

La Patrie

Social-démocratie imaginaire

L'écrivain **Pierre K. Malouf** démolit le fantasme de la social-démocratie québécoise. Un texte qui est un puissant antidote contre les discours creux et l'irresponsabilité sociale. **p. 8**

The Global Village

Long live the great Satan

Andrei Piontkovsky argues that Christianity cannot confront Islam successfully on the ideological plane and that the revolution that the Islamic world really needs is neither religious nor political, but rather sexual in nature. **p. 19**

L'économie

Neutres, les taxes?

L'économiste **Germain Belzile** nous démontre pourquoi nous sommes collectivement plus pauvres lorsque l'État s'ingère dans nos vies en taxant l'effort de ceux qui travaillent. **p. 27**

Society

Rights? For men?

Feminism has led to real advances for women over the past few decades, but taken to an extreme it has supported misconceptions that have led to an almost totalitarian denial of the rights of men as victims and fathers. **Barbara Kay** confronts the misandries of an ideology gone wild. **p. 24**

Les Arts

Holding the city to its promises

After promising the opposite, Mayor Tremblay turned his blind eye toward a process that would have revoked funding to a Montreal musical landmark. **P.A. Sevigny** on how musicians and their fans defended the Chapelle Bon Pasteur. **p. 28**

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Eternal vigilance *Un appel aux citoyens engagés*

"The condition upon which man hath received liberty is eternal vigilance; which condition if he break, servitude is at once the consequence of his crime and the punishment of his guilt."

~ John Philpot Curran, Dublin, 1800

« Chaque fissure dans l'ordre établi n'est jamais le résultat du hasard. C'est le résultat des efforts des gens déterminés, et engagés, à rendre compte à la vie. Alors, mes amis, trouvez-moi les citoyens engagés! »

~ André Malraux, Paris, 1950

Montrealers are metropolitan. For the most part the citizens of this island, the pearl of the St. Lawrence, get along with not just a special joie-de-vivre but with an unparalleled savoir-faire. They reject the parochialism and prejudice that has characterized so much of the public agenda for so long. For too long their voices have been marginalized by the politics of mediocrity and mendacity. A cheap public discourse of division and discord with the single goal of electoral profit. A public discourse – and public policy – driven by socially engineered nanny-statism that reduces everything – and everyone – to the lowest common denominator. A public policy driven by a prohibitionist mentality that demonizes



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and penalizes citizens as a deflection from elected officials inability—or unwillingness—to deal with the core responsibilities of governance.

For too long this island has been the champ-de-mars of the culture wars. Wars based on an organizing principle of the big lie. The lie that some unique injustice was done to a native people in its native land. And that one of those peoples have a superior moral claim on its sovereignty. Nothing of course could be further from the truth.

Nous sommes témoins d'une direction sans véritable gouvernail évoquant celle du politicien qui, lors de la Révolution française, est allé voir dans la rue quelle direction prenait la foule, pour qu'il puisse la mener. Le leadership implique l'audace. Le leadership s'astreint à la décision. Le leadership exige le dévouement. De nos jours, nous ne pouvons plus tolérer des dilettantes dans notre vie publique simplement parce qu'ils sont agréables et présentables.

But more than the damage to our institutional memories, this big lie has convinced too many, that only

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Nationalisme Haine de la culture

Je ne suis pas nationaliste, et je prends le droit de le dire. Le nationalisme, c'est surtout l'exigence imposée à l'individu de devenir en tout et pour tout le serviteur de la tribu—ce qui est essentiellement déprimant et asservissant. Aussi, rien n'abêtit autant que la vanité tribale.

À preuve, la nullité de plus en plus généralisée de la culture québécoise « officielle »—par là je veux dire l'essentiel de ce qui monopolise l'espace public et médiatique ; il faut regarder ailleurs que là pour trouver



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l'intéressant, et ça ne manque pas, heureusement. Mais à peu près tout ce qui est promu à grands cris, ce sont des humoristes insignifiants qui sont tout sauf drôles, ou encore des odes au traditionalisme le plus réac, comme la *toune* très en vogue mais remplie d'invocations carrément arriérées, intitulée *Dégénération*, du groupe *Mes Aïeux*.

Suite en page 3

Private wealth still trumping public interest with Canadian MPs

While representatives of all political parties point accusing fingers at each other, none have focused on cleaning up the "He who pays the piper calls the tune" and "I'll scratch your back if you scratch mine" system that is the basis for many decisions made in Ottawa.

Four years have passed since the law limiting annual donations of money, property and services to



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federal political parties and riding associations was passed; three years since ethics rules for MPs and senators came into force, and one-year since the Conservatives' "Federal Accountability Act" (FAA) banned any donations from corpora-

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Sovereign individuals Canada's living human rights legacy

John Peter Humphrey lived a public life showered with honors, including a Canadian postage stamp in his name. But his private life was full of trials and tribulations. His parents died early, he lost an arm in a fire during childhood, and his first wife, to whom he was deeply attached, was a semi-invalid most of her life. His career, which now appears dazzling, also had many ups and downs.

Human rights had a vaguely subversive aura in his early years and his attachment to social justice as



JULIUS GREY

well as human rights made him appear far more dangerous. In the United Nations he had an undeclared but abiding conflict with Dag Hammarskjöld who, in his eyes favored a political approach to peace and justice and not the moral one which he espoused. His instrumental role in drafting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was denied or diminished by his detractors,

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The Thousand Words

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DANIEL LAPRÈS

NATIONALISME: HAINE DE LA CULTURE—SUITE DE LA PAGE 1

Sinon, on a droit à des séries télévisées du genre « Gloire à Saint René Lévesque »—pas juste *une*, mais *deux* séries lui ont déjà été dédiées depuis sa mort encore relativement récente ! Ou encore sur le démagogue Michel Chartrand, qui toute sa vie, squattant de l'extrême-droite à l'extrême-gauche, n'aura fait que gueuler sans jamais rien construire, et qui, de son vivant s'il-vous-plaît, s'est fait dédier une série télévisée. Je parie qu'on nous en fera bientôt subir une autre, cette fois sur Pierre Bourgault, cet autre fieffé démagogue—ultranationaliste bien sûr, cette « qualité » étant requise pour l'entrée au Panthéon de notre Grande Nation, mais dont l'œuvre principale n'aura surtout été qu'un monument sculpté à sa propre gloire. C'est que des icônes à vénérer, il en faut au pays du nationalisme obligatoire.

Côté cinéma, on nous aura notamment servi des *remake* de *Séraphin* et d'*Aurore l'Enfant Martyre*... Ne manque plus qu'un *remake* du film *Le curé du village*, un chef d'œuvre de niaiserie cléricale des années 1940, mais dont une nouvelle version, fortement pimentée de violence inquisitoriale, pourrait présenter Pierre Falardeau dans le rôle-titre, qui d'ailleurs conviendrait parfaitement à ce bouffon réac devant qui se pâment d'admiration nos bien-pensants nationalistes. Ou encore, on nous sert, comme cet hiver à Radio-Canada, une série sur les Laviguer, une famille qui connut son heure de gloire durant les années 1980 pour avoir gagné la 6/49, et qui par la suite se transforma en clan d'épaves humaines. Quelle grandiose expression de notre culture appelée, paraît-il, à rayonner jusqu'aux confins de l'univers !

Une telle accumulation d'insignifiances et de nullités devrait nous faire réfléchir, il me semble, sur le fait que tout cela se passe alors que la double obsession identitaire et linguistique exerce ses ravages chez nous. Ça dure pour l'essentiel depuis 1895, alors qu'un fanatique ultracatholique et réactionnaire comme ça se peut pas, Jules-Paul Tardivel,



PHOTO: ROBERT GALBRAITH

publiait *Pour la Patrie*, un roman minable mais dont l'influence fut marquante pour la suite des choses. C'est en effet Tardivel qui, dans ce roman, a le premier forgé l'idée d'indépendance du Québec tel qu'on la connaît aujourd'hui, afin de protéger le troupeau de brebis québécoises et catholiques contre le méchant loup anglo-saxon et protestant (et aussi juif, évidemment). La paranoïa s'est depuis installée peu à peu, jusqu'à régner sans partage aujourd'hui, grâce aux bien-pensants nationalistes qui continuent de l'attiser afin de nous garder dans leur enclos, histoire de mieux assurer leur emprise sur nous tous.

Le roman de Tardivel le montre bien : le culte de la nationalité, c'est un égoïsme forcené, créateur de mythes propres à domestiquer les esprits, illusionniste à outrance pour susciter la ferveur des membres de la tribu, et aussi fabricant de ruses pour duper l'individu. C'est aussi la haine de la culture : quoiqu'en disent nos bien-pensants, le nationalisme ne peut pas supporter en pensée l'idée même de culture. Parce que la culture, c'est ce qui permet à chacun

d'être soi-même, d'être *au monde*, d'être *du monde*. D'être vraiment libre. La culture, ça se conjugue avant tout au « Je », parce que la conscience individuelle est le refuge, précaire et fragile, de l'instinct de connaissance et de la liberté de penser, ces deux éternels ennemis de l'instinct tribal.

Trop souvent les individus, au lieu de vivre une existence autonome, préfèrent se gonfler d'orgueil en s'identifiant essentiellement à leur tribu. Là-dessus, le philosophe français Georges Palante (1862-1925) avait vu juste :

« Moins un individu a de valeurs propres, plus aisément il s'absorbe dans le groupe. Chez un tel individu, les goûts, les idées, les passions personnelles ne sont plus bientôt que l'émanation des goûts, des idées, des passions, des mots d'ordre régnant dans le groupe. L'individu se fait de prime abord illusion sur les bienfaits qu'il retire de son appartenance au groupe. Il lui semble que son vouloir-vivre personnel, que ses poussées vitales sont exaltées et intensifiées par le fait de fusionner avec l'égoïsme de groupe. Il ne s'aperçoit

pas qu'en s'absorbant dans le vouloir-vivre collectif, il se nie en tant qu'individu même. »

Quand une société se trouve sous le joug d'une pensée unique comme le nationalisme l'est devenu chez nous, il ne faut pas s'étonner que la culture « officielle » se limite de plus

« ...LE NATIONALISME, C'EST D'ABORD ET AVANT TOUT L'EXPRESSION DE L'ESPRIT DE TRIBU, POUR LEQUEL L'INDIVIDU DOIT DEVENIR EN TOUT ET POUR TOUT LE SERVITEUR DE LA TRIBU. »

en plus au divertissement le plus niais et à la flagornerie tribale la plus débilante. Les idées et créations réellement libres, celles qui naissent d'individus réfractaires à toute forme d'embrigadement, elles sont de moins en moins tolérées. Ces réfrac-

taires sont dénoncés comme des hérétiques et des blasphémateurs, et tous les moyens sont bons pour les faire taire.

Pendant qu'on a tellement besoin d'air chez nous, on se retrouve donc, encore une fois, pris avec l'obsession pour la langue, en se laissant accroire que l'identité est une affaire collective avant d'en être une d'individus. Aussi, peu de gens déplorent le fait que cette même langue serve si peu à faire vivre chez nous une vraie culture, celle qui peut stimuler l'expression de nos « Je ». On en serait pourtant bien capables, si on le voulait vraiment. En attendant, on continue d'étouffer.

Ils sont où nos hérétiques et nos blasphémateurs, ceux qui peuvent nous donner enfin un peu d'air frais ? Il y en a sûrement un en vous-mêmes. Ce serait bien moche que, dans la seule vie qu'il a à vivre, c'est-à-dire dans *votre* vie, il ne puisse faire autre chose que d'étouffer, jusqu'à ce que votre « Je » disparaisse en se dissolvant dans le « Nous ». Mais pour qu'il en soit autrement, ça dépend juste de vous... ♣

...si le Gouvernement nous protège de tout,
qui donc nous protège du gouvernement ?

...if the Government protects us from everything
else, then who protects us from the government?

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Appel aux citoyens engagés

BERYL WAJSMAN

ETERNAL VIGILANCE - CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the state can be the protector of their interests. What started with measures to protect a language, quickly morphed into a mentality that denigrated individual ability, ambition and consequence. Successive governments—regardless of party or level—legislated on the basis that we had to be protected. Protected from the big, bad world; protected from our fellow citizens; protected even from ourselves. We who have come together in The Métropolitain reject this mentality and this attitude.

This paper will seek to raise the public discourse. We want dignity back in our lives. We want an open, as well as a just, society. And we want our cite to be vraiment libre again.

Il ne suffit pas que les grands partis de pouvoir et de principes voient le succès électoral comme l'ultime fin. Leurs fonctions ne sont alors pas pleinement remplies ainsi. Cette question est sans doute insolite au sein de la politique Québécois. Pourtant, notre époque



multiculturalism and multilingualism practiced by a population with more post secondary students per capita than even Boston, needs a broader international vision that does not reflexively reject the liberal pluralism of those western nations from whose philosophical and historical traditions we sprang.

Notre époque exige le constat des

dedicated to the proposition that in Montreal we are indeed one community with no solitudes.

Our community cannot be defined merely by parameters of the "quartiers" where some feel most comfortable. Our community is the whole island of Montreal and indeed the entire province of Quebec. But on this island—in this city—whose

plaidoirie puissante auprès des sphères du pouvoir. C'est avec transparence et courage que nous devons hisser notre vision nationale au-dessus des pressions politiques quotidiennes faites de banals procédés et munir le peuple de la force dont il a besoin pour répandre sa générosité d'esprit inhérente. Cette démonstration de discipline s'avère un précurseur nécessaire aux sacrifices exigés pour réaliser une culture de courage.

Our society of free and critical thought has turned feckless through the bodyguard of lies protecting politicians from one election to another. A society of good and brave people has abdicated the courage to challenge, and accepted the pandering of empty promises in exchange for lives of delayed gratification and quiet desperation choked by the bankrupt and foolish notions of moral relativism and political equivalency. We claim to be a liberal society. In truth we are not, though we should be.

We need a liberalism of inclusion not exception. A liberalism of expanded opportunity, not low limitation. A liberalism based on the equity of just consideration, not the inequality of narrow circumstance. A liberalism that is the shield of the vulnerable and the staff of the unempowered. A liberal society whose leaders do not exercise power merely as a two-edged sword of craft and oppression.

D'après nous, plusieurs ici croient que les objectifs vers lesquels nous tendons et les politiques que certains proposent, amorceront la tranquille régression du progrès auquel notre nation doit demeurer attachée. Ce ne sont pas de nouveaux problèmes. Plusieurs d'entre nous se sont débattus avec ceux-ci au cours des dernières années. Le temps du renouveau est arrivé. Il nous appelle à renouveler notre engagement avec vigilance et exige de nous une fidélité sans compromis envers ces idéaux qui

reflètent l'aspiration transcendante de l'humanité à un changement régénérateur.

In that spirit it is our profound hope and faith that the time is now to tear down the walls between tous les solitudes. To end the smugness so many comfort themselves with that merely hides the worn prejudices of social orthodoxies that they believe justify their own complacency. We need to listen to each other, and in listening come to understand that there are people of good will on all sides who will work in common cause to prevent our community from continuing to be exploited in the battles of petty prejudices over parochial particularities. We can and must do better.

Better, means a society where hope is not extinguished through humiliation. Where justice is not compromised by expediency. Where truth is not mortgaged to timidity. Where honour is never cheapened by avarice. This resolve is our only surety of a society grounded in compassion and conscience and not one petrified and paralyzed in the icy frost of indifference. Bien que le programme soit long, les tâches redoutables et les journées éphémères, nous ne changerions pas notre place avec un quelconque autre peuple ou génération.

Bien que le monde soit devenu un endroit périlleux, nous chérissons notre plus grand présent en tant que peuple libre... celui de l'espoir.

For even while remembering the distortions of power, and the failed enthusiasms of any given moment, when we, the people, dare to care - in hundreds of ways and in hundreds of places - we can make better the life of this place. But it takes leadership. Et le leadership ne reste pas au pied de la montagne. Il conquiert les cimes. Et de ce mirador, il demeure vigilant car, la justice n'est ni au paradis ni au-delà des océans, mais bien dans nos cœurs pour que nous la convoitions et dans nos mains pour que nous la forçons. ♣

Le temps du renouveau est arrivé. Il nous appelle à renouveler notre engagement avec vigilance et exige de nous une fidélité sans compromis envers ces idéaux qui reflètent l'aspiration transcendante de l'humanité à un changement régénérateur.

est insolite. Les défis intérieurs et étrangers sont insolites. Et ils appellent une vision et une vigueur renouvelées.

We will celebrate individual spirit and initiative that seeks to free itself from the suffocating constraints of the culture wars. We will advocate for the restoration of the sovereignty of the individual over domains which the state should not have entered and on which it should not have legislated. We will oppose rule and regulation aimed at social engineering. We will condemn politically-correct nanny-state intervention. And we will remind Montrealers—so long imprisoned in Quebec's mentality of self-doubt driven by a jealousy of others self-belief—that our unique

dures réalités et le courage des grandes décisions. Elle nous invite à des tâches déconcertantes et stimule nos volontés. Nous devons songer à un programme radical pour une réforme authentique. Radical n'insinue pas révolutionnaire. De nos jours, alors que Camus écrit « qu'il est dur, qu'il est amer de devenir un homme, » radical ne signifie même pas nouveau. Cela signifie vrai. Et juste. Et la vérité et la justice ne connaissent de frontières ni dans le temps ni dans l'espace.

We will tackle all these taboos. And one other. We will not be limited by the stilted mindset in this country that seems afraid to express itself in both official languages. We who have come together in common cause on these pages are

population is more than 50% non-francophone, though we be anglophones, allophones or francophones, we can no longer afford to be angryphones - of whatever language. Montreal has demonstrated that people of diverse cultures and origins can build a dynamic "city on the hill" and more than anywhere else in Canada have not only realized that vision of Pericles of Athens but have also demonstrated that we are greater than the sum of our parts and that what unites us is greater than what divides us. In order to cement that unity we have to understand what our neighbours are thinking and what they are saying in both official languages.

Notre plus importante contribution, notre plus grand défi, sera de traduire les passions publique en

The sovereignty of the individual

JULIUS GREY

CANADA'S HUMAN RIGHTS LEGACY—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Any sensible person will widely accept that human rights are not the sole concern of legislators or judges. Incarceration is a clear violation of a basic right to liberty but, in many cases, both legislators and judges must have resort to it.

many of whom found it unfortunate to give credit to a white, male, Anglo-Saxon Protestant, even one with impeccable credentials in combating prejudice and injustice.

It was only in the last five years of his life, after the discovery of the first draft of the Universal Declaration in his handwriting that John Humphrey was transformed into a Canadian icon. Yet, ironically, the Canada that heaped praise on John Humphrey had turned its back on much of his legacy.

John Humphrey believed that human rights were fundamentally individual in nature. They depended on the conscience of each citizen and pre-supposed giving an equal value to each human being. Collective claims based on ethnicity, religion, gender and all of the other identities which make up the smorgasbord of Canadian multiculturalism were anathema to him. He promoted rights which the individual could defend against the majority as well as against particular interests in society,

and their essence lay in their legal enforceability.

He was, of course, no friend of right-wing libertarianism. He was devoted to social justice and believed that a decent minimum of the riches of our society was part of the entitlement of each individual. Moreover, he hoped that society would redistribute much more than that minimum and, after World War II these hopes were largely realized. However, he did not dilute the notion of basic human rights with elements of collective rights and did not try to explain the fact that basic rights were not absolute through the creation of new, dubious rights.

Any sensible person will widely accept that human rights are not the sole concern of legislators or judges. For instance, incarceration is a clear violation of a basic right to liberty but, in many cases, both legislators and judges must have resort to it. In such circumstances, it is a very pernicious, if tempting exercise to invent a “collective human right” to

security or a “victims’ right” as an excuse for restricting freedom. This is often what modern Canada does. When we claim that prohibition of hate speech is a human right which prevails over free speech and when reversal of the criminal burden of proof becomes a way of enforcing women’s rights, we create a web of human rights perpetually in conflict with each other, with the “collective” ones usually winning out.

Gilbert and Sullivan perceptively noted in *The Gondoliers* “when everyone is somebody then nobody is anybody”. If everything is a human right, then fundamental rights allowing the weak to challenge the strong no longer exist. Rather, human rights become a linguistic code justifying the politically correct causes of the times, much as Marxist language was used in the Soviet Union by communists to justify the failings of eastern European socialism. Often the terminology of human rights becomes the preferred instrument for suppressing basic

rights and this type of hypocrisy substantially weakens public support and respect for them.

