The Leveller

Carleton's campus and community newspaper

Your Fox News of the Left. **vol 2, no 3** (#7) January 2010

by **DANIEL TUBB**

The case for extradition against Hassan Diab, the sociology instructor removed from the classroom by Carleton University administration on July 28, 2009, seems to be unraveling.

Hearings on extraditing Diab to France, originally scheduled for January 4, 2010, have been adjourned indefinitely to allow the French government to review the case. Diab is accused of being behind a 1980 bombing

of a Paris synagogue. Assistant Crown Attourney Claude LeFrancois requested the adjournment on December 18, 2009 after Diab's defence won the right to call witnesses to contest the controversial foundations of the French case against him at the conclusion of the evidentiary hearing on December 11,

The case for extradition

is based on two questionable categories of material submitted as evidence. The first are two French handwriting analyses that possibly link five words on a hotel registry in Paris to Diab. The second is secret intelligence that may link someone with Diab's name—a common name—to the bombing.

The December 11 decision by Justice Maranger allows defense lawyers to call expert witnesses and contest the validity of French handwriting analysis and the use of secret intelligence in the hearing.

This is the first case in Canadian history in which the crown attorney has used unsourced secret intelligence, which is unknown, untestable, and unreliable, as courtroom evidence. Diab's lawyer, Mr. Donald Bayne, put evidence before the court that showed the French investigators themselves admit they do not know the source and the reliability of their intelligence.

In addition, Bayne highlighted the contradictions in the intelligence against Diab, demonstrating the French investigators had recently tailored the intelligence to make it fit the evidence.

The handwriting analysis is also disputed. It purportedly links Diab to the bombing. However, four of the world's top handwriting experts were extremely critical of the French handwriting analysis.

Dan C. Purdy, a Canadian handwriting expert who has worked with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), said, "As someone who has many years experience dealing with competency and quality control issues, I am very critical of the way the [French analyst] conducted her examination and find her results



highly unreliable."

The defence plans to show conclusive evidence that the handwriting samples attributed to Diab were in fact written by someone else. To further weaken the Crown case, Diab does not match the description of the man who filled out the hotel registration card in 1980. France's own evidence describes a 40- to 45-year old Mediterranean European man who spoke French without an accent. Diab was 26 years old in 1980.

Worse still, the French authorities collected a palm print that they presume the bomber left, and it does not match Diab. In short, all attempts to place him at the scene of the crime appear to be contrived and what solid physical evidence there is

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THE STRIKE AGAINS HEA

by **SAM HEATON**

United Steelworkers Local 9511 driving instruction workers are back on the job after four months on strike. A tentative agreement with Serco DES DriveTest, a private company contracted by the provincial government to provide testing services for drivers, was

agreement remain undisclosed.

DriveTest workers struck over what they said were unacceptable working conditions, dwindling hours, and poor job protection. Since 2003, over 500 jobs have been lost or reduced to part-time,

reached on January 4, those employed when described though details of the Serco assumed responsi- services company, or safeguard the public bility. The United Steel Workers Local 9511 also accused Serco DES managers of awarding licences to those who do not meet Ministry of Transport standards, potentially jeopardizing road safety in Ontario.

DriveTest is a division of the UK-based leaving one-third of Serco Group, a self-

'outsourcing company' according to the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC). Ontario's Ministry of Community and Social Services signed a 10-year, \$114 million contract with Serco DES DriveTest to provide driving instruction services in 2003, privatizing the former public service. Serco's DriveTest division was created specifically to bid for the Ontario contract, offered by the short-lived Ernie Eves Progressive Conservative government. Transportation Minister Norm Sterling said at the time that "customer service will be improved" and "the government will

business continue to diligently interest.

Serco's labour relations history has been characterized by refusals to negotiate with workers and using what PSAC described as "aggressive tactics" to fight unions.

The Guardian has called Serco "probably the biggest company you've never heard of." 90% of Serco's contracts are with governments and 85% of Serco's labour force is comprised of ex-public servants.

Serco operates railways, buses, and cameras in England, Ausand Dubai; tralia, prisons and immigration removal centres **Continued on page 3**

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serce

Drive Test is a division of Serco, which manages everything from traffic lights to nuclear silos to Greenwich Mean Time.

Lev-el-ler

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, in the city of Ottawa and, to a lesser extent, the wider world. It is intended to provide readers with a lively portrait of the university and their community and of the events that give it meaning. It is also intended to be a forum for provocative editorializing and lively debate on issues of concern to Carleton students, staff, and faculty as well as Ottawa residents.

The Leveller leans left, meaning that 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 secreey. Within these very general boundaries, *The Leveller* is primarily interested in being interesting, in saying something worth saying and worth reading about. It doesn't mind getting a few things wrong if it gets that part right.

The Leveller is mostly the work of a small group of volunteers. In fact it is produced entirely by volunteers. To become a more permanent enterprise and a more truly democratic and representative paper, it will require more volunteers to write, edit, produce, and manage, to take pictures, and to dig up the stories.

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. Ultimately 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.

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. It wants to be your coolest, most in-the-know friend and your social conscience at the same time. It has its work cut out for it.

The Leveller is published every few weeks. 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.the.leveller@gmail.com

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TOWN HALL METING

Prorogued.

(We're still working on it.)

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Submission Guidelines

Please submit your articles, opinion pieces, features, listings, classifieds, ads, or letters as an e-mail attachment to editors.the.leveller@gmail.com.

Articles should be a maximum of 800 words, opinion pieces at most 600, and listings, announcements, briefs, or events 50 words. Features can be up to 2,000, but must be arranged in advance with the editors.

Letters to the editor that are more than 150 words may be published, but *The Leveller* reserves the right to edit letters for length.

Submissions must include your name and phone number. You may ask to have your name withheld from publication.

The Leveller reserves the right to edit or refuse any material that is considered unfit for publication as determined by the editors.

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Do not indent paragraphs.Do not leave space between paragraphs.

-Type the whole article singlespaced and leave only one space after a period, not two. When You're Done:

Proofread your document.Word count your document.

-Write your name and phone number on it.

-Save your work as a .doc file. -E-mail it to us.

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Sketchy intelligence, faulty analysis, and mismatched palms

Continued from page 1

discounts him as its au-

The judge's decision on December 11 will allow Diab to call expert witnesses during the extradition hearing and to contest French allegations against him. The decision by Justice Robert Maranger is unprecedented in Canadian legal history, and it may have important consequences regarding the case against

This turn of events has prompted the crown attorney to request a lengthy adjournment to review a case that seems to be falling apart.

Diab's nightmare began on October 2007, when a reporter from the French newspaper Le Figaro approached Diab and asked if he knew he was being investigated for a 1980 Paris bombing that killed four people. Diab assured the reporter it must be a case of mistaken identity.

Almost a year later, on November 13, 2008, Diab was arrested by the RCMP on the request of the French government. After being held for four and half months, Diab

was released on \$250,000 bail on April 1, 2009 with strict conditions. Since then Diab has been forced to wear (and pay \$2,500 a month for) an ankle bracelet and GPS device that tracks his every move.

In July 2009, Diab was removed from an introductory sociology course at Carleton, after the administration faced pressure by the Jewish organization B'nai Brith. Diab's removal sparked a campaign of support from Carleton students and faculty.

Rania Tfaily, Diab's partner, said, "It is extremely unfortunate how Carleton's top administrators dismissed Hassan, especially when Hassan's case is related to issues of fundamental justice. I understand the importance of public relations to Carleton University, but I strongly oppose the disregard of the presumption of innocence-especially given the appalling unreliability of the 'evidence' in the case against Hassan."

Tfaily added, "This is particularly unfortunate given the discrimination France and will remain

and racial profiling to which Arabs and Muslims are being subjected in North America. While Carleton administrators might have appeased B'nai Brith with their dismissal of Hassan, they have alienated a substantial number of faculty members, including Jewish academics, students, and community members."

As Diab's case for extradition falls apart due to flimsy evidence, it seems likely that Diab will not be extradited to in Canada. It also seems increasingly likely that Diab will return to the academic community, but the question remains as to his reception.

The case is a reminder that decisions on guilt should be left to the rule of law and not made by media pundits and university administrations. Given the adjournment of the extradition hearing, Diab has applied to teach at Carleton University, but he has not yet heard how the university will respond to his request.

Ontario driving instructors' nuclear connection

Continued from page 1

in the UK, Germany, and Australia; air traffic control in Dubai, Bahrain, and Iraq; the Ballistic Missile Early Warning System of the UK, as well as four Royal Air Force bases, nuclear warheads, three naval bases, and the National Physical Laboratory; three hospitals, public schools, public swimming pools, and food courts in the UK; and driving instruction in Ontario.

Serco has come under fire for using a regiment of so-called pain compliance techniques and refusing medical treatment. În a children's prison in Australia, a 14-year-old committed suicide in 2004, hours after being subjected to "noise distraction techniques." An adult in a Serco prison in Scotland died of meningitis after being repeatedly refused medical care. The UK Inspectorate Prisons has called the conditions at Serco facilities "squalid."

Serco-managed operations have suffered deterioration of service standards, leading to increases in public complaints and worker threats to quit. In independent UK government safety

advisors threatened to quit should air traffic control contracts be awarded to Serco. Iain Findlay, national secretary of the air traffic controllers' union, IPMS, said, "We are told that the safety advisers were worried that Serco would put profit before safety.

The Yarl's Wood Immigration Removal Centre, a Serco immigrant detention centre in the UK, has come under fire for accusations of abuse and systemic racism from prisoners. In a letter addressed to the European Court of Human Rights, the United Nations, and the media, women held captive detailed instances of management detaining victims of rape and torture, detaining women and children for upwards of two years, beating pregnant women, refusing to accept bail money, denying interpreters, and forcing prisoners to present asylum claims with 24 hours' notice. They also described Serco lawyers demanding payment from women, despite being listed as legal aid solicitors. In February 2002, prisoners burned down the building after staff physically restrained a 55-year-old

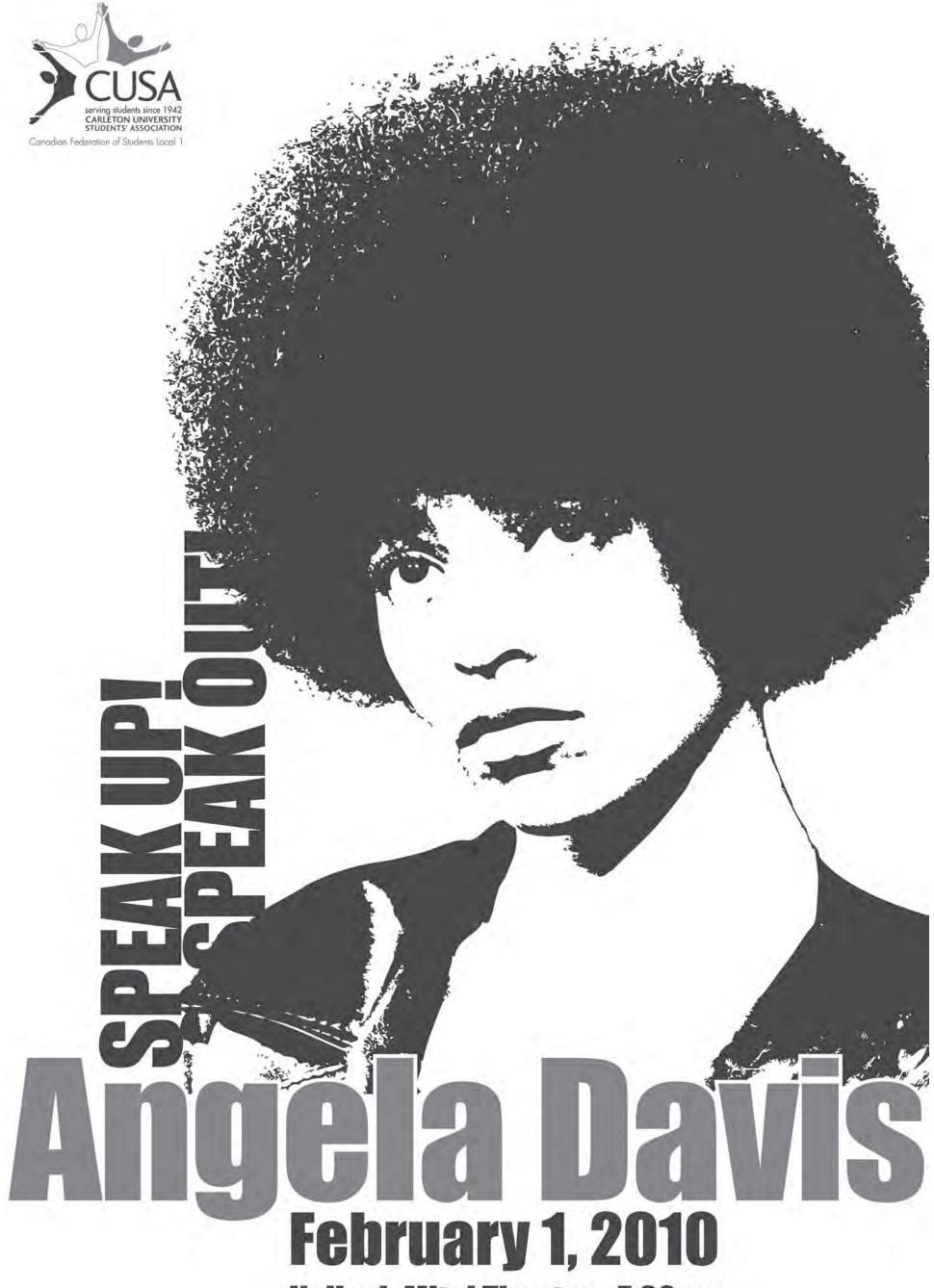
woman. Legal Action for Women calls the facility a "'Bleak House' in Our Times.'

