

# The Leveller

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Being frank since 2009

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## WET'SUWET'EN STAND STRONG AGAINST PIPELINE POLICING AND CRIMINALIZATION OF INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE CONTINUES

Andy Crosby

A series of protests were held in Ottawa and throughout Canada in January in solidarity with the Wet'suwet'en peoples and their hereditary chiefs, who are currently facing police suppression in B.C. for blocking construction of a pipeline.

On Jan. 8 in Ottawa, dozens of Indigenous peoples and their supporters pushed through lines of security and police personnel to enter the John G. Diefenbaker Building on Sussex Drive, disrupting a planned speech by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau at the Canada-Modern Treaty and Self-Governing First Nations Forum.

Earlier on Parliament Hill, Ashley Courchene, a Carleton graduate student from Sagkeeng First Nation in Manitoba, called the RCMP action against the Wet'suwet'en an invasion.

"The RCMP are engaged in a media campaign to convince the average Canadian that they are the ones who are rational and peaceful while painting Indigenous peoples as criminals on their own homelands," said Courchene.

"What the RCMP are doing right now in B.C. are not upholding the rule of law," he continued. "They are engaging in state-sponsored terrorism against Indigenous people, which is funded by oil companies, and it's time that we face up to this truth."

Inside the Diefenbaker Building, Trudeau refused to come out and address the crowd of over 100 Indigenous peoples and their settler allies. This crowd held the space by chanting, making noise, and delivering a variety of speeches over a megaphone in open-mic fashion.

Among the dozens of speakers was a seventeen-year-old Mi'kmaq girl named Sophia, who addressed Trudeau directly from outside the meeting room.

"Justin Trudeau, I know you are listening, and this (RCMP raid) cannot happen ever again."

"Decriminalize us!" Sophia demanded.

"We want to be sovereign nations," she continued.

"Why do we need to take you to court? This is our land, these are our rights, these are our traditions, this is our culture. We just want respect like every single other person on this planet."

After over an hour, the large group left without incident.

Activists responded to a call from the Wet'suwet'en for "rolling actions" with another rally on Jan. 15, which began at Confederation Park before taking to the streets.

A benefit concert is scheduled for Jan. 26 at Barrymore's, with more actions and events to come.

### RCMP INVASION AN "ACT OF WAR"

The numerous actions in support of the Wet'suwet'en were prompted after a large force of RCMP officers – some dressed in camouflage with heavy weapons – moved in on the Gidimt'en checkpoint on Jan. 7 and arrested 14 land protectors.

All five clans of the Wet'suwet'en nation have unanimously opposed all pipeline proposals, and the Gidimt'en recently established a checkpoint to support the Unist'ot'en camp.

For the past decade, the Unist'ot'en Clan's camp has sat at the intersection of a number of proposed pipelines.

On Dec. 14, TransCanada Corporation obtained an injunction from a B.C. court to remove Indigenous obstacles so that construction could commence on its Coastal Gas-Link pipeline.

The Wet'suwet'en and other Indigenous nations along the pipeline routes have never surrendered title to their territories, which the Supreme Court of Canada recognized in the 1997 *Delgamuukw* case.

An international call to action for Jan. 8 was issued to support those defending the Gidimt'en checkpoint.

This call to action, which circulated among media and activist groups, said that "Despite the lip service given to 'Truth and Reconciliation', Canada is now attempting to do what it has always done – criminalize and use violence

against indigenous people so that their unceded homelands can be exploited for profit."

The call to action invoked Article 10 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), which states that "Indigenous peoples shall not be forcibly removed from their land or territories."

"We are now preparing for a protracted struggle," the call concluded. "The hereditary chiefs of the Wet'suwet'en and the land defenders holding the front lines have no intention of allowing Wet'suwet'en sovereignty to be violated."

### CANADIAN SECURITY APPARATUS TARGETS UNIST'OT'EN

Indigenous land defenders and water protectors have come under increased and intensified scrutiny from the Canadian security establishment for asserting their sovereign title to the land. These assertions have been interpreted as a direct challenge to the authority of the Canadian state and economy – and so they are framed as a threat to national security.

In particular, Indigenous activists have challenged Canada's energy superpower ambitions, which centre on the tar sands and efforts to pipe oil and gas over unceded Indigenous territories to tide water for export.

Over the past decade, numerous internal documents obtained through Access to Information requests have revealed extensive scrutiny and surveillance by security agencies monitoring and reporting on Indigenous resistance.

In particular, security agencies have fixated on the Unist'ot'en Clan and their "blockade camp" as being "the ideological and physical focal point of Aboriginal resistance to resource projects."

Canadian security officials anticipated using force against the Unist'ot'en as early as 2015, drafting a "secret" risk assessment of the "blockade of TransCanada proposed pipeline" after the company signaled it would seek an injunction to remove

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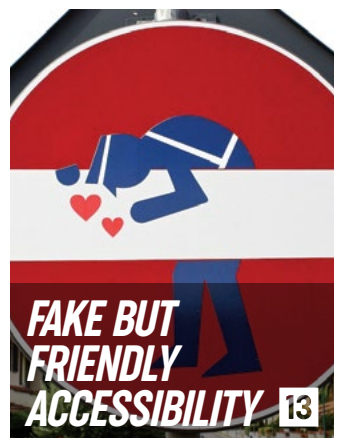
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## "NOTHING MORE THAN A RED HERRING"

STUDENTS, ACTIVISTS, AND LABOUR TAKE AIM AT FORD'S POSTSECONDARY PLANS

Rick Telfer & Andy Crosby

Students, activists, and labour movement leaders are sounding the alarm about the devastating impact the Ford government's plans for post-secondary education will have on the system's accessibility and democracy.

On Jan. 17, the Ford government announced it was – ostensibly – taking three major steps towards ensuring affordability of post-secondary education. It will lower tuition fees by 10 per cent at every publicly-funded college and university in Ontario, give students "more choice" over the fees they pay, and "restore financial sustainability" to OSAP, the Ontario Student Assistance Program.

But the Ontario branch of the Canadian Federation of Students (CFS) called the tuition fee reduction "nothing more than a red herring" in a statement posted to its Facebook page on Jan. 17. Then, in a Jan. 18 press release, the CFS further denounced the changes as "reckless" and "severe."

According to CFS, the government's announcement includes a guaranteed four per cent cut to institutional funding, a reduction to needs-based grants, an increase in student loans, and the elimination of the six-month grace period for loan repayment

and interest accumulation.

"The proposed cuts to OSAP will harm those students most in need," the CFS stated. "Moreover, without an increase to operating funds for institutions, this tuition fee reduction will most likely come at the hands of cuts to campus workers and services. Students were not consulted in this process. The Ford government is looking to dismantle public post-secondary education and is attempting to eliminate the opposition to do it."

CFS estimates that colleges and universities will face combined funding cuts of up to \$440 million annually, which is expected to result in larger class sizes, fewer course options, and downward pressure on workers' wages and benefits.

The Ford government is also changing the definition of 'dependent' from being four years out of high school to six. This means higher education will become less accessible for mature students, since students' parents' income will be part of the OSAP assessment for loans and grants even if those students are living independently.

Graduate students and students in professional programs like medicine and law will be denied grants and forced to rely entirely on loans.

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The Leveller

# WHOSE FREE SPEECH?



Free speech is good. Here at *The Leveller* we like free speech. We like dissent. We like to argue.

As editors we do it all the time, from broad political questions to whether there should be a comma before the word 'and'.

We also make choices with every issue. We reject some articles completely. Others we accept – but we edit, cut, and revise each one.

Why do we do this? (Are we... editorial Stalinists?)

Why don't we publish everything we're sent, exactly as sent?

Because no one would read *The Leveller* if we did that. We love our contributors, but some of the stuff we're sent... it's horrible.

Printing everything freely and without limit would be publishing suicide. We would blow a year's budget after just one issue or two, producing unreadable phonebooks of mostly verbal diarrhea. The project would fold and... well, we would miss you, dear readers.

In every particular context, free speech has limits.

Even 4chan forums – even 8chan forums, for people who find the gleeful cauldrons of politically in-

might not invite you to places where we can here you again. We might use our free speech to tell other people – who don't have to listen to us – that they shouldn't listen to you.

Because free speech doesn't free you from consequences.

Free speech is good but it's not an absolute good. There are limits to the goodness of free speech.

For example, we think it's a good thing that your average white person no longer uses the n-word, no longer casually calls adult Black men 'boy'.

Is that a limit on free speech? Absolutely. We think that's good. We think that's progress, even.

Is that totalitarian? Not really. It's just shifting social norms – shifted by people using their free speech to say 'Hey, these words are dumb and bad. Have you ever thought about not saying them?'

It's just that sometimes two good things are in conflict and you gotta make choices.

Whose free speech are you choosing to stand up for? Why, dear man-baby, does it always seem to be neo-Nazis, male supremacists, and war-mongering imperialists?

What about the free speech of Indigenous folks, who keep saying "we're still here and we're not going to let this pipeline poison all of us"?

What about the free speech of prisoners?

What about the free speech of every trans person, of every woman who doesn't add their voice to public discourse – doesn't do anything online publicly – because of you, man-baby? Because you will use your free speech to insult, harass, threaten, lie to, lie about, and dox them.

Did you notice that – the way one person's free speech can limit another person's free speech?

Whose free speech do you stand for? What are the effects of standing up for it? These are questions worth asking whenever the 'free speech' card gets played.

We're not saying bad people should never say bad things.

Nothing's absolute. Even free speech. Even you think it has its limits.

We've noticed that you're pretty into copyright, man-baby. That limits free speech.

You're also pretty into limiting the free speech of non-citizens in elections.

We're pretty sure you're against free speech that would show porn to kids or make porn using kids.

You obviously believe that, in some circumstances, other rights trump the right to free speech.

You probably think your right to property trumps our right to break into your home and scream obscenities into your ear while you're trying to sleep.

That's pretty reasonable! We just think it's also reasonable that we'll punch you in the mouth if you use your freedom of speech to talk about killing people we love.

Because we remember the last time someone was talking a lot about how 'those people' are the worst and don't really deserve to exist. It ended in mountains of dead bodies.

Let's make a deal, man-baby! We promise to never punch you in the mouth again, if you stop saying the worst things people have ever said – things we have to stop and can only stop by punching that mouth.

We really don't like punching, you know. It's bad. It's just not the worst. (If you lost track somehow, genocide is the worst.)

Then you can say your thing and we can say our thing. Sometimes we can listen to each other and sometimes not. We can do that nice thing where we argue, but agree to disagree like adults – not enemies whose words threaten the existence of the other. It'll be nice.

Because free speech is good.

## Lev·el·ler noun

1 Historical: During the English Civil War (c. 1649), one who favoured the abolition of all rank and privilege. Originally an insult, but later embraced by radical anti-Royalists.

2 One who tells the truth, as in "I'm going to level with you."

3 An instrument that knocks down things that are standing up or digs up things that are buried or hidden.

*The Leveller* is a publication covering news, current events, and culture at Carleton University, the University of Ottawa, the Ottawa/Gatineau region and, to a lesser extent, the wider world. It is intended to provide readers with a lively portrait of their campuses and communities and of the events that give them meaning. It is also intended to be a forum for provocative editorializing and lively debate on issues of concern to students, staff, and faculty as well as Ottawa residents.

*The Leveller* leans left, meaning it challenges power and privilege and sides with people over private property. It is also democratic, meaning that it favours open discussion over silencing and secrecy. Within these very general boundaries, the *Leveller* is primarily interested in being interesting, in saying something worth saying and worth reading about.

*The Leveller* needs you. It needs you to read it, talk about it, discuss it with your friends, agree with it, disagree with it, write a letter, write a story (or send in a story idea), join in the producing of it, or just denounce it. It needs you—or someone like you—to edit it, to guide it towards maturity, to give it financial security and someplace warm and safe to live. Ultimately it needs you to become a more truly democratic and representative paper.

*The Leveller* is an ambitious little rag. It wants to be simultaneously irreverent and important, to demand responsibility from others while it shakes it off itself, to be a fun-house mirror we can laugh at ourselves in and a map we can use to find ourselves and our city in. It wants to be your coolest, most in-the-know friend and your social conscience at the same time. It continues to have its work cut out for it.

*The Leveller* is published every month during the school year. It is free.

*The Leveller* and its editors have no phone or office, but can be contacted with letters of love or hate at:

editors.theleveller@gmail.com

## The Levellers

Editors	Jacqueline Atkinson Lauren Scott Timothy Kitz
Managing Editor	Adam Ashby Gibbard
Production & Design	Baraa Arar Matt Cicero
Contributors	Andy Crosby Reem El Attar Josh Hawley Mike Hermida Herongate Tenant Coalition Fae Johnstone Tim Kitz Salma Mahgoub Punchup Collective Rick Telfer Sam Whittle Kristen Williams Lily Xia Christi Belcourt boitchy Ainslie Coghill Andy Crosby Adam Ashby Gibbard Jamie McCaffrey Ian McCrae Rahaf Mohammed Vernon Barford School Max Pixel Lily Xia
Photography & Illustration	
Proofreaders	
Distribution	Guillaume Beaulieu-Blais Jen Duford Yasmine Ghania Maria-Helena Pacelli Andy Crosby Krishna E Bera Fazeela Jiwa Ajay Parasmam
Web Publisher	
Social Media Officer	
Operations Manager	
Governing Board	
Les Sans-Culottes	
Auteure	Gabrielle Brassard-Lecours

### WET·SUWET·EN CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the Wet'suwet'en from their land. Public Safety Canada's Government Operations Centre (GOC) assessed the risk to the national interest as "medium-low."