John Humphrey was deeply disturbed by these developments, especially in the last years marked by his worldly success. He had no use for multiculturalism, gender politics or victim-based vigilantism in criminal law or disciplinary law. In the 1970s, he founded the Canadian Human Rights Foundation as an independent and non-partisan body which, in its many conferences, promoted a forum for all positions, including “politically incorrect” ones. However, in the 1990s, he lost control of it, as the government imposed the usual Canadian restrictions as a condition for its subsidiaries.

As a result, the Foundation joined the rest of the Canadian human rights industry dedicated to promoting popular causes. Humphrey, on the other hand, remained loyal to freedom of expression, of conscience, of association and to the



John Peters Humphrey (above, left in Geneva, 1947) drafted the blueprint of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1947. It was adopted by the United Nations in 1948. His life and work were marked by an unshakeable commitment to furthering human rights. He was the first Canadian to be awarded the United Nations Human Rights Award (1988) and received numerous awards and testimonials in recognition of his exceptional contributions to the field of human rights, including the Order of Canada (1974) and the Ordre national du Québec (1985).

right to a fair trial. Some restriction of these rights was inevitable and often justifiable, but should not be explained by a saccharine appeal to competing human rights. Moreover, it is the unpopular cause which usually requires resort to human rights, and therefore one must be wary of what is generally accepted or is politically correct in our times.

It is likely that John Humphrey would have regretted recent tendencies in Canadian jurisprudence. He would have opposed both the Chaoulli case which chipped away at the principles of Medicare in the name of the Charter and the Mugesera case which favored the prohibition of hate speech over free expression to the point of exposing Mr. Mugesera to serious danger.

John Humphrey was not always correct. A man who had lived through the first half of the 20th century was naturally wary of all nationalism and for this reason he failed to understand the positive nature of many of the changes in Quebec. As a man of his epoch, he did not contribute to the movement to emancipate homosexuals, although he was not hostile to it. Despite these minor failings, he undoubtedly constituted Canada’s most significant contribution to human rights.

It is an irony, perhaps inherent in the human condition that in the years of his acclaim, John Humphrey was deeply distressed by Canada’s partial repudiation of his legacy. We would do well to re-examine the crucial elements of this legacy – the defense of individual liberty and of the freedom to dissent, the championing of unpopular causes and abiding mistrust of “collective rights”. They form the soul of Canada’s living human rights legacy. ♣

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...federal MPs only have to disclose things they own worth \$10,000 or more, making it easy for a lobbyist to give them a gift worth up to \$9,999. Senators and most government officials don't even have to disclose *anything* publicly about what they own or owe.

tions and other organizations and lowered the annual limit on individual donations.

Yet the Liberals recently advertised an auction offering the highest bidder the opportunity to play golf with

Liberal MP Paul Martin, attend a hockey game with Liberal MP Ken Dryden, or play tennis with Liberal by-election candidate Bob Rae and his brother John, Executive VP at Power Corporation.

Media coverage led the Liberals to limit bids to individuals up to their annual party donation limit of \$1,100. However, the Liberal MPs expressed no concerns about selling access to themselves for cash, even though

ethics rules prohibit MPs from accepting such gifts and require MPs to uphold the highest ethical standards.

Meanwhile, the Conservatives are arguing in court that it was legal to exceed election spending limits by giving dozens of their 2006 election candidates tens of thousands of dollars each to pay the party headquarters for regional TV ads that only mentioned the local candidate at the end. Elections Canada refused to reimburse this part of these candidates' spending, making the very reasonable ruling that the ads were mostly national party, not local candidate, spending.

The other federal parties are not clean either, as lobbyists have worked on their party leadership and election campaigns, and they also transfer funds to local candidates.

And, of course, many corporate lobbyists and citizen groups are not clean either, as it takes two to tango (and to scratch each other's back).

These rampant unethical attitudes, and actions, are so widespread that Democracy Watch itself had the problem in the past of a board member who saw nothing wrong with volunteering for a federal junior Cabinet minister while also lobbying the minister. Needless to say, that person was soon afterwards no longer a Democracy Watch board member.

Unfortunately, loopholes in federal laws and rules and weak enforcement and penalties essentially legalize unethical, undemocratic means of influencing the federal government. Because the Conservatives' broke their election promise to limit donations to all candidates through the FAA, it is still legal for anyone to make an unlimited donation to a nomination race or party leadership candidate and the donation never has to be disclosed (as long as the candidate uses the donation for personal reasons as opposed to their campaign).

As well, federal MPs only have to disclose things they own worth \$10,000 or more, making it easy for a lobbyist to give them a gift worth up to \$9,999. Senators and most government officials don't even have to disclose anything publicly about what they own or owe.

And while the FAA finally banned

MPs from having their own secret trust fund, MPs can still maintain a secret fund for someone else, and riding associations and parties can also maintain secret funds.

In addition, anyone can still loan an unlimited amount of money to anyone in the federal government.

Another huge loophole is the lack of a requirement to disclose who is volunteering for parties and candidates. While it is illegal for a corporation or other organization to pay employees to volunteer, without disclosure there is no way Elections Canada can ensure these rules are being followed (and it also lacks the power to do regular audits to ensure the limits on donations of money are being followed).

While lobbyists' ethics rules prohibit them from using improper means of influence, the federal Registrar of Lobbyists is still controlled by a federal Cabinet minister and continues to refuse to enforce these rules.

On the other side, federal politicians still give special access to people who donate the most to their parties, in part because the federal Ethics Commissioner continues to fail to enforce rules banning such access-for-cash activities.

The unethical decision-making system in Ottawa also continues because of loopholes in ethics rules that allow federal politicians to make decisions in which they have a financial interest (as long as the decision applies broadly), loopholes that allow secret lobbying and allow politicians and government officials to lobby the day after they leave office, and whistleblower protection that doesn't even apply to all government officials (let alone political staff and members of the public).

All party leaders keep their MPs supporting this corrupt system by rewarding them with appointments (including as the candidate in a riding) and with donations from party headquarters for their election campaigns (which are still not limited).

Until all these loopholes are closed, everyone should expect that people in the federal government (and provincial, territorial and municipal governments) will continue to scratch the backs of private interest's instead of acting in the public interest. ♣

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LE DISCOURS SUR LA SOCIAL-DÉMOCRATIE, OU L'ART DE SE GARGARISER DE MOTS

La social-démocratie *imaginaire*

Le Québec ressemble à la France : on aime bien s'y gargariser de mots. L'un des plus populaires, qui clapote lamentablement dans nos pharynx, c'est l'expression « social-démocratie », tant galvaudée que, de nom composé, elle a dégénéré en notion décomposée.

Le problème avec la social-démocratie, c'est qu'elle n'existe pas. Je ne parle que du Québec, bien sûr. Le premier politicien québécois à se prétendre social-démocrate, ce fut Robert Bourassa, vers 1970, à une époque où aucune alliance,

fût-elle circonstancielle, n'était envisageable avec des mouvements ouvriers qui se disaient trahis par l'État, qui voulaient casser le système, abolir le capitalisme, voire faire la Révolution (du moins dans les manifestes qu'ils ronéotypaient à s'en donner des crampes idéologiques). Les grandes centrales syndicales se faisaient les apôtres (c'était surtout le cas à la CSN et à la CEQ, mais aussi dans une moindre mesure à la FTQ) non pas de la social-démocratie—quelle horreur! —mais d'un socialisme « démocratique »!

Socialisme démocratique, quel délicieux oxymoron! Pauvre Boubou! Jamais premier ministre du Québec ne dut-il ravalé aussi souvent son rince-gorge. Social-démocratie, mon œil! Dans ces années-là, quelqu'un qui parlait de social-démocratie dans une assemblée syndicale se faisait traiter de fasciste! « Un État social-démocrate repose sur le "tripartisme officialisé", c'est-à-dire sur la concertation entre un mouvement ouvrier et un patronat unifiés au sein d'un État gouverné par un parti

confond parfois—sous une forme légèrement modifiée par l'ajout d'un antécédent à connotation psychiatrique. On ne parla plus désormais, non plus du déficit zéro, mais plutôt de *l'obsession-du-déficit-zéro*, expression à jamais insécable, pétrifiée pour l'éternité.

Un gargarisme, c'est utile à l'occasion pour éliminer les bactéries, mais pour raffermir une cervelle ramollie, ça ne vaut strictement rien. Un politicien qui se dit « social-démocrate » ferait donc mieux de déclarer : « Je suis une bonne personne ». Mme.

providentiel qu'auparavant, avec toutes les conséquences négatives ou positives que cela pourra provoquer.

Hélas! le Dieu caché de l'État-providence, c'est vous et moi, c'est le contribuable. Dieu n'est pas mort mais y est pas fort! L'État-providence, je suis pour! Mais à condition qu'on ne vienne pas chercher une crise de cenne de plus dans mes poches pour stimuler la ferveur des dévots, ravalé la façade du temple ou engager de nouveaux ministres du culte payés à ne rien faire. Assez, c'est assez! Et ne venez



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social-démocrate lié *organiquement* aux syndicats. »* Une telle réalité n'a jamais existé ici. Nous avons certes eu droit à un simulacre de social-démocratie sous Lucien Bouchard, qui a réussi à créer un fragile consensus autour du fameux projet de déficit zéro. Mais rien de plus. Et il a suffi de quelques mois pour que l'expression « déficit zéro » entre au dictionnaire de la langue de bois—aussi populaire chez nous que le gargarisme, avec lequel elle se

Marois est une bonne personne. Mme. David et M. Khadir sont de bonnes personnes. Quant à MM. Charest et Dumont, je n'ose me prononcer, mais je suppose qu'ils ne sont pas très mauvais. Élisons, par exemple, le tandem David-Khadir. Qu'obtiendrons-nous? Sûrement pas la social-démocratie! Non, nous aurons simplement ce dont nous jouissons depuis des lunes, encore de l'État-Providence, mais avec ces bonnes gens un État-providence plus

pas me traiter de sans-cœur! Moi aussi, je suis une bonne personne. La preuve, c'est que chaque fois qu'on m'offre un bien soi-disant gratuit, la première question que je me pose c'est « qui c'est qui peut bien payer à ma place? » ♦

* BUCI-GLUCKSMANN ET THERBORN, 1981, CITÉ PAR JEAN-CLAUDE TARDIF, LE MOUVEMENT SYNDICAL ET L'ÉTAT, ENTRE L'INTÉGRATION ET L'OPPOSITION. LE CAS DE LA CEQ (1960-1992), QUÉBEC, DÉPARTEMENT DES RELATIONS INDUSTRIELLES DE L'UNIVERSITÉ LAVAL, 1995, P. 9.

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Daniel Romano

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UNE LETTRE OUVERTE AU MINISTRE DE LA SANTÉ

Les priorités, les bonnes...

Monsieur le Ministre,

Depuis les années 80, plusieurs paliers gouvernementaux au Canada et dans certains autres pays du monde, ont systématiquement dirigé leurs pouvoirs législatifs vers la vie privée des citoyens. Provoqués par des groupes d'intérêt et par leurs propres départements et ministères de la santé, ces gouvernements ont produit une série de lois envahissantes visant à protéger l'individu de lui-même. De nouvelles lois ont été adoptées portant de l'interdiction du tabac au port du casque de sécurité en vélo et ce en plus de la taxation abusive sur les produits susceptibles à nuire à la santé, tels que le tabac, l'alcool et probablement dans un avenir

rapproché, la malbouffe.

Le regroupement Citoyens anti-gouvernement envahissant (CAGE) se questionne sur les priorités qui justifient ces interventions de l'État. Votre ministère a-t-il fait un effort aussi considérable afin de décourager l'achat des VUS qui consomment des quantités injustifiables d'essence. Vous êtes-vous attaqués avec autant d'ardeur aux poêles à bois ou aux entreprises polluantes. Pendant que vous élaboriez des plans de déploiement d'agents anti-tabac, avez-vous oublié que le Québec n'a toujours pas un nombre suffisant d'inspecteurs pour faire respecter les lois environnementales.

Puisqu'un nombre toujours grandissant d'établissements au Québec choisissent de devenir des lieux «sans fumée» (environ la moitié des cafés au Québec le sont déjà), ne devrions nous pas laisser les choses évoluer d'elles-mêmes. Lorsque l'un des fondateurs de CAGE vous a posé cette même question le 28 janvier 2005, vous avez répondu que « l'évolution naturelle est trop lente. » Il y a pourtant beaucoup d'autres dossiers dans lesquels les Québécois subissent des délais beaucoup trop lents. Le temps d'attente pour des soins de santé est trop lent. L'intervention du gouvernement dans le domaine de l'environnement

est trop lente. La réparation des nids-de-poule est trop lente. La réaction du gouvernement au problème de la pauvreté est trop lente. Tous ces dossiers devraient avoir priorité sur une nouvelle loi coûteuse.

Vous avez aussi dit « qu'il serait bon de suivre l'exemple de nos voisins de l'Ontario ». Depuis quand devrions-nous suivre l'exemple de l'Ontario? Maintenant que vous êtes tombé en amour avec la méthode ontarienne en matière de santé, allez-vous aussi imiter ces lois ontariennes limitant l'achat de vins et d'alcool à la LCBO, ou encore régissant les endroits dans lesquels on peut boire de l'alcool durant les concerts à ciel ouvert, ou le port du casque obliga-

toire pour les cyclistes et d'autres sportifs ou même encore l'interdiction de certaines races canines?

Si tel est votre plan, j'espère que vous aurez le courage politique de nous en faire part car nous ne nous souvenons pas d'avoir lu, dans votre dernier programme électoral, un engagement à interdire le tabac à 100%. Si cela aurait été le cas nous sommes convaincus que vous auriez perdu l'appui de plusieurs Québécois qui aiment fumer en buvant leur café ou leur verre de vin.

Nous voudrions aussi mettre en garde ceux qui appuient ces lois en leur rappelant que l'intolérance est contagieuse. Vous devez vous rappeler que les bars, les restaurants et les cafés sont des lieux appartenant à des particuliers et ouverts au public qui veut bien y rentrer.

À Montréal on rencontre plusieurs touristes de l'Ontario et des États-Unis qui affirment que l'une des raisons pour laquelle ils aiment visiter le Québec est notre liberté sociétale.

Imaginez un instant la réaction si on forçait tous les cinémas à montrer des films classés « pour toute la famille ».

Pourquoi avez-vous opté de faire fi de la promesse du gouvernement québécois de 1998 d'attendre jusqu'à 2008 avant de proclamer une nouvelle loi sur le tabagisme?

Monsieur le Ministre, continuez à informer les gens sur les dangers du tabagisme, mais sauvegardez un Québec connu pour sa tolérance, son acceptation de styles de vie différents et surtout sa joie de vivre. La majorité (silencieuse) ne veut qu'on la laisse tranquille.

De grâce, épargnez-nous cette nouvelle mode nord-américaine de tout interdire pour protéger le citoyen de lui-même... qui sait, avec un peu de chance vous aurez peut-être ainsi le temps de régler le problème du smog... ♣



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Daniel Romano est un avocat Montréalais, environnementaliste, fondateur et président de Citoyens anti-gouvernement envahissant - CAGE



David Solway is arguably Canada's leading poet. His recent works have included "Franklin's Passage" and "The Big Lie". He is the 2007 laureate in poetry of the Quebec Writers Federation having receiving the A.M. Klein Prize.

David Solway

FOR A COUNTRY WITH THE IDENTITY OF A HARLEQUIN'S TUNIC

The next Governor General

I regard my country as much in sorrow as in anger. Not so long ago I was listening to a radio news broadcast in which the remarks of an imam were being reported. Apparently, as a Jew I am the descendant of monkeys and swine and, along with those who share my theriomorphic ancestry, must be done way with, according to a Koranic sura cited by the imam in question, Sheikh Younus Kathrada. The sermon in which my demise and that of my family was being urged did not emanate from Riyadh, Teheran, Ramallah, Damascus or Sa'ana, but from a mosque in Vancouver. This particular offender may be muzzled, but there are many other Kathradas waiting in the wings.

Similarly, Mohamed Elmasry, president of the Canadian Islamic Congress, speaking on television,

After all, the majority of that country's citizens are my co-religionists and, as we well know, nothing crosses borders more easily than inducement to violence or regional vendettas. Rather than retract his remarks, Mr. Elmasry has gone on to further triumphs, having managed to haul author Mark Steyn and Maclean's current affairs magazine, which printed an excerpt from Steyn's brilliant *America Alone*, before one of Canada's notorious, speech-muzzling Human Rights commissions.

Several recent events make it hard to resist the impression that antisemitism continues to prosper in Canada. The United Church of Canada, the largest Confession in the country, has recently introduced an "ethical investment plan" to divest from companies involved in building Israel's security fence or that provide

million Jews expelled from Arab countries, who have no right of return and have enjoyed no compensation for loss of livelihood, savings and property, garner nary a mention. Our universities, presumably centers of enlightenment, are no better. Concordia University in Montreal, with its large Muslim student body and pusillanimous administration, is subject to student riots which prevent Israeli public figures from speaking. Security guards at York University in Toronto warned the well-known Jewish scholar and lecturer Daniel Pipes against inflaming his audience, when it was the audience which should have been policed. The University of Toronto, many of whose staff have joined the divestment campaign, organized an anti-Zionist hatefest under the title "Israel Apartheid Week." The

was a welcome guest in Quebec and given star billing on Radio-Canada's *Tout le monde en parle*.²

One recalls as well the comments made on December 12, 2002 by David Ahenakew, former Chief of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, to the effect that Hitler was right to have "fried" six million Jews. (Ahenakew stated for the court at his trial for inciting public hatred in April, 2005, that he stood by his earlier comments.) For more than two years following his remarks, Mr. Ahenakew did not have his membership in The Order of Canada revoked, although he should have been cashiered at once. (Indeed, prior to this episode, the only officer of the Order to be stripped of his honours was "hockey czar" Alan Egelson, for fiscal malfeasance.) Nor to my knowledge did any of the inductees relinquish

of their protest—and that others gratefully received it defies belief and erodes confidence not only in the institution of the Governor General but in the ethical character of our most illustrious citizens, including the Governor General. Even though Mr. Ahenakew was finally drummed out of the Order, the years that elapsed to effect what should have been instantly obvious bespeaks the debased will to defer a clearly moral decision on behalf of the status quo, as problematic as the latter may be. The whole episode is a blot of shame on the country's escutcheon. Further, the Senators of the Saskatchewan Federation voted 20 to 1 in favour of reinstating Mr. Ahenakew after his resignation from its councils, and he has won his appeal for a new trial. Mr. Ahenakew subsequently resumed his position as a Senator with the Federation. Despite some noble muttering by the Saskatchewan provincial government, no real pressure was brought to bear upon the Federation.

This is Canada, a country mired in the quicksand of political correctness and sinking inch by inch into moral desuetude, a country with the identity of a harlequin's tunic, a country that indemnifies the descendants of Chinese immigrants subjected to the poll tax but has nothing to say about a ship full of Jewish refugees sent back to Hitler's Germany when the Mackenzie King administration closed our ports to the *St. Louis*—a country in which an obviously culpable aboriginal leader is treated gingerly, it seems realistic to suggest, in order to avoid the stigma of racism against First Nations.

I propose David Ahenakew for Canada's next Governor General. Failing that, Sheikh Younus Kathrada or Mohamed Elmasry would surely confer honour upon the office. ♣

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justified suicide attacks against Israeli civilians eighteen years of age and over as soldiers in mufti—although how an octogenarian may be considered as a potential military conscript is beyond me. Since many children under eighteen have also been murdered, this may no doubt be justified as the elimination of future soldiers, as Mr. Elmasry implied during his interview. Asked about women, he responded: "The same." Needless to say, Mr. Elmasry has not been disciplined by the university where he teaches although his immediate dismissal would have been entirely appropriate. I take no comfort from the fact that Mr. Elmasry confines his observations to Israel.

"products, services or technology" to Israel. This is antisemitism by another name, for the Church has not considered divesting from real Human Rights offenders and undeniably oppressive regimes. Trade with China and Syria, for example, continues unabated and unremarked.¹ The Ontario branch of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), effectively violating its institutional mandate, resolved to support organizations and unions engaged in the boycott of Israel until Israel recognizes the "right of return" for all so-called Palestinian refugees, which would spell the demographic end of the Jewish state. This is antisemitism pure and simple. The nearly one

Université du Québec à Montréal received Leila Shahid, a paid propagandist for the Palestinians, with high honours at an ostensibly impartial political conference.