The Children's Commissioner for England published a report in April 2009 that stated that "children held in the detention centre are denied urgent medical treatment, handled violently, and left at risk of serious harm." The report also detailed that children are transported in caged vans and watched by staff of the opposite sex as they dress.

Although the details of the agreement between the Ontario driving instructors and

DriveTest are under wraps, Local President Jim Young said, "It took a 19-week-long strike in order to achieve a fair deal that the membership was willing to accept. It has been a long, arduous journey for our membership of USW [United Steelworkers] Local 9511. Bargaining for more than a year, we have overcome several obstacles and prevailed over the many challenges we faced. We have proven to this employer that the employees of Serco DES are willing to stand strong and united for a fair and equitable collective agreement."





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PRISONER PROBE PROROGUED

by **ERIN SEATTER**

Faced with his biggest scandal since becoming prime minister, Stephen Harper has declared that Canadians do not care about the government's complicity in the abuse of Afghan prisoners.

In a recent interview, CBC's Peter Mansbridge asked Harper to respond to the assertion that the proroguing of Parliament was designed to put a stop to investigations into how much the government knew about the torture of Afghan prisoners.

Harper evaded the question by responding, "I think polls have been pretty clear, Peter, that that's not on the top of the radar of most Canadians."

He then attempted to re-direct the conversation by talking about the economy, maintaining the need to "recalibrate the government's agenda" on the economy outside of Parliament, a matter that apparently requires two months.

Shutting down Parliament closes off questioning and calls for an inquiry into revelations that Canadian Forces and government officials knew Afghan prisoners handed over to local authorities were tortured in contravention of the Third Geneva Convention, thereby constituting a war crime.

Harper's "fairly standard procedure" of annual proroguing to escape Parliamentary judgment has been accompanied by other tactics to halt investigations into Canada's role in Afghan prisoner

The campaign to dis-

the high-level diplomat whose testimony helped expose the issue of Afghan prisoner abuse, prompted 133 retired diplomats to sign a letter denouncing the government's con-

Defence Minister Peter MacKay led the attack against Colvin, claiming Colvin's statements were based on "nothing short of hearsay, second- or thirdhand information, or that which came directly from the Taliban."

Conservative MPs boycotted a meeting of the Parliamentary committee probing the issue of Afghan prisoner abuse. This included the Conservative MP who had called the

New Democratic Party MP Paul Dewar said the government was "abandoning parliamentary process" and noted it had rationalized its refusal to establish an independent public inquiry by saying the committee was looking into the issue.

The Conservative government also refused to renew the appointment of Peter Tinsley, chair of the Military Police Complaints Commission. Tinsley was leading the only other investigation into what the government knew of prisoner abuse.

'This whole matter is bigger than me and it's bigger than the Afghanistan file. It's bigger than the Military Police Com-Commission," plaints Tinsley said.

The Harper government has refused to provide the commission with uncensored documents necessary to the investigation, citing security

credit Richard Colvin, concerns. As Canada's military watchdog, the commission has the security clearance to review sensitive documents.

On top of that, the govern-Conservative ment has ignored a majority vote in the House of Commons demanding that it turn over all pertinent documents in uncensored form.

A 2006 report produced by the office of Peter MacKay (then foreign affairs minister) is one of thousands of heavily censored documents the Military Policy Complaints Commission must deal with as part of its investigation.

The report was produced about a month after MacKay, Stockwell Day (then public safety minister), and Gordon O'Connor (then defence minister), met with the head of the International Red Cross, which raised concerns about Afghan prisoner abuse.

This adds to mounting evidence that MacKay and other government officials knew more about the abuse of prisoners than they have admitted.

MacKay, now defence minister, has said Canada is "trying to change the culture" in Afghanistan. The United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) recently released figures to Agence France-Presse showing that 2,038 civilians died in Afghanistan in the first ten months of 2009, which dwarfs the total number of Canadian soldiers killed since 2001. This translates to an almost 11% increase in civilian deaths from 2008.

The impact the con-

flict is having on the Afghan people is increasing year by year," said Al-eem Siddique, chief UN spokesman in Afghani-

According to UNAMA, "insurgents" killed 1,404 civilians, NATO and American forces killed 468 civilians, and mysterious "other actors" killed 166 civilians.

Some have suggested these figures demonstrate that NATO and the US have successfully reduced the proportion of civilians directly killed by them.

Others, however, have pointed out that the presence of foreign troops has fuelled violence from "insurgents."

Malalai Joya, former Afghan member of parliament, has said, "We have a civil war now. As long as the US and NATO are here, the civil war will continue."

Approximately 2,800 Canadian soldiers are deployed in Afghanistan. Canada's military role in the occupation is set to end questions about whether this means all Canadian soldiers will be recalled home.

Defence Minister Peter MacKay has indicated that Canada could maintain a military presence in Afghanistan by dedicat-ing soldiers to "development and reconstruction." Harper recently stated that a phased withdrawal of troops will result in "a strictly civilian mission,' but that Canada would "continue to maintain humanitarian and development missions."

In a September 2009 Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives report, John Foster described Afghanistan as part of a "new great energy game." Bordered by Iran and Turkmenistan, which possess the second and third largest natural gas reserves in the world, Afghanistan has special strategic value.

The ongoing US-led occupation of Afghanistan will allow Washington to run the long-planned

ghanistan, Pakistan, India) pipeline to lucrative markets in India and Pakistan, blocking Iranian plans to reach the same markets.

Canada's ancillary role in advancing American geo-strategic goals in Central Asia is now entering its ninth year. Foster noted, "The energy game remains largely hidden.... In Canada, Afghanistan has been avoided as an issue in the past two federal elections."

The prisoner abuse scandal is widely viewed in mainstream media as damaging to citizen perceptions of the Conservative government's handling of the Afghan war. However, making revelations of prisoner abuse the scandal, instead of providing ongoing coverage of the everyday death and destruction of the war itself, may have built upon the Canadian myth that the overall goals of the Afghan mission have been purely altruistic.



by **MAT NELSON**

As the 2010 Winter Olympics Games are set to take place in Vancouver in February, opposition and disillusionment is growing.

On December 28, a 19-year-old woman was charged with assault after an Ölympic torchbearer was knocked down in Guelph.

On December 21, the torch relay was re-routed to avoid a protest by Six Nations demonstrators in Brantford.

On December 18, veteran Toronto Sun reporter Ian Robertson was hospitalized after being pushed by an undercover RCMP officer as hundreds of people lined the streets to watch the passing of the Olympic torch in Toronto.

In November, a Liberal MLA from BC, Harry Bloy, called people who

protest the Olympics "terrorists" with "limited intellect."

The large grassroots resistance to the Vancouver Olympics remains underreported and uncontextu-

The Games appear to be simply a large sporting event. However, critics argue that its main beneficiaries are large corporations that profit from colonial and capitalist op-

pression. Several issues fuel op-

position to the Olympics. Indigenous land rights have been one of the central concerns of anti-Olympic activism. The 2010 Olympics are being held on still-unceded Indigenous territories and are providing mining, resort, real estate, and energy developers with opportunities to continue expansion of projects on occupied territories throughout the province.

The call to action and demand of "No Olympics on Stolen Native Land!" was issued by Indigenous peoples and their allies in Coast Salish Territories in 2006. Resistance began even before the Games were announced in 2003.

Many are wary of Canada's efforts to "Olymplify" indigenousness. Jessica Smith of No One Is Illegal Vancouver recently quoted two Six Nations youth commenting on Canada's hosting the Games.

"[Canada has] got to look good to the world," Crawford said, "It's a game, and we're the pawns." He added, 'They'd like to see you there with Canadian Flags.'

John Henhawk said of Canada bringing the torch through Indigenous communities that "Hitler put

the torch through each territory he conquered." Second, there is the surge in homelessness and gentrification associated with the Games. Since Vancouver was announced as host city for the Games in 2003, hundreds of low-income tenants have been evicted and the homeless have been driven out of urban areas as landlords upgrade their hotels for the Olympic tourist market, especially in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside.

The Greater Vancouver Regional Steering Committee on Homelessness counted 2,660 area homeless people in a 2008 survey.

Vancouverites in general will be barred from accessing parts of their own city, face parking restriction, and be subject to so-called "free speech zones," small geographic areas allowing freedom of expression, the implicating being that freedom of expression is disallowed elsewhere. Many residents will be unable to enjoy the Games due to exorbitant ticket prices for major events.

Civil rights violations against those exercising freedom of expression in protest of the Games are a major concern. According to the Globe and Mail, "the Canadian Forces are planning to deploy troops for the largest security operation in Canadian history at Vancouver's 2010 Olympics."

This heightened security presence has severely jeopardized civil liberties. With a security budget close to \$1 billion, more than 4,500 Canadian military troops will be deployed, nearly twice the number in Afghanistan, along with thousands of private security personnel.

CSIS has explicitly stated its intention to monitor groups opposed

to the Olympics. This has involved the constant harassment of activists in the Olympic Resistance Network. One proposed BC law will impose jail time and a \$10,000 fine on those in possession of anti-Olympic signs, among other things.

The BC Civil Liberties Association has also raised a number of concerns about the threat to rights to privacy and protest arising from new security measures and the installation of hundreds of new security cameras in public areas.

Despite being promoted as the "Green Olympics," large tracts of land have been destroyed for the construction of highways, ski resorts, and sporting venues for the Games.

These venues required large quantities of gravel and sand, which is mined

Continued on page 6

THE NEW MISSIONARY POSITION

by **AARON SAAD**

Uganda's controversial Anti-Homosexuality Bill is meeting with limited resistance inside the Ugandan government.

President Yoweri Museveni is encouraging members of his government to overturn the bill's death penalty provisions, telling colleagues the punishment is too harsh.

"The president doesn't believe in killing gays. I also don't believe in it," said Ethics Minister James Nsaba Buturo. He added, however, "I think gays can be counseled and they

stop the bad habit."
State Minister for Investments Aston Kajara said recently, "The government's position is that the existing provisions in our penal code against homosexuality are strong enough and that this new bill is not necessary."

The "existing provi-

punishments, as seen in Sections 145 and 146 of Uganda's Penal Code, which state, "Any person who (a) has carnal knowledge of any person against the order of nature...or (c) permits a male person to have carnal knowledge of him or her against the order of nature, commits an offence and is liable to imprisonment for life." Attempts to commit such acts carry a punishment of up to seven years' impris-

If passed, the Anti-Homosexuality Bill would considerably broaden the criminalization of homosexuality in Uganda. Of-fences deemed "aggravated homosexuality" would carry the death penalty. These include virtually any homosexual act where the "offender is a person living with HIV" or a "serial offender," or a case in which the "person against

impose harsh whom the offence is committed is below the age of 18 years." In the latter case, the age of the "of-fender" does not appear to be important.

The bill also requires any "person of authority" who is aware of homosexual activity to report it within 24 hours or face up to three years' imprisonment. Ugandan citizens or permanent residents abroad who are charged with committing samesex sexual acts would be liable to extradition even if the act is committed on foreign soil.