In the report, GOC officials framed the Unist'ot'en as a "faction (that) is led by an aboriginal extremist who rejects the authority of the Crown over his perception of what constitutes traditional territories."

Unist'ot'en spokesperson Freda Huson told *APTN National News* that she believes the "aboriginal extremist" referred to in the report is Hereditary Chief Smogelgem.

The report warns that attempted "removal of protesters through a court-approved injunction will result in continued protest action and blockade efforts by Unist'ot'en activists," and this "may have impacts on critical infrastructure."

As Jeff Monaghan and I argue in our book *Policing Indigenous Movements*, the rubric of critical infrastructure has become a prominent element in the surveillance of social movements – as well as a tactic to "criminalize Indigenous movements that challenge extractive capitalism, demand self-determination, or contest federal and provincial claims to Indigenous lands."

As examples of potential threats to critical infrastructure, the report lists previous examples of the Gitksan nation – co-appellant with the Wet'suwet'en in the *Delgamuukw* case – blocking highways and rail lines in their territory in opposition to pipelines.

Although backed by Indigenous law, UNDRIP, and a Supreme Court case recognizing Aboriginal title, the Wet'suwet'en are framed as violent extremists and a threat to national security.

For example, Unist'ot'en opposition to the Northern Gateway Pipeline was underscored in a January 2014 RCMP report by its Critical Infrastructure Intelligence Team on "Criminal Threats to the Canadian Petroleum Industry."

In this report, the RCMP frame the Unist'ot'en as violent criminal extremists: "the most urgent anti-petroleum threat of violent criminal activity is in Northern British Columbia where there is a coalition of like-minded violent extremists who are planning criminal actions to prevent the construction of the pipeline."

This sensationalist framing was prompted by the peaceful eviction of pipeline survey crews by the Unist'ot'en.

In addition, the RCMP's Aboriginal Policing Services in B.C. have tracked Unist'ot'en Camp activities on a monthly basis from at least as far back as 2010 and up to at least the end of 2015. The monthly intelligence reports track resource development projects in British Columbia and Indigenous opposition, frequently outlining the economic benefits of such projects while framing opponents as unreasonable. To that end the Unist'ot'en are framed as a "splinter group" in each of the reports.

The use of categories

such as "splinter group" and "faction" are tactics to delegitimize, marginalize, and undermine Indigenous land defenders and demands for self-determination.

Taking it one step further, a 2013 report by the B.C. RCMP's Criminal Analysis Section on law enforcement implications related to natural gas pipelines referred to the Unist'ot'en as a "break-away sub-clan."

The Unist'ot'en are also featured in Project SITKA, a March 2015 RCMP investigative report which we obtained over the course of writing *Policing Indigenous Movements*.

Project SITKA: *Serious Criminality Associated to Large Public Order Events with National Implications* identified "subjects" associated with the Unist'ot'en Camp who were swept up in the quasi-criminal investigation that pinpointed and created protester profiles of 89 individuals "who pose a criminal threat to Aboriginal public order events," predominantly surrounding "natural resource development, particularly pipeline and shale gas expansion."

*"The RCMP are engaging in state-sponsored terrorism against Indigenous people, which is funded by oil companies, and it's time that we face up to this truth."*

Project SITKA identified

69 "Aboriginal public order events" over a five-year span attended by the 89 subjects, including 16 in B.C. These were not only protests, but "events related to public order such as speaking tours, disruption of political proceedings, and direct action training camps."

As a key "criteria for criminality," SITKA investigators attempted to identify the "background, motivation and rhetoric" of the 89 individuals classified as either "disruptive" or "volatile."

Project SITKA made national headlines at the time it was released to media in late 2016, as it exposes the tactics and tools of criminalization and surveillance deployed by national security agencies against Indigenous peoples protecting their land.

### THE PROTRACTED STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Faced with the ongoing threat of violent injury and death from police forces, the Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs entered into negotiations with the RCMP and TransCanada.

On Jan. 10, they reached an agreement to let pre-construction crews onto the territory in exchange for guarantees that the Unist'ot'en Camp would not be attacked and that RCMP "exclusion zones" be removed.

The interim injunction is

set to expire on Jan. 31, the deadline where the named defendants – Warner Nuziel (Smogelgem), Freda Huson, and Jane and John Doe – can file a response with the B.C. Supreme Court to affirm Wet'suwet'en title and jurisdiction.

"The governments of Canada and British Columbia are blatantly ignoring the Supreme Court of Canada's precedent-setting *Delgamuukw* case which confirmed that the Wet'suwet'en's Title and Rights have never been extinguished," according to Union of BC Indian Chiefs President Grand Chief Stewart Phillip in a press release condemning RCMP aggression.

The Canadian government has stalled on recognizing Indigenous title as laid out in landmark cases such as *Delgamuukw* and *Tsilhqot'in* (2014). It has also failed to implement the numerous recommendations and principles laid out in the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, UNDRIP, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission – all of which deal directly with important issues of Indigenous land and title.

Instead, the approach has been to attempt to address services on reserves and to recognize Indian Act Band Councils as the legitimate governing bodies as opposed to the hereditary chiefs and grassroots people. These councils are responsible exclusively for reserve administration – which comprise 0.2 per cent of the Canadian land mass. In the case of Wet'suwet'en, the nation's full territory comprises some 22,000 square kilometres.

Chief Na'moks told the press following the negotiations that "We are adamantly opposed to this proposed project and that will never change, but we are here to ensure the safety of our people."

The Unist'ot'en Camp published a notice on their website, vowing that "this is not over."

"While the chiefs have a responsibility to protect the land, they also have a duty to protect our land defenders. Our people faced an incredible risk of injury or death and that is not a risk we are willing to take for an interim injunction. The agreement we made allows Coastal GasLink to temporarily work behind the Unist'ot'en gate. This will continue to be a waste of their time and resources as they will not be building a pipeline in our traditional territory."

Video surfacing on social media in the days following the agreement shows the RCMP openly violating the terms of the negotiations.

RCMP exclusion zones are still erected on Wet'suwet'en territory with the dual purpose of "protecting" TransCanada crews as well as preventing Wet'suwet'en access to their territories.

In one video published on the Wet'suwet'en Access Point on Gidim'ten Territory Facebook page, Elder Rita David of the Gidim'ten Clan, links the current exclusion and land dispossession over many decades, recalling her family being forced out of their home in Smithers.

"It hasn't stopped, they're still trying to get rid of us here," she said. "This is our land."

## POLICE OFFICER CHARGED IN ABDI'S DEATH TO FACE COURT NEXT MONTH

Salma Mahgoub

The trial of an Ottawa police officer charged in the death of Abdirahman Abdi begins next month, and supporters of the victim are eager for the legal process to finally begin.

Const. Daniel Montsion's criminal trial is scheduled for Feb. 4 at the Ottawa courthouse, nearly three years after Abdi died in July 2016 following a violent confrontation with police during his arrest.

"We're anxiously awaiting the opportunity that's at hand to finally begin the process of justice," says Farhia Ahmed, chair of the Justice for Abdirahman Coalition. The group was formed a few days after Abdi's death by members of the Ottawa-Somali community and local partners to promote transparency and accountability in law enforcement.

"While it's been devastating, these tragic circumstances have really brought a community together," she says. "We've had an opportunity to connect with groups that we might not have otherwise con-

nected with, and it's brought a very uncomfortable conversation to the forefront."

After an eight-month long investigation into Abdi's death, the provincial agency that handles criminal offences involving police charged Montsion with manslaughter, aggravated assault and assault with a weapon.

According to the Special Investigations Unit, Abdi went into "medical distress" during a confrontation between police officers including Montsion outside Abdi's apartment in Hintonburg. The officers were called to the area following reports of a man causing a disturbance. The 37-year-old died the next day in hospital.

Some of Abdi's family members were present during the confrontation with police and will appear as witnesses for the 12-week trial. "Hopefully they will have some of their questions answered by hearing the evidence that comes out of the criminal trial," says Lawrence Greenspon, a lawyer who is representing the Abdi family in a separate

civil lawsuit against the Ottawa Police Services Board.

The Justice for Abdirahman Coalition expressed disappointment at the prolonged wait before the criminal trial could begin, especially as the case attracted wide public interest and centred on the death of a black man with mental health issues. But Ahmed says while the delay caused undue pressure and frustration on the family, one of the positive outcomes of the trial will be the revived momentum on the issue of mental health support for racialized communities.

"We really just hope for true justice to be provided in the court," says Ahmed. "I'm not in any way a legal professional or a judge that would be able to give an outcome, but from what I understand and what I've seen, I believe there was a severe injustice here and somebody needs to be accountable for it."

The coalition is planning a vigil next month to show the continuing support for Abdi and his family ahead of the upcoming trial.

### POSTSECONDARY CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Nour Alideeb, CFS-Ontario chairperson, noted that because of compound interest, "The reality of loans-based financial aid programs is that students from low-income families pay more for their education in the long-run."

Labour leaders also weighed in on the government's plans.

"Students will be ultimately the big losers," said Smokey Thomas, president of the Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU). "OPSEU is going to devote whatever resources it takes to stop Doug Ford from jeopardizing our children's future success in the job market with this backdoor scheme to make cuts."

Fred Hahn, president of the Canadian Union of Public Employees' Ontario division, said in a statement that "Workers and students are united against Doug Ford's proposed cuts because we know the damaging impact they will have on students, workers and families across this province for years to come."

Conservatives seem to have now seized this moment of provincial power for a top-down implementation of these strategies to attack, undermine, and ultimately destroy progressive forces on campus.

Numerous groups in addition to CFS and OPIRG operate on campuses across the province, based on student fees implemented through a referendum process, typically ranging from the \$1-7 range. These include Pride and disability awareness centres, sexual violence support centres, food banks, and peer support programs.

Not every student uses every service but, collectively, this broad array of student-run groups enriches the academic experience and provides valuable services otherwise not offered to students and, for that matter, the broader community.

This includes student media, such as community radio stations and newspapers – like *The Leveller*, dear reader.

All of these will become optional under the Ford government's plan.

On Twitter, Joel Harden, the Ontario NDP MPP for Ottawa Centre, called the Ford government's opt-out plan an

conservative move to "paigned for years on university campuses to attack student unions and defund student-funded groups like CFS and OPIRG, the Ontario Public Interest Research Group. OPIRG is a decentralized network of campus-based groups that work locally for social and environmental justice through research and popular education, community organizing, and direct advocacy."

Although right-wing students were able to take over the undergraduate student union at Carleton University in 2012, successive campaigns to eliminate OPIRG and CFS from the campus through democratic referendums were defeated. A similar campaign at Queen's University succeeded in defunding their OPIRG in 2012.

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## HERONGATE TENANTS REJECT RENT INCREASE

Landlord Timbercreek “actively creates value” through property neglect

Andy Crosby

Herongate residents rejected an “above guideline” rent increase at a Landlord and Tenant Board hearing in Ottawa on Jan. 18.

Landlord Timbercreek Asset Management Inc. filed an application with the board for two of its 16-story apartment buildings at 2850 and 2870 Cedarwood Drive.

Around 20 residents attended the hearing while a handful of supporters and family members waited outside the room after being refused entry by a security guard.

Timbercreek was represented by Director of Operations John Loubser and David Lyman from Dickie & Lyman Lawyers LLP. Dickie & Lyman is a high-rolling real estate law firm which claims on its website to have “long standing relationships with officials and politicians,” and that “we often know of a coming change before it is made public.”

Inside the hearing, Lyman complained that existing rents were not reflective of the current market value. He said that Above Guideline Increases were necessary for landlords

an Above Guideline Increase to offset costs associated with “capital expenditure work” including elevator renovations, security cameras, roof replacement, and an “energy retrofit project.” Based on the claim of \$1.47 million in expenses, the Landlord and Tenant Board calculated an Above Guideline Increase of 2.07 per cent in addition to the maximum 1.8 per cent annual rent increase.

Despite Timbercreek’s “energy retrofit” that cost over \$1 million and was clarified in the application as “necessary to maintain the heating system,” tenants delivered multiple work orders at the Board hearing that expressed ongoing problems related to lack of heat and hot water.

On Jan. 19, tenant John Redins posted a photo of a space heater in his apartment on Facebook noting, “This is one of 2 heaters keeping my apartment warm the registers have heat coming out but no circulation.”

The Herongate Tenant Coalition responded calling on Timbercreek to turn up the heat in 2870 Cedarwood, noting that “Tenants are cold and footing the electricity bill for a problem caused by Timbercreek.”

On Twitter, the coalition, referencing 2870 Cedarwood lacking heat last winter, claims that this was not a stand-alone incident but a pattern of neglect and abuse.