The political climate in Quebec, which is still part of Canada, is no less distressing. High profile members of several of our political parties, both Federal and Provincial, marched under Hizbullah flags at public demonstrations during the summer 2006 war in the Middle East. The media and entertainment scene in my home province is equally disturbing. The egregiously antisemitic Arab/French comic, Dieudonné Mbala Mbala, whose performances are often banned in his own country,

their pins and medallions in protest over the retention of Mr. Ahenakew on the rolls pending a long-postponed court appearance. And within this same period, a number of celebrated Canadians, including Leonard Cohen, whom one might have thought would have known better, actually accepted the distinction.

It is, arguably, understandable that the Governor General's Office should be slow to act, given the inherently pedestrian and morally attenuated nature of bureaucratic structures. But that not a single member of the Order moved to surrender his or her badge of dishonour—a few no longer wore it in public, but so lame and sartorial a gesture seems to have been the extent

Notes

1. In the words of columnist Lysiane Gagnon, "It is certainly perfectly acceptable to criticize the state of Israel, but the practice can become anti-Semitic when only the Jewish state is singled out as a rogue state, in a world that contains so many horrible regimes." (*Globe and Mail*, July 3, 2006.)
2. Dieudonné is a caricature who belongs in Michel Houellebecq's *The Possibility of an Island*—as a more scurrilous version of the offensive French comedian known in the novel as *Daniel 7*—and not in the *Almanach de Gotha* of Quebec's darling set. The fact that a man who makes Holocaust jokes is so lionized is deeply troubling.



Vincent Geloso

Vincent Geloso est l'auteur du blogue www.vincent-geloso.blogspot.com
« Le Bème blog le plus influent au Québec. Fait sur mesure pour le brassage d'idées » - Le Journal de Montréal

POUR QUE LES QUÉBÉCOISE SOIENT ENFIN LIBRES



Faisons donc confiance aux Québécois !

Au 16^{ème} siècle, des quatre coins de l'Europe, des aventuriers avides de rêves, de fortune et d'espace, animés d'un espoir de liberté, s'embarquent dans des caravelles qui traverseront le périlleux Atlantique pour atteindre le Nouveau Monde. Ainsi commence l'histoire de l'Amérique. Nos coureurs des bois parcouraient le Canada pour faire le commerce des fourrures. Plus tard, des pionniers venus d'Europe colonisèrent, envers et contre tous les éléments, l'Ouest du Canada. Ils étaient libres et porteurs de plein de rêves, d'ambitions et d'aspirations. S'ils ont pu construire ce pays, c'était avant tout parce que leurs talents étaient libres de prendre leur envol. Grâce à cette

liberté, ils purent vaincre la faim, l'ignorance et la misère.

Notre histoire nous permet donc de comprendre qu'une plus grande liberté permet de libérer le talent, l'innovation et l'initiative. Mais en aurions-nous oublié les leçons ? À chaque difficulté que nous rencontrons comme société, le premier réflexe qu'on voit n'est pas de se faire confiance, mais de demander à l'État de nous sauver du péril. L'État fait donc des lois pour protéger nos industries dites « nationales », pour soutenir le développement de nos richesses dites « collectives » et pour protéger notre « exclusivité culturelle » contre la « McDonaldisation ». C'est ainsi qu'on dit aux gens comment ne pas vivre leurs vies. À la longue, on

en vient à croire que l'être humain est une créature trop abruti pour se prendre en main. Comme c'est débilant, ne trouvez-vous pas ?

Comment peut-on oublier les bénéfices du libre-échange, quand l'histoire du Québec est peuplée de libéraux qui ont fermement défendu (avec raison) la liberté de commerce et d'échanger ? Avons-nous oublié que ce sont les individus, pas l'État, qui créent la richesse ? Avons-nous oublié qu'une culture ne peut s'épanouir que lorsqu'elle est ouverte sur le monde et qu'elle croit assez en elle-même pour exporter ses propres caractéristiques et sa personnalité ? Comment avons-nous pu oublier les leçons apprises durant notre très courte histoire ?

Ceux qui prétendent que le « modèle Québécois » permet la solidarité sociale sont illusionnés par une perception erronée de la nature humaine : l'individualisme inhérent à l'être humain.

Il est plus que temps de ressusciter les idées libérales au Québec. Comme celle que ce n'est pas l'État, mais bel et bien les individus qui produisent de la richesse ; l'État, lui, ne peut que la prendre pour la redistribuer arbitrairement. Que l'État n'est pas une créature bienveillante, mais bien un Léviathan dont il faut se méfier et dont la mission doit être limitée de manière raisonnable. Que les individus, laissés libres, seront capables de prendre leur existence en main et de créer, pour eux et leurs enfants, un avenir meilleur. Aussi, que la richesse n'est certes pas la voie du bonheur, mais bel et bien un instrument qui nous permet à tous de l'atteindre. Que le vice de l'inégalité dans la richesse est préférable à la supposée vertu de l'égalité dans la misère.

Que les sycophantes de l'État Providence m'entendent : je vante ici le « doux commerce ». Peu importe ce qui sépare des individus au sein de sociétés particulières, les divergences sont atténuées par la nature même d'un système libéral. Les intérêts mutuels qui émergent dans l'échange, c'est-à-dire lors d'activités commerciales, incitent au maintien de relations pacifiques qui assurent la prospérité générale. Le seul langage qui reste, c'est celui

dont je parle et qui ne discrimine pas : l'intérêt personnel. Dans une économie de marché dotée d'institutions constitutionnelles libérales, je ne peux que chérir la valeur, je mérite ce que j'obtiens librement et je ne tiens pas compte de ce qui n'est pas mérité. J'interagis seulement sur la base de choix libres de toute coercition.

Ceux qui prétendent que le « modèle Québécois » permet la solidarité sociale sont illusionnés par une perception erronée de la nature humaine : l'individualisme inhérent à l'être humain. L'oubli délibéré de cette réalité-là, c'est refuser de voir que rien ne renforce plus l'égoïsme qu'un système qui se substitue à vos responsabilités. Nous sommes aux prises avec vaste réseau bureaucratise de bénéfices sociaux où l'État, au lieu d'aider intelligemment ceux qui en ont besoin, prend en charge nos responsabilités à notre place. Ainsi, tant que vous obtenez vos bénéfices, au diable l'endettement des générations à venir : la logique étatiste à l'œuvre, c'est ça, justement...

Le libéralisme peut nous permettre d'orienter positivement notre société. Rejetons la dépendance envers l'État et faisons enfin confiance, avant tout, aux Québécois eux-mêmes ! ♣

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Esther Delisle est une essayiste, politologue et historienne québécoise. Elle a fait ses études doctorales et post-doctorales à l'Université Laval et l'Université McGill. Elle est l'auteur de *Le traître et le juif* est de *Myths, Memory & Lies: Quebec's intelligentsia and the fascist temptation*.

Esther Delisle

LE BAVARDAGE STÉRILE DES TÉNORS NATIONALISTES

Parler mais ne rien dire

Parler

Lors de la course à la chefferie du Parti Québécois en 2005, pressée sur les ondes d'une station radiophonique de donner sa position sur l'échéance référendaire de son parti si elle était élue, Pauline Marois répondit en substance que ce qui importait était de prendre le temps de parler de la souveraineté aux Québécois, de la leur expliquer.

Pauline Marois réaffirme que les membres de son parti doivent convaincre leurs compatriotes, « sans tomber dans le piège d'échéancier ou d'obligation référendaire. » Et d'ajouter la nécessité de « travailler sur le projet de pays, l'expliquer, en discuter et écouter les gens sur la façon dont ils le voient. »

Entendant ces propos, ma réaction fût de penser : « Mais bien sûr qu'il faut en parler! Après tout, le Parti québécois n'a eu que 40 ans (de sa fondation officielle en 1968 jusqu'à 2007) pour faire comprendre son option à la population. Que peut-on expliquer dans un si court laps de temps!!!? Qu'est-ce que 40 ans pour se faire comprendre d'un électoral!!!? » On peut se demander sérieusement quel argument en faveur de la souveraineté n'a pas été martelé, répété et ressassé pendant presque quarante ans qui serait enfin compris des gens si seulement on le leur répétait ad nauseam.

L'élite nationaliste qui discours à n'en plus finir sur la souveraineté —aux contours confortablement indéfinis— et le peuple qui énumère des préoccupations qui n'ont rien à voir avec celle-ci illustre parfaitement le phénomène que le politologue français Georges Lavau observait dès 1965 :

« (...) ce long soliloque de la « parole » québécoise qui s'enroule depuis un siècle sur elle-même comme un monologue intérieur de W. Faulkner, c'est le soliloque angoissé de *qui*? Je ne parviens pas à m'ôter de l'esprit que c'est la paroles des « éduqués », des élèves de collèges, de gens qui vivent entre eux, ne voient qu'eux-mêmes et leurs anciens condisciples, leurs épouses et leurs maîtresses : une toute petite société d'interconnaissance (j'ai eu la même impression aussi forte à Rio, à Salvador et à Mexico). Dans mes séjours au Québec, j'ai volontairement beaucoup fréquenté les tavernes, les matchs de hockey, les pizzérias populaires et les night-clubs (!) et parlé à mes voisins et voisines : je n'y ai jamais trouvé la

parole d'H. Aquin, de P. Vallières, de G. Miron, et même très peu celle de Félix Leclerc. »

Mais ne rien dire

En consultant le Petit Robert, on constate qu'il y a une différence subtile mais réelle entre les verbes *parler* et *dire*. Dans son sens premier parler se définit comme « articuler les sons d'une langue naturelle. » Dire se définit comme « émettre les sons, les éléments signifiants d'une langue. » Second sens: « S'exprimer en usant de ces sons » comme dans « Exprimer, communiquer (la pensée, les sentiments, les intentions. » Le verbe parler s'attarde aux sons émis; le verbe dire, lui, met davantage l'emphase sur le sens, la signification de ces sons.

Le mouvement souverainiste en général, et le Parti québécois en particulier, parle beaucoup, mais dit très peu. Ses ténors peuvent bien clamer sur tous les tons la nécessité

verve, il pourfend « la maudite économie » qui fait perdre son âme à la société québécoise et se lamente de sa ressemblance à Toronto qui vient de découvrir « l'argent, l'argent à tout prix. »

On entend dans cette déclaration l'écho à peine assourdi des ultramontains et autres ecclésiastiques qui rebattaient les oreilles de leurs ouailles sur la mission civilisatrice des Canadiens-français dans une Amérique du Nord protestante et cupide, obnubilée par l'argent et le profit. Le peuple, pendant ce temps, quittait la province de Québec par milliers pour améliorer leur sort en Nouvelle-Angleterre et dans l'ouest canadien. On remarquera aussi que ce dégoût du vil métal vient d'autant plus facilement à Michel Tremblay qu'il est indépendant de fortune et possède une résidence à Key West. En voilà au moins un que « la maudite économie » n'a pas trop malmené. Enfin, quand il déclare en

faire « reconvaincre » de la pertinence du projet souverainiste.

Les réactions à la déclaration ne se font pas attendre. Claude Jasmin attribue au carriérisme le silence antérieur de Michel Tremblay sur la question constitutionnelle. Victor Lévy-Beaulieu accuse les deux hommes de trahison et de sénilité précoce. Il réserve l'expression « trou de cul » est à celui qu'il connaît depuis 40 ans, Michel Tremblay. La palme de l'indignation revient à l'ancien premier ministre, Bernard Landry, qui déclare sur les ondes de Radio-Canada qu'il n'ira plus voir les pièces de l'homme de théâtre.

Ces grossièretés et l'arrogance de Landry suffisent pourtant à faire baisser pavillon à Tremblay. Il croit toujours en la souveraineté, qu'on ne s'y trompe pas, c'est juste qu'elle n'advient pas si on persiste à en faire une question d'économie.

œuvres. Le chef du Bloc québécois, Gilles Duceppe, renchérit : ce qui importe c'est que Michel Tremblay « n'ait pas dit qu'il n'était plus souverainiste. »

Plusieurs mois plus tard, à l'approche des élections provinciales, dans une lettre qu'il adresse publiquement à André Boisclair, le leader du parti québécois, Robert Lepage réitère son intérêt pour « la cause et la pertinence de la souveraineté du Québec. Je crois fermement (...) que le Québec se doit d'être indépendant, unique et novateur. »

Cet incident révèle que la mesquinerie d'un petit milieu et les débordements d'un dictateur d'opérette—à la retraite en plus—et n'ont d'égal que la pusillanimité, voire la lâcheté des dissidents potentiels. Âgé, malade et riche, Michel Tremblay se rétracte comme si sa carrière dépendait de l'appui des premiers. Robert Lepage, un an après

Le mouvement souverainiste en général, et le Parti québécois en particulier, parle beaucoup, mais dit très peu. Ses ténors peuvent bien clamer sur tous les tons la nécessité de parler et de discuter du projet souverainiste, que se passe-t-il quand des personnalités connues disent leurs doutes et affirment devoir être convaincues à nouveau? Si une réelle discussion de fond menace de s'enclencher?

de parler et de discuter du projet souverainiste, que se passe-t-il quand des personnalités connues disent leurs doutes et affirment devoir être convaincues à nouveau? Si une réelle discussion de fond menace de s'enclencher?

Michel Tremblay et Robert Lepage

Le 9 avril 2006. L'auteur et dramaturge Michel Tremblay dit ne plus adhérer au « beau rêve de la souveraineté » désormais enlisé dans les préoccupations économiques. En

fin d'entrevue que le Québec est un des premiers endroits au monde à « s'être débarrassé de la domination de l'Église catholique sans révolution et sans guerre », il ne se rend pas compte que lui-même et l'intelligentsia qui s'est hissé au pouvoir dans les années soixante ont brillamment repris le flambeau d'un establishment ecclésiastique en déroute.

Le 10 avril 2006, un autre dramaturge de réputation internationale, Robert Lepage, dit qu'à l'instar de plusieurs artistes, il a besoin de se

Quelques jours plus tard, Bernard Landry nie avoir jamais menacé de ne plus assister aux pièces de Tremblay tout en répétant le même propos. « Je souhaitais tout simplement que Michel Tremblay s'explique avant que je n'assiste à une prochaine représentation. Il l'a fait quelques jours plus tard (...) et a dit dans sa mise au point qu'il est toujours souverainiste. » Fort bien : il est toujours souverainiste, Bernard Landry daignera donc assister aux futures représentations de ses

sa timide sortie qui était rapidement retombée dans l'oubli, sent l'obligation d'une profession de foi souverainiste. Les apostats d'un jour sont rentrés au bercail sans demander leur reste.

Relégué au rang de tiers parti, avec Pauline Marois à sa tête, le Parti québécois soliloquera de plus belle, dévidera avec la même énergie une vulgate nationaliste usée à la trame, tandis que l'électorat francophone continuera à appuyer l'Action démocratique du Québec. ♠



David Simard

David Simard a récemment achevé un mémoire de maîtrise (UQAM) sur la pensée politique de Jean-Charles Harvey.

UN INSPIRATEUR POUR AUJOURD'HUI ET DEMAIN

Jean-Charles Harvey, le précurseur

Le lancement du *Métropolitain*, premier hebdo bilingue à apparaître à Montréal depuis des lunes, est une formidable occasion pour nous souvenir d'une figure importante de l'histoire du Montréal et du Québec du 20^e siècle, Jean-Charles Harvey. Pourquoi ? Parce que ce défenseur des libertés avait promu, envers et contre les sectarismes de toutes sortes, la lutte contre les préjugés qui divisaient les deux principales communautés linguistiques de Montréal. C'est pourquoi je pense qu'il aurait vu d'un bon œil l'avènement, en 2008, d'un journal comme le *Métropolitain*.

Écrivain, polémiste et journaliste, Jean-Charles Harvey aura fortement marqué la scène politique et intellectuelle du Québec des décennies 1930 et 1940. En fondant son journal *Le Jour*, en 1937, il publia dès le

Mais sa contribution est encore bien plus large : le combat d'Harvey, c'était aussi celui libéralisme politique au Canada français, faisant de lui un précurseur incontournable en matière de progrès social et culturel, et aussi d'investissement par les Canadiens français de la sphère économique. Jean-Charles Harvey, c'était tout sauf la pensée frileuse, dans quelque domaine que ce soit.

Au moment où *Le Jour* fut fondé, l'éducation pour tous était encore un projet bloqué depuis plus d'un demi-siècle par les élites clérical-nationalistes, qui avaient pour gourou le réactionnaire Lionel Groulx, celui-là même dont l'influence freina l'avènement de la modernité au Québec et dont Harvey était le principal opposant. Pour Harvey, le relèvement de la société canadienne-française et la formation d'individus pleinement libres passait par l'éducation gratuite, obligatoire et libérée des dogmes : « Plus le peuple, écrivait-il, s'élèvera en intelligence, en pensée, en raison, en science, en beauté, en justice, plus la démocratie se rapprochera de l'idéal qu'avaient rêvé ses fondateurs, ces millions de héros obscurs qui ont lutté pendant des siècles pour libérer des ténèbres l'avenir de l'espèce. »



Libre-penseur du type voltairien, Jean-Charles Harvey reste encore méconnu de nos jours, même si sa contribution au développement et à la modernisation de la société québécoise fut déterminante.

premier numéro un article favorable à l'apprentissage de l'anglais comme langue seconde. Pour lui, cela n'empêchait en rien la maîtrise de la langue française comme langue maternelle. Au contraire, il y voyait un atout de taille : la possibilité pour les Québécois francophones de s'ouvrir au reste du continent, pour mieux se développer. Avec le débat linguistique qui fait encore rage 70 ans plus tard, la pensée d'Harvey sur cette question reste certainement d'actualité.

Libre-penseur du type voltairien, Jean-Charles Harvey reste encore méconnu de nos jours, même si sa contribution au développement et à la modernisation de la société québécoise fut déterminante—il fut notamment une voix forte pour le droit de vote des femmes et pour la laïcisation des institutions publiques. En somme, il s'opposa à tout ce qui était à l'époque sectaire, réactionnaire, arriéré et xénophobe.

Harvey prônait l'ouverture des Québécois sur le Canada et sur le

monde. Pour cet intellectuel libre et courageux qui aimait profondément le Québec, le français était l'une des plus belles langues au monde et il fallait la chérir, mais notre langue devait servir non pas à nous isoler, mais plutôt à créer. En quelque sorte à être, tout simplement. Comme il l'écrivait dans *Le Jour*, « si les Canadiens de langue française continuent de ne rien créer ni en science, ni en littérature, ni en philosophie, ni en art, ni en politique, ils sont sûrement destinés à disparaître. » On ne peut pas dire que cette idée est dépassée de nos jours. Au contraire.

Pour Harvey, une société est avant tout composée d'individus ; dans une

démocratie digne de ce nom, leurs libertés et leurs droits fondamentaux doivent être protégés et respectés. Il croyait aussi que le rôle de la collectivité consiste à éduquer ses citoyens pour qu'ils puissent d'eux-mêmes faire le meilleur usage possible de leur liberté et, ainsi, contribuer au relèvement de leur société. Même si Harvey a été pour l'essentiel injustement négligé dans nos livres d'histoire, il n'en aura pas moins gagné lorsque, 15 ans après les combats qu'il livra dans *Le Jour*, une société émancipée du cléricalisme, mieux éduquée, plus moderne et plus hardie économiquement put enfin voir le jour au Québec.

À l'instar du *Jour* des années

1937-1946, souhaitons que le *Métropolitain* puisse, à son tour, stimuler au Québec la même fibre d'audace et de progrès qu'Harvey aura su, envers et contre tous, insuffler dans les débats de son temps. Faisons comme Harvey : prenons la parole, sans nous laisser intimider par les sectaires et frileux de toutes sortes—quitte à les envoyer se faire foutre s'il le faut. Brisons aussi les murs de préjugés et d'ignorance que des démagogues avides de contrôler les esprits s'acharnent à élever entre nos communautés. Comme Jean-Charles Harvey donc, disons enfin, haut et fort, qu'il est fini le temps du silence et du conformisme. ♣

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Casey Vander Ploeg

Senior Policy Analyst, Canada West Foundation

Canada's new urban reality

There are many issues dominating Ottawa's agenda—the Afghan mission, a new crime bill, climate change, proposals to beef up Canada's sovereignty in the Arctic, and new limits on the federal spending power. But as the nation's leaders grope their way through this maze, they should not lose sight of Canada's larger urban agenda.

Ottawa's own "bean-counter"—Statistics Canada—continues to point out that the nation is inexorably marching toward a highly urbanized future. No surprise there. But less familiar is how this urbanizing trend centers around the country's big city-regions.

Between the 2001 and 2006 census, Canada's 33 largest "census metropolitan areas" (CMAs for short) grew by almost 1.4 million people. Canada's population, as a whole, grew by 1.6 million over the same timeframe. In other words, Canada's big city-regions represented almost 90% of all population growth. It is becoming even more evident that Canada's demographic future - and hence its economic future - is becoming ever more closely intertwined with our big cities.

