burma is a poster child for human rights' abuses"

That is a direct quote from a 2002 U.S. State Department paper. I had used the quote at a refugee claim hearing before the Refugee Division of the Immigration and Refugee Board at a hearing last August in Toronto. The claim was successful and another person claiming fear of political persecution if he/she was returned to the Union of Myanmar was allowed to remain in Canada.

In my work as a lawyer I seldom seek to rely on statements by the U.S. government but in the case of Burma, the U.N. Human Rights Commission, Amnesty International, the Government of Canada and every European country support the U.S. position.

Partisan political activity by the Toronto Police Association.

The last item I did on this subject was in Vol. 23, No.5 of "For The Defense".

What follows is a submission I made on behalf of the Law Union of Ontario to the Assistant Commissioner of Information and Privacy. What I have

been trying to ascertain from the freedom of information request is what type of favours the Tory government has been prepared to give to their buddy Craig Bromell.

April 17, 2003 VIA FAX: (416) 325-9195

Tom Mitchinson Assistant Commissioner Information and Privacy Commissioner Ontario 80 Bloor Street West, Suite 1700 Toronto, Ontario M5S 2V1

Dear Mr. Mitchinson:

RE: Ministry of the Solicitor General Appeal No. PA-010303-2

We acknowledge receipt of your Supplementary Notice of Inquiry.

The essence of our application for information from the Ministry of the Solicitor General was to determine whether or not the Ontario government started in any attempts to accommodate the desire of the Toronto Police Association to be more involved in partisan political activity than was permitted under *Regulation 554/91* as amended by *Ontario Regulation 89/98*.

Prior to making this submission to you we have attempted to determine from the Index of Responsive Records and from Submissions of the Ministry of Public Safety and Security which records fall within the time frame when we believe Norm Gardner, the Chair of the Toronto Police Services Board, requested that the Ontario government change the regulations in order to permit partisan political activity by the Police Association. We believe that the correspondence from Mr. Gardner went to the Solicitor General in late August or early September 2000.

At page 7 of the Submissions of the Ministry of Public Safety and Security, they indicate records number 31 to 47 relate to proposed amendments to *Regulations 554/91*, some of which were submitted to the Statutory Business Committee on October 18th, 2000. There are no other dates referred to in their Submissions.

It is very hard, in a vacuum, to make submissions when we don't know the nature of the documents concerning which the Ministry is making submissions.

It is our respectful submission that the purpose of the Freedom of Information legislation is to allow the public, in a general way, to know what the government is doing, has done, or at some point plans to do.

If you find that the documents fall under the exemptions that the Ministry is claiming, for our purposes it is not necessary for us to receive the specific documents.

If the Ministry had started work to allow the Toronto Police Association (and other Police organizations) to engage in more partisan political activity than is permitted under *Regulation* 554/91, it is our respectful submission that this is precisely the type of information that it is contemplated being released under the *Freedom of Information Act*.

In the circumstances we would urge you to release information that allows us, and ultimately the public, to know what favors the present government of Ontario was prepared to do for their political supporters in the Toronto Police Association.

Yours truly, LAW UNION OF ONTARIO Paul D. Copeland PDC/dm"