

La patrie

Justice? Accountability?

Duff Conacher argues that Canada's whistleblower laws, a lynchpin in any meaningful system of governance and accountability, still lags sorely behind similar policies in the U.S. and elsewhere, to the detriment of us all p. 11

Global village

China indicted

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Les scénarios invoqués par les médecins qui soutiennent de leur prestige les partisans d'une baisse radicale des émissions de carbone en vue de stabiliser le climat mondial. Ils pourraient difficilement prescrire pire remède au mal qu'ils croient combattre. p. 18

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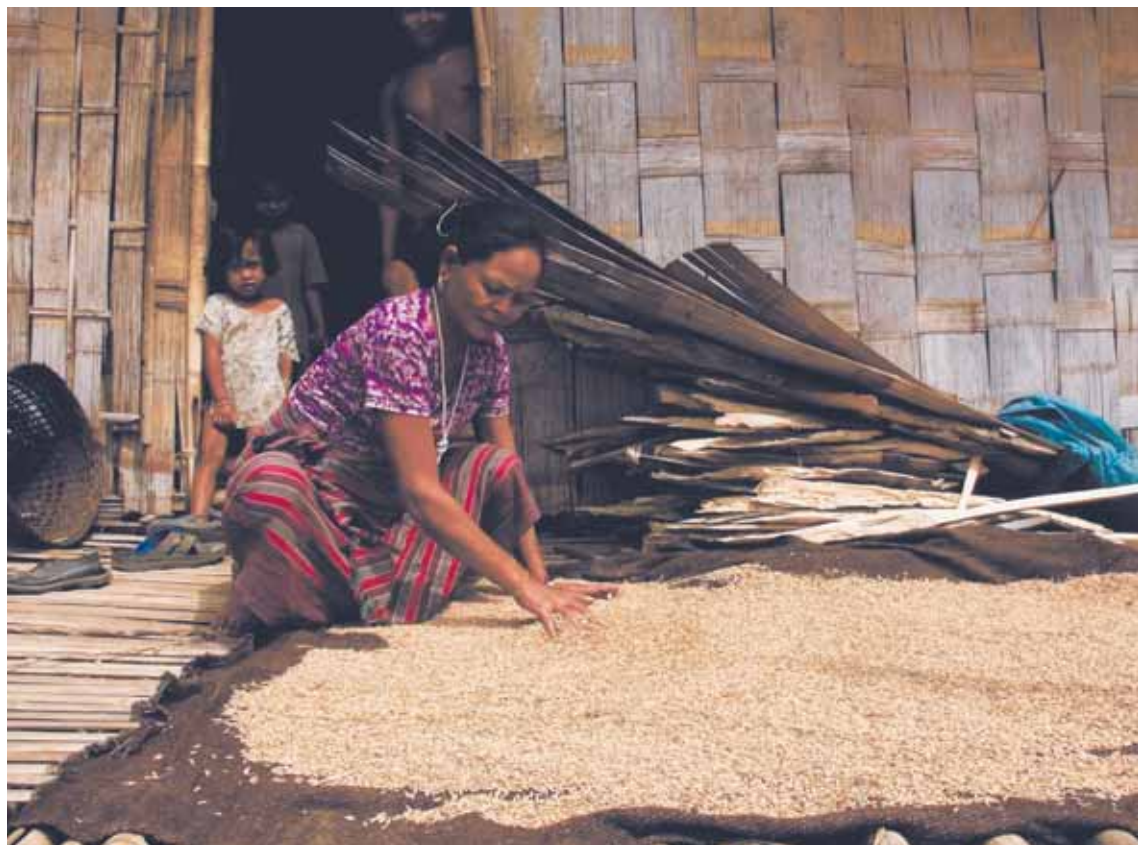
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# THE METROPOLITAIN

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## Globally and locally, coming to terms with the Food Crisis

From biofuels to monoculture, and from your weekly grocery bills to the local foodbank, food policies are causing riots we never hear of and suffering that Montrealers could soon find much harder to ignore. Protectionism's aggravating effects by Prof. Ian Irvine, and The Met's Jessica Murphy on the local impact



PROF IAN IRVINE

Le protectionnisme agricole

Le monde a une énorme capacité de production de nourriture en réserve pour dénouer la crise alimentaire mondiale. Mais ce potentiel a été bridé depuis trop longtemps par le protectionnisme agricole dans les économies développées et, plus récemment, par les restrictions imposées aux exportations dans les pays moins développés. Contrairement à ce qu'on entend souvent, ce n'est pas l'augmentation de la demande de nourriture dans les pays émergents ou la spéculation qui expliquent la crise actuelle. Outre des catastrophes naturelles comme la sécheresse australienne qui a légèrement diminué la production mondiale

Suite en page 15



JESSICA MURPHY

Montreal food banks in crisis

May was tough for Montreal food banks.

Moisson Montreal, Canada's largest food bank, saw a 30 per cent drop in donations. Sun Youth, for the first time in its history, has had to launch a summer food drive.

The squeeze is coming from all sides: increased food prices combined with rising gas prices and more demand for food bank services.

"Usually, these are months of abundance," said Johanne Thérout, Moisson Montreal's executive director. But donated food pallets have dropped from 50-to-60 a week to 10. "It's worrying," she said. "At

Continued on page 10



MICHAEL ROSS

Islam and accommodation

## The soft jihad

I've walked into the aftermath of a suicide bombing, a meeting with a terrorist from the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and a dank cell in Azerbaijan holding the al-Qaeda masterminds of the African Embassy bombings, but it only took an hour in Robson Square Provincial Court Room 105 in Vancouver to make me realize how fundamentally the nature of Jihad is truly changing and evolving.

Room 105 houses the court room where Mohamed Elmasry (in absentia) and Naiyer Habib of the Canadian Islamic Congress on behalf

of B.C.'s Muslim residents are taking on Macleans Magazine and Mark Steyn in a human rights case—the details of which I won't enter into as they were comprehensively covered by Macleans' Andrew Coyne and the National Post's Brian Hutchinson.

While the attendants in the court room were viewing a so-called human rights trial, I was looking at the seed-sowing of the seemingly benign "Soft Jihad". This is not to be confused with the "Greater" and "Lesser" Jihads which refer to the spiritual and armed struggle of Islam

Continued on page 3



ALAIN-MICHEL AYACHE

Conférence de Montréal 2008

## Kissinger à Montréal

À 85 ans, l'ancien Secrétaire d'État américain, Henry Kissinger, n'a pas manqué d'impressionner les quelques huit cents convives—ou dois-je dire privilégiés—qui ont assisté à son allocution dans le cadre de la quatorzième édition du Forum économique des Amériques, de la Conférence de Montréal au Hilton Bonaventure.

S'il n'a été question de critiquer la politique étrangère américaine actuelle, la question des présidentielles, elle, était toute posée dans son discours et avait une place de choix dans la détermination de la suite à donner au cheminement des politiques à venir. En effet, quel que soit le prochain Président des États-Unis, il aura la lourde tâche de mener à bien ce qui fera des États-Unis un

pays aimé ou détesté par notamment le Tiers Monde. Cette constatation réside dans le fait que souvent la politique américaine est basée sur la défense unique des intérêts des États-Unis et ne prend que rarement en considération ceux des pays tiers concernés par une même problématique. Or, le défi du prochain président américain sera de retrouver une certaine nouveauté dans la continuité.