The demographic muscle Canada's city-regions are flexing is not a recent phenomenon, but it is becoming a powerful long-term trend. Since 1961, Canada's 33 largest city-regions have grown at a pace five times that of all other urban and rural areas. This trend should be of more than a passing interest to the nation's leaders.

When the Canada West Foundation prepared its most recent study—Big Cities and the Census—researchers refined the official census data to accurately track the growth of Canada's big city-regions from 1961 to 2006. The resulting study is a first in Canada, providing definitive long-term comparisons.

What did we uncover?

No other region of the country has experienced the effects of rapid urbanization more than western Canada, where the demographic landscape has been dramatically and permanently altered. Five decades

ago, the West was far less urban than the rest of the country. Not so today.

The West is home to Canada's most dynamic big cities. Between 1961 and 2006, Kelowna and Abbotsford emerge as the fastest growing cities among those with a current population of less than 250,000. Kelowna grew by 491% and Abbotsford grew by 446%.

Among cities exceeding 500,000 in population, three of the top five fastest growing are western cities. This includes Calgary (273%), Edmonton (164%) and Vancouver (156%).

Of the West's nine big city-regions, seven emerge within the top five for growth in their respective size category. What is more, this is not just about British Columbia and Alberta, even though they are the most urbanized provinces in the West with the fastest growing cities.

Consider Saskatchewan. Between 1961 and 2006, Saskatchewan grew by 43,000 people. Yet, the combined population of the Regina and Saskatoon city-regions grew by over 200,000. Saskatchewan's demographic and economic future now lies in its big cities.

No other province is so singularly dominated by one city than Manitoba. Almost two-thirds of Manitobans live in Winnipeg, and the city-region itself accounts for almost 90% of Manitoba's entire population growth over the last 45 years.

Ontario and Quebec have traditionally served as Canada's urban heartland. Between 1961 and 2006, big city-regions represented 92% of all population growth in Ontario and 80% in Quebec.

The ability of Atlantic Canada to reverse decades of slow and even declining provincial populations now rests entirely in the region's handful of large cities. Between 2001 and 2006, the region lost about 1,000 residents. But the cities of Halifax, St. John, Moncton, St. John's and Charlottetown grew by more than 30,000 people. Like Saskatchewan, Atlantic Canada is now completely dependent on big cities for future population growth.

All urban and rural areas outside of the big cities, when combined, are steadily losing people.

Traditionally, Canada's urban axis has spun around the trio of Toronto, Montreal, and Ottawa. This is no longer the case. Vancouver has emerged as one of the most dynamic cities in Canada with a rapidly growing population and an enviable international reputation of its own. No other cities even come close to

matching the astounding rates of growth seen in Calgary, Edmonton, Kelowna, and Abbotsford. No one city dominates its province as Winnipeg does Manitoba. And in Saskatchewan and each Atlantic province, provincial population growth is entirely centred around the big cities.

Canada has always preoccupied itself with finding that one common thread or experience that can be said

to unite Canadians. First it was the Canadian Pacific Railway. Then it was the CBC. Today some would say it is universal and publicly-funded healthcare. Perhaps it should be our city-regions?

At the very least, Canadians and their governments need to pay more attention to the future of our large cities - they are critical to our future demographic and economic success. ♣

The demographic muscle Canada's city-regions are flexing is not a recent phenomenon, but it is becoming a powerful long-term trend. Since 1961, Canada's 33 largest city-regions have grown at a pace five times that of all other urban and rural areas.



GLOBAL VILLAGE



Robert J. Galbraith

Robert Galbraith is one of the world's leading war photojournalists. Refusing to be imbedded with troops in Iraq, he went into some of the most dangerous corners of that country on his own during the war and produced a remarkable work called *Iraq: Eyewitness to War*. He is now raising the resources to follow the Canadian mission in Kandahar. His website is www.robertgalbraith.com

TRIBUTE TO GRANT KIPPEN

A Canadian profile in courage

While most Canadians are sitting back at their breakfast tables, drinking their morning coffee and kissing their children on the cheek as they head off to school, others are living in a far off corner of the planet, sacrificing their security and time with their families—to build a better world.

One such unsung Canadian hero is Grant Kippen, who acted as a Commissioner with the Electoral Complaints Commission in Kabul, Afghanistan. Kippen is a simple man, who's only reward at the finality of an endless day, was a phone call; hearing the voice of his beloved wife, Lisa, a world away in sleepy Ottawa town. "My life is like the Bill Murray movie, 'Groundhog Day.' Everyday you get up to more of the same, but it is never dull, nor ever boring," says Kippen, a fifty-year-old native of Ottawa.

Kippen explains that the role of the Complaints Commission (funded by the United Nations) is to adjudicate on complaints arising from the Afghanistan Parliamentary elections, when Afghans voted twice; once for a provincial candidate in the lower house of the national assembly (the Wolesi Jirga, or House of the

elections were very positive. It is not about who you know, it's about using the process, and letting people know how to use it."

Election protocol dictated that there be complaint forms at each polling station. If anybody has a complaint, they fill out the form, which is then put into a sealed bag included with the ballot boxes. If there is a serious offence, such as fraud, the entire box of ballots was put aside until the issue was worked out.

Commissioner Kippen says there have been over 2000 complaints since July of 2005. He is realistically optimistic that they will receive between 1000-5000 real complaints, from a total of 26,500 polling stations covering 12.5 million registered voters. "People asked, weren't you overwhelmed? But we were the entity that took care of it. We were not there to be filters, we were there to hear and address people's complaints," he said. "There have been lots of unsubstantiated allegations. Part of the reason for this is that people don't know about the electoral process. This a country where there has been no democracy in decades (the last national elections

they're in a period which they will be able to tell their grandparents and kids about. We are being asked to do a pretty big job in a short period of time, a very compressed time frame."

Many of the Afghans who stayed in the country over the last 24 years of war (through the Soviet occupation, civil war and the Taliban regime), feel they are being left out of the well-paying, UN-funded jobs that have arisen since the fall of the Taliban in 2001.

"I know that there is a bit of tension because some who have stayed for 20 years, and others who left as refugees. They (the refugees) were able to gain technical skills, which weren't available to those who stayed and stuck it out, and some feel they should be first in line for jobs compared to those who left. This is an issue that any transitional society goes through, but we don't handle the administrative parcel" says Kippen. "The UN is not ignorant of this, but we're at a point in time where there's that disparity."

In the short term, Kippen believes that employment opportunities will change. "It's only been several years since the fall of the Taliban and the

are places in Afghanistan where he wouldn't go because of his ethnicity. But what really impressed him was the 'Folkarama Festival' (held in Winnipeg), where all cultures melt. He said you could get different ethnic meals, and that was absolutely fascinating to him. He told me, you (Canadians) don't hide ethnicity, you celebrate it. So it goes back to what I said earlier, we have a lot to contribute to the world, we're tolerant, and that goes a long way in Afghanistan."

With this in mind, Kippen commented that, "Most Canadians don't realize how well-off they are. When I returned to Canada last December, one main topic in the news was health care. In Kabul, there are people laying out in the streets outside hospitals, and they aren't going to get any help. Some who have simple injuries can't get the help they need, and they become invalids or come down with major sicknesses, because they don't get first aid for simple injuries that turn into major illnesses and injury. We're a pretty privileged nation."

The silvery-haired, medium-set NGO worker explained why he left a lifestyle of security and normality,

for the challenges that most men, or women, would not even consider contemplating. "I got to tell you Rob, I was growing increasingly frustrated with the nature of work I was doing, and I felt, Hell!, am I going to do something with my life? Doing what I do is a way of feeling I am making a contribution to something amazing and rewarding."

The walled-off, barbed-wire-topped Kabul compound where he worked is a prison rather than an office. Private security guards, each with his own AK47 Automatic Assault Rifle, keep a constant vigil round-the-clock, for those who would wish to attack the half-acre-compound and harm him and the other UN employees.

When the workday ended he was driven the two kilometer distance, through the dust chocked streets of Kabul, by armed escorts to the iron-gated guest house which houses in mock sanctuary other UN personnel. Visitors have to provide adequate identification and are frisked by security personnel (each with his own AK47), then a metal detector is swept over the body to make sure the visitor is not carrying any concealed

I always tell the staff that they're living history, that they're in a period which they will be able to tell their grandparents and kids about... - Grant Kippen

People), and one for a representative in the provincial council.

Under the election law, there were certain eligibility criteria. "The problem was that there were too many individuals with less than good credentials that intimidated the electorate, through the use of guns, and we tried to level the playing field as evenly as possible. Anyone affiliated with illegal armed groups were not eligible," he said. "In the past number of years, there have been different phases of disarmament. These programs allowed individuals in these groups to integrate into the community as farmers, trades people etc. But some of these groups still exist, and we are giving them an opportunity to get rid of their guns. After the deadline, the government will go after them," commented Kippen.

"This won't change overnight, it's been a long process, although the

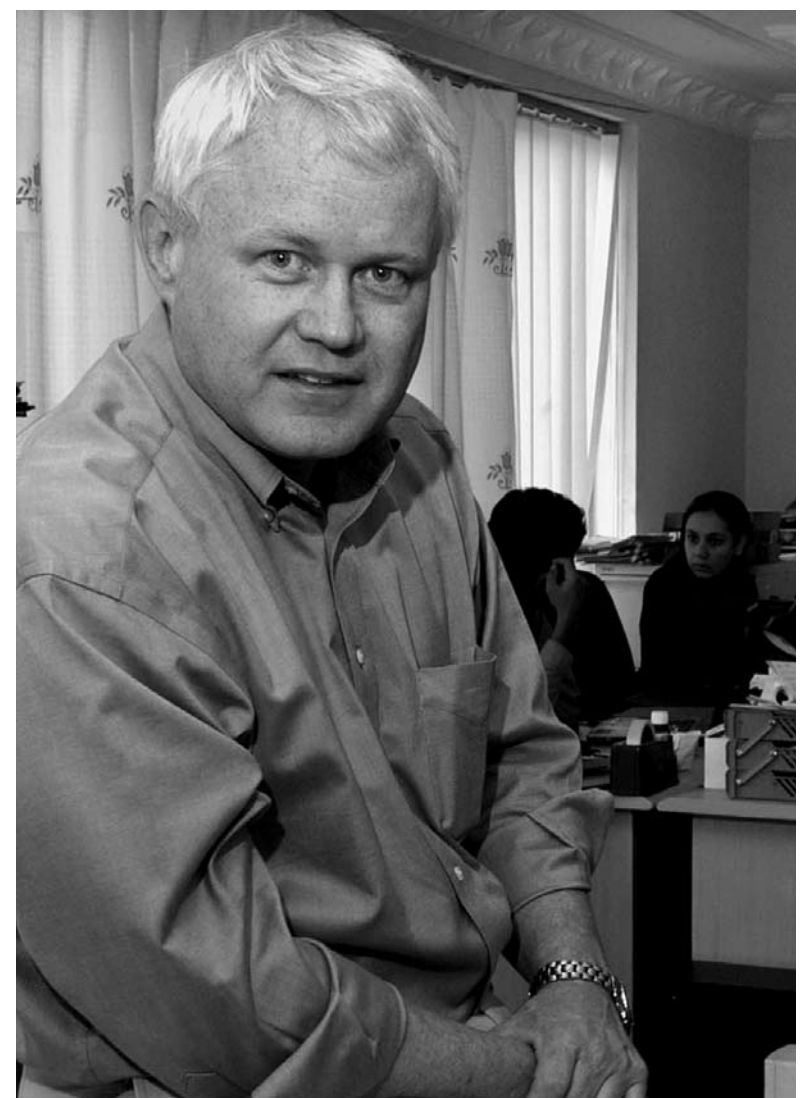
took place in 1969), but the electoral process went well."

Kippen says that a small portion of voters' complaints weren't well-founded. "Someone says a person is a criminal, or in another case, we had one guy say a candidate ran off with another guys wife—but we're not a criminal court! We have a very narrow mandate."

Seventy-five-percent of the people who work for the Commission are Afghans. "This I am very proud of," says Kippen. "We're not just a truckload of internationals, we are teaching the local people, who will be able to be involved and take ownership of the elections in the future. This is the way it should be. The most stimulating part of this job is working with the international staff," he says. "I always tell the staff that they're living history, that

educational system can't crank them (educated Afghans) out that fast. That's why it's really important that there is a long time commitment from other nations, as the Canadian government has committed to. There are so many similarities between Afghanistan and Canada," says Kippen. "We're both bilingual nations, we're multi-ethnic, we have challenges in respect to transportation. So we've got a lot to share."

Kippen related a story of a recent meeting with a local man, that reveals the admiration most Afghans hold for Canadians. "I met a man the other day. When I told him I was Canadian, he started telling me he lived in Winnipeg for 7 years. He said he never felt so welcome as he did in Canada. He told me that what was amazing, is how people accepted him for who he is. There



Former Commissioner Kippen during his tenure in the Kabul electoral offices.

weapons or explosives.

This is an existence that many Canadians are unaware of, or would be unwilling to partake in, and can only be re-lived each day by a special type of person—one with nerves of steel and priest-like dedication. Staff are only allowed outside their protective cocoon to visit UN sanctioned businesses and restaurants, and once again, only with heavily-armed escorts. This type of lifestyle is not a vacation, it is the reality of survival where, pedestrians and the occupants of any passing

vehicle, be it a motorcycle, bicycle, or car, may blow themselves to bits, along with the UN employees, to reach martyrdom for their religious zealously, and the fanatical leaders they follow.

This reality, of the clear and present danger did not fall short on Kippen's wife, Lisa Robertson, who works for a health consulting company with the federal government in Ottawa. Nor does it on their two sons, David and Jamie.

"Concern about safety weighs heavily on the family, as well as with

friends, and while family and friends are very interested by his work, it is sometimes very difficult to explain the context within which the work was conducted, as most media reports from Afghanistan talk about the violence and conflict there, as opposed to the many positive developments that were, and are, taking place on a daily basis," says Lisa. "I think we both try to support one another. Like any couple, we listen to how the other is dealing with whatever challenges are before them, and offer any support we can.

Most of the support comes in the form of listening and offering morale encouragement.

The security factor is just one of the sacrifices men like Kippen, and the nearly 300 other Canadians who work for the UN in Afghanistan, undertook and accept every waking day. "There was no downtime," Kippen explained.

I first met Grant in the inner square of the well-manicured lawn of his guest house sipping on a refreshing German beer, a CD blared-out former-Beatle, John

Lennon's, 'Give Peace A Chance.' Kippen stared into the white foam of the brew, telling me, "I celebrated my 50th birthday in Kabul, away from my family."

But Kippen is very proud of his family and their support. He said, "My family is very supportive, and my wife has been phenomenal. I miss my two sons growing up and I hope I can give them something in their lives. They've been incredibly understanding. There is no doubt, I have given up something—it was difficult." ♠

The System is the Scandal!

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— Hugh Winsor, Columnist, *The Globe and Mail*

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Rouba al- Fattal

A Montrealer, Rouba al-Fattal is completing her doctoral studies at a European university.

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THE FOLLOWING POEM HAS BEEN NOMINATED FOR THE UNESCO WOMEN'S POETRY PRIZE.

Beyond the Veil

In the dark allies of her eyes
I read the history of a black rose
Still your petrol scent haunting me
My beautiful Saudi princess

That night while breaking taboos
I made love to your sword like figure
You whispered in a real 'Bedouin' voice
See, there is always a way
To break the tribal rule

They managed to cover your date like body
Assimilate you into a black mummy
But you remained a very proud female
Like an arrogant palm tree, standing tall
Where only free birds can nest

Your forces of nature
Proved stronger than their hate
And your love
Remains deeper than their reach
Stay with me tonight under your 'abaya'
Hide me
Between your face cover and your face
Because memories burn greater than fires
I will burn you in my soul,
Like an Arabic tattoo

This is your desert
And this sand is your color
You are the princess of the thugs,
Bilqis of Sheba
The true owner of the camel,
The moon and the poem
Possessor of the black sun and cover

They tried to exterminate you
Beneath your 'niquab'
But they forgot that wraps
Create perfect hiding places
Neither duchesses of Bavaria nor princesses of Bourbon
had that luxury

So, I will hide with you between your eye and its lashes
Just make love to me tonight and break all the tribal rules
Because Adam had nothing to do with your creation
And only from your womb I came
And only to it I like to return

Let oases spring open from your arid land
Permit me to revive your black petals
Allow a rainbow at last to come to live and
Make peace with mirages for ages to come

Thousands of years without rights or choices
Thousands of nights and you are still standing,
Right where you started
Aren't your bare feet tired of stillness?!!
Shahrazad, flee the harshness of the 'Imam'
These golden chains and doctrines in vain
Because you are, my lovely,
The true princess of the night

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Andrei Piontkovsky is the Director of the Moscow Strategic Research Center and Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute in Washington, D.C. He is the author of *Another Look into Putin's Soul*.

Andrei Piontkovsky

Long Live the Great Satan!

The revolutions in the Middle East and in the Muslim world generally, are well underway. But they are not quite the democratic ones that George Bush and Condoleezza Rice have been hoping for. Tyrants and corrupt leaders are indeed trembling. Replacing them are young and not so young men with blazing eyes, Kalashnikov machine-guns and Shahid ammunition belts. Hamas in Palestine, Shiite clerics in Iraq, Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, and a deranged President in Iran.

What unites all these fervent fighters for a radiant future for mankind, who dream that the Middle East will belong to them today, and the whole world tomorrow? Hatred of Israel or of the Great Satan, the USA? For sure, this is what lies on

ists begin with, once they come to power – whether through democratic or other means? They introduce Sharia law, enslaving woman socially and above all sexually. This is their *idée-fixe*. First they force her to walk around in a sack and then if they succeed to implement to the full extent their radical “philosophy”, they mutilate her sexual organs to deprive her of sensuality.

There is present in Islamic fundamentalism, and even in the most moderate trends of Islam, an irrational fear of woman’s vital power, of her sensuality and her sexuality. For a righteous Islamist it is not just notorious Uncle Sam, the traditional whipping boy, that is a the real Great Satan. It is woman.

This complex—fear of women,

and partially restored Woman to the pedestal upon which she once stood at the dawn of human history.

Here we touch on a potential subject for hundreds of monographs and thousands of dissertations. Sigmund Freud presented us with a number of brilliant insights into unconscious causes of human behaviour. But he chose the wrong starting point for his psychic history of humankind. According to Freud, it all began with the uprising of young males, who killed the leader of the tribe, took over the harem of females, and who ever since then have been suffering in the successive generations from the Oedipus complex. But such an event could not have been a one-off occurrence. Rather it was something trivial that regularly

cal world were turned into inhabitants of the harems. This is the real origin of the psychosis of Homo sapiens. This event was much more dramatic than the Freudian patricide. This was the deicide because Woman, giver of life, the Great Goddess was the first known deity of humankind.

Ever since then the collective “male,” subconsciously aware of his guilt and his inferiority, has been doing his utmost to denigrate and belittle woman in all her manifestations. The founder of psychoanalysis failed to perceive this most profound complex of modern man for the simple reason that he was himself, to some extent, suffering from it. We should be grateful to the gentlemen of Islamic radicalism who, by

Today they are “offended” by the Danish cartoons although they are not in the least bit offended by the mass murders of innocent people carried out in the name of their Prophet. On the contrary, the Muslim street regularly welcomes these murders by boisterous jubilation. Tomorrow the Islamists will surely declare that the unveiled faces of European women in the streets offend them. And the wretched European politicians—out of political correctness, reflexive appeasement, intellectually sanctioned multiculturalism and electoral expedience – will start dressing their wives, mistresses and daughters in burkas.

A number of Christian authors (in the West, as well as in Russia), acutely aware of the threat of aggressive Islamic fundamentalism, are now suggesting that it can be stopped only by the reciprocal clericalisation of Western Society. This is a misjudgment. Christianity cannot confront Islam successfully on the ideological plane. Islam, on the other hand, has tens of millions of foot soldiers, young, dispossessed men deprived, because of the position of women in the Muslim world, of sexual partners and thereby charged up with a furious destructive energy. The revolution that the Islamic world really needs is not religious or democratic, but rather sexual.

As regards our European civilization, we can only halt the advance of contemporary barbarity on to its spiritual territory by keeping faith with our two supreme values: Free Thought and Free Women. If religion is really so important for you, then call this fidelity a new religion. ♠

Christianity cannot confront Islam successfully on the ideological plane . . . The revolution that the Islamic world really needs is not religious or democratic, but rather sexual. The present day tumult in the Islamic world is a desperate attempt by the collective male to prevent the return and ascent of humankind to the idea of the Great Femininity.

the surface. But in their frantic, hysteric behaviour—in the passionate fervor of their bursting hate—the psychoanalyst would have little trouble in discerning something deeper than just political passions raging inside the Islamic collective unconscious.