Timbercreek claims under its motto that it is “actively cre-

ating value” – but for who? The millions it takes in for its investors are a result of squeezing revenues out of lower-income tenants through maximizing rent increases, keeping maintenance costs low through systemic neglect, pushing existing tenants to move out so that rents on vacant units can be raised to “market value,” and gentrifying through the eviction and demolition of neglected housing.

Timbercreek has undergone two rounds of eviction-demolitions, or demolitions, since 2013, displacing dozens of lower-income, racialized and immigrant families to make way for construction projects offering “resort-style living.”

Timbercreek manages over \$8.5 billion in assets, and is deemed a “financialized landlord,” according to academics Martine August and Alan Walks. In a 2018 *Geoforum* article, the authors characterize Timbercreek as “cherry picking” properties in gentrifying communities and actively seeking to “capitalize on gentrification pressures, and to forcibly gentrify its own buildings.”

Their study notes that in Toronto, Above Guideline Increase applications increased by 800 per cent between 2011 and 2014 as part of a trend of deregulating rental protections in Ontario.

Ottawa is currently experiencing a crisis in affordable housing, record-high rents and

record-low vacancy rates, creating a ripe situation for predatory financialized landlords to deepen the crisis through gentrifying practices.

According to Hawley, one building, the Richlin, located on Walkley Road across from where the Herongate evictions took place, saw landlord Osgoode Properties raise the rent

on vacant two-bedrooms from \$1205 in May 2017 to \$1550 in January 2019, an increase of 28.6 per cent.

“The mass displacement in the south Ottawa neighbourhood of Herongate has no doubt played a large role in creating one of the worst years on record for tenants in Ottawa,” Hawley concluded.

### TIPS FOR TENANTS

BROUGHT TO YOU BY THE HERONGATE TENANT COALITION

### WHAT IS AN ABOVE GUIDELINE INCREASE?

An Above Guideline Increase (AGI) is a loophole created by the Landlord and Tenant Board that allows landlords in Ontario to raise rents above the provincial guideline rent increase amount, which for 2019 is 1.8 per cent.

Only capital expenditures, upgrades to security services, or an extraordinary increase in municipal taxes are supposed to be used to justify an AGI. Any work that is deemed to be either regular maintenance or cosmetic in nature is not supposed to be used to justify an AGI.

Despite this, it is common for landlords to bend these rules, claiming upgrades to lobbies, installing mirrors in elevators, or installing glass balconies as justification for AGIs.

Landlords often use AGIs as a quick way to increase their profit from tenants, while long-standing maintenance and service are ignored. They use AGIs to quickly raise rents – which

forces many tenants to move because they can no longer afford to live there. It is a very useful tool for gentrification.

Once tenants move out, landlords can raise rent for the newly vacant apartments to whatever they want, as there’s no rent control on vacancies.

It is very important for tenants to refuse AGIs through collective organizing, as the Landlord and Tenant Board will very likely not help you.

Form a building committee and get organized. Talk to your neighbours every chance you get, hold lobby meetings, and go door knocking. Try and inform as many tenants as possible in your building about the AGI.

Then when it is time to confront your landlord about neglect and maintenance issues, always show up in a group to their office. Try and avoid going alone, as your landlord can more easily evade problems from individuals.

## RETHINKING NEIGHBOURHOOD AND COMMUNITY POLICING

Is the reintroduction of neighbourhood police officers in Ottawa the right move?

Lily Xia

After much pressure from community organizations and city councillors, neighbourhood police officers will be returning to Ottawa in 2019. However, it is questionable whether recommitting to neighbourhood and community policing would be the best option for this city.

In its 2016 annual report, the Ottawa Police Service described how it was dismantling the neighbourhood policing model and remobilizing all neighbourhood police officers and some community police officers into front-line operations.

These neighbourhood and community police officers were geographically-assigned police officers, who interacted with community members day-to-day – as opposed to front-line operations, who respond to 911 calls around the city.

Both neighbourhood and community police officers fall under a movement towards community policing that has been widespread in the last few decades. In Ontario, they are directed by the Ontario Mobilization and Engagement Model of Community Policing created by the On-

tario Association of Chiefs of Police in 2012.

Advocates for community policing have argued that it is a better alternative to reactive and top-down policing. However, community policing is not an alternative to traditional policing, but an expansion of policing into the everyday life.

Community policing is better compared to social services and programming that alleviate poverty, provide support, and build community. Funds to expand community policing may be better allocated to other parts of the public sector.

In Ottawa, Gloucester-Southgate Coun. Diane Deans, who serves as the new Ottawa Police Services Board chair, was a vocal advocate for community policing and has pushed for more police funding.

Similarly, Kitchissippi Coun. Jeff Leiper and Vanier Coun. Mathieu Fleury has also publicly supported the return of neighbourhood police officers.

Leiper stated on Twitter that the “(partial) return of NHOs is a critical part of addressing persistent issues in neighbourhoods. Geographic assignment is important.”



Community policing focuses on preventing social disorder and low-level crime, including vandalism and decay that proponents argue weakens informal social control. Photo: Lily Xia

crimes before they begin.

Proponents of community policing such as Deans, Leiper and Fleury argue that the model allowed for police to build trust with community members and deal with non-urgent crime and social disorder.

Hamid Mousa, the community development co-ordinator for the Ottawa Police Service, stated that, “Community Policing relies on a more proactive form of finding solutions, from officers who have become familiar to locals over a period of time.”

He also stated that the community policing model “shifts the focus from reaction to action. The concepts of community-oriented policing

rely on two core components: community partnerships and problem-solving.”

The use of the word ‘proactive’ and the idea that community policing shifts police work from ‘reaction to action’ were common selling points for the model. Ideally, community policing ‘cleans up’ neighbourhoods and prevents

dangerous, controlling, and prejudiced. Further, youth experienced little in the way of service or protection.”

In Canada, academics Naomi Nichols and Jessica Braimoh found that “institutionally co-ordinated links between policing and social housing produce street-involvement, street-homelessness, and a profound sense of exclusions” among minority youths living in Neighbourhood Improvement Areas in Toronto.

Moreover, in a study on community policing in Ottawa, Sulaimon Giwa, assistant professor of social work at Memorial University, questioned whether communities are able to meaningfully influence policy and practice in community policing models. If not, then community policing does not create change that empower residents to succeed.

Instead, community policing serves as a tool to market the police as friendly and approachable. Giwa also argued that the power differential between the police and the community members may result in further negative relations.

“Application of community policing as a means of improving police relations with racialized minorities and communities is disingenuous,” Giwa stated, “as its principles do not address the complexity of historical and colonial attitudes toward disenfranchised, racialized populations.”

“By glossing over embedded racial and ethnic inequi-

ties, community policing may be contributing to systems of dominance and hegemony in policing rather than working toward their eradication.”

In the end, community policing is still policing. It focuses on reporting and arrests and is dependent on officer discretion.

Criminology professor, Glen A. Ishoy, found in a study on police discretion that officers were often more concerned with supervisor expectations and subjective norms within the policing system than community expectations. This finding explains why neighbourhood policing ultimately fosters exclusion and reinforces inequality.

Ultimately, community building is important work that needs to be done. However, the question is, should this work be done by the police? Community building services may be better lead by individuals and organizations that do not operate under the umbrella of policing. They do not have a conflict of interest, allowing them to put the needs of the community first – as opposed to the regulations and expectations of the police force.

An expansion of policing into community spaces can negatively impact those who are the most marginalized. When the police enter everyday lives through community policing, we must ask ourselves: who is being watched and policed, and who is being protected?

# CUPE 4600

CUPE 4600 is gearing up for our upcoming round of bargaining. The Collective Agreement expires this summer, and once again we will be fighting to improve the working conditions of our members.

If you are a TA or Contract Instructor, consider getting involved. We'll need members for our bargaining teams, mobilization committee, and our research committee.

**Upcoming Event: Lunchtime Chat Series**  
**”What Are The Communities of Care?”**  
**Monday, Feb. 4th 1-3pm**  
**GSA Lounge (6th floor UC)**

www.cupe4600.ca

How to get to...

# OPIRG Carleton

**START HERE**

**2nd Floor UC**

Walk from the elevators or central stairwell to the Multifaith Centre

When at the Multifaith Centre, turn around to face the staircase

Walk up Stairwell D to reach our floor.

Turn into the alcove and only door on the left.

**START HERE**

**4th Floor UC**

Walk from the elevators or central stairwell to the CUSA Office

Walk past their office door and turn to the opposite facing direction to face the staircase

Walk down Stairwell D to reach our floor.

Turn into the alcove and only door on the left.

# CANADA EMBRACES SAUDI TEEN

RAHAF MOHAMMED HAS BEEN GRANTED ASYLUM AFTER FLEEING HER ABUSIVE FAMILY

Reem El Attor & Tim Kitz

Canada has accepted the emergency asylum claim of Rahaf Mohammed, a Saudi teenager who attracted global attention via a series of dramatic tweets from a hotel room in Thailand, where she had barricaded herself to try to avoid deportation to Saudi Arabia.

The 18-year-old fled her allegedly abusive family while on vacation in Kuwait. She flew to Thailand, aiming to eventually seek asylum in Australia.

Upon Mohammed's arrival in Thailand on Saturday, Jan. 5, Mohammed claimed that she was held at Bangkok's airport, where authorities sent her to a hotel room and planned to deport her back to Kuwait on the morning of Monday, Jan. 7.

She quickly opened a Twitter account, and tweeted in Arabic, "I am the girl who escaped #Kuwait to #Thailand. My life is in real danger if I am forced to return to #SaudiArabia."

Mohammed's tweets sparked an immediate online campaign – she racked up over 45,000 followers on her first day on Twitter – and sent shockwaves throughout Saudi Arabia and neighboring countries.

The hashtags #SaveRahaf and #Remove guardianship and we won't all migrate trended as social media platforms erupted with young women using the hashtags to share their experiences with the Saudi



Rahaf Mohammed shared a photo of herself on Twitter on January 9th.

guardianship system and support for Mohammed.

The guardianship system is a system that prohibits Saudi women from traveling, marrying, undergoing medical procedures and working without the permission of a male guardian, who is typically a husband, father or brother.

Mohammed told *The Toronto Star* "We are treated as an object, like a slave." She described being beaten for not praying or doing housework and said she was locked in the house for six months for cutting her hair short. "I was exposed to physical violence, persecution, oppression, threats to be killed... My life was in danger and I felt I had nothing to lose."

Mohammed also denounced Islam, a crime that is punishable by death in Saudi Arabia.

The public attention prompted the United Nations

High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to investigate Mohammed's case on Jan. 7. They quickly determined that she qualified for emergency protection and on Jan. 9 referred her to Australia, her original destination.

That same day, the Australian Department of Home Affairs said it "will consider this referral in the usual way," with Home Affairs Minister Peter Dutton warning there would be "no special treatment" for Mohammed, according to *The Guardian*.

Dutton has previously offered to fast-track visa applications from white South African farmers, in response to advocacy by the Suidlanders – a self-proclaimed "civil defense organization dedicated to white Afrikaansers" who likes to take credit for growing global awareness of "white genocide."

Thailand, meanwhile, has a history of returning asylum seekers and refugees to their home countries.

For example, Bahraini football player Hakeem al-Araibi was granted refugee status by Australia in 2017 after being tortured for criticizing the regime – but was arrested in November 2018 while holidaying with his family in Thailand and sent back to Bahrain.

The UNHCR quickly pivoted, withdrawing its referral to Australia and asking Canada to consider her for the country's emergency protection

program, which has a quota of a hundred refugee cases each year.

On Jan. 11, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau told reporters "we have accepted the UN's request that we grant [Mohammed] asylum. That is something we are pleased to do because Canada is a country that understands how important it is to stand up for human rights, to stand up for women's rights around the world."

Mohammed was greeted the next day at the Toronto airport by the Canadian minister of foreign affairs, Chrystia Freeland.

Costi Immigrant Services, a settlement organization based in Toronto, is now working to get Mohammed settled with temporary housing. Mario Calla, executive director of Costi said to Global News, "We've been getting many calls from Canadians who are offering to help with shelter and schooling."

Meanwhile, others are slandering her and sending her death threats online, claiming that she has dishonored her family, religion and country through her actions. Others claimed she simply wants the freedom to engage in premarital sex and compared her the Arab porn star, Mial Khalifa.

Bearing these threats in mind, "Costi has hired private security and ensures she is never alone," said Calla.

During her first week in

Canada, Mohammed has remained active on social media. She has shared photos on Snapchat celebrating her new life – which her critics have taken as 'flaunting' her rejection of Islam and of the rules of conservative Saudi Arabia.

On Jan. 16, she posted a photo of her breakfast which includes bacon, a meat banned in Islam. Later that day, she also posted about enjoying a glass of wine, which is considered a crime punishable by a prison sentence in Saudi Arabia.

Mohammed also dropped her family name, Al-Qunani, in response to a public statement from her family, where they publicly disowned her and expressed their support for the Saudi government.

"We disavow the so-called 'Rahaf al-Qunani' the mentally unstable daughter who has displayed insulting and disgraceful behavior," the statement read. "Our impious daughters' shameful behavior has embarrassed our Islamic customs and values... we beg the kingdom to not to blame the family."