The bill has been strongly condemned by a number of Christian organizations, Western governments, the media, and Ugandan and international human and gay rights groups since its proposition on October 13, 2009 by Member of Parliament David Bahati.

Writing in the African

social justice news journal Pambazuka News, human rights activists Solome Nakaweesi-Kimbugwe and Frank Mugisha—the co-chair person of Sexual Minorities Uganda, the Ugandan coalition of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex groups—stated that the bill "is an alarmingly retrogressive piece of legislation, aimed at legalising hatred against a section of the Ugandan citizenry." They added, "As Africans we are clear in saying that hatred is not, and has never been, a traditional African value.'

Noted Canadian humanitarian Stephen Lewis believes the bill will "make it virtually impossible to reach homosexuals with the knowledge and education and condoms that prevent the spread of AIDS."

Human Rights Watch has called the existing law "a legacy of British colonialism... introduced to punish local practices of what the colonial powers deemed to be 'unnatural sex." The group notes this is proof that same-sex practices have historically been part of Ugandan cul-

The bill is particularly controversial because of the role of American fundamentalist churches and actors in stirring up homophobia in Uganda and other African countries.

From March 5 to 8, a workshop widely seen as the impetus for the bill was held in Kampala intended to "expose the truth behind homosexuality and the homosexual agenda." Speakers included three conservative Americans—Scott Lively, Caleb Lee Brundidge, and Don Schmierer. These new missionaries "discussed how to make gay people straight, how gay men often sodomized teenage boys and how 'the gay movement is an evil institution' whose goal is 'to defeat the marriagebased society and replace it with a culture of sexual promiscuity," according to *The New York Times*. The Americans later spoke with Ugandan lawmakers, members of government, and influential religions

Africa appears to have become a new front in America's culture wars in recent years. In October 2009, Zambian priest Kapya Kaoma released a report entitled "Globalizing the Culture Wars: U.S. Conservatives, African Churches, and Homophobia." It exposes campaigns by fundamentalist "renewal" churches in the US to spread homophobia and sideline mainstream churches on the continent, and the resultant effect on Africans.

Oppression Olympics taking place on stolen land

Continued from page 4 from pits and blasted from the land and rivers, leading to the destruction of many ecosystems. This has entailed massive deforestation in the Callaghan Valley, clear-cuts of Cypress Mountain,

and the destruction of destructive Alberta tar Eagleridge Bluffs due to the Sea-to-Sky Highway project.

Moreover, the Royal Bank and Petro Canada are both Olympic partners and are directly involved in the environmentally sands project.

Finally, there is the privatization of public services and public debt. In a time of economic crisis, the Olympics are set to leave a legacy of massive debt. This negative impact is exemplified by the 1976 Montreal Ólympics, the debts of which were finally paid off some 30 years later.

Likewise, the 2010 Games have been used to justify billions of dollars in public spending,

including a massive bailout of the billion-dollar Olympic Village project.

Fiscal burdens of such magnitude are typically "solved" by more privatization and funding cuts to social programs.

Anti-Olympics orga-

nizers have called for a "convergence" of activists from February 10 to 15, 2010 to oppose the significant social, economic, and environmental costs posed by the 2010 Olympic Games to Vancouver and the country.

CONGRATULATIONS ON THE RE-LAUNCH OF THE LEVELLER!



The Carleton University Academic Staff Association

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WHITHER U-PASS?

sink Universal Transit

by **SAM HEATON**

Ottawa city council will debate and approve its 2010 budget between January 25 and 29, but may not include funding for the creation of a Universal Transit Pass (U-Pass) for university students.

In late November, the city removed its earlier Audit, Budget, and Finance Committee recommendation that funding be allocated for the creation of a U-Pass for university students.

Students at Carleton University and the University of Ottawa, as well as supporters on city council, have been working for nearly a decade to create a \$145 per semester pass that would be included as part of student fees.

If successful, Carleton and Ottawa U would join 60 other Canadian universities as participants in a U-Pass program, which would roughly halve the cost of transportation for students who frequent the bus or O-Train and encourage the use of public transit over automobiles, thereby decreasing emissions.

Transport Canada found that in some cities, campus ridership increased by 50% or more upon the introduction of the U-Pass.

Johanna Hove, a Carleton student, has been campaigning to raise awareness about the U-Pass by e-mailing city councillors and organizing student groups. She plans to attend Ward Consultation meetings this month.

As a former University of British Columbia student, Johanna says she "took for granted having access to a U-Pass and affordable transit. At that time I did not understand how much work goes into achieving these social benefits. Even still I am aghast at how long students in Ottawa have been lobbying for a U-Pass only to have it narrowly turned down by city council."

Carleton Undergraduate Students' Association (CUSA) vice president internal Cameron McKenzie says efforts to secure the U-Pass will continue in the New Year. "Our plan is to continue to lobby city council for a universal bus pass." He added that "what's happened recently was that basically council did support it, and then in the fall the universal bus pass was taken out of the budget and audit committee."

City councillors who voted against recommending funds for a U-Pass, which would cost the city approximately \$3 million annually, say they support the initiative but are faced with revenue shortfalls and increased expenses.

tawa West EMC, the main obstacles to realizing the U-Pass in Ottawa are councillors seeking to protect property owners from having to "subsidize" public transit users.

At the same meeting, cuts and changes to service were proposed, along with a 7.5% increase to fares in order to "balance" the financial burden so that taxpayers and fare payers each paid 50% for transit.

Ottawa and Gatineau currently have Canada's most expensive bus fares, and Ottawa has the second-highest adult

monthly pass cost.

The EMC quoted
Gloucester-South Nepean councillor Steve Desroches as saying, "I do not support a process that has the terms dictated by the students" and "I think we need to look at our transit fares to ensure that property owners are

According to the Ot- not disproportionately subsidizing the fares."

At the December 10 meeting of the CUSA Council, President Erik Halliwell, Vice President for Student Issues Nick Bergamini, and Graduate Students' Association Vice President Internal Austin Miller reiterated their commitment to securing affordable transit for students, saying the U-Pass is not dead and still has significant sup-

port on city council. CTV Ottawa reported in December that Orleans residents are speaking out against a 4% property tax hike proposed to overcome budget shortfalls. According to CTV, the average homeowner will pay roughly \$140 more per year.

The proposed 7.5% OC Transpo fare hike would cost frequent riders, often not property owners, roughly the same amount extra per year.

BRIEFS

Hungry for homes
Dec. 29 marked the 1-year
anniversary of the Homeless
Hunger Strike Relay. Each
week volunteers take part in a 7-day hunger strike in Van-couver calling for a national housing program based on the One Percent Solution, which calls for "\$2 billion federally, and another \$2 billion among provinces and territories" to creating affordable housing. In June, supporters can join a train to Ottawa commemorating the 75th anniversary of the 1935 On to Ottawa Trek. Delegates will meet with gov't parties and end the hunger strike. Canada's homeless population is between 200,000 and 300,000.

300 workers defy lockout threat

On Jan. 5, HMS Host, a US-based multinational food service giant, issued 72 hours' lockout notice to 300 employees at the Vancouver airport. The Unite Here Local 40 workers at Milestones, Tim Hortons, Harvey's, and other outlets have been without a contract for eight months. Rather than negotiate with employees, fighting for job security, better wages, and improved benefits, HMS Host intends to cut 60 jobs by closing Milestones restaurants and replacing them with non-union White Spots. At an emergency meeting on Jan. 8, workers "unanimously rejected the company's intimidation tactics" and reaffirmed demands for a fair contract.

Parties banned in Haiti elections

Six years after the US-Canadian overthrow of Jean-Bertrand Aristide's government, Haitians are set to go to the polls on Feb. 28, 2010. In November, Haiti's Provisional Electoral Council ruled 13 parties ineligible, including Aristide's Fanmi Lavalas, still the country's most popular political force. In Haiti's fair 2000 elections, Aristide won 91% of the popular vote. Aristide, who was kidnapped by the US military and left in central Africa, submitted a registration mandate authenticated by a Haitian notary. The UN occupying force, which includes Canadians, has signalled its approval, as has Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. Aristide is known for having opened more schools in Haiti during his time as president than ex-

isted in all years previous.

Candidates race to axe the Knife

Larry the Knife's sordid regime may abdicate Hôtel de Ville, lay down its diadem, and disrobe, as municipal elections are set for Oct. 25. Two chaps have announced their candidacy: Bay Ward Councillor Alex Cullen and Robert Gauthier. Cullen has served on city council since 2001. This will be Gauthier's second mayoral run since 1997, when he came in 2nd with 12.1% of the vote. Cullen is refusing donations from corporations and unions. Gauthier, publishes the National Capital News and is opposed to abortion and bilingualism. Larrylovers have to simmer until June before His Honour, who fought accusations of bribery in 2009 and currently sits as director of an arms company, announces whether he will seek re-election.

by **ROB HAMPTON**

Thousands of police officers descended on Carleton University's campus on January 7th to honour the death of a fellow officer. Constable Ireneusz (Eric) Czapnik, 51, became the second police officer to die on duty in Ottawa since

He was killed on December 29 by ex-RCMP officer Kevin Gregson, who had previously been released from duty due to mental instability.

Officers from across Canada, including municipal police from Hamilton, Toronto, Ottawa, and Peterborough, the Ontario Provincial Police, the Sûreté du Québec, and the RCMP, met inside the Fieldhouse near the Bronson entrance to campus.

Police officers and civilians marched from Carleton to Lansdowne Park as part of the funeral ceremony. The march saw large portions of Bronson Avenue, Bank Street, and Sunnyside Avenue closed and nearly half of Carleton's campus disrupted for several hours in preparation for the march.

Over 35 officers were assigned to the planning of the day's events. When asked about the logistics, Officer J. Dunlop of the Ottawa Police Service, one of the event's principal coordinators, emphasized the multiple teams of officers and volunteers



who had worked to ensure that the ceremony remained tightly controlled. He also extended thanks to Carleton University, saying, "Carleton has been more than helpful. My heart goes out to what they've done for us. They've opened up the doors to us and allowed us the opportunity to use this great big building."

Asked about the cost of an event such as Czapnik's funeral, Dunlop responded, "At the moment I have no idea. The cost is what it's going to cost." Typically it costs community members, tuition-paying Carleton students included, \$210 per hour to rent the Fieldhouse.

The university's ad-

ministration echoed the sentiments of the Ottawa Police Service. "On behalf of Carleton University, we appreciate your understanding and co-operation during this sombre occasion as we pay respect to a fallen member of the Ottawa Police Service and show our support," wrote Len Boudreault, director of the department of university safety.

President Roseann O'Reilly Runte expressed more pride in Carleton's alliance with the police. We were asked to share our location with participants in the funeral procession for Constable Czapnik, the police officer who lost his life while on duty last week. It is a privilege to be able to assist our city and our neighbours in paying respect to this officer."

McGuinty Premier attended the funeral service to deliver a eulogy. He thanked Czapnik's parents for instilling the officer with a desire to police those around him. "It was your values, your guidance, and your love that inspired him to serve us as a police officer. He put our interests first, our safety first. He put us first."

Not all Carleton students were comfortable with the collaboration between the police and the university. One student pointed out that "when RCMP officers shot and killed 18-yearold Fredy Villanueva in Montreal in 2008, there was no public funeral ceremony." Another related that campus "felt like a war zone. Why do we need 40 police officers directing traffic?'

Although most media coverage of the funeral relied heavily upon quotes from politicians who emphasized the dangers police officers like Constable Czapnik face on the job, little evidence exists to demonstrate that police officers face more risks of workplace injuries or deaths than most other occupations. Nearly five workplace deaths occur in Canada daily, and they receive far less media and public attention.

CARLETON'S WAR PORTFOLIO

Pension Fund invested in occupation of Palestine

by AIDAN MACDONALD

The Carleton University Pension Fund (variously referred to as the Pension Fund of the Carleton University Retirement Plan, the Carleton University Retirement Fund, and the Trust Fund of the Carleton University Retirement Plan), which provides retirement income for Carleton faculty, is invested in some 550 companies, for a total value of about \$766,194,000.

According to the Statement of Investment Policies and Procedures for the Trust Fund created Under the Carleton University Retirement Plan, the only mandate for the fund is to maximize profit. There is no prohibition on investing in and profiting from war, ecologi- complicit in human rights viola-

President Roseann Runte has characterized Carleton as an institution "engaged in solving real-world problems" and proclaimed that the university emphasizes Grumman supplied Israel with human rights and social justice.