What do all Islamic fundamental-

which in reality is fear of life—is not a prerogative of Islam; it is plainly evident in the Judeo-Christian religious tradition as well. Christian Europe, however, underwent a series of sexual revolutions (the most far reaching of them actually being the Renaissance), which clipped the wings of the Catholic “ayatollahs”

happened generation after generation.

What was really fundamental to formation of human collective unconscious was an event several millennia earlier: at some point during pre-historic times the Goddess-based Matriarchate was overthrown by rebellious males and the women-rulers of the pre-histori-

displaying this complex to a savage extreme, assisted us in the diagnosing this fundamental ailment of modern man. The present day tumult in the Islamic world is a desperate attempt by the collective male to prevent the return and ascent of the humankind to the idea of the Great Femininity.



Marc Lebuïs

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www.pointdebasculecanada.ca

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L'ABUS DE LIBERTÉ : UN NOUVEAU CRIME?

Tout dire

Le saviez-vous? Le Conseil des droits de l'homme de l'ONU (CDH) vient de limiter le principe de la liberté d'expression au nom de la protection du « droit » des religions.

Reporters sans frontières (RSF) annonce que : « La modification du mandat du rapporteur spécial (des Nations Unies) sur la liberté d'expression est dramatique. Elle fait d'un défenseur de la liberté d'opinion un procureur qui a pour mission de traquer ceux qui abusent de cette liberté ». Vous avez bien lu. Il est bien question d'abus de liberté.

pas confondre avec le droit de choisir une religion. L'objectif avoué est de censurer le « blasphème » dans le discours des non musulmans. Autant dire que ce qui est sacré pour l'islam, devra être sacré pour l'ensemble de l'humanité.

Le scandale n'est pas tellement qu'une civilisation théocratique impose son agenda aux civilisations démocratiques. C'est plutôt que les sociétés démocratiques ne prennent pas la mesure du coup qui vient de leur être porté.

« Voyons, tu ne peux pas dire ça. »

d'admettre comme légitime tout ce qui la dilue. On reconnaît le travail de lobbyistes et de pseudo érudits, qui ont une vision de taupe autant sur l'avenir que sur le passé de la société moderne. Ces imbéciles, la main sur le coeur ne sont en fait que de vulgaires moralistes qui préfèrent imposer leurs opinions plutôt que de les défendre. Bien sûr que c'est odieux que de nier l'holocauste, que de comparer des hommes de couleurs à des singes, que déshumaniser les homosexuels et j'en passe des pires idées. Cependant, ces idioties n'ont

beaucoup plus pertinent de débattre d'une idée que de la prendre pour acquise. Celui qui nie l'holocauste rend un fier service à tous ceux qui gardent la mémoire de l'holocauste. Il leur donne l'occasion de défendre leur connaissance et par la même occasion de la faire mieux connaître. C'est plutôt dans les dictatures, où la censure est la norme, que la propagande négationniste fleurit. Pour ne citer qu'un exemple, on n'a qu'à penser aux propos négationnistes du président iranien, une position à laquelle il

d'entraîner plus de censure. Voyez la logique des musulmans : si on interdit le négationnisme de l'holocauste, autant interdire le blasphème contre l'islam. Le pire c'est qu'ils ont une logique parfaitement appliquée à une incohérence sur la liberté d'expression.

Interdire un discours, c'est surtout interdire qu'il soit entendu. Hitchen vous demande de nommer une personne au Canada que vous estimez en droit de vous dire ce que vous pouvez entendre? Personne? Qui veut abandonner sa liberté à un autre? Pourtant, c'est précisément ce qui vient de se produire avec la décision du CDH. Nous avons abandonné notre liberté d'expression au bon jugement de l'OCI.

Il est crucial de réaliser que nous avons affaire à une attaque ciblée contre la pierre angulaire de la civilisation occidentale. La liberté d'expression ne peut pas mourir sous prétexte de protéger l'ego d'une pensée théocratique qui n'a pas sa place dans un monde moderne. Ce n'est pas un combat entre la droite et la gauche, entre le riche et le pauvre, entre le croyant et le non croyant, mais un combat entre la pensée rationnelle et la pensée obscurantiste.

Rappelez à ceux qui veulent imposer la censure que 8 journalistes ont été assassinés cette année. Au nom du combat de nos ancêtres pour nous libérer de la tyrannie, en mémoire des grands penseurs qui ont osés opposer la raison à l'obscurantisme, dans la lignée des laïcistes qui ont chassé le religieux de l'état, nous devons résister à la guerre islamiste contre la liberté d'expression, nous devons tout dire. ♣

Reporters sans frontières (RSF) annonce que : « La modification du mandat du rapporteur spécial (des Nations Unies) sur la liberté d'expression est dramatique. Elle fait d'un défenseur de la liberté d'opinion un procureur qui a pour mission de traquer ceux qui abusent de cette liberté ». Vous avez bien lu. Il est bien question d'abus de liberté. On croirait faire un bond de 300 ans en arrière.

On croirait faire un bond de 300 ans en arrière.

La nouvelle n'a eu aucune couverture sérieuse dans la sphère médiatique. Pourtant, le CDH est maintenant sous le contrôle de pays délinquants en matière de droits de l'homme, en particulier des pays de l'Organisation de la conférence islamique (OCI).

L'OCI est parvenue à imposer le concept de « droit » des religions, ne

Vous entendez bien sûr l'écho de la rectitude politique, cette censure insidieuse qui ne répond de rien ni personne. Demandez à quiconque si la liberté d'expression a des limites et on vous répètera la vieille rengaine sans vraiment y réfléchir: discours haineux, respect des minorités culturelles, négationnisme de l'holocauste, obscénité, etc.

C'est se méprendre sur l'importance de la liberté d'expression que

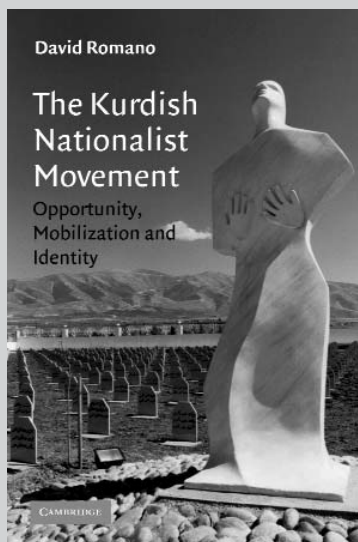
d'équivalent dans la bassesse que la volonté des culs bénits de la rectitude politique de les censurer.

Il faut tout dire. D'abord parce qu'une idée qui est pensée, mérite d'être exprimée pour être débattue voire combattue. L'intellectuel américain Christopher Hitchen exprimait très bien la pertinence de tout dire dans un débat qui a eu lieu à l'université de Toronto récemment. Hitchen soutenait qu'il était

croit sincèrement puisqu'il n'a jamais pu confronter son idée à la critique.

Les bâillons imposés par les moralistes de droite comme les gauchistes ne sont que des gommages grossiers et des réflexes archaïques qui n'ont plus de place dans une société moderne, séculière et laïque. Interdire un discours n'a jamais déraciné les pensées abjectes. Le seul effet de la censure est

Cambridge Middle East Studies



David Romano focuses on the Kurdish case to generally try and make sense of ethnic nationalist resurgence. In a world rent by a growing number of such conflicts, the questions posed about why, how and when such challenges to the state arise are becoming increasingly urgent.

Throughout the author analyzes these questions through the lens of social movement theory, considering in particular politico-social structures, resource mobilization strategies and cultural identity. His conclusions offer some thought-provoking insights into Kurdish nationalism, as well as into the strengths and weaknesses of various social movement theories.

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Tim Mak is an honours student at McGill University, the 2007 Canadian Donner Intern Award winner at the Fraser Institute and past Director of the Centre on Democracy at Pearson House.

Tim Mak

LETTER FROM THE NEW WORLD

The Weather in China

Having just returned from a visit to China, I could regale you with anecdotes about my antics abroad. Alternatively, I could unload a bit of my more politically oriented reflections. With the eyes of the world on China, the Olympics, and Tibet, my preference is for the latter. Over the course of my trip, I visited the cities of Hong Kong and Beijing. Since they speak different languages and pursue almost entirely different policies, one might be forgiven for wondering if they belong to the same country at all.

Hong Kong is a shining example of what capitalism can bring to an area focused on economic openness. Hong Kong is like New York's famed Times Square, but everywhere around you. Even residential areas are lit up like trees on Christmas Eve in

city, the sun is but a distant memory of those who sought better conditions in a larger city now wrecked by environmental havoc. There is no sunrise or sunset in Beijing, only fog and cloud and overcast skies for today and tomorrow and the day after that. A Canadian in Beijing must begin to think that even when such despicable weather collides with a Canadian city, one can be reassured that the vegetation is in dialogue with the shrouded skies and hope that the negotiations will end soon. Residents just don't think this way in Beijing, and simply accept the foul colour of the heavens. The lack of dialogue in the air mirrors the nature of the dialogue on the ground.

Communism here is not a bit conflagrant, lacks excitement and is

streets of London, on the boulevards of Paris, and on the slopes of San Francisco.

The world is raining down its demands for the freedom of the oppressed in China. It is disappointing to see, then, that the Chinese have developed a way to control the weather. It's saddening, almost maddeningly so, to see the lost opportunity in what could have been a liberating Olympic Games. But what should one expect from a quasi-police state? Perhaps I'm someone who looks with far too tinted lenses. Maybe I seek out the nooks and crannies devoid of democracy because I value freedom so highly. It's possible that because of this, my mind exaggerates in both delight and dismay the cities I've seen in the past month. After all,

Downtown Hong Kong is like a fit of effulgence and one can't help but be excited by this port's unbridled optimism. In the jurisdiction that the Fraser Institute labeled the most economically free in the world, it absolutely felt that way.

response to the relative prosperity and buoyancy. Downtown Hong Kong is like a fit of effulgence and one can't help but be excited by this port's unbridled optimism. In the jurisdiction that the Fraser Institute labeled the most economically free in the world, it absolutely felt that way. It seems to me that in Hong Kong, individuals could seize their destinies, grab hold of their natural innovative capabilities and fulfill their inventive potential. I watched the exuberant skyline and realized that in this city, you can make your own decisions - even the bad ones. The air is clear, and friendlier people I have never met.

One feels a seismic shift in the atmosphere when one arrives in Beijing. Smog clogs the lungs while dust coats the tongue, and one finds little to do for fun in a city of state-controlled morality. Police officers stand at major crosswalks and soldiers march by in formation constantly, but this rarely prevents the locals from cheating any and all they perceive to be foreigners. In the

left presenting nothing but weathered and battered old ideas. There is no variety and there exists no surprises in life - only silence, nationalized order and, for the most part, darkness, both in liberty and in imagination.

It seems to me for the most part that Beijing is a city locked behind something more porous than an iron curtain, something that lets the light in (after all, there's a hole in everything if you look close enough). But the holes are small, and the appetite for political change in the minds of those who hold real power is anything but voracious. While in Beijing, one notices that the homogeneity and suppression of human freedom seems doomed to continue. There's no mechanism through which people can push for change. It seems that that is why we see the international community so frustrated, and that is why protests broke out across the Western world. Those for a free Tibet can't get a word in while in China, so they holler themselves coarse on the

mainland China is not the worst, nor is it the most democratically deprived country in the world. On the other hand, conditions in China should not be acceptable to any of us.

In China, a hit on Wikipedia is an act of dissent, and I saw firsthand what a censored media writes. It embellishes Communist Party successes, and plays down its failures. It ignores those who protest, and misleads if the dissent cannot be hidden behind the printing presses any longer. It is pouring in China, but the newspapers make a suitable shelter from the rain. As I left China for the cover of the West, I found myself pondering the plight of the country where my mother and father were born. I cannot predict the future of those in China, but as my plane hit the tarmac at Chicago's O'Hare, I realized what needs to be the solution. "Thanks for flying with us today, folks," the pilot droned. "In Chicago, the time is now 2:54. The forecast—clear and sunny skies, sixty eight degrees." ♣





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CARTER, HAMAS ET ISRAËL

Jimmy Carter ou le Dindon de la farce syrienne

Pour un coup médiatique, c'en est un! C'est en ces quelques mots, que la déclaration de l'ancien Président américain, Jimmy Carter, peut être résumée après sa visite à Damas. En réalité, à regarder de très près, un observateur initié au « machiavélisme » de la famille Assad peut déceler une stratégie damascène des plus brillantes pour retrouver une place de choix sur l'échiquier politique régional et s'asseoir de nouveau sur la table de négociation avec les grands.

En effet, selon Carter, le Hamas accepterait l'existence d'une entité israélienne voisine à un État Palestinien, si ce dernier est établi sur les territoires d'avant 1967. Or, Khaled Machaal, le leader de Hamas en Syrie avec qui Jimmy Carter s'est réuni, affirme plus tard que cela ne veut pas dire qu'il reconnaîtrait le

droit d'Israël à l'existence. Ce qui vient remettre un grand point d'interrogation sur les déclarations de Carter qui a pourtant déclaré que le Hamas considérerait les accords signés par le Président palestinien Mahmoud Abbas. Faut-il alors voir dans cette déclaration une stratégie pour situer les éléments de Hamas aux portes de Jérusalem pour un « assaut » final sur l'entité hébraïque? Ou y'a-t-il derrière ces déclarations une volonté syrienne de changer un certain statu quo en sa faveur?

À analyser de plus près, l'on peut discerner un stratagème « assadien » pour court-circuiter les tentatives de l'actuelle administration américaine de mettre au pas le Président syrien. En effet, la mise en place du tribunal international – dont le Liban exige son établissement pour condamner

les assassins de l'ex-premier ministre libanais Rafic Hariri ainsi des autres politiciens et journalistes assassinés par les services secrets syriens et leurs sbires au Liban – semble

prendre à la légère. Et comme l'a bien noté la presse arabe, la décision de Hamas est plus prise à Téhéran qu'à Damas. Quant à Assad, il est cantonné à son propre territoire avec

et dit clairement qu'elle est vouée à sa destruction. Et même si l'on considère que le Hamas veuille bien accepter la présence d'un tel État israélien à côté d'un État palestinien,

En effet, Assad tente de jouer sur le facteur temps pour regagner une place de choix dans un climat où tout porte à croire que Washington prend plus au sérieux l'Iran que la Syrie.



s'approcher à grands pas. D'où cette manœuvre syrienne d'attirer l'attention sur l'utilité de la présence de ce régime syrien et surtout de sa survie, si Washington tenait à trouver une solution à la crise entre Palestiniens et Israéliens.

Pourquoi Carter?

Le fait que ce soit le récipiendaire du prix Nobel de la paix pour avoir réussi à trouver une issue à la crise entre l'Égypte et Israël qui, par la suite, a abouti en 1978 à la signature des accords de paix à Camp David en 1978, est en soit un crédit international incontestable du sérieux de la démarche. Or, selon de nombreux observateurs arabes, il ne s'agit que de la poudre aux yeux brillamment utilisée par Damas pour faire parvenir un message de l'utilité de sa survie. En effet, Assad tente de jouer sur le facteur temps pour regagner une place de choix dans un climat où tout porte à croire que Washington prend plus au sérieux l'Iran que la Syrie. D'ailleurs, la présence chiite au Liban et dans l'ensemble des autres pays arabes sunnites présente une tête de pont très avancée pour l'Iran que Washington ne peut pas

quelques antennes de terroristes en Irak, et au Liban, ce qui fragilise énormément son standing dans la région et dans la rue arabe qui prise actuellement le Hezbollah pro-iranien pour « ses exploits » plutôt que la Syrie!

Ainsi, utiliser la crédibilité de Carter pour signifier à l'administration américaine qu'il y a de sérieuses chances pour une paix entre le Hamas et Israël servirait avant tout les intérêts du régime syrien. C'est également un message à l'électeur américain pour lui démontrer que seul les Démocrates réussissent à trouver une solution de paix alors que les Républicains sont toujours accés sur la guerre. Ce faisant, Assad tente de jouer « machiavéliquement » sur l'opinion publique américaine dans l'espoir de voir son schéma aboutir et sa survie prolongée.

Le mensonge de Hamas

Quant au Hamas, le fait d'accepter qu'un État Israélien ou qu'une entité israélienne puisse exister est en soi une négation de sa raison d'être, car la Charte du Hamas nie même le droit de l'existence d'une telle entité

si ce dernier est fondé sur le territoire d'avant 1967, cela serait alors interprété comme s'il renonçait aux terres qu'il avait toujours considérées comme étant palestiniennes, à savoir les terres de 1948! Ce faisant, le Hamas perdrait alors toute légitimité d'existence aux yeux de ses supporters. Quid également de la question des « réfugiés » palestiniens et leur « droit au retour » qui pour la plupart —du moins selon toutes les précédentes déclarations du Hamas —incluaient les territoires perdus en 1948 lors de la « Nakba »?

D'où le présent constat de dire que cette manœuvre syrienne par la bouche des représentants du Hamas n'est autre que pour gagner du temps et pousser la Syrie à reprendre un rôle dans le cadre des tentatives américaines actuelles pour trouver une sortie à la crise entre Palestiniens et Israéliens. Le choix de Carter n'est donc pas innocent, et Damas démontre encore une fois le sadisme de son dirigeant car il a réussi à faire dire à un prix Nobel de la paix que sans la participation du Hamas mais surtout de la Syrie aux négociations de paix, cette dernière est loin d'y aboutir. ♠

Let's not forget Labonté's lair

"When the state is most impotent the laws are most multiplied." ~ Tacitus

When Ville-Marie borough Mayor Benoit Labonté declared himself to be a candidate for the leadership of Pierre Bourque's municipal party-Vision Montréal. He said "This city needs a mayor," he said, "...not a steward (*intendant*)"

Not only did Labonté continue to repeat how Tremblay lacked even the basic leadership skills required to run the city, he also said the city's mayor lacked the necessary vision and drive required to maintain Montreal's status as one of the nation's more important urban centers.

Labonté's announcement has been met by far too much unmerited optimism.

Mayor Tremblay can indeed be faulted for slack stewardship. But his sins are ones of omission. The failure to trim the city's budget to core priorities. The failure to concentrate on those priorities – transport, garbage, water mains, public security, snow removal – and deal with the unions to make his administration effective. The failure to produce tax cuts that streamlining would have allowed, which failure resulted in the highest property tax increases in North America. The failure to be transparent and tell Montrealers of the city's obscene parking profits and not only hiding them but whacking us with unheard of meter increases. The failure to understand Montreal's multicultural muscle in his ill-fated effort to rename Park Ave. If this be stewardship then indeed it is bad.

Benoit Labonté's sins however are ones of commission. Purposefully, recklessly and needlessly demonizing the citizens of his borough and making them pay for his experiments in social engineering and political correctness. It would have been better for him to have stayed on the political sidelines after quitting Tremblay's team.

Tremblay should have long ago disavowed Labonté. His failure to renounce Labonté's policies is yet another sin of omission. There is of course a gnawing doubt in many that the Mayor actually agreed with Labonté's politics and used him as litmus paper to see how far he can demonize Montrealers and deflect them from his, and Labonté's, nonfeasance. That question still remains to be answered.

In making his announcement Labonté said Tremblay lacked vision. In resigning last year Labonté accused Tremblay of engaging in endless consultation and not enough action. "I am impatient and nothing

is being done," Labonté said. That statement would be laughable if the consequences of Labonté's own actions on Montrealers were not so onerous. And if Labonté's actions represent his vision then this city needs serious rescue.

Labonté consulted with no one in raising parking meter rates some 300%, the highest on the island, and taking away free Sundays at a time of a \$140 million city surplus. He "acted" against landlords who didn't have the prescribed screwed-in ashtrays and had his "cleanliness cops" issue some \$1 million in fines in their first month of operation alone which did nothing for cleanliness – the job of city employees paid for by our taxes – but it did fill city coffers. Labonté bulldozed through the removal of hundreds of parking spaces for the de Maisonneuve bike path – which almost no one uses – and destroyed part of the one efficient east-west downtown artery in the process. All this in the name of "going green", the latest policy resort for politicians who can't, or aren't, interested in getting the basics right.

The curious thing about Labonté's "legacy" is that none of these egregious policies were in his program. None received a mandate from voters.