The next day, Jan. 17, Mohammed shared a photo of a lit cigarette on Snapchat and captioned the image in Arabic, "Evaporate Al-Qunani evaporate," referring to her family name.

When discussing her family's disownment on her first TV interview with ABC's Sophie McNeill, Mohammed became teary-eyed, expressing that she didn't expect this reaction from her family. She also mentioned that she does not encourage women to leave their home because it is too dangerous an

undertaking.

Nevertheless, in recent years, more and more young women have been attempting to flee Saudi Arabia, several of them resettling in Canada as refugees.

But not everyone is granted the same fortune. Oftentimes, these extremely risky escape plans turn sour.

In 2017, Dina Ali Lasloom, 24, pleaded for help in a video that widely circulated online when her escape plan was impeded while in transit in the Philippines. She was detained at the airport until her family members arrived to take her back home to Saudi Arabia against her will. She hasn't been heard from since.

More recently, in May of 2018, Loujain Al-Hathloul, a women's rights activist and University of British Columbia graduate, was imprisoned and tortured for her campaign advocating for women to drive.

When Al-Hathloul and several fellow-activists were arrested, Canada tweeted demanding the release of these activists. Saudi Arabia retaliated by expelling Canada's ambassador.

Canada's acceptance of Mohammed may have rekindled the discord between the two countries.

According to *The Canadian Press*, Canada has been accused of meddling in the internal affairs of Mohammed's family with the intent of vilifying Saudi Arabia, this time by Mufleh Al-Qahtani, the head of Saudi Arabia's state-controlled human rights commission.

# INDÉPENDANCE DES MÉDIAS ET LIBERTÉ D'EXPRESSION



Gabrielle Brassard-Lecours

*Cet article est paru sur ricochet.media le 9 janvier 2019*

*Ce n'est un secret pour personne, les médias d'information sont en crise. Tous, peu importe leur taille et leur modèle d'affaires. Mais c'est parfois en temps de crise qu'émergent des manières différentes de concevoir les choses. C'est entre autres le cas dans le monde des médias. Et c'est notamment dans cette conjoncture que se révèle toute l'importance des médias indépendants.*

En 2013, des militant·e·s issues de la grève étudiante de 2012 font le constat que la couverture médiatique de cette dernière a été problématique selon eux : hégémonie des opinions sur les étudiant·e·s en grève, déconnexion des comptes rendus dans les journaux par rapport à ce qui passe sur le terrain, omission ou justification de la brutalité policière qui sévit dans les rues, manque d'analyses politiques et sociologiques des faits. Ils en viennent donc à la conclusion qu'il faut créer un nouveau média pour pallier ce manque, un média qui offrira un ricochet à l'information de masse.

Plusieurs médias alternatifs existent alors déjà, qui opposent les discours médiatiques ambiants en proposant des points de vue originaux et différents. Hybride entre ces médias alternatifs et ayant l'ambition de se tailler une place dans les médias de masse en engageant des journalistes professionnels, optant pour le Web et proposant un modèle bilingue grâce à une équipe basée à Vancouver, Ricochet naît officiellement le 3 octobre 2014, après le succès d'une campagne de sociofinancement ayant permis son existence web et son contenu de qualité professionnelle (les deux objectifs de la campagne). Le but est de contribuer à cette offre d'une alternative médiatique, tout en fédérant les médias qui œuvrent déjà dans cette lignée. Quatre ans plus tard, nous sommes plus convaincu·e·s que jamais que les médias indépendants sont nécessaires.

Ricochet et plusieurs autres ont prouvé à maintes reprises qu'aucun média n'a le monopole de l'information et de son traitement. Néanmoins, si l'indépendance permet une

grande liberté d'analyse et d'angles journalistiques, elle ne vient pas sans son lot de difficultés, la première étant le financement. Même La Presse a récemment opté pour le modèle de l'organisme sans but lucratif (OBNL), affirmant que ce virage n'aurait pas d'impacts sur les effectifs du quotidien – ce qui reste à voir.

Pour la poignée de médias déjà OBNL, comme l'est Ricochet, développer un modèle d'affaires viable reste un combat de tous les instants, en plus de devoir contrer les géants du Web comme Facebook et Google. Vivant d'abonné·e·s, de quelques publicités ponctuelles en phase avec notre ligne éditoriale et de subventions octroyées à des projets spéciaux – jamais à des salaires – ce modèle tripartite demande temps et énergie que nous n'avons pas toujours, en plus de devoir gérer le quotidien. Malgré cela, nous persistons et signons : les médias indépendants doivent exister. Et surtout s'allier.

TRAVAILLER ENSEMBLE

Alors qu'à l'époque où il était président de la Fédération professionnelle des journalistes du Québec (FPJQ) Brian Myles crachait sur l'argent de l'État, prétendant que ce dernier ne pouvait s'ingérer dans les salles de nouvelles des médias québécois, il aimerait bien aujourd'hui en bénéficier à titre de directeur du Devoir. Le média indépendant centenaire et ses alliés de la Coalition pour la pérennité de la presse d'information au Québec ont récemment fait des sorties afin de revendiquer une aide publique pour les médias. Ricochet et quelques autres médias, dont l'Agence Science-Presse et le Journal des voisins, ont tenté de joindre leurs voix à cette coalition – sans succès à la suite d'une approche auprès de M. Myles.

Voilà qui est bien dommage, alors que nous aurions tout à gagner à nous allier. Il est essentiel d'arrêter de travailler en silos, alors que nous vivons tous les mêmes enjeux de financement.

Quant aux craintes d'ingérence de ce dernier dans le contenu produit, le modèle de Radio-Canada, une société d'État faut-il le rappeler, permet de constater qu'un financement public n'empêche en rien une couverture journalistique

*À l'abri de la concurrence, de la dépendance publicitaire et du contrôle d'une poignée d'actionnaires qui dictent ligne éditoriale et orientation de contenus, les médias indépendants peuvent se permettre du recul, du temps, de la vérification des faits, des angles inédits.*

et critique en bonne et due forme du gouvernement et des autres sociétés d'État.

Dans l'éventualité où une aide publique serait accordée, celle-ci pourrait également être gérée par nos entités professionnelles, soit la FPJQ, l'Association des journalistes indépendants du Québec et le Conseil de presse. En France, une enveloppe budgétaire dédiée aux médias est assurée, peu importe le parti au pouvoir. D'autres initiatives collectives existent, comme, le site Web français jaimelinfo.fr, qui réunit plus d'une centaine de médias que le public peut financer à la carte. Même chose aux États-Unis, avec la très récente apparition de Civil.co, une plateforme qui héberge des

rédactions de partout dans le monde financées par le public via une cryptomonnaie interne, permettant la décentralisation complète de la plateforme.

LUTTER POUR EXISTER

Bien que Ricochet ait toujours eu l'ambition bien humble de bousculer le statu quo et l'ordre établi des médias, jamais nous n'aurions pensé que notre survie serait menacée par de gros joueurs comme Québecor, pour ne pas le nommer.

Mais en novembre 2016, à la suite d'un billet satirique de l'un de nos blogueurs, qui ne s'attaquait pourtant pas au personnage pour la première fois, une brique de deux tonnes nous est tombée sur la tête : une

poursuite en cour supérieure intentée par Richard Martineau pour diffamation nous réclamant 350 000 \$ pour dommages et intérêts. Très honnêtement, cette missive apportée par huissier a eu l'effet d'une bombe. Bien que nous ayons bénéficié d'un soutien inespéré du public lors de notre campagne de financement visant à récolter des fonds pour notre défense (50 000 \$ en trois semaines), cette poursuite a eu, et continue d'avoir, des impacts quasi quotidiens sur l'équipe de Ricochet.

Perte de collaborateurs, stress, temps passé à répondre aux avocats, préparation aux interrogatoires hors cours, autocensure, dissension à l'intérieur de l'équipe; cette poursuite nous a grandement affaiblis. À titre personnel, entre novembre 2016 et août 2017, j'ai travaillé 175 heures non rémunérées sur cette poursuite.

Le procès, fixé en 2019, est source d'anxiété et de stress. Nous vivons depuis un an et demi avec une épée de Damoclès au-dessus de nos têtes et la possibilité de devoir mettre la clé sous la porte à l'issue du procès si nous perdons. Ricochet, poursuivi à titre d'entité juridique, devra déclarer faillite et fermer. Il s'agit du pire des scénarios. Mais c'est pour l'auteur et le caricaturiste que les

impacts d'une défaite en cours seraient les plus dommageables, comme ces derniers sont poursuivis à titre individuel.

Cette démarche initiée par Richard Martineau sans aucun préavis (nous n'avons jamais eu de demandes d'excuses ou de rétraction de l'article ni reçu de mise en demeure avant la poursuite en Cour supérieure) vise à nous faire taire, puisque nous disparaîtrons si nous perdons en cour. Et plusieurs questions restent en suspens dans cet événement, qui créera un précédent, peu importe son issue. Qui paye les frais juridiques de M. Martineau, représenté par l'avocat personnel de Pierre Karl Peladeau et du Journal de Montréal? Pourquoi Québecor endosserait-elle la démarche de M. Martineau, alors que nous ne représentons pas de compétition pour l'empire, à aucun niveau? Quelle est la motivation profonde de l'un et de l'autre? S'agit-il uniquement d'une question d'ego, vraiment? Ou est-ce politique, à cause de la ligne éditoriale progressiste de Ricochet? Ou personnel envers l'auteur et/ou les « maudits carrés rouges » dont Ricochet est issu?

Quoi qu'il en soit, en attendant, nous continuons, avec d'autres, notre combat pour la liberté de presse et surtout, son indépendance.



## Les Sans-Culottes

Les Sans-culottes étaient les révolutionnaires radicaux pendant la Révolution française (vers 1789). Leur nom émanait des pantalons qu'ils portaient au lieu de la culotte courte et des bas, portés par les nobles et les bourgeois.

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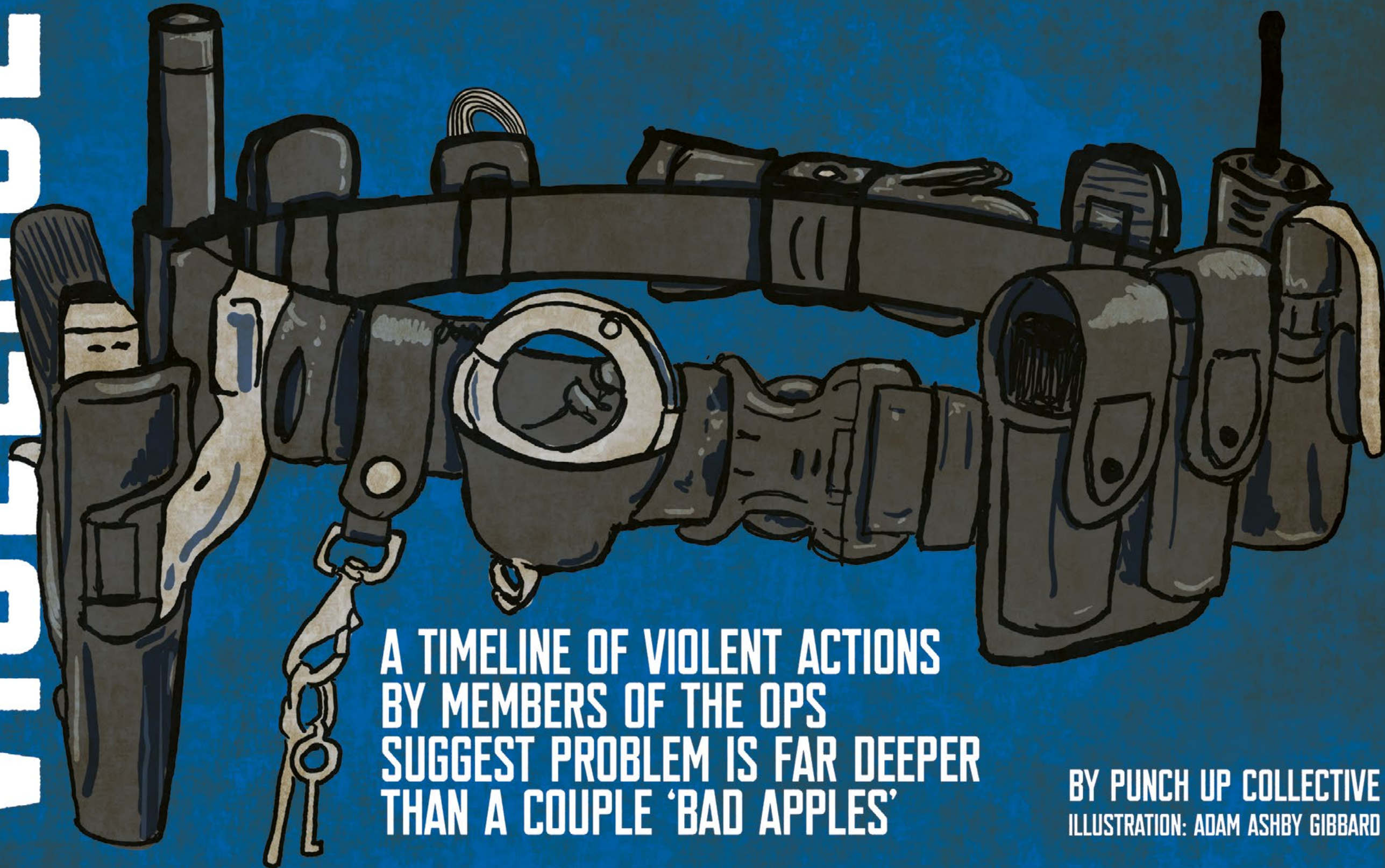
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# OTTAWA POLICE VIOLENCE



A TIMELINE OF VIOLENT ACTIONS  
BY MEMBERS OF THE OPS  
SUGGEST PROBLEM IS FAR DEEPER  
THAN A COUPLE 'BAD APPLES'

BY PUNCH UP COLLECTIVE  
ILLUSTRATION: ADAM ASHBY GIBBARD

ON JULY 24, 2016, OTTAWA RESIDENT ABDIRAHAM ABDI, A SOMALI-CANADIAN MAN, WAS KILLED AT THE HANDS OF THE OTTAWA POLICE. NOW, MORE THAN TWO YEARS LATER, DANIEL MONTSION, AN OTTAWA COP, IS ABOUT TO STAND TRIAL FOR ABDI'S DEATH.