But according to a recent portfolio statement for the pension fund, tens of millions of dollars are invested in companies such as Shell, Apache Corporation, Philip Morris, and Pfizer. These are companies that have profited from war, been involved in environmental destruction, and violated human rights.

Carleton's pension fund is also In the occupied West Bank, invested in five companies that are Motorola and Tesco facilitate the

cal devastation, and violations of tions and crimes under international law in Palestine: Motorola, BAE Systems, Northrop Grumman, L-3 Communications, and Tesco supermarkets.

Motorola, BAE, and Northrop military equipment and munitions used in the 2008–2009 bombardment of Gaza. The Report of the United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict known as the Goldstone report was released in September last year and found evidence that Israel committed war crimes and possibly crimes against humanity during the assault on Gaza.

development and maintenance of Jewish-only settlements that are in violation of Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which states that an occupying power may not change the demographic composition of the occupied territory and must not interfere, in an arbitrary manner, in the lives of the occupied civilian population. This makes Motorola and Tesco Israel complicit

The activities of Motorola and L-3 Communications are in contravention of the International Court of Justice. In 2004, the court ruled that Israel's Apartheid Wall, which cuts deep within occupied Palestinian territory, was illegal and declared that no aid or assistance

in violations of the convention.

In violation of the court decision, Motorola and L-3 Communications provided equipment to fortify the wall and the hundreds of Israeli military checkpoints that control the West Bank.

Systems, Northrop Grumman, L-3 Communications, and Tesco-has reaped profits by supporting and strengthening the infrastructure of apartheid.

The companies' actions conflict with Carleton's legal responsibility to adhere to the principles of international law, as stipulated by Nuremberg Principles I and IÍ. Thus, the argument could be made that by investing in and profiting from the firms in spite

should be given to its construction. of their crimes, the university it- that the international community self is complicit in violations of international law.

In 2005, 171 organizations from the full spectrum of Palestinian civil society came together to call for an international boy-Each firm—Motorola, BAE cott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) campaign against Israel until it complies with its obligations under international law.

Inspired by the movement to boycott South Africa during worldwide. apartheid, BDS is driven by the idea that it is unacceptable for states, institutions, and individuals to continue business-as-usual relations with Israel as long as practices of apartheid are continued in Palestine.

Supporters of BDS suggest

has a responsibility to end Israeli impunity by cutting ties with apartheid, stripping away Israel's liberal-democratic facade, and exposing Israel as a pariah state.

grown. BDS activism is especially

The most notable victory occured at Hampshire College in Many institutions in the Unit-Massachusetts, where in February 2009, the administration gave in to massive student pressure to divest from six companies complicit in the Israeli occupation.

In the United Kingdom, sev-

eral universities have agreed to business with companies engaged divest from BAE Systems and in "socially injurious" activities. other companies involved in Israeli crimes.

Institutions with large pension funds often adopt ethical For the past four and a half guidelines or policies following years, the BDS movement has socially responsible investing (SRI), seeking to achieve both strong on university campuses as financial return and social good. student mobilization has brought SRI encourages investment in about several concrete successes companies that protect the environment, respect human rights,

> ed Kingdom have implemented ethical investment guidelines and divested from the arms trade.

In the United States, Yale and other schools have policies prohibiting them from conducting

In Canada, several post-secondary institutions, including McGill University, Queen's University, and the University of British Columbia, have adopted SRI guidelines.

Adopting SRI would go a long way towards making Carleton a more ethical institution and aligning it with its obligations under international law. Divesting from companies complicit in violations of international law in Palestine would be a step in the the pursuit of justice for the Palestinian people. The precedents for both actions have been set. It is now up to us to ensure that Carleton does the right thing.

Students Against Israeli Apartheid plans to launch a campaign calling on the Carleton administration to immediately divest from the five companies described above and to work with the Carleton community to adopt SRI for future invest-

Learn about Carleton's investments in companies involved in weapons manufacturing and implicated in violations of international humanitarian law in occupied Palestinian territories, how Carleton can divest from these companies, and how it can implement an SRI policy on Thursday, January 28, 7 pm, at Carleton University, Tory Build-





Motorola is involved in several different aspects of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, including developing at least four different perimeter surveillance systems that are installed around dozens of Jewish-only settlements and military camps in the West Bank.

By establishing such infrastructure inside the occupied West Bank, Motorola is entrenching the occupation and solidifying military bases and illegal settlements as "facts on the ground."

Motorola and its subsidiaries also have hundreds of millions of dollars worth of contracts to supply the Israeli military with telecommunications technology.

Telecommunications is key to maintaining control over the West Bank. Whether Israeli forces are conducting raids on Palestinian villages, forcefully suppressing non-violent demonstrations, or asserting another form of control, they require a sophisticated system to sustain the occupation.

Moreover, several Motorola subsidiaries are involved in manufacturing watchtowers, metal detectors, motion sensors, military surveillance and communications systems, public announcement systems, and x-rays, which are used at the illegal wall, checkpoints, terminals, military bases, and settlements that Israel has established in the occupied West Bank. During the 2008-2009 bombardment of Gaza, Motorola Israel developed and manufactured electronic fuses for aircraft bombs and guided munitions that were used in attacks on Palestinian civilians.

\$1,077,760



Northrop Grumman is one of the world's largest weapons

It produces all the fuselages, wings, tail, engine cowlings, canopies, and avionics containers, as well as the optional Longbow mast-mounted 360° radar, for the Apache AH64D Longbow

Amnesty International has described the Apache AH64 as a piece of "key equipment used by the [Israeli military] in the Gaza bombing campaign."

Northrop Grumman also assists in producing the Longbow Hellfire 2 missiles. The wide use of Hellfire 2 missiles by the Israeli military against Palestinian civilians in Gaza has been clearly documented by numerous human rights organiza-

In a sad bit of irony, the Apache Helicopter and Hellfire missile were the weapons profiled in last year's Israeli Apartheid Week Poster that was banned at Carleton University.

While Carleton banned a cartoon image identifying how those weapons were used, under the rationale that such an image is "opposed to civil discourse," it gladly invested in the company that manufactures the weapons themselves.

Northrop Grumman is also the sole provider of radars for the F-16 combat aircraft. According to Amnesty International, Israel's F16s played a central role in the killing of Gazan civilians and the destruction of Gazan civilian infrastructure.

\$ 422,674

BAE SYSTEMS



BAE Systems, based in the United Kingdom, is the world's third-largest arms producer.

It manufactures military equipment such as combat aircraft and associated components, as well as precision targeting sys-

Through its affiliated companies, BAE has also been involved in manufacturing cluster bombs and nuclear weapons.

Both BAE Systems and its Israeli subsidiary, Rokar, contribute to weaponry used by Israel to attack Palestinian civilians in the occupied west bank and Gaza.

In April 2009, United Kingdom Foreign Secretary David Miliband admitted that Israeli equipment used in the 2008-2009 attack on Gaza "almost certainly" contained United Kingdomsupplied components. Among other equipment, he cited F-16 combat aircraft, for which BAE and Rokar contribute compo-

F-16s were used in the commission of war crimes by the Israeli military in its bombardment of Gaza.

The United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict determined that over 1,400 Palestinians were killed during the bombing campaign, more than 1,000 of whom were civilian non-combatants and about 340 of whom were

It also concluded there was wide-scale destruction of schools, hospitals, houses, wells, and other public buildings in the Gaza

\$214,378



Global Security & Engineering Solutions



L-3 Communications Holdings Inc. is a major homeland security and defence company headquartered in New York. It also has an office in Ottawa.

L-3 Communications assists the Israeli military by providing specialized equipment and services, especially body and luggage scanners, which have been installed at Israeli military checkpoints throughout the occupied Palestinian territories, as well as around the border between Gaza and Israel.

L-3 Communications is thus one of many large multinational firms aiding in the construction and maintenance of a system of military checkpoints that has been condemned by human rights organizations as a brutal repressive system, violating basic human rights. The checkpoints constitute a tool of collective punishment, political repression, and land

\$413,828

TESCO



Tesco is a large United Kingdom-based international grocery and general merchandising retail chain.

Tesco has been a major target of social justice activists in the United Kingdom for selling produce originating from illegal Is-

In selling settlement produce, Tesco is ignoring the blatant illegality of the settlements and is facilitating their expansion and economic growth.

The settlements are thus allowed to flourish and export their

tinian economy—is decimated. Furthermore, Tesco's supplier for these settlement products is an Israeli export company called Carmel-Agrexco, which is notorious for establishing its picking and packing factories

in illegally occupied Palestinian territory. Carmel-Agrexco has also instituted a slavery-type system in which Palestinian children as young as 9 years old are put to work in its factories. Workers in the factory are paid less than \$3 per hour, are not allowed breaks during 8-hour shifts, cannot unionize, and are forced to work

without contracts. Palestinian workers require three hours of travelling time to reach their jobs because they are required to cross the largest checkpoint in the occupied West Bank. They are often strip-searched and humiliated.

\$633,893

2009 HARPER REVIEW

2009 was not a banner year for Canada. Domestically and internationally our government sank to deplorable depths. Here's our Bottom 10 List of the Harper government in

1. Prime Minister Stephen Harper foreshadowed what lay in store for Canadians in 2009 when, faced with the possibility of a Bloc-supported Liberal-NDP coalition government more representative of Canadians, he prorogued Parliament until January 26, 2009. His unrepresentative government managed to hold onto power, paving the way for a year in which the government repeatedly flouted elementary principles of democracy, human rights, and environmental concern.

2. As the brutal December-January Israeli assault on Gaza wiped out essential civilian infrastructure and services, claimed as many as 1,400 lives, and injured thousands more, the Conservative government reflexively reiterated its unconditional support for Israel. "Canada's position has been well known from the very beginning. Hamas is a terrorist group...Israel defended itself," said Foreign Affairs Minister Lawrence Cannon in January, repeating a tired refrain. Leaving aside Israel's continuing violations of human rights in the occupied Palestinian territories, Cannon neglected to explain how violent collective punishment of a civilian population before alternative options were exhausted was a legitimate means of selfdefence. The Conservative government's diplomatic support for human rights violations in Gaza continued as Canada voted in isolation against a UN Human Rights Council condemning the violence and demanding that Israel withdraw its military forces.

3. The Conservative government boycotted the UN World Conference Against Racism in April. Prime Minister Harper gave this reason: "We're very concerned that around the world anti-Semitism is growing in volume and acceptance, justified ... by opposition to Israel itself. Canada will not lend its name and reputation to an international conference that promotes these kinds of things." Instead of a boycott, Canada should and could easily have added its influence in the fight to eliminate something as serious as anti-Semitism from a high-level UN conference. Of course, the reason given for the boycott was probably not the true one. By failing to attend such a crucial and significant conference, Canada avoided addressing difficult issues such as its complicity in violations of Palestinians' human rights, calls for reparations for the enduring consequences of the trans-Atlantic slave trade (and for former residents of Halifax's Africville), and the continuation of colonialism seen in the ongoing theft of indigenous land and resources and Canada's continued refusal to sign the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

4. In July, the Globe and Mail reported that the Canadian government had spent \$1.3 million fighting to prevent Omar Khadr from being repatriated to Canada. Khadr is accused of killing Christopher Speer, a US soldier, in 2002 in Afghanistan. A child of 15 at the time of his capture, Khadr, now 23, is currently the youngest prisoner in the US military torture-prison at Guantanamo. In April, the Federal Court ruled that under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the Conservative government is required to seek Khadr's repatriation, a ruling upheld by the Federal Court of Appeal. Military documents obtained by the *Star* suggest Khadr was buried under rubble when he was alleged to have killed Speer. He is currently awaiting trial, which would be "the first time a child soldier has been tried for war crimes in modern history," wrote Star reporter Michelle Shephard. While international law does not prohibit trying child soldiers, it emphasizes restorative justice and rehabilitation—not the life imprisonment Khadr faces if convicted.