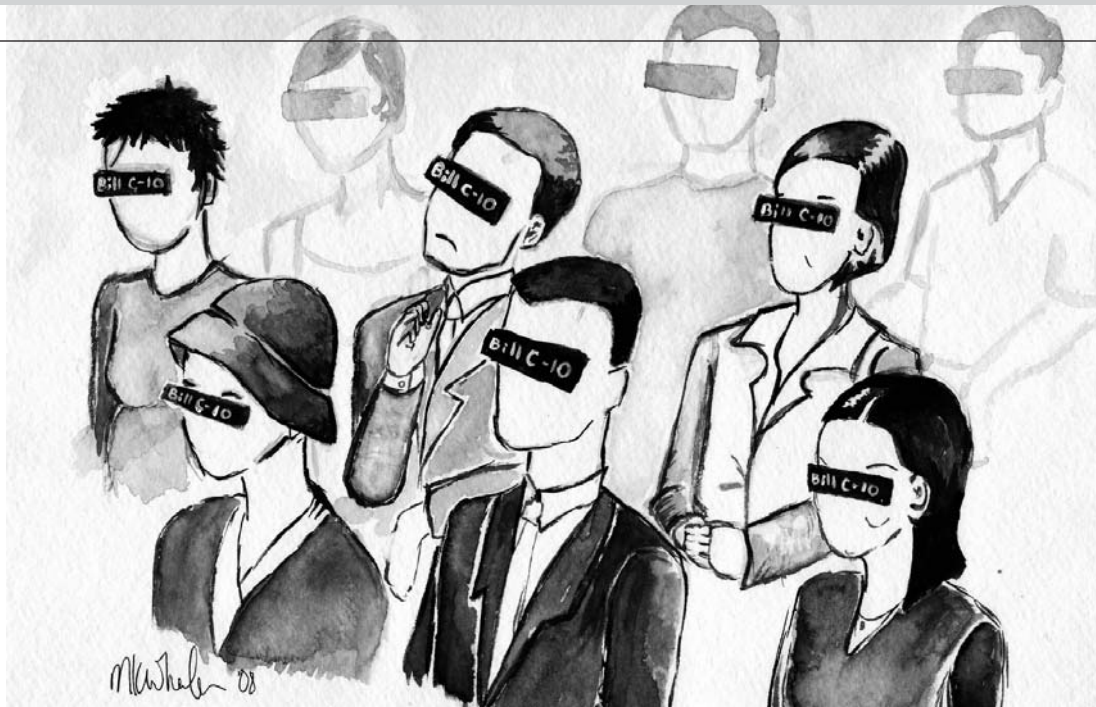
And now he wants the whole show? This simply does not wash!

Montrealers should remember the Labonté administration for excessive restrictions on our lifestyles and commerce. They should remember having lived through an era of unprecedented prohibition. They should remember a city core being suffocated.

All the talk of "sustainable development", which Labonté ally councillor Karim Boulos, once arrogantly said Montrealers better get used to but which no one has been adequately able to define, is nothing more than a smokescreen to hide unsustainable destruction.

For those of you who comfort yourselves with the thoughts that, since you don't smoke or litter or jaywalk or drive and don't have business establishments downtown that all this doesn't affect you, think again. Montreal is more than half of Quebec's GDP and downtown is almost half of that again. Unless you want to see a downtown core reminiscent of the Dore years when almost 20% of storefronts were empty due to high taxes and low services, we had all better get involved in the choice of Montreal's next Mayor.

- B.W.



Ottawa should learn from Québec's censorship history

The federal government should take the time to watch Québec journalist Eric Parent's new film, "Les Ennemis du Cinéma" before letting Canada's fundamentalist evangelical groups bully him into making a humiliating, and possibly fatal error for his party's chances in a not-too-distant election.

If fundamentalist leader and spokesman Charles McVety has his way, the fine print in the Harper government's new Bill C-10 would permit government censors to revoke financial aid for any film or television production they deem to be offensive even after government agencies have already invested the taxpayer's money in selected productions. As per the new bill, every project receiving federal funding will be examined by government bureaucrats in the new "Canadian Audio-visual Certification Office" who would then take the necessary steps to protect the Canadian public from what they perceive to be displays of sin and corruption considered to be not in the public's evident and morally acceptable interest.

Should Prime Minister Harper take the time to consider Parent's thesis, he might understand how such cultural roadblocks have already proved themselves to be ineffective and nothing less than a humiliation for any government that would propose such legislation. While Québec's mass media have long moved away and out of the province's "Grande Noirceur", right-wing evangelical groups in the rest of the nation seem determined to plunge the ROC (Rest of Canada) into a new post-modern version of Québec's dark ages.

Not only does Parent's new documentary take a quasi-academic, medium-cool look at one of the more bizarre episodes in Québec's modern history, it also provides a sub-text

which is a reflection of Québec's own historic, linguistic and cultural insecurities. Given the hard-core sex and violence that defines much of today's so-called "popular culture", it's hard to believe Québec's Catholic Church once defined what people could or could not watch on the city's "silver screens". While much of Parent's film deals with the censorship bureau's prurient and sometimes comic obsessions about human sexuality, its message is nothing less than a warning for today's journalists, film-makers and their audience.

Parent believes much of today's contemporary free flow of hard core sex and violence is nothing less than a fiction designed to blur and hide a more disturbing and sometimes dangerous reality. In other words, today's reality will beat fiction every time. While many believe Québec's quiet revolution tossed the province's censors into the trash bin of modern history, Parent's film takes the trouble to warn the viewer as to how an established society's censors are still at work and how Québec's assorted media are still being censored by different people for different reasons and a different purpose.

In 1913, after a long legal battle against Montreal's Ernest Ouimet, the owner of Montreal's first cinema, Québec's new Premier, Lomer Gouin, established the provincial government's "Bureau de la Censure des vues animés de la Province de Québec". Based upon a previous censorship model as developed by the "British Board of Film Censors" and inspired by the rigid Catholic dogma of the period, the church would dominate Québec's censorship bureau for next 50 years. Once opened, the Québec censor's bureau would soon become one of the strictest censorship institutions in the western world. While the censor's scissors tore into many a Hollywood

or European classic, Parent's documentary pays special attention to what was done to Marcel Carné's *Les Enfants du Paradis*, which many consider to be the best French film ever made. Produced shortly after the end of World War II, the film was scheduled to be released in 1946. When psychoanalyst André Lussier organised a screening of the film for students at *L'Université de Montréal*, film and church authorities managed to have the event scrapped at the last minute. Lussier's anger is still one of the high points of the film, leaving no doubt as to the reasons behind the eventual and inevitable success of Québec's quiet revolution. After the sudden death of Premier Maurice Duplessis, Jean Lesage's Liberals were swept into power and the government's censor was soon forced to find other work.

As the female breast soon became the centrepiece of Québec's new film industry, Parent believes the origins of today's new censorship began to take hold as the documentary became the province's post-modern battlefield. Film-maker and Oscar-winner Denys Arcand recalls how his documentary, *On est au coton*, produced by Canada's own national Film Board, was shelved after executives at strike-bound Dominion Textile asked their Liberal friends in Ottawa to halt its distribution.

While Heritage minister Josée Verner recently told opposition critics her government had absolutely no intention to alter the new bill, more than a few media and political professionals believe the bill has a chance of clearing the Liberal controlled senate's finance committee. However, others continue to question why Stephen Harper would ever want to repeat Québec Premier Gouin's mistake and allow religious conservatives to influence what people can do or even think about.

- P.A. Sévigny

SOCIETY



Barbara Kay

Barbara Kay is a columnist for the National Post

THE SKEWED LEGACY OF FEMINISM'S FALSE PIETY

Misandry

In its earliest and most benign form—the political campaign to achieve equality under the law and equality in economic opportunities—feminism was a necessary and welcome reform movement. No rational person could be less than delighted to see barriers to a full range of educational and career options for women fall by the wayside.

The feminism I take exception to today is not the blameless right of a woman to self-actualize that all women absorb by osmosis from the cultural air we breathe, but the radical ideology that has come to dominate the movement's academic and institutional elites over the last 40 years.

This is an ideology that sees the relations between the sexes as a never-ending antagonistic power struggle, with women as eternal victims and men as eternal oppressors. It is an ideology that explains away the moral failings of women as the fault of a patriarchal "system", but holds men responsible for their actions. And most important, it is an ideology that shortchanges children by privileging the rights and importance to children of mothers over fathers.

That kind of feminism is so deeply entrenched in our society's cultural elites and the institutions they dominate—really it is the defining ideology of our era—that whether she wants to or not, no thinking woman can escape the necessity of negotiating some kind of relationship with its claims.

Everything in my experience with men points to the conclusion that different cultural values around relations between the sexes produce different outcomes. Normal, psychologically healthy men, raised in a society respectful of women, as Canada's heritage culture is, are governed in their relations with women by the instinct to protect them, not to hurt them.

I am instinctively wary of any group—whether a race, an ethnic group, a religion or a sex—that plays a dualistic hand, scapegoating an entire group to explain the unachieved goals of its own members. For a scapegoating ideology always ends in grievance-collecting and a conspiracy theory of history.

The time and place in which I grew up was friendly to intellectual diversity, and becoming very friendly to women. The time and place I

inhabit today is unfriendly to intellectual diversity, not so friendly to heterosexual men, but extraordinarily friendly to women. These are some of the themes I have lived, and now they are the themes I write about.

*

Misandry, which is the female equivalent of misogyny (misanthropy is a hatred of humankind), is now entrenched in our public discourse, our education system and social services. I will give you a few examples, but for a full discussion of the phenomenon, fully referenced, you need only apply to two comprehensive books on the subject by Katherine Young and Paul Nathanson, *Spreading Misandry* and *Legalizing Misandry*.

Misandry flies beneath most people's radar, because we have become compliant in the acceptance of theories that have nothing to do with reality, and compliant in the speech codes that accompany that tendency.

Denigration of men in ways both casual and formal are commonplace in society. Last Christmas I saw an advertisement for a butcher block knife holder in the shape of a man. The slot for the largest knife was placed in his groin. Hilarious? Imagine a knifeholder in the shape of a woman and a knife slot at the vagina. Hilarious? Not so much. Once you become aware of the phenomenon, you will see it everywhere, trust me.

But misandry can also be implicit in what is not demonstrated in words or images. In March 2005, to give you a fleeting and seemingly trivial, but actually quite telling example, then PM-Paul Martin eulogized four RCMP officers who had been slain in the course of duty. He said, "No matter the era, it seems that children always want to grow up to be police officers...It reflects a young heart's yearning to keep people safe and families whole."

This is of course nonsense. I wrote in a subsequent column: "If he had chosen his words for truth rather than gender-equity piety, Mr. Martin would have said, 'No matter the era, it seems that boys always want to grow up to be police officers'."

Little girls dream of many careers today, particularly the physically safe and prestigious fields of medicine and law and academia, but rarely of policing, or of any of the other

"death professions" like SWAT teams, fire fighting, military combat and construction. To "keep people safe and families whole" is a boy's life-risking ambition, and the tragic deaths of these four men cried out for acknowledgement of that noble male aspiration. But, to accommodate a politically correct falsehood, the PM simply airbrushed them out of their own narrative.

In fact there is only one day a year when men's heroism, gallantry and protective instincts are actively

severity. Spousal homicides of either sex are so rare as to be statistically insignificant.

The tendency to violence in intimate relationships is bilateral and rooted in individual dysfunction. Men and women with personality disorders and/or family histories of violence are equally likely to be violent themselves, or seek violent partners.

But the academics who bring us these inconvenient truths are shunned. UBC psychology professor Don Dutton has written the definitive

to work here," and she was thrown out of the program.

And thus, through institutionalized misandry and suppression of dissent, these questions are never addressed objectively or for that matter even raised in the media, and the truth remains hidden under a suffocating blanket of feminist correctness.

On the domestic violence front, nothing has provoked me to greater indignation than the exploitation by feminists of the 1989 Montreal

The family law system is now systemically colonized by radical feminists. Their goal is the incremental legal eclipse of men's influence over women's spheres of "identity" interests, which includes children.

acknowledged and that is Remembrance Day. Even then the ceremony's wording is now gender-neutral, as if women and men made equal sacrifices on the battlefields of World War I and II, when in fact our female deaths in war under combat circumstances run in the single digits.

For overt misandry, one has only to survey the industry around domestic violence. You could be forgiven for thinking that domestic violence is a one-way street, for that is certainly the impression one has from the fact that there are innumerable tax-funded shelters for abused women, none for abused men, unlimited funds for campaigns to raise consciousness around abused women, none for abused men. There is not a single social services agency or charity in Canada advertising "family services" that offers counseling, shelter or legal services for men who have been physically abused by women.

And yet, as peer-reviewed community studies and Stats Canada attest, although under-reported, unprovoked violence by women against their domestic partners is equal to that of men in frequency and spontaneity, and almost equal in

book on Intimate Partner Violence, *Rethinking Domestic Violence*, but after 25 years of impeccable scholarship, has yet to be invited to consult with any government agency or institution because influential feminist elites don't like his message.

When angry feminists adduce their mantra that only men are inherently violent and that women use violence only in self-defence, I bring up a theme that is forbidden to discussion in women's shelters: how is it then that partner violence amongst lesbians is significantly higher than amongst heterosexual partnerships?

How is it that children are far, far more likely to be physically abused by their mothers than their fathers? And when they are, how can we justify a woman's right to take her children to a shelter to escape a violent husband when there is no shelter in the country that will accept a father with children fleeing an abusive mother?

I interviewed one woman with a degree in psychology who volunteered to help at a woman's shelter. When she raised these very questions in her training program, she was told, "You are too educated

Massacre of 14 women at the Polytechnic by sociopath Marc Lepine. In 2006 I wrote:

"In the massacre's wake, ideologues elevated Lepine's rampage from a random act by one disaffected individual into the gender equivalent of Kristallnacht or 9/11. A narrative evolved in which every woman became a potential victim of an organized, hate-driven enemy -- like the Nazis or al-Qaeda -- with the massacre as an ominous harbinger of more aggression to come."

Both male and female feminists colluded in promoting the myth of lone killer Lepine as the symbol of all males' innate hostility to women, however dormant it might be. Amongst other unjust and gender-divisive consequences of the massacre, the "White Ribbon" educational movement, initiated in 1991 as a direct response to it, and now integrated into more than 100 schools across Canada, sponsors a biased, error-riddled curriculum on domestic violence (read "violence against women by men").

A freak tragedy has thus become the misandric lens through which many Canadian children are taught to

perceive gender relations. But the complete reverse is the real truth. Officially and unofficially, virtually to a man and woman, Canadians schooled in our heritage culture utterly repudiate violence against women.

Ironically, the Montreal Massacre commemoration industry, whose emotive effect depends on scapegoating men, is having the opposite effect: For the sins of a few, the nature of half our polity is often falsely maligned, breeding suspicion and hostility in women, needless shame and guilt in all men, and mutual resentment and mistrust between the sexes.

This absurdity symbolizes the fecklessness of the entire enterprise. In 2000 the *national* spousal homicide total was 67! In a country of 34 million people, this figure is completely nugatory. Anti-male feminist bias is uncredentialed, guilty of selection bias, ideologically driven, patently skewed, and utterly unreliable.

And this mindset creates other prejudices. In June 2006 I wrote about the imbalance, in women's favour, in the family law system: 90% of

contested custody suits end in sole custody awarded to the mother. Such a skewed percentage is unthinkable in any other branch of law.

The family law system is now systemically colonized by radical feminists. Their goal is the incremental legal eclipse of men's influence over women's spheres of "identity" interests, which includes children. To that end the custody issue has become a front line in the gender wars, supported by all feminist academics and institutional elites, by supine cabinet ministers and by feminist judges.

To illustrate with just a few examples: Supreme Court of Canada chief justice Beverley McLachlin: "We have to be pro-active in rearranging the Canadian family"

Former justice minister Martin Cauchon: "Men have no rights, only responsibilities"

Feminist psychologist Peter Jaffe, a social-context educator of family court judges: "[J]oint custody is an attempt of males to continue dominance over females"

And most egregiously this from the National Association of Women and

the Law: "Courts may treat parents unequally and *deny them basic civil liberties and rights, as long as their motives are good*". (reread)

Here we are truly in George Orwell country. In simple words this statement means "The end justifies the means" and there is not a totalitarian regime in the world that does not espouse that exact excuse for their denial of rights to their citizens. In our courts the "good" that motivates them is supposedly the child's "best interests" but in fact it is virtually always the mother's happiness. This is not justice.

Eminent lawyer and civil libertarian Eddie Greenspan notes: "Feminists have entrenched their ideology in the SCC and have put all contrary views beyond the pale;" Liberal MP Roger Galloway, who chaired the 1998 Report of the Special Joint Committee on Child Custody and Access, has commented that "Justice, if it occurs in a divorce court, is accidental."

Misandry in family law arises from an ideology that views children as the property of women, even though many peer-reviewed studies show

children want and need both parents, and no studies show sole parenting by a mother serves children's best interests. This ideology is instilled in judges during training sessions featuring feminism-driven materials, and subsequently often plays out as unaccountable kangaroo courts.

The result is that an adversarial mother who initiates a divorce against the will of the father—however indifferent her parenting skills, however superb his—and even if the children spend their days with nannies or day care workers—pretty well has a lock on sole custody of the children.

If she makes a false allegation of abuse in order to have him barred from the house—this happens regularly; any unsubstantiated claim of abuse or *even voicing her fear of abuse* by a woman will be acted upon instantly by the police and the courts with no recourse for the man—or denies rightful access to the father, she will never be punished at all.

Conversely, if he withholds support money, even if he has lost his job and has no other means of paying, he will be criminalized: His

picture as a "deadbeat dad" may appear on government-sanctioned Internet sites, and if he goes to jail, as is likely, he will serve a longer sentence than cocaine dealers.

But ideologues don't care about realities, and they don't pay attention to the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of Children, which states that every child has the right to know and love his biological father and mother. Ideologues care about theory, and according to the one they favour, women don't need men, and children don't need fathers.

There is a Yiddish expression my mother used to invoke with a philosophical sigh, "The reidele-drehtsich"—*the wheel turns*. A hundred years ago, it was homosexual love that dared not speak its name. Today homosexual love roars, and it is manliness that whispers in the shadows.

Goethe said: "All theory is grey, but green springs the golden tree of life." The time for zero-sum theories—if your sex wins, mine loses—is past. Men's voices needn't be silenced for women's to be heard. We need more conversation, less monologue. ♠



PHOTO: ROBERT GALBRAITH

Globalization and the New Frontier of Emerging Markets

Ask a risk analyst what they thought of emerging markets five years ago and they would have responded with one word: China. Asking the same question today arouses a different response that encompasses a larger geographical perspective. Emerging market investments are on the rise, and while stalwarts such as China and other Asian countries are getting the lion's share of the investment dollars, places like Africa are beginning to stand out.

In 2006, close to US\$22 billion was invested in emerging markets representing a 15% growth over 2003 investment figures. Private equity annual returns in emerging markets show a 23% return since 2003. That is more than double the return S&P 500 index offered during the same time frame. An industry survey by The Emerging Markets Private Equity Association revealed 65% of respondents plan to increase their commitments to emerging markets in the next five years. But the area that continues to draw the largest investment returns remain in Africa and the Middle East.

In the Middle East the private equity investments are dominated

primarily in Israel where the stock of private-equity investment as a fraction of GDP amounted to 3.2%, which is only second to North America. In Africa, the most mature market located in South Africa received 1.9% of GDP, putting it in a class on its own. But, what can be one investor's frontier can be another's backyard. Why are these markets attractive to so many? What do North American investors see in these markets and how do they take their decisions?

The answer lies predominantly in political and country risk analysis. While the purview of this craft is among the political scientists, economists and spies, it remains an imperfect and subjective science. The analysis of political events and regulatory measures allows investors to better understand the general business atmosphere and allows for a better investment decision.

Citibank recently unveiled plans for a new US\$200 million fund dedicated to Africa. Investors for Africa have typically looked at mining resources and unexplored energy fields. But, the new African reality is a budding entrepreneur

class in the high-tech fields, pharmaceuticals and consumer goods.

C.K. Prahalad, author of the book "the Wealth at the bottom of the pyramid," outlined the basic premise to successful selling in emerging markets. Prahalad, believes that large multinational corporations need to sell in emerging market consumer terms. In the North American consumer market, shampoo is usually purchased in one litre bottles, yet in Africa, consumers purchase them in just a one-use format, which brings the price down considerably. Procter & Gamble has declared their African sales of consumer goods to have grown more aggressively than any other market. In fact, smaller African companies have gotten into this marketplace to offer consumers 5ml packets of soap, shampoo, and other like-products. Demand has outpaced supply.