Une continuité dans la politique étrangère Continuité, car la politique étrangère américaine en est une malgré le changement d'Administration. En fait, ce qui change sont souvent les priorités et surtout les tactiques adoptées pour la mise en place des politiques choisies par les différentes

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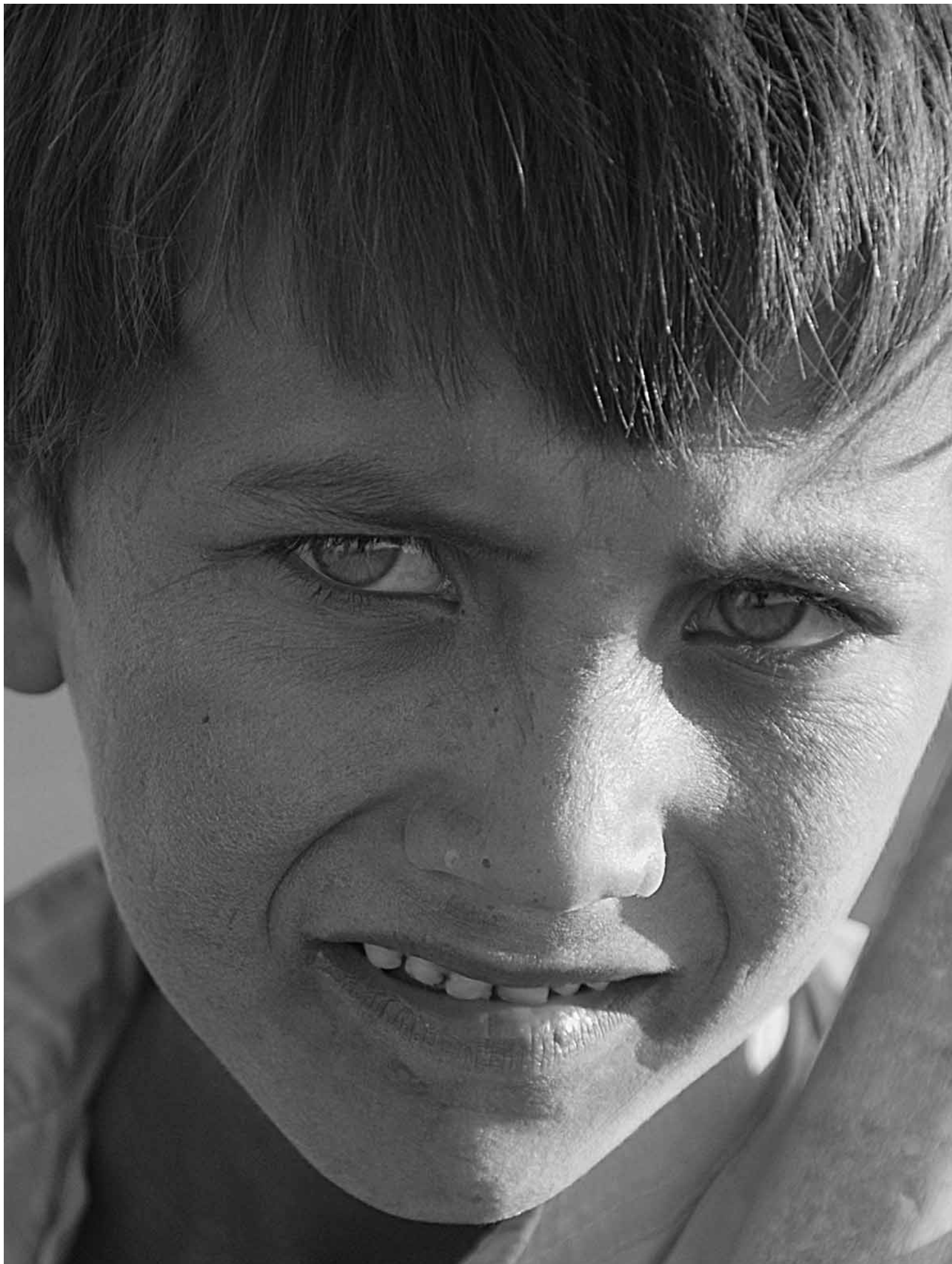


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PHOTO BY ROBERT J. GALBRAITH



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## Michael Ross

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# LA PATRIE

SOFT JIHAD—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

respectively. To me, *Hard Jihad* is the violent and militant sort most commonly recognized by westerners as suicide bombings, beheadings, insurgency-planted IED's, and a Taliban style of governance and *Soft Jihad* something far more subtle.

What most of us are unable to recognize because of multicultural blinkers is the slow and seeping introduction of cultural change based on the dictates of a minority group that in its history has resisted acclimation to a minority role in society. In fact, we don't only not recognize it, we are tripping over ourselves to grease the cogs and wheels of its machinery. This is what I call the "Soft Jihad".

Islam throughout its history has almost always existed as a majority culture enfolding minority groups within itself and either converting them to Islam or granting them the lesser status of *dhimmitude* under Shariah. In those cases where Muslims were not in the majority, the results have usually not been one of peaceful coexistence. The partition of Pakistan and India being a case in point.

This is of course the very opposite of the Jewish experience of existing almost exclusively as a minority culture where the Jews have had to consider the imperatives of basic survival through compromise and acquiescence to the majority rule. Jews have learned through much trial and error that survival means learning to co-exist within the confines of their host culture and religion in power—although as history has sadly demonstrated all too often—this method did not always meet with acceptance on behalf of those in power.

The Soft Jihad is another matter altogether and the subsequent result of a minority culture that resists acceptance of the established status-quo. It may perhaps not even consciously be recognized for what it is by its adherents and proponents and this was evidenced clearly in the court room by listening to the testimony and cross examination of Naiyer Habib by Macleans counsel,

Julian Porter.

Dr. Habib spoke admirably of how Osama bin Laden was an enemy of Islam and how his community has made great efforts to combat radicalism within its midst. This was music to the ears of moderate Muslim seekers everywhere, but we were all left unsure about what Dr Habib's reaction was to his CIC colleague, Dr. Elmasry's televised response of, "Yes, I would say," to Michael Coren's on-air question, "So everyone in Israel and anyone and everyone in Israel, irrespective of gender, over the age of 18 is a valid target?"

Listening to Dr. Habib, I'm convinced beyond a doubt that he is no card-carrying *Hard Jihadist* who condones suicide bombing or any other act of terrorism conducted by his radicalized coreligionists. But it very much worth noting that Dr. Habib and the CIC have no compunction about seeing the basic and fundamental right to free speech and open discussion concerning Islam to be silenced entirely in this country. Dr. Habib and the CIC whether they like it or not, are *Soft Jihadists*.

They are not alone. Only recently two Christian preachers were threatened with hate crime charges for passing out Christian literature in Muslim neighborhoods by the West Midlands Police "Community Support Officer".