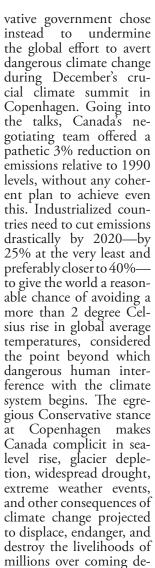
5. Abousfian Abdelrazik came home to Canada on June 27, 2009, after six years in Sudan and exhaustive, logically loopy efforts by the Conservative government to prevent the Canadian citizen's return. Abdelrazik went to Sudan to visit his sick mother in 2003. There he was imprisoned, interrogated, and tortured by Sudanese authorities before taking refuge in a Canadian embassy in April 2008. In 2007, the RCMP could not find "substantive evidence to indicate that Abdelrazik is involved in any criminal activity." CSIS eventually, and begrudgingly, cleared Abdelraik as well.

On June 4, 2009, Federal Court Judge Russell Zinn ruled that Ab-delrazik was "as much a victim of international terrorism as the innocent persons whose lives have been taken by recent barbaric acts of terrorists," and that the government must bring him home within 30 days. The judge also found that CSIS had been complicit in Abdelrazik's imprisonment by Sudanese authorities, and that adding Abdelrazik to the UN no-fly list under regulation 1267 did not, as the Canadian government had claimed, prohibit his return (Foreign Affairs Minister Lawrence Cannon had even insisted Abdelrazik had to get his own name off the no-fly list). The judge also ruled that refusing Abdelrazik an emergency passport in April violated his Charter right to return to Canada.

6. On November 30, the Christian social justice organization KAIROS learned that the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) had declined its 2009-2013 project proposal, ending a 35-year partnership. The proposal was developed with CIDA staff and focused on promoting good governance and advancing ecological sustainability— two CIDA priority areas. Remarkably, KAIROS's proposal was declined for not fitting with CIDA priorities. In December, Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism Jason Kenney let slip a more likely reason when he suggested that KAIROS was an anti-Semitic group (which he now denies) and boasted that KAIROS was defunded for "taking a leadership role" in the boycott campaign against Israel (which it hasn't).

The funding cut is a particularly disgusting way for the Conservatives to punish political and ideological deviation. Those who pay the highest cost are the partners KAIROS assists in countries like the Congo, Sudan, the Philippines, and Colo mbia, who help provide desperately needed educational and health services to impoverished communities, give legal assistance to victims of rape and military atrocities, and promote peaceful democratic solutions to conflict—evidently not "CIDA priorities" under the Conservatives

7. Instead of showing leadership in confronting what has been called the single greatest threat of our time, the Conser-



8. Under the Conserva- any PM in a single year. tive government, oil sands projects in Northern Alberta continue unabated. Their main expansion began only in 2003. Already by 2007, they were alone responsible for about 5% (35.9 megatonnes) of all of Canada's greenhouse gas emissions (747 megatonnes), not including the changes they cause to the surrounding peatland ecosystems, which act as an important carbon sink. In addition to the lethally toxic tailings ponds they create, the Alberta tar sands projects are endangering the health and livelihoods of neighbouring First Nations communities. The projects are also driving Canada's environmental policy. The CBC obtained Conserva-

cades.

tive cabinet draft documents in December 2009 suggesting that Canada's shameful 3% emissions reduction target at Copenhagen was never serious. The emissions plan they describe makes special allowance for the expected growth in oil sands production, "[leaving] the oil and gas sector's emissions 37 per cent above the 2006 level in 2020," according to a Climate Action Network analysis. No one has yet put forth any convincing ethical justification for why this environmental catastrophe should be allowed to continue.

9. The Harper government has shown its support for independent inquiry, testimony, and decision making—unless of course such independence contravenes the Conservative mandate. Evidently disagreeing with the reasoning behind his 2006 election campaign pledge to assign an independent commission responsible for public appointments, Harper has appointed 27 Senators since December 2008—the most of In November 2009, the Liberals produced a list of 233 names they say are of Conservative party insiders given positions in the Senate, courts, and government bodies or agencies since Harper's reelection.

In December, the Harper government made clear its disturbing proclivity to dismiss those who don't toe the Conservative line. In December, chair of the Military Police Complaints Commission Peter Tinsley was refused another term in the midst of his investigation into the government's complicity in the torture of Afghan prisoners. Paul Kennedy, chair of the Commission for Public Complaints Against the RCMP, was

also denied another term in December after delineating RCMP mistakes in the Taser death of Robert Dziekanski. And if the government couldn't dismiss troublemakers trying to uphold democracy and human rights, the next best thing was a smear campaign, like the one against Richard Colvin, the high-level diplomat called to testify about the government's complicity in the abuse of Afghan

10. In the face of wide-

spread condemnation, Harper bookended 2009 with a second proroguing of Parliament in December, this time amid increasingly uncomfortable questions about his government's role in the torture of Afghan prisoners, questions he has pulled out all the stops to avoid. What does it say about a democracy when a minority government resorts to such freezes of democratic processes? When last year the three opposition parties in Parliament agreed to defeat Harper's government and replace it with a coalition whose constituent parties had received over 62% of the vote, Conservative supporters called it a coup, though there was nothing illegal or unseemly about it. And now, Harper has effectively pulled a self-coup—a move typically viewed as the domain of banana republics, whose democratic foundations are seen as shaky, making way for corrupt dictatorships rendering Parliament impotent and granting himself extraordinary powers, proving yet again that allegedly advanced, civilized democracies are not immune to repressive and authoritarian conduct. The current proroguing suggests, unsettlingly, that more stories like the ones here lie in store for Canadians in 2010.



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Disposable Bodies and Toxic Colonialism

by WANGUI KIMARI

On August 19, 2006, as part of its corporate social irresponsibility mandate, Dutch oil company Trafigura dumped 600 tonnes of toxic waste in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. Too cheap to dispose of the "slops" produced from cleaning the cheap oil it had just drilled, Trafigura—with the help of local henchmen—dreamed up a fake waste disposal company known as Tommy to dispose of the toxic waste by dumping it in over 19 residential areas in Abi-

Residents awoke to an unpleasant stench produced by the mixture of caustic soda and petroleum. The toxic waste eventually led to 17 deaths and the toxification of over 100,000 people. The full impact will become clear only over time; the increased number of birth defects and disease are harbingers of a macabre

Those who conspire to keep the excesses of global capitalism fat and barbaric—including multinational corporations like Trafigura and Canadian mining companies—

cheered on by our desire for a third iPod or another Chevy, have begun to realize the increased expenses of disposing waste they produce. These additional expenses are compounded by increasingly stringent regulations governing waste disposal in developed countries, which has made it less economic for waste to be disposed on

As the survival of the biggest polluters at Copenhagen has illustrated, the Global South is a venue for the toxic waste resulting from manufacturing further decadence. What emerges is toxic colonialism and environmental racism, illustrating the disposable quality of black, indigenous, and Latino bodies. These bodies, whether in Haiti, Somalia, Brazil, or Bangladesh, or more locally—including the First Nations communities living near the tar sands in Alberta—are valued less than the waste they are doomed to live with.

Trafigura—which has an ofice in Calgary and partook in the exploitation of Iraqi oil—has been crying foul for the last three years. It claims there

is no connection between the deaths and the waste it dumped in Abidjan. It is as if people died suddenly and mysteriously from self-toxification.

On December 17, 2009, the company won a libel case against the BBC for airing a program that showed the connection between the dumping of waste and the deaths and illness of over 100,000 people. Yet Trafigura has paid a pittance of £30 million to 30,000 claimants, begging the question of what the money is for, if not compensation.

The BBC no longer has on its website the Newsnight video it broadcast about Trafigura's endeavours in Ivory Coast. Leigh and Day, the firm that represented the claimants, no longer has on its website comments about the "slops" linked to deaths and miscarriages. As history has shown, those who commit atrocities are the same ones who show us how to forget them. In a day and age when increased "expense" is offset by toxic colonialism, one can expect more disposable bodies and more forgetting in the name of

On COPouts and **Brokenhagen**

by **JOSÉE MADÉIA**

The United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP15) in Copenhagen was a whirlwind of protests and plenaries, of briefings and badge hooplas, of strategy meetings, and weightof-the-world sadnesses. No legally binding treaty came out of the conference, nor did anything all that fair, and certainly nothing all that ambitious either.

Proponents of climate justice had high hopes going into this conference because regardless of what the doomsday forecasters were saying, the popular and political mobilizations sparked by the lead-up to COP15 would have made any earth loving eco-kid work through her cynicism long enough to muster some solid expectations for the conference.

Indeed, why wouldn't world leaders use the opportunity to put aside their national differences and work together, as Yvo de Boer, the executive secretary of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UN-FCCC), so eloquently suggested at the opening plenary on December 7. A global climate movement had emerged, people were paying attention, and many leaders (Canada's unfortunately not included) were ready to commit to real emissions cuts and recognize the moral imperative to take meaningful action

Despite all of this, the Copenhagen Accord—the non-binding text that was "taken note of" at the end of the conference—disappointed everyone who had any such hope. There is no mention in the accord of any long-term global emissions cut targets even though parties did reiterate (time and again) the 2 degrees Celsius warming cap, which is what we need to stick to if we hope to avoid dangerous climate

Also absent from the accord is a timeline for when, or even if, the deal could be turned into a legally binding treaty. Developed countries agreed to finance \$10-billion-per-year,

three-year program starting in 2010 to fund adaptation. However, so far this fund is \$6 billion short, and Canada is contributing not a cent.

Developed countries have set a further goal of mobilizing a total of \$100 billion by 2020 for the same purposes; however, there are no specific obligations for any individual country to provide funds and there is no mention of whether these funds will actually be "new and additional" to existing (and unmet) aid commitments of 0.7% of gross national product.

With all these percentages, baselines, brackets, and dollar signs, it was hard to remember at times that COP15 was a meeting of the UNFCCC, and not the G20 or other such economic fora.

Debate also arose concerning the legal structure of the post-2012 frame-work, with many devel-oped countries, Canada included, pushing to kill the Kyoto Protocol. This would effectively signal a refusal by developed countries to recognize their historical responsibility for greenhouse gas emissions. As one of the key reasons for standstill at these negotiations was the poisoned atmosphere of distrust between developing and developed countries, this move by developed countries represented not only an unwillingness to be constructive and responsible for the carbon dioxide they have put in the atmosphere, but it was also a major setback on the road to a fair, ambitious, and legally binding treaty.

Since my return to Canada, I have begun to think about the extent to which this is an impossible process: because there is something inherently unjust about the decision-making structure; because those whose lives are at stake and on the line are from the global south and Indigenous communities; because if we're to address climate change we need a paradigm shift and that wasn't on the table; and finally, because if the climate movement is to make inroads, we're going to have to start working pretty seriously on electoral reform and democratic renewal in this country.

Despite the outcome and the heart wrench, I'm glad I went to Copenhagen because I do know that my country can do better. And, I know, from speaking with youth and party delegates from developing countries, that having a strong progressive civil society presence from Canada was important for solidarity work. At this point, I hope that the climate justice movement can build the bridges and create the relationships and working environment that our heads of state (and their negotiators) cannot. And that we return to that negotiating table.

Madéia attended COP15 with the Canadian Youth Delegation, a group of 35 youth from across Canada. Diverse in background and skill set, the youth delegation had the mandate of representing Canadian youth voices in Copenhagen, putting pressure on the Canadian government's delegation, and bringing news of COP15 back home.

editors.the.leveller@gmail.com

New bearers of the torch

As the spiritual "child" of the late sixties and seventies I was thrilled to see the very name of *The* Leveller in a Glebe coffee shop. I was even more thrilled when I read it!

Your articles were all

interesting, dealing with important matters with an ethic of compassion and inclusion that made my heart glad. Nor was humour lacking. Bravo! I say, Bravo!

It is good to know that 1971

the new students of a new time have grasped the torch and hold it high!

Bravo! I say. And

- John J. Horvath, Grad.

Occupation gives Joya voice (just not at home)

dress the article "Joya ment is contemplating left the same way Fox Braves Ottawa." I argue extending the Afghan News is on the right is that the fact that Joya mission is speculation. no more justifiable and now has the ability to be elected and speak out against corruption in her country, something she surely would not have been able to do under the Taliban regime, is a testament to the effectiveness the invasion had for human and women's rights.

The Afghan government has widespread corruption, but the fact women can now march in the streets without being put in jail shows progress is being made. This progress is indisputably due to NATO, and no one expected it would be smooth sailing to universal human rights merely 8 years after the invasion.

The paragraph statwww.leveller.ca

Though most would agree the government likely keeps a running tab of the situation and would not completely dismiss the notion in the backrooms, the government and official opposition have not said so publicly and remain (in terms of official government policy) committed to the current pullout date.