But these little companies do not only rely on the multinational banks for capital—they also raise funds through their local stock market. Alternative capital markets are also gaining momentum with brokers and hedge fund managers.

In a large office complex in

downtown Accra, in Ghana—there is standing room only for locals queuing up with cash to buy shares of a mutual fund that has generated over 60 percent return for the past several years. Databank, the local mutual fund company, has been strategically investing in publicly traded firms all over African stock markets in Ghana, Nigeria, Botswana and Kenya—not only

in this digital age, ever easier to get. Thus the trick to wise investments in emerging markets lies in the understanding of the underlying themes of most government policies.

Two rising stars of Africa in the next few years are; Democratic Republic of Congo (DMC) and Zimbabwe. The DMC just voted in their first democratic elections since the 1960s, in which foreign



The Emerging Markets Private Equity Association revealed 65% of respondents plan to increase their commitments to emerging markets in the next five years.

investing in natural resources, but in high-tech start-ups.

So what is turning off some investors? According to the Emerging Markets Private Equity Association, the biggest constraints to further investment are concerns about accounting and corporate governance of managers and portfolio companies, followed by concerns that governments may not pursue sound economic policies.

As a case in point, after Chad agreed to a World Bank administered fund on oil revenues from the Exxon pipeline project, President Déry changed his mind and decided to seize the funds in order to keep buying more arms. Other countries have had similar stories, such as Benin, who endured a long stable dictator for over 30 years, only to have his son succeed to the "throne" after the president's death. Other examples of unstable policies are those of Zimbabwe—once the rising star of Africa, dictator-for-life Mugabe, implemented a horrible land-reform and lost over 60% of its foreign currency reserves, after evacuating the most lucrative agriculturalists in his country.

International investors are getting smarter, analysis is becoming more pertinent and access to information,

observers declared fair. These elections brought back Kabila junior but with an eye to building peace between its internal enemies and neighbours. What is important of the DMC—is their rich reserves of Tungsten. A little known natural stone that is used in cooling microchip processors. Large companies such as Microsoft have invested heavily in getting their feet on the ground and reserving "their share of the pie" in time for a peace deal.

Zimbabwe is run by an old tyrant, who will eventually extinguish. Until that time, this budding, African nation with a highly-educated work force will become the next international call centre with its cheap labour, good infrastructure and its abundance of languages. Zimbabwe will be brought back into the club of nations as the next generation of leaders stake their positions after Mugabe. This generation are armed with US MBAs and with a list of NY-based investment banking contacts that will change the face of this part of Africa.

A client once told me to "follow the traffic". Well, if it is any indication, Chinese companies have been buying everything and anything in sight in southern Africa. Maybe it is time to "follow the traffic". ♣

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Robert Elman

Robert Elman is a senior investment executive and associate portfolio manager at Scotia McLeod

WAIST DEEP IN THE REAL ESTATE BUBBLE

The Big Muddy

There was Enron. In 2001 Enron went into bankruptcy, but not before it had claimed the title as America's most innovative Company, six years running. Enron was instrumental bringing down one of America's leading accounting firms, Arthur Anderson. Its directors paid millions of dollars in restitution, its CEO was convicted of fraud, along with the CFO, investors lost billions of dollars, and innocent hard working employees, lost their retirement pension, and much of their future.

This behemoth that reported \$111 billion of sales of natural gas, oil and electricity, was discovered to be a massive fraud of off book dealings and accounting fraud of historic proportions.

We thought that with the new laws that followed and the prison sentences imposed that, we would not be seeing future "Enrons"

But the need and greed met on Main Street, and the world is now confronted with the greatest financial crisis since the great depression. In less than four years we went from the Dotcom bubble to a real estate bubble.

To stimulate the economy, which had fallen into recession, then Chairman Allan Greenspan, head of the Federal Reserve, lowered interest rates, and kept them lower than ever before in the period just before his retirement. The seeds for a new collapse, had been planted

House prices were moving up smartly, mortgage rates were not only low, they were ridiculously low.

It made no sense to rent property when you could purchase for little down payment and in many instances, zero money down..

In the beginning demand for property began to rise smartly, then sharply, then prices went vertical.

Everyone wanted in on the action. For every desire there was someone to fulfill the wish. I have been in the investment field for almost 40 years, and I had never heard of anyone being able to borrow money below the prime rate with zero money down. It meant exactly what it spoke to. Demand for real estate skyrocketed

From vertical, home prices went into the stratosphere, with annual increases of 25-30% not unheard of in places like California, Florida and Nevada.

Gary Shilling chillingly predicted the following in 2006 "I am convinced that the housing bubble is gigantic and will burst before long with massive implications here and abroad. In fact, it's the key to the global economic outlook"

That, was only the beginning. For this drama had many moving parts.

The culprits included everyone from the banks, mortgage companies, hedge funds, monoline insurers, real estate flippers, and those desperate to own a home at any cost.

Banks loan money at low rates. Banks package mortgages and sell these new instruments to creative resellers, who add other debt, and sell these to hedge funds, who

repackage, leverage, and then sell again and again and again...

Once relieved of the mortgages and flush with cash, the banks are able to repeat and repeat this process. Ditto for the hedge funds et al. With rising home prices and continued low interest rates, homeowners were flush with cash obtained through home equity loans and home refinancing.

Not only were mortgages issued at subprime rates, but also in many cases, the valuations were inflated, which resulted in mortgages being issued for property worth less than the real value.

Once the market began to start its swoon in 2006, it did not take long for the first rung of this false ladder of homeowners to begin to throw in the towel. No one likes to pay down a load whose value is higher than the worth of the underlying asset.

And so we began to witness what I call the 9/11 of real estate. As each level of equity ownership slipped below the positive equity line, it became untenable for the debtor to remain in the game. They either threw in the keys, or were foreclosed.

We now began to witness the impact of negative leverage. Home prices turned down dramatically and as each level of ownership slipped underwater, the subsequent level approached that point of no return.

In my next article, I shall speak to the issue of debt insurers, and what roll they played in this, the worst credit crisis since the great depression. ♣



Germain Belzile

LES TAXES NE SONT PAS NEUTRES

Germain Belzile est chargé de formation à HEC Montréal

Réflexions sur les revenus

Le temps des impôts approchant à grands pas au Canada, je vous propose un « thought experience » que je mène régulièrement avec mes étudiants, dans un cours d'économie du bien-être et de la taxation. L'État-nounou nous oblige à lui verser à chaque année des sommes importantes sous toutes sortes de formes (impôts sur le revenu, taxes diverses, impôts sur la richesse foncière), dont une part importante ne sert pas à produire des biens « publics », mais est plutôt redistribué. Bien peu de gens remettent en question cette notion

même de redistribution des revenus.

Mes discussions avec mes étudiants m'amènent à croire que le soutien à ces politiques (ou l'apathie généralisée) relève plus d'une forme de conditionnement ou d'habitude que d'un soutien théorique ou moral profond.

Voici comment j'approche le problème avec mes étudiants : en début de séance de cours, je propose à ma classe que l'on procède à une redistribution des points accumulés par chacun au cours du trimestre. Ainsi, ceux qui auront performé bien mieux que la médiane céderont des

points à leurs collègues « moins fortunés ». La moyenne ne changera pas, mais les notes n'iront plus de E à A+. Les meilleurs ne pourront plus espérer qu'un B+ et les plus faibles obtiendront un C-.

Assez rapidement, « all hell breaks loose » ! La plus grande part des étudiants sont en pétard face à ce qu'ils voient comme une injustice. Parmi leurs objections, notons :

« Je travaille fort. Ce sont mes notes. Pourquoi devrais-je en céder à ceux qui travaillent moins ? »

« On encourage ainsi le resquillage : certains travailleront moins fort et se contenteront d'un C-, aux dépens des autres. »

« La moyenne diminuera, car tous feront face à des incitations moins fortes pour performer » Et ils réalisent très vite que c'est ce qui se produit avec le système de taxes-redistribution. Les taxes ne sont pas neutres. Nous sommes collectivement plus pauvres lorsque l'État s'ingère dans nos vies en taxant l'effort de ceux qui travaillent. En fait, le cas des taxes est bien plus

grave que celui des notes. En plus de diminuer l'incitation à travailler et à entreprendre, les taux marginaux de taxation élevés réduisent l'investissement sous toutes ses formes (en capital physique, en innovation et en éducation). Y aurait-il beaucoup d'étudiants à HEC si tous occupaient un emploi semblable et gagnaient la même chose, quelque soit leur diplôme ? Mes étudiants, qui font face à un coût d'opportunité élevé en passant des années aux études au lieu d'aller directement sur le marché du travail, ne s'y trompent pas. ♣



LA PENSÉE UNIQUE CHEZ NOS ARTISTES

Unanimes, nos artistes ?

Il y a soixante ans, le *Refus global* marquait le début de ce qu'on pourrait appeler l'engagement social des artistes québécois. La « liberté de penser et de créer », prônée par les signataires du *Refus*, a été peu à peu remplacée par la « quête d'identité », suivie de sa conséquence dite logique de prétendue « libération nationale ». Ce fantasme a depuis été chanté, filmé, joué, poétisé et proclamé de toutes les manières imaginables par une pléthore d'artistes québécois.

À la veille du référendum de 1995, un sondage Léger & Léger indiquait que 80% des membres de l'Union des Artistes appuyaient l'indépendance. Même si leur militantisme semble avoir diminué depuis (il n'y a pas de référendum à l'horizon), l'acteur Marc Béland n'aura pas manqué, lors de la soirée des Masques de 2006 de lancer, sur le ton de l'évidence qui

élimine tout doute possible, la fameuse question : « *Qu'est-ce qu'on attend pour se faire un pays ?* » Les applaudissements béats qui s'ensuivirent nous ont remis en pleine figure l'unanimité apparente du milieu artistique québécois face à la cause indépendantiste.

Il est tout à fait sain et souhaitable que des artistes se commettent en faveur d'une cause particulière. Leur liberté de parole est cruciale à l'existence d'une société démocratique. Il ne s'agit donc pas de juger du bien-fondé de leur opinion. Par contre, lorsque des créateurs se font un devoir de marcher en rang et de se joindre à quelque concert unanime que ce soit, on peut à tout le moins ressentir un malaise... C'est qu'une forte impression de conformisme se dégage des opinions politiques de nos artistes, dont l'exigence de

création suppose pourtant un plus grand affranchissement individuel, et par conséquent un désir, sinon une propension naturelle à résister, ou du moins à se distancer d'un discours dominant, fut-il celui de leurs pairs. Le malaise provient aussi de la projection à sens unique, répétitive et aveuglante, d'une perception de la réalité esquissée à gros traits, et qui ne comporte aucune des nuances que l'artiste est censé révéler.

Le malaise s'amplifie lorsque des artistes exprimant des opinions divergentes sur la question nationale sont pointés du doigt. Pensons à Michel Tremblay qui s'était fait traiter de tous les noms quand il avait « osé » questionner le projet souverainiste : les Claude Jasmin, Victor-Lévy Beaulieu et Bernard Landry se sont alors mis à hurler en dénonçant les « hérésies » de Tremblay. Mais était-

il au moins hérétique ? Non, puisque Tremblay s'est très vite rétracté en assurant qu'il avait encore la foi, même si, disait-il, le diktat de l'argent le dérangeait. Cet acte de repentance fut vite suivi de la « rémission des péchés », avec un Landry proclamant que, compte tenu de cette précision, il continuerait d'assister aux pièces du dramaturge.

Aussi, est-il besoin de revenir sur le cas de René-Daniel Dubois qui, en 1995, s'était fait traiter par Andrée Ferretti de « pet sec de l'intelligence » et de « lèche-cul de Roch Carrier », et cela pour la simple raison qu'il avait refusé d'obtempérer au mot d'ordre de Madame, qui l'intimait de participer à un livre collectif d'écrivains pour le Oui ? La violence avec laquelle Dubois fut rappelé à l'ordre, tout cela sans qu'aucun artiste ne dénonce cette fatwa *soft*, laissait

croire que le milieu artistique québécois, au mieux se foutait éperdument, et au pire appuyait cette condamnation pour délit d'opinion. Les visions uniques ne sont jamais saines dans une société, surtout quand le conformisme politique s'infiltrait dans un milieu composé de gens qui sont censés nous offrir autre chose.

Reste donc aux artistes qui sont fatigués de ce genre d'unanimité de refuser de se plier aux préceptes et aux mots d'ordre. Parce que soumettre son potentiel et ses énergies créatrices à quelque discours unanime que ce soit, aussi réconfortant que cela puisse paraître, c'est renoncer à une partie de ce que signifie être artiste. Se dire fédéraliste n'est même pas une nécessité. Il s'agit simplement de parler de vraie liberté, et aussi de la vivre. ♠



P.A. Sévigny

Community action saves Montreal's music chapel

When Tremblay administration executives threatened to cut off all the funding as required by the downtown core's *Chapelle Bon Pasteur* concert program, an outraged protest from every corner of Montreal's music community forced the mayor's office to back off. Once the protest began to work its way into the city's media, city officials were forced to restore the funding required to maintain one of the city's more successful and cherished cultural programs.

"After all the promises made during the Mayor's two-day conference last November," said artistic director Guy Soucie, "...we were shocked to hear how the city's SDC (Service de Développement Culturel) was planning to completely eliminate the chapel's concert program."

Soucie wasn't the only one appalled by the city's penny-wise and dollar-foolish culture executives. For once, everybody who knows about the *Bon Pasteur's* diversified concert program

agrees the city is getting more than good value for its money. With nothing more than a global budget of \$250 thousand per year, Soucie provides the city's music lovers with a free and almost daily choice of live classical concerts. For the past 30 years, the chapel's fans have been lining up for evenings full of medieval madrigals, baroque chamber music, standard classical repertoire and at least one live jazz concert per month. Not only is the chapel's concert venue

considered to be one of the anchors of the city's cultural community, it is also unique insofar as no other Canadian city has a venue quite like this one.

"It's more than important," said city musician Darcy Phillip Grey. "It has great acoustics and it's just about the only place available for any touring musician to play in Montreal..."

In 1979, when the last of the *Bon Pasteur's* nuns left their century-old Sherbrooke Street convent, the building was taken over by the city's housing department and plans were made to convert the former convent into a new, multi-purpose and mixed-use housing complex. Not only was the *Bon Pasteur* project the first of its kind but it was also meant to be the model for the future conversion and renovation of similar religious properties. While architects always meant to turn the chapel into a concert venue, its natural light and its excellent acoustics were always considered one of the project's singular strokes of good luck. When former Mayor Jean Doré decided to move into one of the building's new condominiums, he arranged for the city to buy and pay for the chapel's new Fazioli piano, one of the best in the world. Not only is the piano a singular instrument but its acoustics are such that the venue and its piano are often used to produce classical recordings. As many of the nuns who lived and worked in the convent are buried in the crypt directly below the chapel's nave, Soucie often

wonders if some of them aren't keeping an eye on their chapel.

"When good things happen," he said, "...someone always shrugs and says the sisters made it happen."

Soucie should know others besides the good sisters are looking out for his chapel. During an exclusive interview, Ville-Marie municipal councilor and Tremblay loyalist Catherine Sévigny said she was not only determined to maintain the chapel's concert program but she was also working hard to get the money required to improve it. While she did say the program's subsidy was being extended for only one more year, she also mentioned how the possibility of a PPP (Public and Private Partnership) was being discussed with a number of corporate entities in order to bring in new money for the city's cash-starved cultural infrastructure. While Sévigny admits Tremblay expects her to handle the responsibility for the chapel's future, she said she understands Montreal's music community and their concern about the future of "their" chapel.

"There is no question of doing anything that would wreck what is already an excellent program," she said. "If nothing else, we're going to do everything we can to improve it."

With an election due next year, Soucie and others in Montreal's music community can only wait to see what Sévigny has in mind for their chapel and its music. ♠

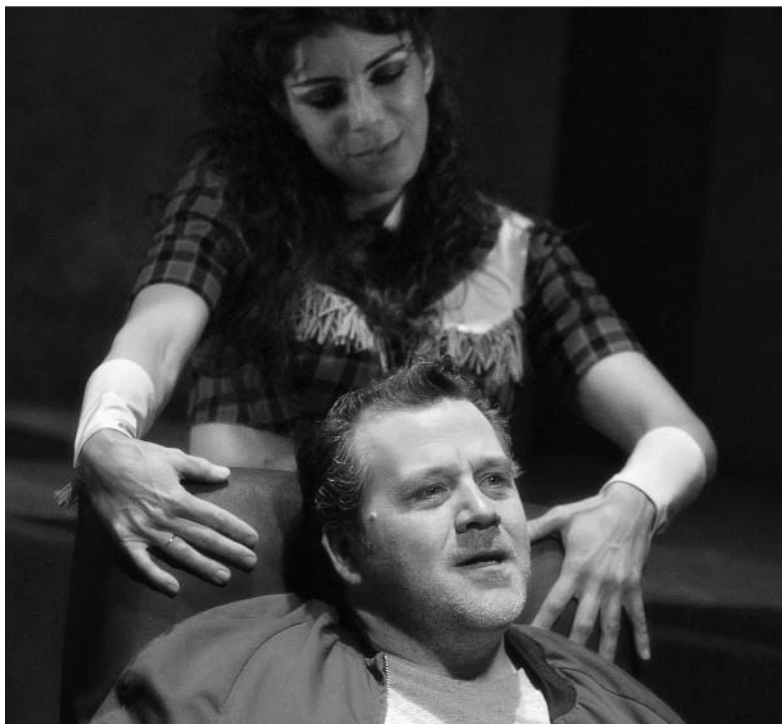


Patrons enjoying an event at the Bon Pasteur Chapel. Musicians and fans alike forced Mayor Tremblay to maintain the organization's funding when he tried to go back on his promise.

Review

Alidor Aucoin

NEW PRODUCTION OF CLASSIC MICHEL TREMBLAY PLAY



Holly O'Brien and Al Goulem in Michel Tremblay's *Forever Yours Marie-Lou*.

“Forever Yours Marie-Lou” an aria

Forever Yours Marie-Lou is one of Michel Tremblay's early works—he was 27 when he wrote it in 1970, and the script is full of youthful rage and indignation.

It's an aria—verbal chamber music—about the suicidal consequences of sexual repression, Catholic guilt, and loveless marriage.

The Centaur's production of the Tremblay classic which opened last week, is inventive and worthwhile, even though director Sarah Garton Stanley and her cast hit some wrong notes along the way.

The script explores how a dysfunctional family “ends up alone together”, as two sisters, Carmen and Manon, imagine the voices of their dead parents, Marie-Lou and

Léopold, who killed themselves in a car accident 10 years earlier.

“We're all screwballs. Every god damn one of us,” Léopold explodes at one point as he and his wife argue. But even screwballs need to be vulnerable to be sympathetic, and the three women in the show work hard, but don't quite penetrate the sympathy in the script so an audience can empathize with their predicament.

Catherine Fitch as Marie-Louise is all wasp, all sting. There is none of the tough matriarchal appeal of French-Canadian women in her. She's shrill, abusive, not sardonic. One of her best moments is to listen as she spits out the word pleasure as an epithet.

Holly O'Brien is too vanilla, too antiseptic as Carmen the daughter

who has gone off to The Main to become a promiscuous country singer, and Anthousa Harris as Manon, the devout, religious introvert, resembles a surreal portrait of Mother Theresa.

Only Alain Goulem, as the beer-swilling, Léopold, brow-beaten by his wife's invective, conveys a subtle but poignant sense of remorse for the pain he may have caused the family.

Brian Smith's set is a bit too overdone, Luc Prairie's lighting at times a little too pointed and the final tableau is way over the top.

This Tremblay work is frozen in a particular Quebec time frame.

If it is to be re-imagined and made to resonate with a new generation of theatregoers, less, not more, is required. ♣

Sharman Yarnell

TRIBUTE TO A MONTREAL DIVA

Hurray for Lady Day

She's vivacious and warm. Her soul is the very essence of Jazz and Blues. Few in this city perform it better.

She's Ranee Lee.

And she's just been given Montreal's Association of Canadian Cinema, Television and Radio Artists (ACTRA) Award of Excellence for a lifetime of achievement. This recognition is special. It is bestowed upon her by her peers. Recent winners are actors William Shatner, Vlasta Vrana and Walter Massey.

Over the years, Lee has been recognized for her work so many times: Nominations for numerous Junos. The Dora Mavor Moore

Award for her portrayal of Billie Holiday in Lady Day. Top Canadian Female Jazz Vocalist in 1994 and 1995 by Jazz Report Magazine. And recently – notably - she was invested into the Order of Canada.