Even in this country, we can see the *Soft Jihad* in action as it has come to light that some of Ontario's Muslims have engaged in polygamy condoned by Toronto-based Imam, Dr. Ali Hindy. True to form, the government is slow to react because it doesn't know what kind of Pandora's Box it may be opening.

These are but examples of many such incidents in western countries that have now become too banal and commonplace to report or worse, are seen by a fearful media as an infringement of the invisible rules of politically correct discourse.

The *Hadith*, or oral tradition of the words and deeds of the Prophet Mohammed, make little equivocation of the fact that Jihad concerns armed struggle (despite the well-



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meaning protestations of many scholars on our university campuses) but as it turns out, there are more insidious ways of conducting Jihad that we are foolishly condoning and in some cases facilitating out of fear of

being branded culturally insensitive. It was with a deep sense of irony that I saw Mark Steyn sitting before a Human Rights Tribunal essentially being vilified for offering an opinion that was all but being manifested before his very

eyes. Glancing at the tribunal's "judges", I sincerely doubted that they felt the same way as Mr. Steyn and from what I could tell, they didn't even seem to realize that they were already acting as unwitting agents of the *Soft Jihad*. ♣

...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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INTERVIEW

# Marc Garneau et “la cohésion sociale”

When Marc Garneau flew in space, he could see the entire country from coast to coast and then some. Years later, now that he's Stéphane Dion's Liberal candidate in Westmount-Ville Marie, he's still gets to cover a lot of territory but this time it's on the ground as he gets to know the streets of his riding.

“We've got to get to know the issues that matter,” said Garneau. “We've got to come up with some serious answers.”

Bien que le premier ministre Stephen Harper ait reconnu que les conservateurs ont peu de chances de gagner ce comté, Garneau insiste d'attendre jusqu'au dernier moment avant de déclencher des élections partielles qui pourraient bien changer le jeu de la politique nationale qui se déroule sur le parquet de la Chambre des Communes à Ottawa. Malgré tout, Garneau a affirmé au *Métropolitain* que cela fait déjà 8 mois qu'il travaille à plein temps pour se faire connaître dans sa circonscription.

“While everybody seems to have a lot on their mind... questions about the environment and global warming do seem very important in the political dialogue in the riding,” he said.

While the crumbling urban infrastructure and the city's shaky finances are not, strictly speaking, part of the federal government's political mandate, Garneau agreed the city's services and its municipal infrastructure would have to be improved if Montreal is to maintain its status as one of the major cities of North America. He intends to do what he can to help the city because he, like any other politician in this new millennium, understands how important cities have become for the future of any modern economy. He also said people are concerned about Canada's political and social image in the world at large.

Le candidat n'hésite pas de dire franchement ce qu'il pense quant aux enjeux les plus importants de cette élection complémentaire et du scrutin national qui suivra : « Les Canadiens, dit-il, auront bientôt à faire des choix qui définiront la politique du pays pour les années à suivre. »

Non seulement croit-il que la nouvelle taxe sur le carbone que propose son chef, Stéphane Dion, pourrait facilement reconfigurer la fiscalité du pays, mais le deuxième volet de ses engagements de Dion

pourraient finalement forcer le gouvernement à faire ce qu'il faut pour s'attaquer au fléau de la pauvreté qui affecte les enfants ici au Canada. Mais, bien que les libéraux veulent faire payer ceux qui consomment le plus de carburant, Garneau s'est empressé de préciser que les revenus de cette taxe seront utilisés pour baisser les impôts corporatifs qui présentement écrasent les forces productives du pays.

Contrary to Jack Layton's recent statements about Dion's new carbon tax proposal, Garneau said there was no way the Liberals would ever allow this tax to become yet another burden upon the backs of Canada's poor.

“It has to be seen within the context of a new fiscal package,” he said. “The carbon tax would be revenue-neutral as it would be redistributed within a new fiscal approach that would use the new revenue to reduce both corporate and individual taxes.”

The candidate also had a lot to say about the Liberal's new 30/50 plan to fight poverty, especially juvenile poverty within the nation. Garneau said the Liberals intend to reduce poverty by at least 30% per cent within their first 5 years in power and especially by 50% per cent as far as the nation's children are concerned within the same time frame.

« C'est une grande initiative, dit-il. Et ceci demande une grande volonté car ce n'est ni plus ni moins que d'un projet de société dont il s'agit. »

As a working engineer, a scientist and as Canada's first astronaut, Westmount's Liberal candidate believes the government should reconsider its priorities as concerns the nation's scientific research and development facilities. Garneau would very much like to see a greater priority given to scientific development in order to encourage Canadian research and technical innovation.

Even as he cited a number of examples where Canada, still a small country when compared to the world's economic and political giants, got big results, he still believes we could do a lot better.

Garneau croit que le gouvernement pourrait mieux promouvoir et même défendre plus adéquatement la propriété intellectuelle des Canadiens, tout en développant des moyens par lesquels les scientifiques pourraient mieux sortir leurs innovations des



Marc Garneau(r) with Beryl Wajzman. The candidate also had a lot to say about the Liberal's new 30/50 plan to fight poverty, especially juvenile poverty within the nation.

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laboratoires afin qu'ils puissent rencontrer leurs marchés. « C'est là un objectif qui devrait être une priorité pour le gouvernement, affirme Garneau. Nous avons tout ce qu'il faut pour le faire mais il reste beaucoup de travail à faire pour y parvenir »

Marc Garneau insiste sur sa motivation à représenter tous les gens du comté, et non seulement ceux qui habitent les rues boisées (et fortunées) de Westmount. Il est

convaincu que que tous les élus de tous les niveaux doivent comprendre que la cohésion sociale est devenue l'une des questions les plus urgentes dans notre société, particulièrement en milieu urbain. Sans prétendre détenir toutes les solutions à lui seul, le candidat affirme être résolu dans sa volonté de faire tout ce qu'il faut pour réduire la pauvreté dans ce comté que plusieurs considèrent parmi les plus riches au pays.

“With 43% per cent of the riding's population living below the poverty line, we've got to find some solutions and we have to find them fast.”

« C'est difficile de maintenir sa dignité quand on est contraint d'attendre en file pour obtenir un repas dans une salle communautaire », affirme Garneau.

« C'est intolérable. On ne peut pas rester indifférent, il faut faire quelque chose. » ♦



David Simard

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



POUR EN FINIR AVEC LA DÉMAGOGIE IDENTITAIRE



# Le culte de la différence

Attiser les différences entre groupes humains à des fins partisans est un procédé toujours très rentable politiquement, le recours aux mythologies nationales étant la recette de prédilection des démagogues désireux de justifier leur emprise sur la société. Aujourd'hui, notre différence par rapport aux autres Canadiens repose essentiellement sur le fait que notre langue maternelle est le français. Mais des pontifes ultranationalistes comme Bernard Landry s'acharnent à exacerber le culte de la différence. Landry, c'est connu, déteste tout ce qui est canadien ; on se souvient que, selon lui, le drapeau canadien ne vaut guère mieux qu'un « torchon rouge ». Dernièrement, il se pavait en serinant la prétention que les Québécois seraient plus écolos que tous les autres Canadiens ; ses œillères nationalistes font qu'il est incapable d'aborder un enjeu sans en détourner le sens au profit de sa cause indépendantiste. Mais dans la réalité des choses, le réchauffement climatique est avant tout un problème planétaire qui exige l'apport de tous, d'où qu'on soit. En plus, la plupart des provinces canadiennes font dans ce domaine des efforts similaires à ceux du Québec.