MONTSION'S TRIAL OFFERS AN IMPORTANT MOMENT TO CRITICALLY ANALYZE WHAT THE OTTAWA POLICE SERVICES (OPS) ACTUALLY STANDS FOR. TRACING A HISTORY OF OPS VIOLENCE MAKES IT CLEAR THAT, AS HORRIFIC AS THIS INCIDENT WAS, IT IS NOT AN ISOLATED CASE. ABDI'S DEATH IS THE JUST THE LATEST IN A LONG HISTORY OF ABUSE AND VIOLENCE COMMITTED BY OTTAWA'S POLICE FORCE.

IN COMPILING THIS TIMELINE, WE HAVE NOT ALWAYS BEEN ABLE TO IDENTIFY WHETHER THE VICTIMS OF POLICE VIOLENCE DESCRIBED HERE ARE RACIALIZED. YET OF THOSE WE HAVE IDENTIFIED, IT IS STRIKING HOW MANY RACIALIZED FOLKS APPEAR. YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE RACIALIZED TO BE SUBJECT TO OTTAWA POLICE VIOLENCE, IT SEEMS, BUT IT HELPS YOUR CHANCES.

THIS TIMELINE IS PART OF A MORE IN-DEPTH ARTICLE PUNCH UP COLLECTIVE IS PUTTING TOGETHER ON THE OTTAWA POLICE SERVICES. IT WILL BE AVAILABLE SOON ON THEIR WEBSITE: [PUNCHUPCOLLECTIVE.TUMBLR.COM](http://PUNCHUPCOLLECTIVE.TUMBLR.COM)

NOVEMBER 18, 1988

Earl Edwards, Jamaican immigrant and choir master, was shot from behind and wounded in the hand during a traffic stop on Hunt Club Road. Edwards and his wife Ena were stopped by OPP Constable Arno Giek. Earl Edwards was shot while seated in his car, and Ena Edwards was detained in the back of the police cruiser.

MARCH 25, 1994

Marc Valin died in custody following a beating by police. Valin had complained to friends in letters and to his cellmate at OCDC that he had not felt well since his arrest in on February 24, 1994, during which police beat him. OCDC staff reportedly didn't believe Valin, and gave him Tylenol. He was admitted to hospital on March 15 and died 10 days later.

JULY 1995

Terry Norris, an Indigenous man, was pepper sprayed by police during an altercation at a gas station. He died shortly thereafter.

JULY 16, 1995

Troy Emmerson was shot and killed by Constable Dan Delaney outside his apartment following a three hour stand-off, during which Emmerson refused to drop a gun he was aiming at his own head.

NOVEMBER 25, 2000

While handcuffed, Julie Cayer had her head repeatedly slammed against the hood of a police squad car by Constable Martin Cardinal. The incident was caught on film and, after lengthy court proceedings, Cardinal eventually pled guilty. He was sentenced to 75 days community service and also lost eight days of pay.

JULY 4, 2001

Stephane Drouin, a 19-year-old white man, died in hospital after his van crashed into a hydro pole on Canada Day, during a high speed chase by police.

SEPTEMBER 2, 2008

After complying with an order to kneel on the floor of her cell, a half-naked woman, unnamed in media accounts, was kicked and tasered twice by Sergeant Steve Desjourdy. Desjourdy pled guilty during a Police Services Act hearing, and was demoted to Constable for 90 days.

JULY, 2009

While being dragged by officers to his cell, Terry Delay, a homeless Indigenous man, was kicked twice by Special Constable Melanie Morris. Police charged Delay with assaulting an officer. Video was released of the incident. A judge threw out the charge against Delay.

AUGUST 13, 2011

Witnesses say they saw police trip and push Hugh Styres, a homeless man, into the pavement in Sandy Hill, causing a pool of blood to form. Constables Colin Bowie and Thanh Tran were eventually acquitted of all charges.

JULY 24, 2016

Following an incident at a local coffee shop, Abdiraham Abdi, a Somali-Canadian man, was pursued by two police officers and intercepted outside his apartment building. According to eye-witness accounts recounted in the *Ottawa Citizen*, Abdi was "pepper-sprayed, beaten with a baton and punched as officers arrested him. Some pleaded with officers to stop and tried to alert them that Abdi was mentally ill."

At the time of Abdi's beating, Montsion was wearing so-called "assault gloves" designed with a thick carbon layer to mimic the effect of brass knuckles. Abdi was taken to hospital, where he was pronounced dead the following afternoon.

SEPTEMBER 19, 2018

Constable Eric Post was arrested by the Ottawa Police sexual assault unit and charged with 32 criminal acts, including sexual assault, forcible confinement, harassment, uttering threats, intimidation, and pointing his firearm at an individual during an on-duty sexual assault.

1988 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1997 1998 1999 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018

SEPTEMBER 26, 1991

Vince Gardner, a Jamaican immigrant, was shot and killed by Constable John Monette. Gardner was admitted to Ottawa Civic Hospital where he underwent three operations. Gardner died in hospital, without leaving, on November 16.

The shooting occurred during a botched drug raid on a private residence on Gould Street, and after a series of escalating racist attacks by neighbours on the home's occupants, including having trash dumped in the yard and car headlights smashed. Constable Monette claimed he mistook a guitar for a firearm and was cleared of all charges, including manslaughter.

MARCH 20, 1995

Wayne Johnson, a Black man, died after being pepper sprayed and chased by police to the Rideau River. He fell in and drowned. According to reports, police failed to assist him. Police were unable to find Johnson's body. It was found five days later by friends of Johnson, just three metres from where he was last seen.

JULY 1995

Ottawa police forced their way into the apartment of Jean-Paul Gravelle and pepper sprayed him, believing he was an individual that had dined and dashed from a restaurant on Somerset. Police later admitted that Gravelle, a white man, was not the individual they were looking for.

Gravelle sued police over long-lasting health complications resulting from the assault. Police sued the pepper spray manufacturer, blaming the company for the impacts on Gravelle's health.

FEBRUARY 24, 1997

Charles Cooper, a white man, died after being shot in the chest with a "less lethal" metal bean bag while inside his apartment. At the time of the shooting, Cooper was self-harming with a knife.

JUNE 22, 2001

Benoit Aube was run over by a police van while allegedly fleeing a robbery on a bicycle. Aube was trapped under one of the police van's wheels for 30 minutes. He died in hospital on June 24.

AUGUST 23, 2008

Roxanne Carr had two bones broken in her wrist, was restrained and led by a belt, and was left naked in her cell for more than two hours following her arrest. Footage of the assault in the cellblock was made public. Carr was arrested and thrown to the ground eight minutes after police arrived at her rental unit, where she was chatting with friends on the porch. Police were called by Carr's boyfriend, who wanted her to leave the building.

Police charged Carr with resisting arrest and assaulting an officer, charges that were eventually withdrawn. A judge eventually ruled that the Ottawa Police had no grounds to arrest Carr and must pay her \$254,000 in damages. No officers were charged or held responsible for their involvement.

SEPTEMBER 28, 2008

After being stopped and questioned by police while walking home from a party, Stacey Bonds, a woman of colour, was taken to the police station. There she was kicked twice by Special Constable Melanie Morris, pinned to the floor with a riot shield, and held down by three male officers while Sergeant Steve Desjourdy cut her shirt and bra off with a pair of scissors. Bonds was then left half-naked in her cell for three hours and later charged with assaulting an officer.

The charges were thrown out, with the judge stating there was no reason for Bonds' arrest in the first place. Sergeant Desjourdy was eventually docked 20 days pay. No other officers were held responsible for the assault.

DECEMBER, 2017

Constable Carl Keenan was suspended with pay after being charged with assaulting a woman while off duty. During an internal investigation by Ottawa Police, two female officers came forward with sexual harassment complaints against Keenan. They stated the harassment took place during their training and while Keenan was assigned as their coach officer.

OCTOBER 1, 2018

Police charged Sergeant Aasim Ansari with sexual assault. The charges allege Ansari was on duty in the area of a residence for people from Nunavut who are in Ottawa for medical treatment when the assault occurred.

## IN 2019, LET'S CENTRALIZE COURAGE IN OUR POLITICS

THE CANADIAN POLITICAL LANDSCAPE IS INFORMED BY GLOBAL AND DOMESTIC UNCERTAINTY AS IT ENTERS AN ELECTION YEAR

Barâa Arar

Between Maxime Bernier's new populist-pandering People's Party of Canada and the irresponsible pipelines threatening the sovereignty of Indigenous nations and our climate, Canada was not spared from the political blows that plagued 2018. 2019 rings in a federal election year for Canada on unmistakably unstable grounds.

The election will take place in a context where human rights are increasingly threatened by decisions from all levels of government.

Two years after the horrific Quebec mosque shooting, a constant threat of violence informs the daily experiences of Canadian Muslims. When Alexandre Bissonnette shot and killed six innocent worshippers on Jan. 29, 2016, I understood the violence to be a glaring symptom of systemic racialized discrimination against Muslims. Unfortunately, recent data seems to align with that view.

At the end of November 2018, Statistics Canada released hate crime data. As many activists suspected, the number and severity of incidents has risen in the last year. As I detailed in a *rabble.ca* ar-



Barâa Arar at Carleton University.

Photo: Ainslie Coghill

ticle, these statistics show the increased targeting of Muslim, Jewish and Black communities.

These hate crimes match up with disturbingly common public perceptions. A summary of Abacus Data studies by Bruce Anderson and David Coletto shows that 25 per cent of those polled say Canada would be "better off with no Muslims" and 22 per cent believe the country would be "better off if it was more white."

These are staggeringly high numbers associated with deeply bigoted statements. As Anderson says, although these are a minority of opinions, they still represent "more than a tiny fraction" of our society. The data seems to tell a dis-

turbing story, but one that is aligned with lived experiences of marginalized communities in Canada – especially Muslims, LGBTQ+ folks, and Black and Indigenous people.

Anderson and Coletto's article also traces the correlation between those same statements to the Trudeau government's disapproval ratings. Those polled who distrust the news media, have anti-abortion views, and who are "fed up with all the emphasis on women's interests" tend to disapprove more with the Liberal government. Right-leaning voters perceive Justin Trudeau as a loyal figurehead for the left.

Yet Trudeau is not the progressive that many on the right and left hail him as. The gen-

der parity cabinet, renaming of Aboriginal Affairs, and Twitter-fuelled welcome for some refugees are all hallmarks of Trudeau's "sunny ways." However, throughout his tenure, he has pandered to the left with optics alone.

The Liberals won an election, with the least experienced candidate as their leader, on the promise of these "sunny ways." Yet, once they begin to govern, their supposedly left-leaning election platform was replaced with one that affirms the status quo. Look at how they dropped proportional representation, or the way Bill C-59 entrenched surveillance and the curtailment of civil liberties from the Harper-era Bill C-51.

The Trudeau government adopts an all-talk and no-walk approach. Their attempts to appeal to both sides of the political spectrum satisfies neither, creating an ironic situation wherein both the left and the right are deeply disenchanted with this government's policies – just look at the Trans Mountain pipeline.

On the other hand, the Conservative Party of Canada has a stubborn proximity to anti-Islam organizations and far-right media, as shown by journalists Evan Baggord and Steven Zhou for *VICE News* (Dec. 6, 2017). Politicians like MP Michelle Rempel adopt strong anti-migrant rhetoric and inflammatory fallacies under the guise of national and economic security, to appeal to the mobilized far-right faction of their voter base.

And the political opposition to the Liberals and Con-

servatives is meek. Jagmeet Singh, who as of yet has not been elected at the federal level, has not taken a particularly firm stance on any topic since he became the leader of the New Democratic Party. His heavy social media presence, paired with a lack of firm platform to back it up, makes it hard to accept him as a robust alternative for those of us aching for truly progressive politics.