I am aware your newspaper "leans left" but please strive for the same journalistic integrity you expect from all news organizations (even if you do not believe this integrity is practiced in the media). By all means express a left-wing sentiment in your newspaper but re-

I would like to ad- ing the Harper govern- alize being biased on the will only turn off readers such as myself from considering your views. As I am sure your professors have told you leaving out opposing ideas will in fact weaken your argument.

- Harris Berton

Editors' note: The sentence in question referred not to extending combat operations, but "involve-ment." Peter MacKay had told a Parliamentary committee that Canada would find a way to maintain its military presence by "shifting" its resources to "development and reconstruction." He repeated this message while in Afghanistan on November 14.

Forces fight fear?

Making one's through every single page of *The Leveller* is no easy thing. For that reason, I suspect that not many members of our campus community were exposed to the last edition's back-page editorial cartoon, which equated the promoters of Israeli Apartheid Week with our men and women in uniform.

The cartoon implied that there is no substantive difference between last year's banned Apartheid Week posters and advertisements of job opportunities with the Canadian Forces.

The Canadian Forces recruitment ads display our country's best and bravest citizens fighting fear, chaos, and oppression here and around the world. The banned Israeli Apartheid Week posters depicted a helicopter gunship labelled "Israel" firing a missile at a small child labeled "Gaza."

This was an intentional

over-simplification of a complex conflict and an echo of the centuries-old "blood libel" that has repeatedly been used to justify atrocities against the Jewish people. Your cartoon does a disservice to Canada's troops, to responsible advocates of Middle East peace, and to legitimate advocates for the welfare of the Palestinian people.

- Emile Scheffel, 3rd-year student, political science

Rockin' rag

Merry, merry Leveller crew! I enjoyed reading yer rag at the Wild Oat. Congratulate yourself

for putting together a

fine newspaper. It puts to shame the staffed student paper up at Laurentian

based on the 20th-century Lambda. (I haven't read

This last comment is - Mark Callingham

MAGAZINE

MONOPOLY ON NUTRITION

by **SARAH MARTIN**

With all the choices on the Carleton campus for food—Tim Hortons, Subway, The Fresh Food Company, and Starbucks among others—it is easy to forget these outlets are different faces of just one company.

In fact, the choice is really between Carleton University Dining Services, which is managed by the large transnational food service corporation Aramark, and a few student-run options. These include Oliver's, Rooster's, and Mike's Place, which are run by the student unions, as well as The G-Spot and Leonardo's Lounge.

These "choices" are dictated by a contract between the university and Aramark.

Student-run outlets are restricted by the contract and cannot impinge on food Aramark already provides.

But students do not even have access to the contract between the university and Aramark, a contract that directly binds their activities.

Under previous agreements, students were told they could not sell items similar to those offered by Carleton's corporate food service provider. However, students had no protection when the previous provider, Chartwell's, offered pitas to compete with Rooster's, as well as Indian food to compete with Mike's Place.

The restrictions imposed by the contract even spill over onto what student clubs can sell for fundraising and how of-

And on top of that, all catering on campus is restricted to Aramark.

In 2003 Carleton signed a 10-year contract with Aramark. At the time, it was one of the biggest food service contracts in Canada.

The result is a corporate monopoly on campus nourishment.

The contract stated the



university would receive a minimum of \$250,000 a year from Aramark plus a percentage off the top. In other words, food service has become a revenue generator for the university.

Because the university gets a cut of revenues, it has a vested interest in making sure that Aramark makes as much money as it can. That is, the more sales, the more money the

university gets. Rather than providing a service to students whose academic affairs demand convenient and quality caloric intake, the university treats food on campus as a source of profit garnered from stu-

As public funds have become scarcer under neoliberalism, this revenue source has become more important, and Carleton has expanded food service spaces to try to get more student dollars.

Those who have been year or two have seen the remote work camps, hos-real choice. opening of new kiosk- pitals, and offices.

style outlets, such as the Starbucks in the University Centre Atrium, an area that was considered student space before the administration control.

The university has a policy in place stating that any food provider, beyond the food services contractor (Aramark), must be authorized by the Vice-President (Finance and Administration), currently Duncan Watt.

Included in the requirements for authorization is a \$1,000,000 liability insurance policy—this makes selling food on campus practically impossible for other providers and helps to ensure that catering is funnelled to Aramark exclusively.

What sort of business is the university in contract with? Aramark operates in 22 countries with 260,000 employees across a variety of sectors. In

For Aramark, the educational sector, which includes universities, is the most profitable and grow-

A recent Business Week article noted that one reason Aramark was the official caterer of the 2008 Beijing Olympics is because the company wanted to access China's \$170billion catering market. Specifically, the company hoped to target schools in China, which have yet to outsource food services like their North American

counterparts. The reach of Aramark's business model means it can provide food very cheaply; in fact it is a major shareholder in one of the largest food distributers in North America,

In 2013 a new Carleton contract for food services will be signed, providing an excellent opportunity for the administration Canada alone it manages and students to look at ers rather than bringing on campus more than a food services for prisons, new models that provide apples in from New Zea- healthful community-

food service as primarily a revenue generator, food service could be seen as a site where the university's top priorities are manifested.

In Carleton's new strategic plan Defining Dreams, four themes were identified: innovation, location, engagement with the community, and solutions to real-world problems.

An innovative food service would not involve signing a contract with a large transnational food service at the expense of students.

Instead it would be the site where community, students, and staff come together to be the solution to the real-world problems associated with our industrial food system.

It would be founded on environmentally sustainable practices, not only reducing food miles supporting Ontario grow-Rather than viewing ing farmers whose environmental "food print" is

small. In the Ottawa Valley we are surrounded by nearby farmers growing food that meets these requirements. What better way to engage with the community than supporting the work of our farming neighbours and benefitting from the healthful food they grow?

In other words, rather than using our food dollars to support a corporation that has its head office in Philadelphia, could we support our farmers and be the solution to their real-world problems of limited market access and dwindling incomes?

By creating a food policy for the university that is shaped by its own strategic plan, rather than based solely on the bottom line, we can create an innovative food service for the university and at the same time put land—but also support- supporting food on our

Interested in volunteering with The Leveller?

Writing, Editing, Layout, Distribution **All welcome** (including Carleton U, Ottawa U, and non-students)

Join the Facebook group or e-mail editors.the.leveller@gmail.com

MAGAZINE

CLASS POWER AND THE PROROGUE

by **AARON HENRY**

It is hard to recall that almost a year ago the elite were feeling so uncomfortable from all the finger-pointing following the economic "downturn" that Tiffany's decided to give out, as Linda Mc-Quaig noted, brown paper bags to smuggle \$100,000 dollar diamonds past the great unwashed. It was also nearly a year ago that an ashen-faced Alan Greenspan, former chairman of the US federal reserve, reluctantly admitted the crisis had forced him to accept there was something fundamentally wrong with his world-view—Ayn Rand's Atlas Shrugged doesn't make for sound fiscal policy!

Also nearly a year ago, Prime Minster Harper prorogued parliament because his minority government was about to be toppled by a coalition advocating a nominal switch to a green economy and a socially progressive stimulus package—the horror!

Once again parliament has been prorogued, not because separatists and socialists threaten Harper's minority government, but because Harper's government is unchecked.

The Liberals know an election will only officially declare what has been known for quite some time now: They are in the political wilderness and Iggy hasn't the moral compass to lead them out. In what has been for the most part a two-party system west of Quebec, the end of the Liberals as a powerful political force constitutes a new political landscape. Many see it as simply the outcome of a hemorrhaging of voters from the Liberal Party, but baptized by this second prorogation of parliament, it has been coconstructive with a new alignment of class power in Canada. In short, the economic elite of Canada have realigned.

From 1994 to 2004 the economic elite and the Liberal Party were for the most part inextricable, and the party was key in translating elite class interests into public policy. In 1994 following Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservative Party's finalization of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Jean Chrétien's Liberal party had to find a way to internationalize the capital unleashed by NAFTA's neoliberal restructuring processes as Canada's economy was exposed to a "competitive" continental market. In particular, as manufacturing companies shut down or relocated to take advantage of Mexico's competitive environmental "advantages," capital shifted from producing industrial infrastructure and strengthening Canadian productivity (hallmarks of Canada's "Keynesian" economic structure) to surplus that took its form as finance and investment capital. Under Liberal leadership, the Vancouver and Toronto stock exchanges emerged as global leaders in financing Canadian and American international mining projects.

This was achieved through competitive taxation laws (mining corporations incorporated in Canada and operating abroad are not taxed; it is assumed they are taxed by Canada) as well as a globally renowned disclosure policy that ensures mum is the word when it comes to disclosing sources of capital and the actions of the firm itself. During this decade of Liberal leadership the contribution of Outward Foreign Direct Investment to the GDP went from 14.8% in 1990 to 33.3% in 2000, with mineral extraction and foreign finance and insurance markets consistently the top two motor forces of this growth.

This marked growth was also achieved by the

Liberal government's ability to capitalize on the processes of economic liberalization that were unleashed following the Washington Consensus. In particular, the Canadian Înternational Development Agency (CIDA) was used as a key mechanism in supplying the "expertise" used to re-draft the mineral extraction laws and regulatory frameworks of developing nations who had had their state mining industries "liberalized" by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (Mongolia, Colombia, Ghana, Guyana, to name a few).

As CIDA was used to expand Canadian class interests globally, the Liberal government augmented corporate power by developing a policy stance referred to by Lloyd Axworthy, former minister of foreign affairs and international trade, as constructive engagement. The policy, or lack thereof, stated it was not the Canadian state's responsibility to regulate companies incorporated in Canada operating in foreign markets.

In other words, corporations were to generate their own guidelines and regulations. This public policy decision can be found today in its more sophisticated form of corporate social responsibilîty guidelines. This move has been key in allowing Canadian mining companies to develop their own "bottom line" when it comes to protecting the environment, regulating labour, deploying security forces, and paying royal-ties and taxes in the host states in which they operate. With this institutionalized corporate freedom Canadian mining companies have made fortunes in the developing world while allegedly committing human rights abuses in 30 countries.

All things considered it was a great decade for the



Canadian economic elite! New markets were opening everywhere for Canadian capital, there was financing to support projects in distant lands, corporate tax rates had fallen, and the government as of 1996 cut the costly Canadian Assistance Plan and replaced it with the Canadian Health and Social Transfer, which put the burden of financing social security on the provinces rather than the federal coffers. "Huzzah for the Liberals!" was the cry.

This of course presents the obvious question: Given the great fortunes the economic elite had with the Liberal Party, why would they realign with the Conservative Party? A simple answer can be found in looking at how the rest of Canadian society fared during the marvelous decade. For the rest of us, the decade meant finding employment in a "globalized knowledge economy," a euphemism for precarious employment in low-paying jobs with little to no benefits. As a result the income gap widened, as the bottom 50% of Canadian families saw their share of national wealth fall from 5.3% in 1984 to 3.2% in 2005.

Also during this period public education and health care underwent severe cutbacks; and in the case of post-secondary education, this meant these cuts were clawed back from the general public. As well, many public unions (the teachers' union for instance) were

brought to heel. Through such insidious processes the Liberal Party created a new economic model in Canada, which operates largely through clawing back the social and economic rights of the majority. The crises of this new structure, however, cannot be stemmed by the Liberal Party's benign dictatorship, which conducted this transformation under

the pretense of "equal opportunity for all."

The economic elite in Canada are now interested in the party that will develop the forces to maintain the security of the neoliberal economic order the Liberals built. Here the term "security" has two meanings. First, in the obvious sense, a highly stratified society needs to police individuals more intensively and extensively to mitigate the conflict that develops between those who have and those who have not. Second, there is the security of the market from the people. The famous economic sociologist Karl Polanyi once noted that "laissez-faire was planned; planning was not." In other words, an economic structure that functions at the expense of the majority by denying people basic material needs must be secured against the people's natural inclination to reform the structure of the market. Harper's Conservative Party has demonstrated to the economic elite, especially with the latest prorogation of parliament, that it is the party for the job.

tion of parliament gives the Conservatives the power to carry out this commitment and is also a declaration of this commitment in action. In terms of the former, the prorogation will have two important impacts on the government's power. First, it permits Harper to put his five new senators into action, giving him a majority in the upper house and allowing the Conservatives to formulate legislation that will pass through the upper house with neither delay nor amendment. In other words, the Conservatives will not only be able to reintroduce Bill C-15 without it being "gutted" by Liberal senators, but they will be able to put forward as many reforms

This second proroga-

as needed to strengthen the legal powers of the

state against the public. Second, any legislation that has yet to receive royal assent is killed. This point is of particular interest because of two private member bills proposed by Peter Julian of the NDP and John Mc-Kay of the Liberal Party. The first bill was designed to open Canadian courts to human rights claimants from other countries so that Canadian mining corporations could be held accountable for their actions overseas. The second bill would create a regulatory framework to ensure corporations operating abroad and receiving federal support would abide by some human rights code.