Le nationalisme a tiré profit du fait que le culte de la différence a été consacré dans les livres d'histoire. Pourtant, l'histoire non mythologisée a dans la réalité réalité très peu à voir avec l'interprétation imposée par les nationalistes, qui ont surtout évité d'identifier les nombreux points

d'entente ayant marqué l'histoire des francophones et des anglophones du Canada. Les Canadiens issus des deux groupes linguistiques partagent depuis longtemps un même espace politique, ce qui a suscité davantage d'influence mutuelle que de conflits, même si ces derniers sont toujours montés en épingle par les semeurs de division. Par exemple, plusieurs Québécois ne savent pas que le régime universel de soins de santé qui est aujourd'hui le nôtre au Québec a été inspiré par Tommy Douglas, premier ministre néo-démocrate de la Saskatchewan.

n'était plutôt qu'un voleur de peaux de castors qui aura manqué son coup avec un baril de poudre. Lorsque ce fait a été davantage connu, on a changé la journée de Dollard pour celle des Patriotes.

Le combat des Patriotes lors des rébellions de 1837-1838, dont le sens reste encore détourné par les nationalistes, fut en réalité non pas un conflit ethnique, mais une lutte pour l'établissement d'un gouvernement responsable. En d'autres termes, les deux rébellions dans les deux Canada cherchaient à établir la même chose : la démocratie. Comme

*canadiens-anglais et les Patriotes entretenaient des relations étroites avec les réformistes de Mackenzie dans le Haut-Canada.* »

Quand on lit Mason Wade, un historien américain et non pas anglo-canadien, on mesure combien profondément ancrée est devenue la mystification nationaliste de l'histoire, dont les promoteurs évitent soigneusement d'évoquer les Réformistes du Haut-Canada qui menaient le même combat que nos Patriotes d'ici. Fait intéressant, plus de rebelles ont été pendus au Haut-Canada qu'au Bas-Canada, mais de

Amérique à majorité anglophone, n'est pas très compliqué : il s'agit de vivre en français tout simplement. La survie du français ne dépend ni de la loi 101, ni d'autres approches coercitives du même genre. Elle dépend avant tout de nous, de vous et moi, tout comme de nos nombreux amis francophiles. Si nous voulons que la langue française ait un avenir en Amérique, elle doit être, avant tout, synonyme d'esprit de liberté et d'ouverture, et aussi d'innovation et d'audace. Mais ça exige qu'on débarrasse notre histoire des mythes qui nous empêchent de la découvrir

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L'élite nationaliste s'est toujours évertuée à inventer des mythes nationaux. La fête des Patriotes fut naguère celle de Dollard des Ormeaux, une figure héroïque inventée par le fondateur du nationalisme québécois « moderne » (si on peut dire), l'abbé Lionel Groulx. Mais dans la vraie histoire, Dollard

le raconte l'historien américain Mason Wade, « *la rébellion de 1837-1838 au Bas-Canada ne fut ni un conflit nettement déterminé entre deux groupes ethniques, comme nombre d'écrivains canadiens-français et anglais l'on considérée. [...] Parmi les principaux lieutenants de Papineau, beaucoup étaient*

ça non plus nos nationaux n'en parlent pas, pour faire croire que les rébellions étaient une lutte des « monstres » anglos contre les « bons » francos.

Serait-il possible d'être Québécois sans se revendiquer obligatoirement du nationalisme ? Pourtant, être francophone, même dans cette

dans toute sa complexité, et aussi dans toute sa vraie grandeur. En un mot, libérons-nous donc enfin de l'emprise de ceux qui, comme Bernard Landry, attisent le culte de la différence pour mieux contrôler nos perceptions, donc notre pensée elle-même, quant à notre histoire et aussi quant à ce que nous sommes bel et bien devenus. ♦

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LA SCHIZOPHRÉNIE IDENTITAIRE

# Avons-nous déjà été Canadiens-français ?

Interviewant Gérard Bouchard dans les heures qui suivirent la publication du rapport de la Commission sur les différences culturelles, Dominique Poirier s'étonnait que les commissaires utilisent à propos des Québécois « de souche » l'expression « d'origine canadienne-française », qui, disait-elle, nous ramène en arrière. M. Bouchard rétorqua qu'au contraire cela faisait avancer le débat, que l'expression « de souche » devrait être réservée aux Amérindiens.

Suivant le dossier depuis plusieurs semaines, je prends acte aujourd'hui que plus de gens veulent se dire « de souche » que « d'origine canadienne-française ». « Le retour de l'expression CANADIEN-FRANÇAIS pour parler des Québécois [est une] RÉGRESSION SYMBOLIQUE », écrit Mathieu Bock-Côté (LA PRESSE, 29 mai). « À toujours chercher une nouvelle manière de nommer les Québécois, écrit Bock-Côté, ne doutons pas que les commissaires auraient bien pu finir par les qualifier de Paléo-Québécois ». La paranoïa identitaire n'est pas toujours dénuée d'une certaine verve humoristique.

Plusieurs « de souche » (ou « pure laine ») se sentent donc humiliés si l'on dit tout bonnement qu'ils sont d'« ORIGINE canadienne-française ». Je ne parle pas ici de moins de cinquante ans analphabètes qui ne peuvent ni se souvenir ni avoir appris sur les bancs d'école qu'avant les années 1960, tous les Canadiens de langue française dont les ancêtres français sont arrivés en Canada, c'est-à-dire dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent, avant 1760, se disaient fièrement Canadiens-français, voire CANADIENS tout court (au dire des

plus âgés, il n'y avait de Canadiens que nous, les Canadiens-français). Non, je parle de gens qui atteignirent l'âge de raison avant la Révolution tranquille, et qui, habités aujourd'hui par une honte absurde, veulent absolument oublier leur passé.

Permettez que je me cite en exemple. Que mon patronyme d'origine libanaise ne vous trompe pas, mes trois autres grands-parents s'appelaient Leclair, Chartrand, Larivée. Né Canadien-français, je demeurai Canadien-français jusqu'au milieu des années 60. Je m'en souviens et je n'en éprouve aucune honte. Il n'y a pas de mal à reconnaître une évidence. Il semble cependant que mon attitude n'est pas très répandue. Il s'avère en effet que la plupart de ceux qu'on appelle couramment LES QUÉBÉCOIS FRANCOPHONES, voire LES QUÉBÉCOIS tout court, tiennent absolument à renier leurs origines. Paradoxalement, ce sont les mêmes qui tiennent mordicus au crucifix de l'Assemblée nationale, les mêmes qui manifestent des signes de choc post-traumatique quand les noms de James Wolfe ou de Lord Durham leur viennent aux oreilles. Baptisés sur les Plaines d'Abraham, confirmés au Pied-du-Courant, mais Canadiens-français ? Jamais, au grand jamais ! Essayez d'y voir clair... Ces gens-là, on les traiterait de FRENCH-PEA-SOUP, de FROGS ou de TARÉS qu'ils ne s'offusqueraient pas davantage. Cachez ce pedigree que je ne saurais voir ! Staline, lui, il faisait disparaître des têtes sur les photos officielles...