*The Trudeau government's attempts to appeal to both sides of the political spectrum satisfies neither, creating an ironic situation wherein both the left and the right are deeply disenchanted with its policies.*

These Canadian socio-political realities will inform the course of the 2019 election. I fear that if we continue in these tracks, fabricated social divisions will be exploited for political gains, from all major federal parties, and used to draw exclusionary lines of citizenship.

In the search for courageous, bold politics, let us look south to the newly elected Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. She is a shin-

ing voice for the progressive movement in America, associated with the group Justice Democrats.

Ocasio-Cortez's successful nomination campaign, wherein she beat a long-standing Democratic candidate for her Bronx district, earned her global attention and admiration. She is unapologetic in her political opinions and actions. Only days after she started at Capitol Hill, Ocasio-Cortez participated in an activist sit-in in Nancy Pelosi's office. (Pelosi was about to become speaker of the House of Representatives and is also a member of the Democratic Party with Ocasio-Cortez.)

Ocasio-Cortez is the youngest Congresswoman in American history. And her popularity among young voters in America and abroad is reflected in her growing digital platform.

Her election shows us not just a demographic shift in the seats of power but that there is a craving for her courageous way of doing politics. She is not just progressive in her talk. She backs up her democratic socialist ideals with action, facts, accessible language and a deep passion for grassroots organizing.

With the backdrop of a global climate change crisis and rising white supremacy, domestically and abroad, many young voters like myself want real change. We want consequences for high corporate polluters, taxation on those accumulating wealth at the expense of workers, and evidence-based policies that protect minorities.

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# A HOLISTIC VIEW OF THE MIGRANT CARAVAN

## HOW THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE MASS EXODUS

Mike Hermida

Roughly 160 Hondurans began their journey by foot to Mexico and the United States on Oct. 12, 2018. Throughout the migration, more and more people joined the original Hondurans. By the time they got to the Mexican-Guatemalan border seven days later, a caravan with approximately 3,000 members had formed.

By the beginning of January, *NPR* reported that there were thousands of migrants from Central America stuck in Mexican cities that share a border with the U.S. Some have been there for six to eight weeks.

There is no single reason why the caravan members are migrating. A *Vox* article from October compiled reasons migrants have shared with journalists. Many are fleeing gang violence and corrupt, complicit local governments. Many are trying to escape poverty and cannot support their families on \$5 a day.

Some are deportees who are trying to return to their previous lives – including jobs they worked for decades or children who are U.S. citizens.

The phenomenon of migrant caravans has attracted much attention from North American media and politicians. However, most of these sources fail to mention the historical events that forced so many Central Americans to leave their



The caravan on its way to Mexico.

Photo: boltch

### U.S. INTERVENTION IN LATIN AMERICA

Many of these conditions (e.g. poverty, gang violence) that today's Central American migrants are escaping are the legacy of U.S. intervention in the region.

Caravan members are from Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador – three countries that share an unfortunate history of U.S. intervention during the Cold War. This kind of intervention is called neo-colonialism. It seeks to control a country and exploit its resources not through direct rule, like traditional colonialism, but through modern means like economic intervention and covert intelligence operations.

An Al Jazeera documentary explains how the world superpower's involvement in Latin America led to the current border crisis. In 1954, the CIA backed a coup that overthrew Guatemala's democratically elected leftist president Jacobo

Árbenz.

That caused a brutal civil war between the U.S.-backed military government and leftist groups that lasted four decades. Government forces 'disappeared' an estimated 200,000 civilians – 80% of them Maya, which Guatemalan tribunals have since called an act of genocide.

Similar U.S.-backed violence happened in Honduras and El Salvador, with U.S. backing military forces and death squads that terrorized and slaughtered civilian populations in the fight against leftist guerrillas.

Most of the Cold War-era intervention was justified using anti-communist rhetoric. Speaking about the savage U.S.-supported military dictatorship in El Salvador, then-president Ronald Reagan said "the Government of El Salvador, making every effort to guarantee democracy... is under attack by guerrillas dedicated to the same philosophy that prevails in Nicaragua, Cuba, and, yes, the Soviet Union."

### THE LEGACY OF NEO-COLONIALISM

Part of the consequence of this neo-colonial intervention was a wave of Central Americans moving to Los Angeles from 1980 to 1991, as the Al Jazeera documentary *How U.S. Involvement In Central America Led To a Border Crisis* explains.

These communities were traumatized because of the horrible living conditions in their countries. To make matters worse, they were not granted refugee or asylum status by the U.S. government, which meant that they did not have access to services such as mental health resources. This situation created the conditions for gangs such as Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) to rise.

And, years later, when the Clinton administration cracked down on undocumented immigrants who had committed a crime, gang members were sent back to countries that have been crippled by civil wars and dictatorships. This made it easy for the gangs to become powerful in Central America – especially with the so-called War on Drugs funneling substantial profits their way and destabilizing Latin American societies.

The resulting gang violence is a factor for the current mass exodus from Central America.

### CANADA'S ROLE

The U.S. is not the only country responsible for creating conditions in which so many people are leaving Central America. Canada's role in the region's mining has also caused much damage.

According to the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, with the rise of neo-liber-

alism in the 1980s, many previously nationalized mines in Latin America became owned by Canadian transnational corporations. Since then, these transnationals have been growing in number and power.

With the prosperity of transnationals came hardships on the local communities. Mining companies' operations often have disastrous environmental consequences, damaging local ecosystems and threatening people's way of life. They can monopolize water resources, leaving locals with water shortages or polluted water.

When activists organize to resist mining companies or hold them accountable, the response can be brutal. For example, local organizations believe Vancouver-based company Pacific Rim is linked to the 2011 murder of anti-mining activist Juan Francisco Durán Ayala.

Durán Ayala was the fourth local environmentalist to be murdered, after the deaths of Marcelo Rivera (2009), Ramiro Rivera (2010), and Dora Alicia Reinos Sorto (2010). Santos Rodriguez, who was eight months pregnant, was shot in front of her two-year old son, who was also wounded.

It is easy to see how lack of clean water, the destruction of people's livelihood, and political violence has left many with no choice but to escape their home countries.

### THERE IS STILL HOPE

The activism of people like Durán Ayala is but one example of the hope that exists for Central Americans. Another source of it lies in the work of *Pueblo sin fronteras*, the collective that helped organize the caravan. Its website states that

it provides "humanitarian aid and professional legal advice to migrants and refugees," while demanding "human rights."

Migrants themselves organize in such a way that inspires optimism. They chose to migrate in a caravan because it makes it harder for gangs and government forces to prey on or disperse them. Moving in massive numbers also helped them attract the solidarity of many Mexicans, who offered what they could (food, water, legal aid) to make their voyage a bit easier.

It is important for Americans and Canadians to understand that our countries played a great role in shaping the circumstances that forced many Central Americans to leave their home countries. North American foreign policy and corporate practice has created many of the conditions these migrants are fleeing.

We are used to hearing our politicians scaremonger about migrants, such as when U.S. President Donald Trump called caravan members "people who snuck across the border" who "could be murderers, thieves and so much else." In reality, though, studies show that immigrants are less likely to commit crimes than natural-born citizens.

The Trump administration also famously concealed government data showing that overall, refugees did not act as a drain on government services. Instead, they contributed a net benefit of \$63 billion to U.S. government coffers over the past decade.

Welcoming the migrants would not only be just and compassionate – it ultimately would benefit us, while also helping people in a desperate situation.

tion, according to a CBC article by Molnar and Silverman, is 19.5 days behind bars.

This average can obscure how long many people spend in immigration detention, however, as they may be imprisoned more than once. Canada is also one of a small number of countries that allows indefinite detention of migrants. In the worst cases, detainees have spent as much as seven years behind bars.

After the protest finished, most of the activists filed into the building for the hearing. The large, imposing, building lies on stolen Algonquin land, but there is nothing to remind people of this.

Instead, two Canadian flags hang from flagpoles that stand at the east and west ends of the building, and two statues stand in silent vigil not far from the main entrances. One is the Roman goddess of Truth, "Veritas," the other the Roman goddess of justice "Justicia."

It's an imposing spectacle. Coming into the building, everyone is searched, and their bags x-rayed. There were at least four police and security guards on

duty in the marble-floored Grand Hall Entryway. The atmosphere of the courthouse is one of wealth, authority and security.

Inside the Supreme Court the room was packed with lawyers and onlookers. The courtroom itself is large and it is dominated by the long bench where the Justices of the Supreme Court sit in judgment.

After the hearing was over, I spoke to Olukunle Adtunji and his wife in a busy restaurant not far from the courthouse. Adtunji was in immigration detention for close to a year and is a member of the End Immigration Detention Network.

"Myself and my wife and I and a couple of friends were having a conversation the other day about some Canadian geese. If they were to migrate down south to the US because it's winter, does anybody ask them for immigration papers? Why are human beings being asked for papers to be here legally? We're being treated less than animals," he said.

Adtunji concluded, "I'd just like to see an end to immigration detention. It's everyone's right to migrate from one place to another."



Denying access in a cute and cuddly way is still denying access.

Photo: Max Pikel

# CONDITIONAL ACCESS

## THE TRENDIEST SUBSTITUTE FOR ACTUAL ACCESSIBILITY

Kristen Williams

It's weird how, as disabled people, we are often given an either/or version of accessibility. We are told that, while many spaces aren't accessible, people will work with us – as long as we're patient with them or bring someone to assist us.

This strange directive never fails to baffle me. Accessibility isn't conditional – either your space is physically accessible or it isn't. It doesn't make sense to say, "Our space is accessible, as long as you have someone to carry you up the steps." And yet this sort of thing is said all the time of bars and older buildings.

Why call yourself accessible if you're not? Is it making you feel better? Is this your

idea of trying to be accessible?

Naturally, this line of thinking – 'the if-than' accessibility hypothesis if you will – is a whole lot of over-explanation that only serves the establishment and those who support it. Rather than prioritizing the maintenance of an inclusive and accessible space, those with accessibility hypotheses have decided to spend their time justifying their lack of access under the guise of trying their best.

This kind of response maintains their sense of identity as "nice" and "good," without any need for change, action, or reflexivity.

Instead of just being honest, with a strong-but-firm, "Sorry, we haven't got a stop-gap ramp yet," they think

indirectly answering your question before throwing the spotlight back on you will suffice.

Of course, this only creates more questions and confusion than if the question is properly answered the first time around.

It's not just small or old businesses, either. A while ago, I made a last-minute appointment to see my family doctor, in need of antibiotics. I explained to the receptionist that I'm disabled and would need help to provide a urine sample.

"Oh. We don't have any staff for that available on such late notice, but we can see you if you bring someone," she said.

I'm not here to slander my

Why call yourself accessible if you're not? Is it making you feel better? Is this your idea of trying to be accessible?

doctor's clinic (Innes Medical), but, how is this an acceptable reply? The same doctor that is going to dip a stick in my pee can't help me give the sample?

And even if that somehow was standard, where the fuck am I supposed to manifest a helpful person from? You know that those that help disabled people usually do it as a job and are paid by the hour, right? They're called attendants. Everyone else I know works, goes to school, or doesn't know me well enough to hold a cup between my legs.

Offering care and access on the conditions of bringing a person or being patient while we brainstorm your options isn't access, it's subtle-but-effective ableism.

If there were a hierarchy of isolation, disabled people would be right up there, along with the elderly. It's quite careless then, to regularly offer to help us on the condition that we have other help, to manage the space you call "accessible."

The truth is that much of

the help we get comes from a pool of money. Sometimes we pay into it, and sometimes the government does, but either way, help is expensive—and therefore not all that accessible itself.

Even asking fishing questions like, "Don't you have someone with you?" before surveying the room for that ever-available assistant/nurse/mother figure we're all thought to have all the time (even though many of us don't have enough money to cover groceries) is ableism. Stop asking us where our help is and start asking us what we need help with.

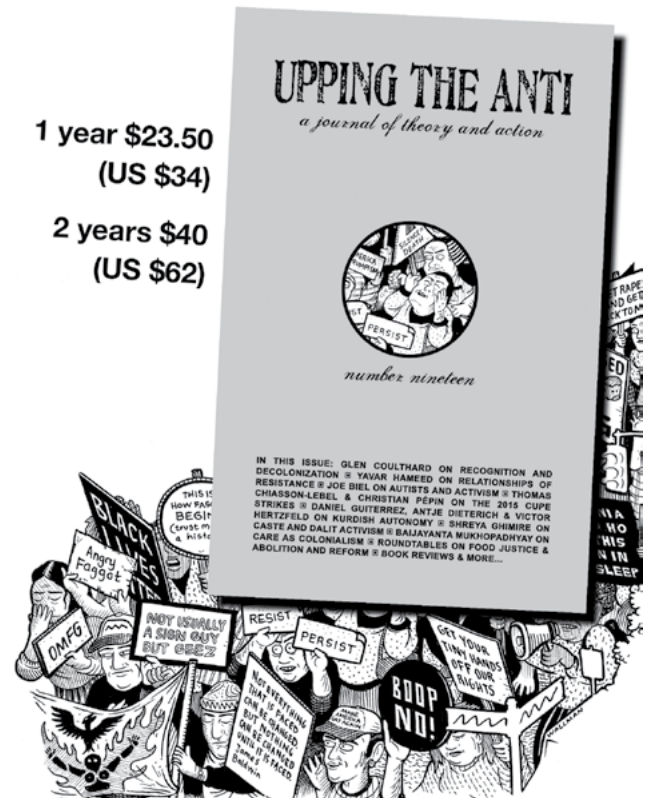
There are real, long-term consequences to assuming we'll have people to assist us, to help us handle failings in

accessibility. The truth is that, if we can't find people to help us, we do less.