The minister of foreign affairs and international trade Stockwell Day vowed the Conservatives would not allow the bill to pass. With prorogation, both bills have been killed, even though John McKay's bill was "thought," according to him, to have support from a majority of the house. Not only does this move once again secure the market from the will of the people but it also indicates what the economic elite knew all along: The Liberals did not have the will to "secure" the economic order they built and would, if pushed by the public to shove, attack it with piecemeal reforms.

The new political landscape of Canada has been shaped by the Canadian elite's gradual realization that they no longer need the Liberal Party. They need a party willing to secure the economic order the Liberals built. Harper assures them he is up to the task, even if it means sacrificing the already limited accountability, honesty, and openness of Canada's liberal democracy. Welcome to the new Canada.



THE OTHER APARTHEID

Looking back at Carleton's campaign against South Africa



by ALROY FONSECA

"A classmate of mine came up to me after class one day and said, 'Glenn Babb is coming to campus. What are we going to do?'" recounted Con McAfee, a coordinator for the Carleton Anti-Apartheid Action Group (CAAAG) in the mid-1980s.

In October 1985, the Carleton Press Club (CPC) had announced that Babb, the South African ambassador to Canada, would visit campus to debate the merits of the

Rob McKenzie, the CPC's vice-president, told *The Charlatan* at the time, "We feel Babb should have a chance to announce his views. . . . We're concerned with freedom of expression."

The ambassador's views were eventually heard in April 1986, after student opposition caused many delays and also led organizers to move the event off campus, to the National Press Gallery.

In the year and a half between the announcement of Babb's visit in the fall of 1985 and March 1987, a major student movement against apartheid coalesced on campus and succeeded in forcing the university to take a firm stand against the South African regime.

Awakened to the apartheid struggle as a result of the CPC's announcement, student activists soon moved their campaign from a focus on the impending visit to one aimed at forcing the Carleton University Students' Association (CUSA) and the university administration to cut all institutional links with South Africa.

The aims set out by CAAAG were far-reaching, and when the Board of Governors (BOG) announced in December 1985 that Carleton would demonstrate its opposition to apartheid by subscribing to the Canadian Code of Conduct, students were deeply disappointed.

The code was a set of guidelines developed by the federal government in 1977 to encourage Canadian firms doing business in South Africa to treat Black workers marginally better and pay them enough "to achieve a standard of living required to meet their basic needs," but fell short of challenging the basic system of apartheid.

In response to the BOG announcement, McAfee, the CAAAG's coordinator, observed that "companies still abide by South African law, which is at the root of racial discrimi-

nation in South Africa. Until the law is changed, nothing is going to happen."

What Carleton needed to protest apartheid was full divestment.

In this context students from campus groups like Oxfam, the International Socialists, and the Ontario Public Interest Research Group joined to form CAAAG.

There was a rapidly growing student consciousness about the situation in South Africa.

By fall 1985, for instance, CUSA had resolved to rid the Unicentre Store of many South Africa-linked products, including certain fruits and Carling-Okeefe beer, and eventually Rothmans cigarettes.

By late winter 1986, the anti-apartheid climate on campus was such that The Charlatan devoted a large chunk of its February 20th edition to the matter. Staff writer Lynn Marchildon observed that "anti-apartheid activism at Carleton surfaced only five months ago but since that time the university has made considerable progress in severing its links to South Africa ... and has found itself unexpectedly one of the leading Ontario universities of anti-apartheid activity."

Throughout 1986, stu-

dents kept the pressure on the administration, writing letters to the president, sending BOG members individually signed postcards, meeting with various officials, accumulating some 3,000 signatures on a divestment petition, organizing forums and lectures, and presenting the administration with hefty dossiers explaining their case.

However, the administration did little.

In fact, when it was discovered in June 1986 that a company linked to Carleton's endowment fund (Moore Corporation) had violated the Code of Conduct, President W.E. Beckel lamented having to sell the stock as it had proved to be a "good investment" and added that he believed the company had been "really conforming to the guidelines, only not to the extent that some people argue they should."

should."
Student frustration grew in the face of the administration's inaction and when a BOG meeting on January 26, 1987—after more than a year of steady lobbying on the part of CAAAG—did not result in a decision to divest, students erupted into loud protest.

According to the *The Charlatan's* coverage, "at least 300" demonstrators

were on hand.

They shouted down the BOG, forcing the group to move to a new room in the president's office, and then trapped the governors there until police arrived. Others blocked doors and hallways and became "limp if the police tried to remove them."

Eventually, the arrival of journalists and television crews distracted demonstrators, and a number of governors made an escape for the elevators. They were prevented from closing the doors by chanting students

chanting students.

The decision on divestment was sent for reconsideration to the BOG's Executive Committee a few weeks later and, during this time, it appears that student lobbying and protests changed President Beckel's mind.

In his official submission to the committee, Beckel stated, "I believe their [the students'] arguments have merit.... I simply believe that if we are to be influenced by morals or social responsibility it is as good or better to attempt to eliminate apartheid by no investment as by partial investment based on adherence to a code of conduct. Let's get out of South Africa as much as we can and stay out, on moral and financial grounds."

With the president on board, and with continuing student pressure, the BÖG finally opted for full divestment in early March 1987. In addition to ridding Carleton's endowment fund of South Africa-linked companies, the administration decided to not contract for goods or services of South African origin except in extreme circumstances when adhering to the ban "would significantly interfere with the operation of the University."

Nevertheless, President Beckel noted in the memorandum outlining the new contracts policy that "Carleton University abhors apartheid and will do all it can to show its position on apartheid within its business practices."

McAfee, former CAAAG activist, recalls, "The anti-apartheid movement had many enemies [but] as a pressure group [we students] were able to maintain our strength and eventually saw to it that the university agreed to divest from South Africa."

Less than three years after Carleton's divestment, Nelson Mandela was released from a 27-year captivity, his walk out of Victor Verster Prison broadcast live to the world

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DISNEY RETROSPECTIVE ON RACE: THE PRINCESS AND THE

by CHRISTOPHER SCHULTZ

Make no mistake: *The* Princess and the Frog is a big deal for Disney.

This film, firstly, features predominantly African-American characters, and from that seemingly benign social perspective the movie is colossal. Until now, blacks in America have had only a puffy-lipped Jamaican crab from *The Little Mer*maid as a role model, and last I checked Sebastian is red.

Let's work out the significance of this matter a little further. Pocahontas was given top billing a decade ago. Yet African-Americans, in one of the most egregious instances of demographic ignorance coming out of California, had to wait until 2009.Let's assume that the Romantic founding myth is simply more palatable than the lamentable founding reality of slavery in North America (yes, Canada included).

But then Disney films have a long rap sheet when they're broken down into their basic elements. Gender roles are the most obvious concern in Old Man Walt's

productions for those of us sensitive to media-inspired inadequacies.

There's a mermaid who acquires spreadable legs while losing her voice in order to get her man, a snow-white innocent who happily endorses servitude to the bearded boys' club, and countless women rescued by their appearances alone. Princess Aurora and Snow White are even sexually assaulted-but at least they like it.

These latter concerns are often dismissed as hyperbolic, psychoanalytic critiques and it is possible they go too far. Yet they expose the fact that Disney rarely addresses the most salient social concerns in their films with any sense of urgency. I can state with confidence that, at the very least, the matter of women's agency is the central concern of The Princess and the Frog.

Tiana, the newest princess, is a skilled, hardworking woman with a strong sense of independence. She has long-term goals and is certainly not bound to the traditional realms of vanity and naiveté associated with other Disney heroines and villains (again, think



Snow White). Granted, Tiana wants to open a restaurant and host elegant guests, which can be read as traditionally domestic pursuits.

I am even tempted to propose that the issue of race is something of a non-issue, except peripherally. Tiana's family lives at the far end of the New Orleans street-car line, and they are initially juxtaposed with the wealth of a white, aristocratic family. Still, the daughters of each family play together and are social equals, even in a keenly felt economic gulf. Enter a realm of open doors.

But how could it be, with the matter of race so obsessively discussed in relation to this film, that race is so visible and yet so irrelevant? It took several weeks of reflection to figure it out, and the answer was located in a shrewd deception: race is displaced from the human characters and onto is unproblematic.

the animal ones.

Inequality based on appearances and oriented around some ostensible, essential nature is located in the character of Louis, the trumpet-playing alligator. Despite his goodness, poor Louis cannot play jazz on the riverboats—his only ambition in life—because people are scared of him. Only when he is thought to be a man in costume is he accepted, as though that

But how seriously do we take racism when it is wrapped in animal skins? And in all this debate about African-American princesses, how easy it is to lose track of the hedonistic Indo-Arabian prince, who wouldn't know industriousness if it were an alligator about to eat him.

Behind the vibrant, spirited art of Disney's latest, there are murky depths yet to be plumbed.

STRUGGLING IN THE ARTS

by **MAJA STEFANOVSKA**

"Recognition is a strange word to talk about," says Blair T. Paul.

"I've sold a lot of paintings in my career. I don't know if that makes you successful, but it does tell you that people like what you do and it strikes a chord with them. To me that's certainly more meaningful than anything

These are seemingly modest words for the Almonte-born, Ottawaadopted artist's 30-odd

year career. Starting with an exhibition at Ottawa's Robertson Galleries and continuing on to this day with a diverse palette of art in both private and public collections, as well as a teaching career that has recently expanded to his own course at Algonquin College, the artist continues to produce, mixing everything from watercolour and charcoal to mixed media pieces of photography and paint.

If that weren't enough, Paul is now expanding his artistic endeavours to the literary sphere.

His book *On the Edge* of Discovery: Contemporary Paintings in a Personal Context launched January 6 at the Cube Gallery.

Published by Manotick's Penumbra Press and written primarily by Paul, the book is an artistic memoir cataloguing the artist's personal background and thoughts on his artistic development. Friends also contributed to the project—artist Alan King wrote the foreword, while childhood friend and photographer Melville added the commentary.

Accompanying book is an exhibition, "On the Edge of Discovery," which is meant to partially mirror the literary work, with some 62 displayed pieces also to be found in the publication. The show runs from January 6 to to January 31 at Cube Gallery.

"It's a retrospective show that covers work from the beginning of my career to the present time," Paul says.

The event serves to show the versatility and flow of the artist, dealing especially with the theme

of environment and humanity's effects on it.

As he states, "Any artist works in a series and there is always a synthesis of the old with the new. I revisit themes, but from a perspective that interacts with subject matter I'm seeing in the present."

Struggle, especially that of the Canadian visual artist, is also something Paul has known and showcases in his book, with an opening poem entitled "The Struggle."

"Struggling is part of being human. Canada is a difficult place for artists to be because there isn't a lot of exposure and financial support for them."

That's why, according to Paul, artists either move away or find jobs doing other things, such as, in his case, teaching. The important thing always, though, is to push the boundaries and find more meaning in your work.

"When you start out, you're interested in the things around you and painting them as they are. As you get older, you see there's a lot more to the world."



LISTINGS

Tues Jan 12 OPIRG WEEK: Jan. 11-15

The Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG) presents a week of events including introductions to OPIRG and to the People's Republic of Delicious, a vegan lunch and drum circle, a campus power plant tour, a workshop on women's menstrual alternatives, a presentation by the Centre for Students with Disabilities, and a showing of the film "Market This!: Queer Radicals Respond to Gay Assimilation." For schedule updates see the OPIRG-Ottawa U website calendar at www.opirg-gripo.ca, call 613-230-3076, or email opirg@uottawa.ca

FILM: Soirée ciné-franco / French movie night showing La Haine (France, 1995), dealing with themes of immigration and integration. 7 PM, Alumni Auditorium, University Centre, University of Ottawa.

FROST WEEK: Free pizza lunch at the Carleton Graduate Students' Association grad lounge. 1:30pm, 6th floor Unicentre, Carleton U.