Quelle connerie que cette amnésie volontaire ! Rappelons que, depuis le milieu du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, on appelait Canada cette portion de la Nouvelle-



Il s'avère en effet que la plupart de ceux qu'on appelle couramment LES QUÉBÉCOIS FRANCOPHONES, voire LES QUÉBÉCOIS tout court, tiennent absolument à renier leurs origines.

France qui devint sous le Régime anglais THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC, puis le Bas-Canada, puis la Province de Québec au sein du Dominion du Canada, et enfin... le Québec ! Nous occupons, que nous le voulions ou non, un territoire qui s'est d'abord appelé Canada, au sein duquel Kébec fut au début un comptoir commercial. Je n'ai rien contre le fait que Kébec et le Québec aient grandi et progressé. Au

contraire ! Je ne vois rien de choquant au fait que le mot Québec ait supplanté dans les cœurs et dans les esprits le mot Canada. Mais je me demande bien pourquoi il faudrait hurler de rage quand on nous rappelle qu'il n'en fut pas toujours ainsi.

Quoi qu'il en soit, personne ne semblait douter jusque vers le milieu des années 60 qu'on pût être à la fois Québécois et Canadien-français.

Désormais, il faut être l'un ou

l'autre. Objets de dégoût, le nom Canada et l'adjectif canadien doivent être bannis de notre patrimoine lexical, sauf quand il s'agit de dénoncer l'affreux pays qui nous empêcherait d'être nous-mêmes.

Allons jusqu'au bout de notre hystérie iconoclaste et censurons des pans entiers de notre histoire. Gardons-nous de ne régresser que symboliquement, ramenons la pensée nationaliste au stade pré-logique. ♣

"You can get anything you want in life if you help others get what they want."

- George F. Lengvari, Sr.



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## Daniel Bartlett

WWW.THEMETROPOLITAIN.CA

COMITÉ CONSULTATIF D'URBANISME (CCU).

# Time for CCUs to open to the public?

NDG resident Peter McQueen is concerned that a new development being constructed on the corner of de Maisonneuve Boulevard and Northcliffe Avenue will ultimately clog traffic once the new McGill University Health Centre (MUHC) is built. He would like to see modifications made to the Comité Consultatif d'Urbanisme (CCU), a working group that makes recommendations on pending development projects to the borough council.

McQueen is no stranger to the MUHC access plan. President and founder of the St. Raymond Residents Association as well as the Green Party candidate in last year's provincial election, McQueen has been one of the traffic plan's fiercest opponents. In the past, his unease about the project has led him to develop his own traffic plan and to attend most monthly council meetings with questions regarding the MUHC.

Now, McQueen is directing his focus toward a four-storey building being erected near the Vendôme metro station.

"The shocking negligence of the CCU we see with this project is that it has not been set back from de Maisonneuve like its neighbouring buildings," McQueen wrote. "Instead it protrudes an extra 12 feet up against

the narrow sidewalk."

By constructing the development so close to the pedestrian walkway, McQueen argued that there will be no way to widen de Maisonneuve Boulevard in order to accommodate larger amounts of incoming traffic once the MUHC is completed. Instead of placing restrictions on the amount of lanes, he said the CCU should've looked at ways to make de Maisonneuve a three-lane west-bound boulevard starting at the metro station.

"That would strike me as something you'd want to be, if not doing right away, at least keeping the option open to do it when the time comes," McQueen said. "This little condo project, just to fit an extra 12 feet in, negates that possibility and that's just shortsighted."

This situation, along with others in the past, has led McQueen to ask questions about the effectiveness of the CCU and the resolutions its members put together. What's even more concerning for McQueen than anything else is the fact that the CCU continues to meet in private sessions.

"Let's have open meetings so we can all start going and watching and learning," he said. "More public input means more voices raising questions and developing solutions from a different perspective."



The area cleared for the proposed MUHC mega-hospital project looms beyond the tracks at Vendôme station. Concerned and engaged residents like Peter McQueen feel that the city's Comité Consultatif d'Urbanisme (CCU) meetings should be more open to public input and response before it makes decisions that will seriously affect the NDG borough.

"Let's have open meetings so we can all start going and watching and learning. More public input means more voices raising questions and developing solutions from a different perspective."

In response to McQueen's comments, Borough Mayor Michael Applebaum said he wouldn't approve of a decision to move back the sidewalk on de Maisonneuve, especially since the boulevard's width, infrastructure and drains are already in place. Moreover, Applebaum noted that he doesn't want to widen de Maisonneuve because this would cause an increase in traffic, circulation and speed.

"We're going to be extending the bicycle path and the bicycle path's going to be going in that area," he said. "You want a narrow street. You want to make sure that it stays for local traffic. You want to make sure that the people that are going to access the new hospital are going to use Décarie, you don't want them using that part of de Maisonneuve."

Applebaum also disagreed with McQueen's suggestion to have open CCU meetings, claiming that its members serve only as an advisory

body and shouldn't have to feel pressured or influenced into making certain recommendations by other citizens. This opinion is also backed by Marvin Rotrand, city councillor for the Snowdon district, who contacted Quebec Minister of Municipal Affairs and Regions, Nathalie Normandeau, to ask what she thought about hosting public CCU meetings.

"[She] wrote back and said no, the government sees this purely as a study or advisory group and that each municipality or borough has the ability to make their own rules, including the rules of whether they wanted this body to meet in public," Rotrand said.

Despite this, not everybody on Montreal city council is of the same opinion as Rotrand, Applebaum and Normandeau. Pierrefonds-Roxboro city councillor Bertrand Ward is proud to note that his borough was the first to host public CCU meetings starting in 1985. Since then, the St-

Laurent borough has also followed suit, holding one public CCU session per month. The results, Ward said, have been nothing but positive.

"We did this voluntarily so as to be more transparent for the citizens," Ward said. "I've never heard that the Quebec government isn't in favour of us holding public CCU meetings. We see it as a good thing, that citizens are concerned and want to be informed of the recommendations made by the advisory committee."

For McQueen, having public CCU sessions would enable him and other residents to become more knowledgeable about urban planning recommendations and would create a better space for discussion.

"[It's] the plight of every common citizen. We're all learning and trying to understand how this all works, but the fact that it's all held in secret doesn't help citizens understand," he said. ♣

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## Jessica Murphy

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FOOD BANKS IN CRISIS—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

the end of the line, individuals will be affected.”