Then we're not only less social, we're not able to work as much, or go to the doctor as often. We stay home more. We get sick more. We're more invisible and easier to forget, and this a far cry from equity, inclusion and a society that's learned the value of all its members.

Accessibility isn't conditional. It's communicative, it's informed, aware, and majors in interdependence. We would do a world of good to do away with the assumption that disabled people have help 24/7, and start educating ourselves about how we can offer to create barrier-free access.

Subscribe online at [uppingtheanti.org](http://uppingtheanti.org)



# WHEN THE CHARTER SAYS “EVERYONE,” ARE IMMIGRATION DETAINEES INCLUDED?

Matt Cicero

In mid-November of 2018 the Supreme Court of Canada heard the precedent-setting case of the *Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness, et al. v. Chhina*, a case that could fundamentally change immigration detention in Canada.

With hearings now closed, the court will be deciding whether immigration detainees can be protected by *habeas corpus*, a recourse in law that can be used to challenge illegal imprisonment.

Tusif Ur Rehman Chhina, who was born in Pakistan, filed a Canadian refugee claim in 2008 but was found inadmissible on the grounds of criminality in 2012, given a deportation order and incarcerated twice.

In 2016, he made an application for *habeas corpus* to the Alberta Court of Queen's Bench. The court ruled in his favour, but this decision was appealed by

the federal government.

By appealing this case to the Supreme Court the federal government "is trying to stop [migrants] from using a charter-protected right to *habeas corpus* to challenge the legality of their detentions," said Sathi Sekhar, a lawyer representing the End Immigration Detention Network (one of the interveners in the case),

The Supreme Court case came only months after a scathing external audit of immigration detention that was commissioned in September of 2017 by the Chair of the Immigration and Refugee Board. The audit focused exclusively on a random sample of twenty cases where immigrant detainees had been detained for four months or more. The audit found that, "in some cases, the Charter rights of detained persons were breached by continued [Immigration Division]-ordered detention."

There was a small demonstration – thirty

people – in front of the Supreme Court on the morning of the hearing. The demonstration was organized by the End Immigration Detention Network, the Sanctuary City Network, and the Criminalization and Punishment Education Project.

Under the watchful eyes of several Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers, the activists gathered to listen to speeches at the bottom of the large cement staircase that leads up to the ten foot bronze doors of the courthouse.

Sekhar told the small crowd, "*Habeas corpus* is enshrined in our Charter and all immigrants and migrants in Canada have the right to protection from the charter. But the government are seeking to deny this right to a subset of people because they are black and brown and have come to Canada trying to seek a better life."

*Habeas corpus* is part of Canada's common law,

originating from English law. It is the right to challenge the legality of imprisonment or detention, which was first codified during the conflict between King Charles II and the English Parliament.

Section 10 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms states, "Every one has the right to arrest or detention... to have the validity of the detention determined by way of *habeas corpus* and to be released if the detention is not lawful."

Immigration detainees and their lawyers are seeking to use the right of *habeas corpus* to have the legality of the detention of people imprisoned by the Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) reviewed by the courts. The IRB is an administrative tribunal that has the power to incarcerate immigrants and refugees.

According to the Global Detention Project there were 6,251 Canadian migrant detainees in 2017. The average length of de-

WHODUNIT

MATCH THESE WORDS OF WISDOM TO THE PUBLIC FIGURE!

A. "Do not send your children to the borders. If they do make it, they'll get sent back. More importantly, they may not make it."

B. "Our parliamentary and electoral system and our political parties are just as futile as dictatorships are intolerable."

C. "You're fake news. ... Just because you're a journalist you are not exempted from assassination."

D. "I won't apologize for being upset or angry."

E. "He really IS a motherf\*\*ker."

F. "Capitalism is one the most cooperative of human endeavors."

G. "Colonialism needed to move large populations of people – slaves and indentured labor – to work in mines and on plantations. Now the new dispensation needs to keep people in place and move the money—so the new formula is free capital, caged labor."

H. "The Canada government [could] change its stance and just acknowledge that these other systems of government have been around for a long period of time... And treaty-making is the way to manage that."

I. "Hype is a big excitement that has a deep emptiness at its core. Like New Year's Eve or the Democratic Party."

J. "The Gustafsen Lake incident involved an organized group of native people rising up in their homeland against an occupation by the government of Canada of their sacred and unceded tribal land. The Canadian government engaged in a smear and disinformation campaign to prevent the media from learning and publicizing the true extent and political nature of these events."

1. Rodrigo Duterte, president of the Philippines

2. Jacques Ellul, sociologist, theologian, anarchist

3. Hassan Minaj, comedian

4. Gordon Christie, Indigenous law scholar

5. Barack Obama, speaking as U.S. President in 2014

6. Arundhati Roy, writer and activist

7. U.S. Justice Janet Stewart, in a 2000 court decision

8. Kim Campbell, former Progressive Conservative leader, first and only female Canadian prime minister

9. Marian L. Tupy, policy analyst at the Cato Institute and editor of HumanProgress.org

10. Rashida Tlaib, Democratic Congresswoman

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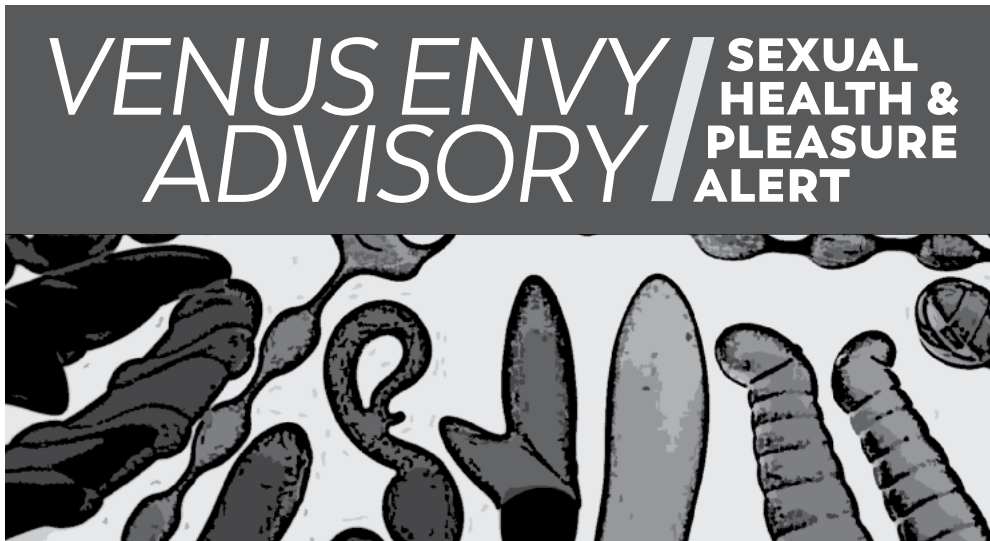
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Hey VE,

I don't know what to do. I've been with my boyfriend for a few months now and I think things are going well. It's just that our sex life is so vanilla. I want to explore with him and use toys but I don't think he'd be into it (he seems very shy).

Hi Tamed Kitten,

From my teen years into my early twenties, I had this habit of avoiding confrontation at all costs. People used to tell me all the time how laid back and easygoing I was, and man, did I ever want to keep being those things.

I'd happily let you pick the movie, decide on the restaurant, or date the guy I was secretly in love with. Because, like you, I was really not into confrontation.

Of course, I didn't feel very fulfilled in most of my relationships. In some of them, there'd come a point where I was so unhappy I'd either have to speak up or end things.

And in those situations, do you think I risked confrontation to put my needs out there and ask for what I really wanted?

Hell no. Before ghosting was even a verb, I ghosted.

The obvious moral of this story is that I was avoiding confrontation because I was afraid that it would lead to my relationships ending. But avoiding confrontation led to my relationships ending anyways.

Ironic, no?

Tamed Kitten, I'm telling you this little coming-of-age story because you're about to do the same thing with your boyfriend.

Sure, different people might be naturally more adventurous or easier to talk to. But if you want to have hot, kinky, transcendent sex with anyone, you will eventually have to talk about it.

I could tell you that communication is the key to hot sex. But you already know that, I know you already know that, and probably everyone reading this column knows that.

People don't avoid talking about sex because no one's told them that communication is important. They avoid it because they're afraid of being rejected. Or they feel shame about want-

How do I introduce this idea to him without making him think I don't like him or our sex life? I don't know if I should just keep things casual with him and see other people that are more into exploring because I'm not really into confrontation. What should I do?

- Tamed Kitten

ing something different. Or they don't want to hurt someone's feelings. Or a million possible reasons that boil down to this: confrontation is really hard.

And here's the bad news: the only way I know of to make hard things easy is to do them and do them, again and again.

So enlist some support, figure out why you're avoiding confrontation, and find some strategies to work through those blocks.

Follow your desire like a trail of breadcrumbs. Let it lead you out of this forest of self-sacrifice and mediocre sex.

To answer your question directly, I think you should talk to your boyfriend. Tell him that you enjoy having sex with him and you'd love to try some new things together. Offer a few suggestions of things you'd like to try, and ask him for a few suggestions as well.

If you need an opening line, you can bring up something sexy you've seen or read lately. "I ended up watching *Fifty Shades of Gray* and it was a terrible movie... but I was pretty turned on by that spanking scene. Would you be in to trying that?" That sort of thing.

Keep in the back of your mind that you're really not criticizing him, you're just sharing what you want. Many people appreciate hearing this! Knowing what a partner likes makes it much easier to be feel confident and secure when having sex.

If you do all this and he's not into switching anything up, well... then at least you have your answer and can make a decision from there. And if it turns out that he's the kinky babe of your dreams, then you get to enjoy a relationship full of exploration, play, and sex toys.

Sincerely,  
SAM WHITTLE  
Sex Educator and Owner of Venus Envy

Send questions you want answered in to editors.the.leveller@gmail.com

## LETTER OUTRAGEOUS LEVEL OF INFORMATION CONTROL AT OTTAWA CITY HALL

The growing calls for an independent probe into the Westboro bus crash, the on-again, off-again saga of LeBreton Flats redevelopment, and the extraordinary act of a councillor calling out Mayor Jim Watson for barring aides at talks have a worrisome common theme: an outrageous level of information control at Ottawa city hall.

The independent probe is called for in part due to concerns that citizens will not have full, timely, and ready access to all reports associated with inquiries into the Westboro bus disaster. The vow that the city will make the application for redeveloping LeBreton Flats open to public consultations is a tired, empty

promise in terms of citizens having information before rather than after planning and zoning decisions are made. Finally, the despotic notion that councillors cannot bring an aide to meetings with Mayor Watson points to a level of information control which makes a mockery of claims of accountability and transparency.

Citizens are entitled to free, easy, timely and direct access to all public records since they own those records. And in each of these cases there are two reasons in particular which scream out for high-level public access to the files.

First, citizens need access to records that report on com-

petency at city hall – given that the crash occurred, that the LeBreton Flats situation is best described as a drawn-out planning and zoning mess, and that the city's weak financial position demands that councillors ensure budget dialogue is totally in the open, not held in a back room of the mayor's office.

Second, it is highly likely that the crash and the redevelopment of LeBreton Flats will have substantial budget and tax implications for area residents, which underlines the need for full, front-end public disclosure about all money-related deliberations at city hall.

Barry Wellar, Ottawa

## LETTER RE: LEVELLER ARTICLE “TORONTO PROTESTS BANNON AND FRUM” (NOV/DEC 2018)

To the 1,500 who tried to block the Bannon/Frum debates in Toronto in early November of this year:

As a life-long leftist type, it is depressing to see how petty and ineffectual the left has become. There are quite a few reasons for liberals NOT to block right-wing demagogues, and here are some of the most obvious that spring to mind:

- 1) To take away anyone's right to speak is to take away everyone's right, including your own. Stifling debate, shutting down the media, tear-gassing the protests: those are right-wing moves that the left should be ashamed of. "Liberal" means "free," as in "free speech," ESPE-
- 2) Stifling the right's gasbags is not strategic. It's exactly what they want. Thanks to the lefties who can't tolerate freedom of speech from any but themselves, the right can claim persecution and martyrdom from those nasty left-wingers. The rightists come off looking like heroes. If they want to step into the public spotlight and PROVE they're a horse's ass, why on earth would you want to stop them?
- 3) Denying freedom of speech to rightists is cowardly. If leftists lack the courage to fight for their beliefs, or

even debate about them; if they're too timid to even heckle the little Hitlers in our midst, they might as well burn their leftie cards and go home; their battle is already lost.