FROST WEEK: Karaoke at Mike's Place with the Carleton Graduate Students' Association. 9 pm, Mike's Place (2nd level Unicentre), Carleton U.

Wed Jan 13

OPIRG WEEK: Jan. 11-15

The Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG) presents a week of events including introductions to OPIRG and to the People's Republic of Delicious, a vegan lunch and drum circle, a campus power plant tour, a workshop on women's menstrual alternatives, a presentation by the Centre for Students with Disabilities, and a showing of the film "Market This!: Queer Radicals Respond to Gay Assimilation." For schedule updates see the OPIRG-Ottawa U website calendar at www.opirg-gripo.ca, call 613-230-3076, or email opirg@uottawa.ca

PERFORMANCE: Luca 'Lazylegz' Patuelli, presented by the Centre for Students with Disabilities, @ 5:30pm, Terminus, 2nd floor UCU, 85 University Pl., University of Ottawa.

WORKSHOP: "The Ingredients" poetry workshop facilitated by Canada's

2009 National Slam Poetry champion Brandon Wint. Wint uses seminar-style, communal-based learning techniques to help participants explore and unleash their inner-most reflections and feelings, overcome inhibitions, and engage with the connection between emotion and creation. @ 7pm, Umi Cafe, 610 Somerset St. W.

FROST WEEK: Free pizza lunch at the Carleton Graduate Students' Association grad lounge. 1:30pm, 6th floor Unicentre, Carleton U.

FROST WEEK: Trivia with the Carleton Graduate Students' Association. 8pm, Mike's Place (2nd level Unicentre)

Thurs Jan 14

OPIRG WEEK: Jan. 11-15

The Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG) presents a week of events including introductions to OPIRG and to the People's Republic of Delicious, a vegan lunch and drum circle, a campus power plant tour, a workshop on women's menstrual alternatives, a presentation by the Centre for Students with Disabilities, and a showing of the film "Market This!: Queer Radicals Respond to Gay Assimilation." For schedule updates see the OPIRG-Ottawa U website calendar at www.opirg-gripo.ca, call 613-230-3076, or email opirg@uottawa.ca

MUSIC: Musk Ox, Voilá, and Adam Saikaley present an evening of instrumental music and live art @ 7pm, Umi Café, 610 Somerset St.

FROST WEEK: Pub night on Preston with the Carleton Graduate Students' Association. 10pm, Heart & Crown, 347 Preston Street.

Fri Jan 15

OPIRG WEEK: Jan. 11-15

The Ontario Public Interest Research Group (OPIRG) presents a week of events including introductions to OPIRG and to the People's Republic of Delicious, a vegan lunch and drum circle, a campus power plant tour, a workshop on women's menstrual alternatives, a presentation by the Centre for Students with Disabilities, and a showing of the film "Market This!: Queer Radicals Respond to Gay Assimilation." For schedule updates see the OPIRG-Ottawa U website calendar at www.opirg-gripo.ca, call 613-230-3076, or email opirg@uottawa.ca

SHISHA AND SHWAR-MA: The Carleton Public Affairs Society hosts a night of hookah and hanging out. 7:30 PM, Garlic Corner, 321 Dalhousie St. Free for members, \$10 otherwise.

ART: "Hurry up to slow down," paintings by Drew Mosley. Modern landscapes on urban refuse aim to bring light to the toll human existence is taking on the planet, and examine the challenge we face and the natural love we have as citizens in our modern society. @7pm, La Petite Mort Gallery, 306 Cumberland St.

FROST WEEK: Cosmos bowling with the Carleton Graduate Students' Association, 9pm, McArthur Lanes, 175 McArthur Avenue.

FROST WEEK: De-frost drinks and dancing with the Carleton Graduate Students' Association, 10:30pm, Honest Lawyer, 141 George St.

Sat Jan 16

LAUNCH PARTY: "OAR/ Sweet and Salty: a showcase of Ottawa artists." Arts publication the Ottawa Arts Review releases its latest issue with sound art by Adam Saikaley, readings, and performance art @ 7pm, La Petite Mort Gallery, 306 Cumberland.

SHOW: Capital Slam by Capital Poetry Collective. Slam poetry @ 6:30pm, Mercury Lounge, 56 Byward Market Square.

WORKSHOP: She Will Run! Workshops to Promote and Facilitate the Inclusion of Women in Politics. Equal Voice UOttawa hosts a day of workshops designed for women who are interested in running in campus or community elections. It will be an opportunity to learn new campaigning skills, hear about the experiences of those who have previously ran in elections, and to become a part of a network committed to getting more women involved in politics. 10 AM start, Room TBA, University of Ottawa. \$5, reservations: equalvoice. uottawa@gmail.com

SPORTS?: Carleton University Quidditch First Practice. Students play game with brooms from children's book.

2PM, Residence Commons, Carleton University

Sun Jan 17

Prorogued.

Mon Jan 18

ART: "Faces of Asia." Photo exhibit by Mark Coletti showcasing portraits from India, Nepal, Kashmir and Taiwan @ 7:30pm, Café Nostalgica, 603 Cumberland St.

NATURE WALK: Oxbow Park nature walk. Feed birds by hand. Free lunch provided. Meet at 11:45 am inside the Nesbitt Biology Building, in the sitting area between the greenhouses. oxbowpark@gmail.com

LECTURE: Students for Palestinian Human Rights hosts Dr. Mads Gilbert, Head of the Department of Emergency at the University of North Norway describes his experiences in Palestine during "Operation Cast Lead," the bombardment of Gaza. 7:30 PM, Fauteux Hall Room 147B, University of Ottawa. Donation \$5-10 TALK: The Fight Against Precarious Work. Denise Corbett (PSAC Local 70396 Civilization / War Museum), Dennis Howlett (Make Poverty History), Dale Clarke (Labour activist & former president of CUPW), Heloise Weber (University of Queensland). 7:30 pm, PSAC Building, 233 Gilmour.

Tues Jan 19

Prorogued.

Wed Jan 20

WORKSHOP: Make your own plush monster @ 6pm, Canteen Gallery, 238 Dalhousie.

WORKSHOP: "The Ingredients" poetry workshop facilitated by Canada's 2009 National Slam Poetry champion Open Secret instructing writers on aspects of language such as grammar, syntax, punctuation, and word-choice @ 7pm, Umi

Cafe, 610 Somerset St. W.

Thurs Jan 21

THEATRE: Sock N' Buskin Theatre Company proudly present PETER PAN by J.M. Barrie. Directed by Rideau Award Nominee Zach Counsil. 8 PM, Kailash Mital Theatre, Carleton University, \$14, \$10 for students, seniors and children.

FILM: The Age of Stupid. Presented by YEP-NCR, in partnership with the British High Commission. For security purposes an RSVP is required for yourself and any guests you wish to bring. Please reply by Monday, January 18th to yep.ncr@gmail. com. 5:30 p.m. British High Commission, 80 Elgin St.

Fri Jan 22

THEATRE: Sock N' Buskin Theatre Company proudly present PETER PAN by J.M. Barrie. Directed by Rideau Award Nominee Zach Counsil. 8 PM, Kailash Mital Theatre, Carleton University, \$14, \$10 for students, seniors and children.

PANEL: "Race, Space, and (In)Justice Global Apartheid from South Africa to Turtle Island." A panel featuring Shawn Brant (activist from Tyendinaga Mohawk Territory), Rozena Maart (South African ART: anti-racist feminist activist and scholar), Jaggi Singh (No One Is Illegal-Montreal), and Chris Ramsaroop (Justicia for Migrant Workers) opens twoday apartheid conference. 7 pm, Carleton University

ART: Drasko Bogdanovic & Sarah Schorlemer. Photographers explore the beauty of masculinity and the success of the adult industry, respectively. Tunes by Big Mac Daddy. Proudly sponsored by CKCU 93.1 FM. @ 7pm, La Petite Mort Gallery, 306 Cumberland St.

Sat Jan 23

THEATRE: Sock N' Buskin Theatre Company proudly present PETER PAN by J.M. Barrie. Directed by Rideau Award Nominee Zach Counsil. 8 PM, Kailash Mital Theatre, Carleton University, \$14, \$10 for students, seniors and children.

WORKSHOP: Building Movements to End Apartheid. Workshops and presentations by No One Is Illegal, Students Against Israeli Apartheid, Canadian Humanitarian Appeal for the Relief of Tamils, Indigenous Peoples Solidarity Movement-Ottawa, the Toronto Community Mobilization Network, and many more. 10am - 5:30pm, University of Ottawa. Advance registration required. PWYC, \$5-10 suggested (includes meals and conference materials), email globalapartheid2010@ gmail.com with REGISTER in the subject line.

WORKSHOP: Indigenous Solidarity for Settlers: Canada out of Turtle Island! Workshop to educate non-indigenous people about the importance of indigenous solidarity. 10:30 AM, University of Ottawa.

FUNDRAISER: "Artists Against Apartheid." Featuring the Ottawa debut of Palestinian spoken word artist Rafeef Ziadah, plus Ian Kamau, Faye Estrella, Free Will. Beats by DJ yalla! yalla! and DJ Mikkipedia. PWYC, suggested \$5 at the door. All proceeds to No One Is Illegal-Ottawa. @ 9pm, East African Restaurant, 376 Rideau St.

THEATRE: UOttawa Opera Company presents Mozart's "The Marriage of Figaro." \$5 students, \$10 adults. @ 7pm, Alumni Auditorium, University of Ottawa, 85 University Pr.

RALLY: Canadians Against Proroguing Parliament rally to protest the prorogation of Parliament and join thousands of Canadians who will be doing the same from coast to coast. 1PM, Parliament Hill.

Sun Jan 24

THEATRE: Sock N' Buskin Theatre Company proudly present PETER PAN by J.M. Barrie. Directed by Rideau Award Nominee Zach Counsil. 8 PM, Kailash Mital Theatre, Carleton University, \$14, \$10 for students, seniors and children.

Mon Jan 25

THEATRE: Sock N' Buskin Theatre Company proudly present PETER PAN by J.M. Barrie. Directed by Rideau Award Nominee Zach Counsil. 8 PM, Kailash Mital Theatre, Carleton University, \$14, \$10 for students, seniors and children.

FILM: "The Coca Cola Case," a documentary about Coca Cola and labour rights in its bottling plants. Panel to follow. Admission by donation 7pm, Azrieli Theatre 301, Carleton University.

Tues Jan 26

THEATRE: Sock N' Buskin Theatre Company proudly present PETER PAN by J.M. Barrie. Directed by Rideau Award Nominee Zach Counsil. 8 PM, Kailash Mital Theatre, Carleton University, \$14, \$10 for students, seniors and children.

Wed Jan 27 THEATRE: Sock N' Buskin

Theatre Company proudly present PETER PAN by J.M. Barrie. Directed by Rideau Award Nominee Zach Counsil. 8 PM, Kailash Mital Theatre, Carleton University, \$14, \$10 for students, seniors and children. WORKSHOP: "The Ingredients" poetry workshop by Canada's 2009 National Slam Poetry champion Ian Keteku focuses on performance training. 7pm, Umi

Cafe, 610 Somerset St. W. **Thurs Jan 28**

THEATRE: Sock N' Buskin Theatre Company proudly present PETER PAN by J.M. Barrie. Directed by Rideau Award Nominee Zach Counsil. 8 PM, Kailash Mital Theatre, Carleton University, \$14, \$10 for students, seniors and children.

TEACH-IN: Learn about Carleton's investments in companies involved in weapons manufacturing and implicated in violations of international humanitarian law in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, how Carleton can divest from these companies, and how we can implement a socially responsible investment policy. @ 7 pm, Carleton U, Tory Building 360.

ART: "The Earth is Hollow and people live inside it." Drawings by Patrick Thompson. Tunes by Big Mac Daddy. Proudly sponsored by CKCU 93.1 FM. @ 7pm, La Petite Mort Gallery, 306 Cumberland St.

Fri Jan 29

THEATRE: Sock N' Buskin Theatre Company proudly present PETER PAN by J.M. Barrie. Directed by Rideau Award Nominee Zach Counsil. 8 PM, Kailash Mital Theatre, Carleton University, \$14, \$10 for students, seniors and children.

Sat Jan 30 THEATRE: Sock N' Buskin

Theatre Company proudly present PETER PAN by J.M. Barrie. Directed by Rideau Award Nominee Zach Counsil. 8 PM, Kailash Mital Theatre, Carleton University, \$14, \$10 for students, seniors and children.