Moisson Montreal is supported by a network of nearly 200 agri-food suppliers and distributes food to over 200 organizations that help feed

essence, because we're running out of food,” said communications coordinator Nicolas Carpentier. “(The warehouse) is not completely empty, but we're getting there slowly but surely.”

when it comes to donations, and any requests to the government will take a while,” Thérout said. “So the short-term especially is a concern.”

One Montreal food bank has found a creative solution.

bread),” said Colin Baker, the program's coordinator. The Zero Waste program has allowed them to rely less on food from Moisson Montreal. “Right away, this program has had an affect on other food

the larger neighbourhood supermarkets to sign on to the program.

Like Sun Youth and Moisson Montreal, the NDG Food Depot has felt the crunch. One of their staple items – rice – has tripled in price, and

# Sun Youth, which feeds about 200 people daily, is spending \$40,000 more this summer on food and may still face rationing.

more than 100,000 Montrealers.

The companies that support Moisson Montreal simply have less to donate as they struggle to offset the rising cost of fuel used to transport produce.

Sun Youth, which feeds about 200 people daily, is spending \$40,000 more this summer on food and may still face rationing. “It's a crisis, in

Food banks are now looking for other ways of ensuring stocked shelves.

Moisson Montreal has called on food producers to copy the example of Quebec milk manufacturers, who currently set aside six per cent of production for charity. Thérout is also encouraging corporate food drives.

“We're getting together on this to find solutions. We don't have power

The Zero Food Waste Network at the NDG Food Depot provides enough fresh fruits and vegetables weekly for three different NDG organizations, including their own.

The new program has helped offset the drop in donations and increased need they're facing this year. “I went up to Moisson Montreal this week and they didn't have a single loaf (of

banks,” he noted.

The premise of the program is simple: collecting surplus food from local merchants, mainly so-called ‘ugly fruit and vegetables’ – produce that is edible but slightly damaged and normally discarded. The Depot has been able to collect seven-to-10 boxes of produce each day from just one store. Baker is now trying to get

the need for food within the community has increased. This program has offset that – to a point.

“People who use the food bank are coming more often,” said Baker. “They're feeling rising prices more than anything. It's affecting use. It's very disturbing, just this whole year. If this trend keeps up, we may have to open an extra day. ♣



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## Duff Conacher

Duff Conacher is the Coordinator of *Democracy Watch*, Canada's leading democratic reform organization.



GOVERNANCE AND JUSTICE

# Protecting the whistleblowers

Federal Public Sector Integrity Commissioner Christiane Ouimet recently reported that she received only 59 complaints about government wrongdoing from whistleblowers in her first year in office.

While some commentators claim that there are few complaints because little wrongdoing occurs in the federal government, in fact no one knows the level of wrongdoing because no one is effectively protected from being unjustifiably punished for reporting wrongdoing.

Although the Commissioner has full powers to investigate complaints about wrongdoing and penalties suffered by the whistleblower, not even all government employees can file complaints with the Commissioner and be protected from retaliation if their complaint proves to be valid.

Whatever level of wrongdoing is occurring in the federal government, the key questions are: can anyone who knows about it report it to enforcement agencies without fear of retaliation (and will they get full compensation if they face retaliation?); will the wrongdoing be

corrected?; and will the wrongdoers be effectively penalized?

The U.S. established its whistleblower protection system 30 years ago, and its track record along with the experience in other countries show clearly that Canada's system must be changed in the following ways to protect whistleblowers effectively:

- As the federal Conservatives promised during the last election, members of the public, government contractors, politicians and political staff must be protected from retaliation if they report wrongdoing (currently not even all government employees are protected);
- Whistleblowers must be allowed to complain in all cases directly to the Commissioner (instead of the current requirement to complain first in private to their boss unless they can prove to an as-yet-unknown standard that their boss would not address the complaint);

- The person alleged to have penalized a whistleblower for reporting wrongdoing must be required to prove that they did not impose the penalty (currently, the whistleblower has to prove to some as-yet-unknown standard that they were punished);

- Whistleblowers must be given at least one year to file a complaint about retaliation they have faced for blowing the whistle (currently they only have two months);

- Whistleblowers must have access to a lawyer throughout the process of investigating their allegations (currently, the Commissioner can provide a whistleblower the inadequate amount of only \$1,500-\$3,000 to pay for a lawyer);

- If their complaint proves to be true, there must be a guarantee that whistleblowers will receive adequate compensation (at least six months pay) to move to a different job if staying in their current position is too difficult (currently, compensa-

tion is not guaranteed), and;

- Last, but by no means least, the identities of wrongdoers must be disclosed to the public (currently, the government often claims that the federal privacy law prohibits such disclosure).

In addition to these flaws which will continue to discourage most federal government employees from even trying to correct wrongdoing, the Public Servants Disclosure Protection Tribunal (the body which will actually decide whether wrongdoing and/or retaliation has occurred) may do as the courts did in the U.S. and interpret the rules in every possible way against the interests of protecting whistleblowers.

Between 1978 and 1989, U.S. courts ruled against whistleblowers (almost always for highly technical reasons) in 1,996 out of 2,000 cases. Yes, that's right, only four out of 2,000 whistleblowers actually received protection.

Finally, while the Public Sector Integrity Commissioner now has

more independence from Cabinet ministers, the current Commissioner was still chosen by Cabinet (instead of by the Public Appointments Commission the Conservatives promised but have so far failed to establish).

The federal Liberals promised more than a decade ago to protect whistleblowers reporting wrongdoing in the federal government, but broke their promise and only established a system that was criticized by all observers, even by the first whistleblower protection officer Edward Keyserlingk (to his credit).

Equally disappointing is that only a couple of provincial and territorial governments have established whistleblower protection systems (and that those systems are similarly flawed).

All the federal (and provincial and territorial) political parties know that government secrecy leads to corruption, waste and abuse, and that the old saying is true that "sunshine is a good disinfectant."

They also know that effective whistleblower protection is a key part of any open government system aimed at shining a light on internal government operations, in no small part because it empowers everyone to be a front-line inspector.

One can only hope that, sooner than later, enough of the parties across Canada turn their knowledge into action, and commit themselves to making the changes needed to have fully effective whistleblower protection, and fully open government.

Canadians deserve no less. ♣

All the federal (and provincial) political parties know that government secrecy leads to corruption, waste and abuse, and that the old saying is true that "sunshine is a good disinfectant." They also know that effective whistleblower protection is a key part of any open government system...

## Shedding light on the truth

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## GLOBAL VILLAGE



## Alain-Michel Ayache

M. Ayache est un spécialiste du Proche et Moyen-Orient  
Département de Science politique Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM)

KISSINGER À MONTRÉAL—SUITE DE LA PAGE 1

administrations et équipes présidentielles. D'ailleurs, Henry Kissinger souligne clairement la nécessité pour les différents partis politiques de se concentrer plus sur les raisons de leurs politiques et orienter le débat autour de choix de la tactique à adopter; les premières étant les plus importantes pour la détermination d'une politique étrangère américaine qui ne varie que sur les formes alors que le fond demeure le même de par le choix de la tactique!