Or they can stick to ragging each other on the finer points of political correctness; pussy little playfights in which no one is likely to get hurt. The internet is clogged with such petty carping. But be advised: such infighting only divides the left, when what they need (now more than ever) is to be UNITED AND STRONG.

The right plays for keeps; can we afford to do less?

Jack Pyl, Ottawa



## Joel Harden MPP, Ottawa Centre



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- Monthly Town Halls
- Canvasses
- Community Organizing
- Help Accessing Government Services (such as housing, ODSP/OW, healthcare, OSAP etc.)

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Ottawa Centre

109 Catherine St. / rue  
Catherine  
Ottawa, ON K2P 0P4

P: 613-722-6414  
E: JHarden-CO@ndp.on.ca  
www.joelharden.ca

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## CATHOLIC SCHOOL BOARD BACKPEDALS ON BOOK BAN

### WHY IS LGBTQ ROMANCE NOT 'AGE APPROPRIATE'?

Fae Johnstone

If the Catholic School Board is truly committed safe and accepting schools, they owe LGBTQ students an apology, an explanation, and a plan.

On January 15, it came to light that the Ottawa Catholic School Board (OCSB) had quietly banned Raina Telgemeier's *Drama*, from their elementary schools because it wasn't 'age appropriate.' *Drama* is a popular graphic novel about a junior high student who works in her school's drama production crew. It includes a subplot about two boys who are attracted to each other and share a kiss onstage during a play.

In response to overwhelming condemnation of the decision to ban the novel from local politicians, parents and concerned community members, the OCSB then rescinded the ban on January 16, with a statement emphasizing their commitment to safe and accepting schools.

Despite this victory, the

question remains: how did this ever happen to begin with? There is nothing remotely inappropriate about two boys kissing. Kids at all ages witness straight couples kissing. To set a different standard on LGBTQ intimacy is nothing but bias and bigotry.

Students need to learn about LGBTQ identities, and they're never too young to do so. Kids are exposed to diverse identities and experiences every day of their lives. Many come from LGBTQ families. Others come from straight parents. All deserve to see themselves and their loved ones reflected in their schools. And all deserve to be accepted and loved for who they are.

In fact, the rights of LGBTQ people are protected under both the provincial and federal human rights codes. Discrimination against LGBTQ young people is illegal, as it should be. Our schools have a legal and moral responsibility to protect and support LGBTQ students.

In spite of their change of

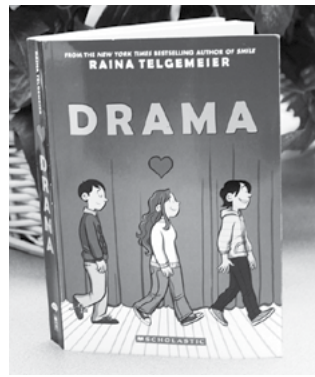
pace, the decision of the Catholic board to remove a book with LGBTQ content, without explanation and as quietly as they could, demonstrates a clear failure of the OCSB to support their LGBTQ students.

Catholic school boards in Ontario have long been resistant to LGBTQ inclusion. For decades, LGBTQ teachers in Catholic schools had to hide their identity, fearful of repercussions to their careers and livelihoods should they come out to their peers and students.

In 2012, Catholic boards across the province opposed the then Liberal government's introduction of Bill 13, a bill to ensure all schools with students who wanted gay-straight alliances were legally permitted to have them – and that their schools were required to support them.

Most recently, in spite of an overwhelming majority of secular public school boards decrying the decision of the Ford government to ax the 2015 sex ed curriculum, Catholic boards across Ontario remained absolutely silent. Not one Catholic board in Ontario spoke up in defense of comprehensive sex education or the rights of LGBTQ students.

When the OCSB announced that they would repeal the ban, they stated they "remain fully committed to having safe, inclusive, and accepting schools." But if they are truly committed to safe and accepting schools, why did



Raina Telgemeier's *Drama* is "not a book we really need younger kids reading without guidance." Robert Long, co-ordinator of learning technology for the Ottawa Catholic School Board, told librarians in a January 7 email. Photo: Vernon Burford School (Raina Telgemeier/Scholastic)

they ban a book with LGBTQ content in the first place? And why did they only reverse the decision after they were publicly condemned for it?

If that is the standard for inclusion in the Catholic school board, I'm worried for the health and well-being of any LGBTQ kids under their jurisdiction.

As an educator and advocate for LGBTQ kids, I've heard too many stories of bias and bigotry directed at students from our communities in Catholic schools. From simple erasure of our identities to active discrimination, Catholic schools are failing to deliver LGBTQ students the safe and accepting classrooms they deserve, despite their rhetoric to the contrary.

I hope these stories are isolated experiences. And I hope the initial decision to ban *Drama* was an accident that will never happen again. But I don't know. The OCSB hasn't explained itself.

If they are truly committed to safe and accepting schools – and I genuinely hope they are – they owe us an apology, an explanation, and a plan. An apology for the harm done, an explanation of how it happened, and a plan for how they will live up to the safe and accepting schools they claim to have.

## LISTINGS

MONDAY, JAN 21

**EVENT:** Love Letters to Survivors. Carleton University Sexual Assault Support Services. 4th Floor Atrium, Carleton University. 10 AM.

**OPENING:** Party celebrating the opening of Carleton University Art Gallery's winter exhibitions, Carleton University Art Gallery (St. Patrick's Building). 5 PM

**WORKSHOP:** Non-Monogamy 101 Workshop. Venus Envy Ottawa. 226 Bank St. 6:30 PM.

TUESDAY, JAN 22

**EVENT:** Love Letters to Survivors. Carleton University Sexual Assault Support Services. 4th Floor Atrium, Carleton University. 10 AM.

**EVENT:** Sexual Assault Awareness Week 2019 Info Fair. Carleton University Sexual Assault Support Services. University Centre, Carleton University. 10 AM – 2 PM.

**EVENT:** Community Art Build with Christ Belcourt and Isaac Murdoch. Fenn Lounge (Residence Commons). 11 AM.

**EVENT:** Comics, Climate, and Canada's Energy Future. Carleton Climate Commons Working Group. Royal Oak Pub, 188 Bank. 7 PM.

WEDNESDAY, JAN 23

**EVENT:** Love Letters to Survivors. Carleton University Sexual Assault Support Services. 4th Floor Atrium, Carleton University. 10 AM.

**ACTION:** Pre-Budget Rally - Ottawa, Ontario. Courtyard by Marriott, 350 Dalhousie Street. 12 PM.

**SERIES:** Yoga Unity: Relaxation, Healing and Building Community for Women of Colour, Rideau Sports Centre, 1 Donald St. PWYC, 6 PM

THURSDAY, JAN 24

**EVENT:** Love Letters to Survivors. Carleton University Sexual Assault Support Services. 4th Floor Atrium, Carleton University. 10 AM.

**WORKSHOP:** Relevant, Responsible, and Radical: A Workshop on Conducting Social Movement Research with Dr. Chris Dixon. A720 Loeb Building. Carleton University. 2:30 PM.

**EVENT:** Survivors Speak Keynote Event, Canadian Museum of Nature, 240 McLeod St. 6 PM.

**WORKSHOP:** Trauma Informed Polyamory with Clementine Morrigan. Venus Envy Ottawa. 226 Bank St. 7:30 PM.

**EVENT:** Anishinabemowin Bingo. CUSA Mawandoseg Centre. 314A University Centre, 1125 Colonel By Drive. 9 PM.

**FRIDAY, JAN 25**  
**EVENT:** Love Letters to Survivors. Carleton University Sexual Assault Support Services. 4th Floor Atrium, Carleton University. 10 AM.

**WORKSHOP:** Drawing Together – A Workshop with Ambivalently Yours. CUPE 4600 Women's Caucus. Dunton Tower, 1125 Colonel By Drive. 6 PM.

**EVENT:** 12th Anniversary Celebration of the PCR-RCP. Moon Dog Pub & Grill, 238 Laurier Ave E. 7 PM.

**ROLLERSKATING:** Social rollerskating, Ottawa Quad Rollerskating Club. Norm Fenn Gym in the Ice House, 1125 Colonel By Drive. \$5-15. 9 PM.

**SATURDAY, JAN 26**  
**MEETING:** Build the city-wide Ottawa Transit Riders group! Healthy Transportation Coalition et al. Room C010, Learning Crossroads (CRX) building, University of Ottawa, 100 Louis-Pasteur. 1 PM.

**CONCERT:** Wet'suwet'en Benefit Concert in the Nation's Capital, Barrymore Music Hall 323 Bank Street. \$25. 8 PM

MONDAY, JAN 28

**RALLY:** For the Students Rally. Parliament Hill. 3 PM.

**EVENT:** Polyabilities Discussion Group. Kind Space. 222 Somerset St. W, suite 404. 7 PM.

**WORKSHOP:** BDSM 101 Workshop. Venus Envy Ottawa. Venus Envy Ottawa. 226 Bank St. 6:30 PM.

TUESDAY, JAN 29

**RADIO SHOW:** OPIRG Carleton Roots Radio. CKCU 93.1 FM. 12pm. www.ckcufm.com.

**WORKSHOP:** Strap On Tools Workshop. Venus Envy Ottawa. Venus Envy Ottawa. 226 Bank St. 6:30 PM.

**WEDNESDAY, JAN 30**  
**SERIES:** Yoga Unity: Relaxation, Healing and Building Community for Women of Colour, Rideau Sports Centre, 1 Donald St. PWYC, 6 PM.

**THURSDAY, JAN 31**  
**SAFE SPACE GAMING:** Rainbow Road at Level One. Kind Space. Level One, 14 Waller Street. 6 PM.

FRIDAY, FEB 1

**ROLLERSKATING:** Social rollerskating, Ottawa Quad Rollerskating Club. Norm Fenn Gym in the Ice House, 1125 Colonel By Drive. \$5-15. 9 PM.

SUNDAY, FEB 3

**STORY MEETING:** The Leveller. Pressed, 750 Gladstone Ave. 3pm.

WEDNESDAY, FEB 6

**SERIES:** Yoga Unity: Relaxation, Healing and Building Community for Women of Colour, Rideau Sports Centre, 1 Donald St. PWYC, 6 PM.

THURSDAY, FEB 7

**DROP IN ART WORKSHOP FOR YOUTH:** In Studio / Ton Studio, hosted by Ottawa Art Gallery and Kind Space. Ottawa Art Gallery. 50 Mackenzie King Bridge. 7 PM.

**WORKSHOP:** Going Down: Fellatio Workshop. Venus Envy Ottawa. Venus Envy Ottawa. 226 Bank St. 7:30 PM.

FRIDAY, FEB 8

**ROLLERSKATING:** Social rollerskating, Ottawa Quad Rollerskating Club. Norm Fenn Gym in the Ice House, 1125 Colonel By Drive. \$5-15. 9 PM.

**WORKSHOP:** How to Have a Threesome. Venus Envy Ottawa. Venus Envy Ottawa. 226 Bank St. 8:30 PM.

SATURDAY, FEB 9

**WORKSHOP:** Bedroom Bondage for Beginners. Venus Envy Ottawa. 226 Bank St. 7:30 PM.

TUESDAY, FEB 12

**RADIO SHOW:** OPIRG Carleton Roots Radio. CKCU 93.1 FM. 12pm. www.ckcufm.com.

**EVENT:** CU in the City – Sanctuary Cities: Refuge, Citizenship, and the Politics of Belonging. Dr. Jennifer Ridgley, Department of Geography, Dominion Chalmers, 355 Cooper St. 6:30 PM.

WEDNESDAY, FEB 13

**SERIES:** Yoga Unity: Relaxation, Healing and Building Community for Women of Colour, Rideau Sports Centre, 1 Donald St. PWYC, 6 PM.

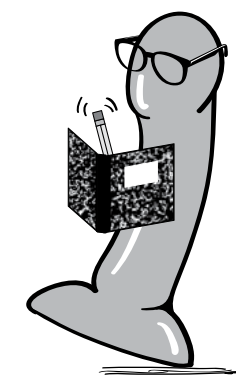
**WORKSHOP:** How to Talk Dirty. Venus Envy Ottawa. Venus Envy Ottawa. 226 Bank St. 6:30 PM.

FRIDAY, FEB 15

**ROLLERSKATING:** Social rollerskating, Ottawa Quad Rollerskating Club. Norm Fenn Gym in the Ice House, 1125 Colonel By Drive. \$5-15. 9 PM.

**SUNDAY, FEB 17**  
**PICKET:** End the Illegal US Blockade of Cuba Now! Ottawa Cuba Connections, US Embassy, 490 Sussex Dr. noon.

## Upcoming Workshops at venus envy



Non-Monogamy 101

Monday January 21 6:30pm. \$20 (\$10 student price)

Trauma-Informed Polyamory with Clementine Morrigan

Thursday January 24 7:30pm. \$25 (\$15 student price)

Whip It Good!: A 101 Guide to Power Play and Kink

Monday January 28 6:30pm. \$20 (\$10 student price)

Strap-On Tools

Tuesday January 29 6:30pm. \$20 (\$10 student price)

Going Down: A Guide to Fellatio

Thursday February 7 7:30pm. \$20 (\$10 student price)

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