The multi-talented Lee is well known to Montrealers. Although born in Brooklyn, she calls Montreal her home. Diversity is what sets her apart from others in her league: She began her career as a dancer; in the 70's she toured North America as a drummer and a saxophonist.

Somewhere along the way, singing took over. She became one of Canada's top Jazz artists and has performed internationally across the

United States. In South Africa, she toured as part of The Canadian Jazz Giants. Here, at home, she has been an integral part of the Montreal International Jazz Festival.

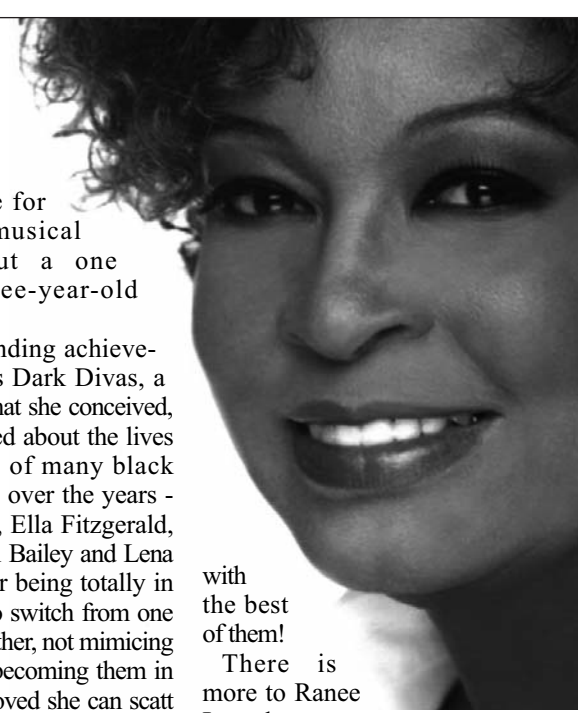
Over the years, Lee has worked with Jazz notables Clark Terry, Bill Mayes and Herbie Ellis, to name but a few. She recorded Just You, Just Me with Oliver Jones, an album nominated for an Indie Award in 2006. She has acted with Billy Dee Williams in Giant Steps and opened for the late George Burns at Place des Arts in the early nineties.

It gets better.

In 2001, she co-starred in Sadie Delany at what was then the Saidye

Bronfman Centre for the Arts, a non-musical production about a one hundred and three-year-old survivor of racism.

Her most outstanding achievement on stage was Dark Divas, a one woman show that she conceived, wrote and performed about the lives and contributions of many black female entertainers over the years - Dinah Washington, Ella Fitzgerald, Sarah Vaughn, Pearl Bailey and Lena Horne. I remember being totally in awe of her ability to switch from one of the ladies to the other, not mimicing them in voice, but becoming them in spirit - This diva proved she can scatt



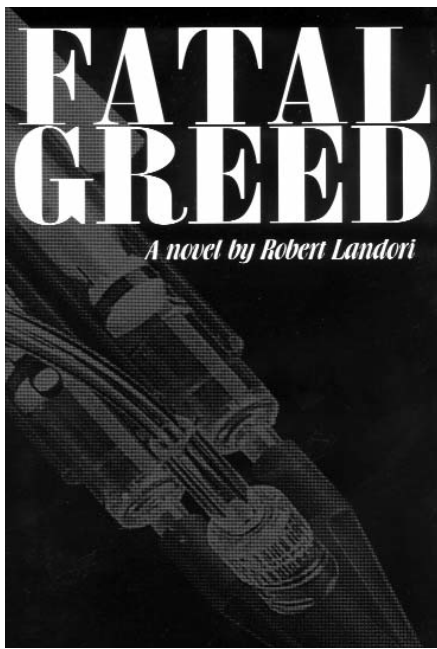
with the best of them!

There is more to Ranee Lee than meets

the eye. On meeting her you're struck with her total natural warmth, her outgoing manner, her apparent lack of ego, and her wonderful sense of humour.

Last year she wrote and published a children's book called Nana, What Do You Say, inspired by a song she wrote of the same title in her album 'I Thought About You'.

On stage, accompanied by the great Oliver Jones, or comfortably dressed in pyjamas at a press conference reading to young children, Lee is cozy, talented, relaxed and at home with her many fans. She could be tucked up in our living room with a warm hot toddie, scattering us away into that never, never wonderland that is the dream world of our imagination. An unpretentious Star, with Lee what you see is what you get. ♣



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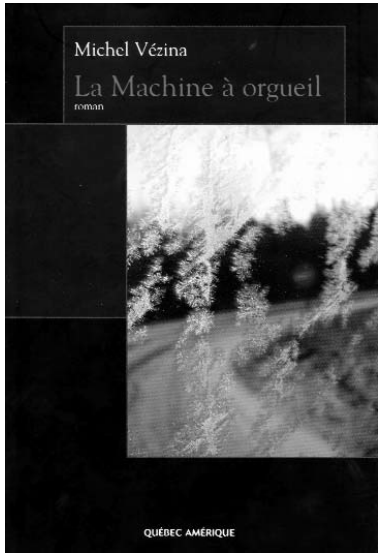
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Louise V. Labrecque

MICHEL VÉZINA, LA MACHINE À ORGUEIL, MONTRÉAL, QUÉBEC-AMÉRIQUE, 2008, 212 P.

Un acte d'orgueil



La machine se nourrit de sons. Elle démarre dans la ville, s'emballa dans l'excitation des sens, révèle des algorithmes étranges, urbains, des mystères inquiétants de faune bigarrée. La machine est au cœur du schéma narratif de ce roman de Michel Vézina, *La machine à orgueil*. En elle, nous apercevons le vide, le manque, le vertige, la profondeur du trou noir.

Pourtant, *La machine à orgueil* parle de vie : par-delà la mort, elle parle précisément de retour à la vie. C'est dans un tel espace que la métamorphose, jour après jour,

patiemment, s'opère ; on l'entend presque affirmer : « Reste là, arrête de fuir, calme-toi un peu ». En effet, il existe quelque part une maison, un terrain plus sûr, pour émerger lentement au monde des vivants. Pour Jean-Pierre, alias *DJipi*, cela devient possible par un retour à la terre de son enfance, dans ce chalet perdu et silencieux, à côté de son voisin ermite, *l'Allumé*.

Mado s'est pendue. Dès le départ, on nous annonce la mort, cette mort-là, précisément, comme « un crachat en pleine face », un canevas de situations douloureuses confrontant le réel et l'obscur sujétion des sens ; une dialectique à l'imaginaire corrosif, exigeant, où la sobriété des phrases compense les excès de violence. L'auteur évite ainsi l'énorme piège, dans une œuvre aussi troublante, de l'extrême absurde. Aucun clin d'œil moralisateur ici non plus, ni ton sentencieux du philosophe. Au contraire, on plonge directement dans le vide, en des termes très clairs, crus même, et dans l'univers quand même assez confortable, du genre réaliste, et disons-le, carrément glauque.

D'ailleurs, *DJipi* n'a pas la stature d'un héros, et *l'Allumé* est le confident inlassable qui le ramène à lui-même une sorte de double de

soi, presque un imposteur en ce lieu d'enfance qui évoque des tonnes de souvenirs familiaux, dans les hangars joutant la propriété.

L'auteur a installé des pièges partout dans son roman, et il est bien agréable d'y tomber : *DJipi* est un homme dont l'environnement sonore est omniprésent, il est une « machine à orgueil » à décoder, qui prend figure et sens, aux voix parallèles. Un autre niveau de lecture pourrait même suggérer l'idée d'une fixité du monde, une sorte de désespoir persistant, extralucide : « Je suis seul. Pour toujours. » Oui, mais, se consoler ce n'est pas se trahir, et l'enfance se pleure à tout âge. Voilà pour le fond.

Un livre sur le suicide ? Oui et non.

Imaginez une machine fascinante... une belle machine ayant traversé les générations, faisant partie du patrimoine familial, une machine qui fait l'orgueil de son propriétaire. Imaginez la ville et ses bruits, son pouls infatigable. À contrario, imaginez la campagne, le silence mur à mur, et le chant des oiseaux pour seul son, persistant, jusqu'à devenir de plus en plus insupportable, parce que ramenant impitoyablement à soi-même... Et de là, portant toute l'exigence de la guérison du cœur.

La Machine à orgueil est une œuvre de maturité : dure, noire, écrite sans complaisance, et belle par sa maîtrise. La fantasmagorie de *DJipi*, le personnage central, est essentiellement un cri du cœur, qui hurle « non » à la mort, qui lutte pour revenir à la vie, après la mort de Mado. *DJipi*, sans-abri de luxe et ancien punk, cherche un moyen de survivre, au travers des bruits de la ville et de ses expédients, avant de revenir à lui-même, par le silence, hormis le chant des oiseaux.

Cependant, point de lyrisme ici : c'est que tout ce tempo urbain est rassurant, comme une machine sonore autonome, qui fonctionne sans complication et apporte son flux et reflux d'énergie. Et pourtant, *DJipi* n'en peut plus. Il se perd, dans ce qui s'apparente de plus en plus à un enfer, et il en arrive à détester la ville—lui, pourtant si urbain—bref, il se déteste lui-même, se sent souvent en décalage partout où il passe. Il aurait voulu empêcher la mort de Mado, et comprend, trop tard, qu'il en est profondément amoureux. La mort de Mado, pire encore que celle, accidentelle et foudroyante, de ses parents—ou réactualisant celle-ci le laisse dans un profond état de détresse. Car Mado, c'est précisément l'incarnation vivante de la vie, de l'espoir, et l'ouverture sur tous les

possibles. Et perdre cela, c'est comme se perdre soi-même.

La bouche dans l'oreille

Après deux recueils de nouvelles, une traduction et ses décapantes chroniques dans l'hebdomadaire *ICI Montréal*, Michel Vézina signe donc son troisième roman, après *Élise* et *Asphalte et vodka*. Cet homme-orchestre culturel est également directeur de *Coups de tête*, une maison d'édition spécialisée dans le roman de gare, bref et fulgurant.

La Machine à orgueil est une écriture où le temps romanesque s'inscrit toujours par dessus le présent vécu par les sons et les bruits de la Machine, lesquels monologuent dans la tête du personnage principal, avec les souvenirs obsédants du passé. Ce discours, un autre, un troisième, encore, introduit une mécanique, d'abord dans le titre lui-même. On sent que l'auteur sait où il s'en va, avec son personnage principal qui revient de si loin. Un premier roman est toujours une aventure, l'auteur fait ses marques, cherche ses repères, ne sait pas s'il se trouvera, au final. Après ce long chemin, on pourrait presque affirmer que l'auteur écrit pour lutter contre la mort.

Voilà ! C'est un acte d'orgueil ! Et il y est toujours question d'éternité. ♣

Alidor Aucoin

CHALLENGING CENTAUR SEASON AHEAD

Surette premieres with a splash

Roy Surette, who slipped into town unheralded from the Belfrey Theatre in Victoria six months ago to take over as the Centaur Theatre's artistic director made his directorial debut at the end of March with *The Mystery of Maddy Heisler*.

Surette created a splash - literally - with his imaginative use of the Centaur stage, and his fluid, sentimental staging. But why he agreed to direct so sophomore a confessional in the first place, combined with the largely pre-packaged season he's announced for the Centaur's 40th next year, raises eyebrows and sends out some disquieting signals about his artistic judgment.

Daniel Lillford's play, *The Mystery of Maddy Heisler*, isn't much of a mystery. It's a mushy coming-of-age melodrama about how youthful indiscretion can return to haunt us in old age.

The plot revolves around a 17-year old Canadian navy cadet, Jacob Meisner (Gregory Prest) who has an affair with an enigmatic older woman (Patricia Summersett) who arrives in

Nova Scotia's Lunenburg county during the Second World War. The time frame fluctuates between past and present, and the flashbacks to the summer of '42, when German U-boats were threatening Canada's maritime coast, were the play's most convincing moments. Patricia Summersett, as Maddy Heisler, is deliciously seductive in her harlot-red, wet swim suit.

The mature Jacob Meisner (Kent Allen) became a failed writer in old age, whose interracial partnership with Myrtle, (Phyllis Gooden), rattled the maritime backwater community. As Meisner confronts the demons from his past, the play becomes overcrowded with sub plots and themes of racism, nazism, patriotism sense of place. Along the way, there are inexplicable lapses in the story. For example, the villain of the piece, a Klu Klux Klan racist, is an integral part of the mystery, talked about in the present, but strangely, he never appeared in any of the flashbacks.

The acting is uniformly competent, if somewhat restrained. Patrick

Costello and Michael Chaisson as the youthful and old Earle Murphy, Meisner's life-long friend, are exceptions, and worth mentioning as first rate scene stealers.

The script however was unconvincing, the dialogue stilted, and it didn't take very long for audiences to solve the so-called mystery and anticipate the cliché ending as the sun faded into the ocean and Meisner's typewriter clacked into new-found gear.

Anne-Séguin Poirier's set, a vast seascape with an expanse of glowing sky beautifully lit by Spike Lyne, was sublime - as beautiful as any Alex Colville painting.

And, the water on stage was real, unlike almost everything else about the evening. Like most ghosts, Maddy Heisler is one of those experiences that should have been seen and not heard.

Surette's line up for the Centaur's 40th anniversary season next year seems to be commercially safe. The most daring work is a production of John Patrick Shanley's Pulitzer prize winner, *Doubt*, about paranoia, moral uncertainty and pedophilia in a

Catholic boys school. It hits the Centaur around the same time as the movie version starring Philip Seymour Hoffman as the priest and Meryl Streep as the accusing nun.

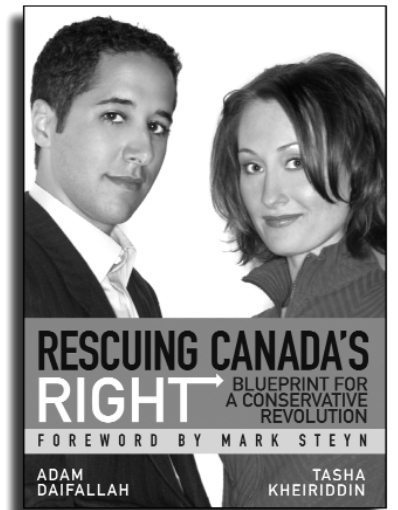
Skydive is a play Surette directed with success in Vancouver for the Real Wheels Society and is bringing the show here for our benefit. *Scorched* is a Toronto import of Wajdi Mouawad's play, *Incendies*, in translation. Linda Griffith's, *The Age of Arousal* is another Toronto import and Shirley Valentine, a one person show about a liberated blue collar British housewife on holiday in Greece is an undeniable crowd pleaser.

There's also a premiere of Nova Scotia playwright Bryden MacDonald's, *With Bated Breath*, a play that the posters suggest is clearly aimed at a gay audience.

For the first time in a long time, there'll be no David Fennario, no Steve Galluci, no David Sherman, no Vittorio Rossi.

Just where Surette is leading us, and whether Centaur audiences will want to go along, remains to be seen. ♣

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HOMMAGE

Au revoir à Pierre Théberge

Pierre Théberge, qui fut directeur du Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal pendant 11 ans avant d'emménager à Ottawa en 1997, quittera son poste de directeur du Musée des beaux-arts du Canada plus tard cette année. Sa dernière exposition, intitulée *La fabrique de « l'Homme nouveau »*, ouvrira ses portes à Ottawa le 6 juin prochain.

C'est un des projets les plus ambitieux et les plus dispendieux de toute l'histoire du musée. Créée par le curateur invité Jean Clair, ancien curateur en chef du Musée Georges Pompidou à Paris, l'exposition au coût de 1,6 million \$ examine la « beauté convulsive » qui relie l'art et la biologie.

Science en pleine croissance dans les années 30, la biologie fut un créneau exploré par les régimes totalitaires de l'Union soviétique, de l'Allemagne, de l'Espagne et de l'Italie qui souhaitaient construire un homme idéal, nouveau et libre des faiblesses débilitantes du passé.

Des artistes ont ainsi amplifié et exploré le thème de la régénération humaine avec des images surréelles, puissantes et parfois dérangeantes dans leur peinture, leur sculpture et leur photographie. Parmi les 200 œuvres que contient l'exposition, notons des peintures de Picasso, Miro et Arp, dont plusieurs ont rarement été vues au Canada, y compris *L'Ange du foyer*, de Max

Ernst; deux œuvres de Salvador Dali : *Enfant géopolitique observant la naissance de l'homme nouveau* et *Construction molle avec haricots bouillis (Prémonition de la guerre civile)*, et *Femme à la gorge tranchée* d'Alberto Giacometti.

Cette exposition est la première de trois grandes expositions au Musée des beaux-arts du Canada annoncées le mois dernier à Montréal. Les autres sont *Bernini et la naissance du portrait sculpté de style baroque*, qui ouvrira le 5 août, et *Flagrant délit. La performance du spectateur*, une exposition dédiée aux œuvres contemporaines canadiennes, qui ouvrira le 17 octobre prochain. ♣

Book Review: Sharman Yarnell

Truancy

Truancy is written by seventeen year old Isamu Fukui. Remember the name.

There have been many books written about the educational system, violence in schools, kids in turmoil, teenagers suffering the effects of stress in high school. Few, if any, have been written by the kids themselves.

Fukui started by writing notes in the margins of his school notebooks and from those notes his story evolved. At the age of 15, he took his problems, his teenage angst, and began to churn out this science fiction novel that explores life in a totalitarian regime—a regime that works with a 'zero tolerance policy' in the schools. The book has already been translated into seven other languages and Fukui has just finished writing the prequel to his story.

The hero of *Truancy* is Tack, just one of the kids suffering in a repressive school system ruled by the mayor and his cohorts, the educators (teachers are going to love this.) While today's teens worry about uniforms, homework and who says what on 'myspace', Tack and his buddies are not allowed to talk to each other. They are kept under strict control by the Mayor and Educators. In some cases they are executed for deeds done. The obvious happens—a group of teens rise up against the Mayor and his Educators—a group called Truancy. They are ready to lay down their lives against the oppressors:

"In the nightmares of children and adults in the darkest imaginations of the truants and educators alike, there had existed no images as horrible as those that eyes of both young and old now witnessed throughout the city."

Akin to *The Lord of the Flies* and much of what George Orwell wrote, Fukui attacks our present school system. He endeavours to explore how it works for and against today's youth and asks if it's acceptable for anyone to respond to violence with violence. Or does that create a never ending circle of hate?

The selling power of *Truancy* is the conception and weaving of the story by a teen watching our world from his school, Stuyvesant High in New York City. It's a story of rage, pain, suffering and darkness, but most of all, hope.

Looking around the world through his teenage eyes and at the situation in our school systems, Isamu Fukui emphasizes the futility of violence.

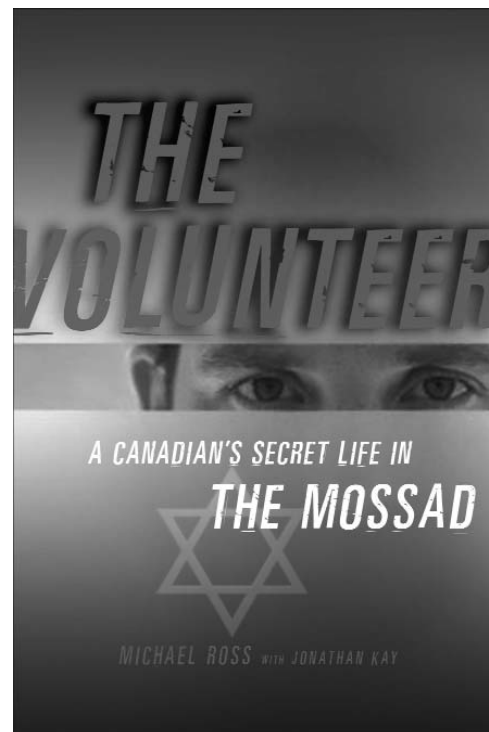
Hope truly is with our youth. ♣

THE VOLUNTEER

The riveting story of a Canadian who served as a senior officer in Israel's legendary Mossad.

For seven-and-a-half years, Ross worked as an undercover agent — a classic spy. In *The Volunteer*, he describes his role in missions to foil attempts by Syria, Libya, and Iran to acquire advanced weapons technology. He tells of his part in the capture of three senior al Qaeda operatives who masterminded the 1998 attacks on American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania; a joint Mossad-FBI operation that uncovered a senior Hezbollah terrorist based in the United States; and a mission to South Africa in which he intercepted Iranian agents seeking to expand their country's military arsenal; and two-and-a-half years as Mossad's Counterterrorism Liaison Officer to the CIA and FBI.

Many of the operations Ross describes have never before been revealed to the public.



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