#### Le monde tel que vu par Kissinger

Et lorsqu'il s'agit de définir le monde dans lequel nous vivons, l'ancien Secrétaire d'État choisit de le faire à travers la définition du concept de la « Souveraineté » et de son effet sur les politiques des différents pays. Ainsi, le monde fait face à des problèmes qui sont similaires à travers certains angles et opposés à travers d'autres. Il serait principalement réparti en trois catégories distinctes laissant de côté les États-Unis qui sont considérés comme une partie à part entière. La première étant formée par les pays européens qui ont choisi de déléguer une bonne partie de leur souveraineté à un ensemble dit Union Européenne. En choisissant de le faire, ils ont amoindri toute prise de décision unilatérale et ont plus adopté une sorte de « politique douce » (Soft Policy). L'exemple avancé est celui de la Chancelière allemande qui pour prendre une décision d'envoyer des troupes en Afghanistan, elle choisirait de le faire d'une façon prudente car sa décision affecterait l'ensemble des autres pays de l'Union qui n'auraient pas nécessairement la même approche ou la même décision pour une telle politique de déploiement. Alors que les États-Unis le feraient sans hésiter vu que le processus décisionnel est concentré selon la tradition classique des relations internationales et du concept de souveraineté par Washington.

La seconde partie qui constitue le monde d'aujourd'hui, est celle qui comprend les pays du Moyen-

Orient, où le concept d'État souverain n'est presque pas existant dans le sens que l'existence de ces pays est récente et date de Sykes-Picot. Une souveraineté qui leur a été offerte par les puissances coloniales de l'époque alors qu'ils représentaient des provinces ottomanes dont chacune était souvent caractérisée par son homogénéité ethnique. Par exemple l'Irak, selon les termes de Kissinger, représentait trois provinces ottomanes indépendantes l'une de l'autre. Lorsque l'Irak était formé, les puissances mandataires n'avaient pas pris en considération les différences ethniques qui les séparaient. D'où l'incompatibilité avec le concept de l'État nation cher à l'Occident et par définition à la souveraineté. Ainsi, les États du Moyen-Orient seraient en maque de structuration démocratique car le concept de démocratie est presque inexistant pour eux. Ce qui explique entre autres les problèmes et les violences interethniques actuelles dans ces pays là.

La dernière partie étant celle des pays de l'Asie, où le concept de Souveraineté est complètement structuré.

#### Les défis du prochain Président des États-Unis

Ainsi divisé, le monde d'aujourd'hui soulève un nouveau défi, celui de la compatibilité des États, mais également un défi de taille pour les États-Unis pour la sauvegarde de ses positions... Inutile alors de se positionner en adversaire de la Chine comme le clament certains. Au contraire, faire valoir la coopération internationale et le libre marché garantira plus la stabilité au lieu de se lancer à tort dans une nouvelle guerre froide où cette fois-ci la Chine remplacera l'URSS.

Le second défi pour les États-Unis et notamment pour le prochain président est concentré dans le danger qui guète le monde actuel. Henry Kissinger est clair dessus. Il s'agit de l'Islam radical. Ainsi, retirer les troupes américaines de l'Irak ou celle de l'OTAN de l'Afghanistan



Photo: Bob Hendriks/Conférence de Montréal

Métropolitain Editeur en chef, Beryl Wajzman (à gauche), avec le Docteur Henry Kissinger pendant son visite à Montréal.

## « Il faut poser la question sur comment combattre le radicalisme islamique au lieu du retrait des troupes » Henry Kissinger

équivaldrait à transmettre un message aux islamistes partout dans le monde de la faiblesse de l'Occident. Le résultat serait alors grave pour l'ensemble des pays pris par la tourmente islamiste et pour l'Occident également. En effet, pour les premiers les radicaux gagneraient plus de terrains dans les différents pays où ils se trouvent d'autant plus que leurs actions et leurs messages transcendent les frontières des États

qu'ils ne reconnaissent point comme tels. Cela aura pour résultat de pousser une population pauvre et désorientée dans le giron de l'Islamisme et tous les efforts entrepris par l'Occident auraient été alors en vain, puisque l'Islamisme aurait triomphé du concept de Souveraineté et de démocratie que l'Occident essaye de mettre en place. Ainsi, il ne faudrait pas poser le débat autour de la politique étrangère américaine sur le retrait des troupes ou sur le calendrier du retrait, comme c'est le cas aujourd'hui, mais plus sur la façon de combattre le radicalisme. Dans une région comme celle du Moyen-Orient où on note aujourd'hui l'émergence d'un nouvel ordre étatique qui rejette le concept de souveraineté des États comme défini habituellement en Occident, il devient important à Washington notamment de trouver de nouvelles idées créatrices capables de sortir l'Irak de la crise. L'Avenir de la région sera alors déterminé par les idées politiques nouvelles capables de maintenir la région dans une stabilité tout en réduisant le risque du radicalisme islamique. Pour Kissinger, le problème palestinien

n'est autre qu'une question de frontières d'un État qu'il appartient de fonder... alors que l'Islam radical est plus dangereux et se nourrit de ses propres forces, d'où la nécessité de réduire ses forces.

« If there is a problem, there is a solution! » Et quel que soit le problème, il y a toujours une solution. Et la vision pour trouver ces solutions doit toujours être considérée d'une manière globale.

Bien entendu, à relire de nouveau entre les lignes les paroles du Docteur Henry Kissinger, l'on se rend compte que le réalisme dont il a toujours su user dans sa politique de « petits pas » le place encore une fois comme une référence à ne point prendre à la légère, malgré ses nombreuses années de service et de son âge avancé. Il demeure aujourd'hui le porte-flambeau d'une politique étrangère américaine mettant plus l'accent sur le concept de « stabilité » et de l'équilibre des forces, que sur celui d'hégémonie. Pour Kissinger, le réalisme prévaut toujours sur l'idéal et demeure le meilleur moyen de maintenir une stabilité. ♦

## 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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The Hon. David Kilgour is Canada's former Secretary of State for Asia-Pacific and for Central & Eastern Europe and the Middle East. He is a tireless international human rights campaigner and has co-authored, with David Matas, the seminal study on the tragedy of organ harvesting in China.

## The Hon. David Kilgour



# China indicted: Human dignity is indivisible

In recent weeks, the world has witnessed catastrophes of nature in China and Burma beyond the ability of most of us to comprehend. For what happened in Sichuan province, the thoughts, sympathies and prayers of all of us go unreservedly to all families of the victims and survivors...

But no-one should confuse the Chinese people with their unelected government. The differences many of us have with the latter in terms of human dignity, good governance, rule of law, freedom of speech and democracy have nothing to do with our regard for the former. The party-state of China persecutes large communities of its own citizens: Falun Gong, democracy activists, ethnic minorities, world religions, Tibetan Buddhists, Muslim Uighurs and Christians, human rights defenders, journalists who write the truth, and internet bloggers. The government of China is among the worst human rights violators.

The Falun Gong community, which began in 1992 as a blend of ancient Chinese spiritual and exercise traditions, since mid-1999 has been persecuted more and worse than any other group. David Matas and I concluded in an independent study after examining 53 kinds of proof, that since 2001 the government of China and its agencies have killed thousands of Falun Gong practitioners, without any form of prior trial, and then sold their vital organs for large sums of money, often to 'organ tourists' from wealthy countries (Our report is available in nineteen languages at [www.organharvestinvestigation.net](http://www.organharvestinvestigation.net)).

How the International Olympic Committee could award the 2008 Olympic Games to such a regime is thus difficult to understand. The focus in article is on China's close partnerships with some of the most despotic governments on earth, which enable them to better oppress their own people and to increase thereby the risk to world peace in various regions of the world.

#### Sudan: "A crime scene"

The genocide in Sudan's province of Darfur ongoing since April, 2003 has in all probability cost the lives of more than 400,000 African Darfurians from bombs, bullets and related

causes, such as starvation. Beijing continues to assist Sudan's president Omar al-Bashir in numerous ways, including, financing and supplying arms in exchange for taking most of Sudan's oil production at much-reduced prices. It officially sold about \$80 million in weapons, aircraft and spare parts to Sudan during 2005 alone. This included A-5 Fantan bomber aircraft, helicopter gunships, K-8 military attack aircraft and light weapons, all of which are found in Darfur, transferred there in violation of UN resolutions.

China's government has long used the threat of its permanent veto at the UN Security Council to block

effective UN peace activities in Darfur. In reality, this veto and many innocent lives are being traded for cheap oil. Months ago, Bashir appointed Musa Hilal, the one-time leader of the murderous militia, the Janjaweed, to a position in his government. Hilal has been quoted expressing gratitude for "the necessary weapons and ammunition to exterminate the African tribes in Darfur." Not long ago, the Sudanese military ambushed a well-marked U.N. peacekeeping convoy in Darfur, later claiming it was a mistake. Virtually every independent observer says it was a deliberate attack.

Bashir's refusal to accept the UN-

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## The Hon. David Kilgour

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CHINA INDICTED—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

proposed roster of troops and civilian police-contributing countries, including an engineering battalion from Sweden/ Norway, units from Nepal, and a fully-equipped operation from Thailand, reflects nothing other than his political decision to deny UNAMID the personnel essential for an effective peace mission in Darfur. Last week, the chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, Luis Moreno-Ocampo, told the Security Council: "The entire Darfur region is a crime scene", adding that 100,000 Dafurians had been displaced so far this year. Explaining his comparison to Nazi Germany, Ocampo added, according to the BBC, "Sudanese officials protect the criminals and not the victims. Denial of crimes, cover up, and attempts to shift responsibility are another characteristic of the criminal plan in Darfur." It is to be hoped that Canada supports the long overdue Costa Rican initiative on Darfur underway now at the Security Council.

### Burma: "Blood for oil"

It is easy to forget important realities about Burma, including the fact that its post-independence fledgling democracy was toppled in 1962 by the military dictatorship of Ne Win, who believed that he and the military would win the 1960 general election. In 1988, there were widespread pro-democracy riots and an estimated 3000 students and monks were killed by the army. A determined and brave Aung San Suu Kyi made her first speech during the '88 uprising as an opposition leader. The out-of-touch junta called yet another election two years later in 1990. Suu Kyi and her National League for Democracy (NLD) won 81% of the seats and 67% of the votes cast in 1990. No one was allowed to take their seat by the generals and Suu Kyi has remained under house arrest for most of the past eighteen years. The UN Special rapporteur confirmed as a "state instigated massacre" the attack on Suu Kyi's procession in May 2003 northwest of Mandalay, when about 100 people were killed, including the NLD photographers, and she was herself wounded.

In what later became pro-democracy protests last September, junta troops fired automatic weapons at peaceful demonstrators and entered monasteries to beat and

murder Buddhist monks who had protested. Nuns and monks who helped lead the demonstrations were caged in barbed-wire enclosures. A foreign journalist was also killed. The junta had earlier received a \$1.4 billion package of arms from Beijing. It is clear where the fatal bullets and guns were made. Meanwhile at the United Nations Security Council, the representatives of China and Russia, who had earlier used their vetoes to remove Burma from its agenda (after keeping it off continuously since the crises of 1990 and 1988 in the country until late 2005) prevented the Council from considering sanctions against the perpetrators. The two governments even managed to keep the Council from issuing a condemnation of the junta's use of deadly force. China provided no leadership towards a peaceful resolution of the uprising in what has become in effect, like Sudan, a client state of Beijing.

As Dr. Peter Navarro puts the situation in the new edition of his book, "The Coming China Wars", what we have currently in Burma is another "blood for oil" deal. Beijing protects the generals in exchange for the lion's share of the country's natural gas, which measure over a half a trillion cubic meters, and, far more importantly, it gets to build a \$2 billion oil pipeline from Burma's coast on the Bay of Bengal to China's Yunnan province. This will allow China to take delivery of Middle East oil without passing through the narrow Strait of Malacca, which could be shut down in the case of a serious conflict with the West.

### North Korea: "The hermit kingdom"

The hermit kingdom of Kim Jong Il rivals that of Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe for any "worst governance" award today (It is no coincidence that Beijing supports both regimes, although its attempt to ship \$70 million in arms to Mugabe after he lost the recent first round of the presidential election was blocked when dock workers in South Africa refused to unload ships carrying the weapons and were supported by their national courts.). According to the International Crisis Group (ICG) in Brussels, China now does about \$2 billion in annual bilateral and investment—approx. 40% of the kingdom's foreign trade—with North

Korea. About 150 Chinese companies operate in North Korea. There are currently about two million ethnic Koreans living in China and 10,000-100,000 refugees at any point in time.

The ICG asserts that the government of China's priorities with the government in Pyongyang currently include: avoiding the costs of an explosion on the Korean peninsula; preventing the U.S. from dominating a unified Korea; incorporating North Korea into the development plans of its three northeastern provinces to help them achieve stability; achieving credit in China, in the region and in the US for being engaged in achieving denuclearization; maintaining the two-Korea status quo, as long as it can maintain influence in both capitals as leverage with the US on the Taiwan issue, and; avoiding a situation where a nuclear North Korea leads Japan and/or Taiwan to become nuclear powers.

As Peter Navarro notes, nothing is likely to dissuade Kim from his bad habits, which include counterfeiting U.S. currency, acting as a conduit for drug and arms commerce, and periodically threatening South Korea with an invasion of Seoul. Navarro writes, "North Korea is able to engage in all this rogue behaviour precisely because of its ability to hide behind Chinese skirts. China currently provides the Pyongyang regime with two-thirds of its fuel and one third of its food... The one certainty in this relationship is its lack of any certainty. This translates into high risk—the proverbial nuclear joker in the deck. Should famine, a dictator's whim, or any number of random events trigger a North Korean military outburst, it would force China to take sides. The result may well be "the Korean War, Part Deux." A cheerless thought indeed!

### Iran

Human dignity abuses by the Iranian government currently include persecution of ethnic and religious minorities (Arabs, Azeri, Kurds, Turks, Baha'is, Jews and Christians), women in a species of gender apartheid (under Sharia law the life of a woman is worth half that of a man), imprisonment, torture and execution of political prisoners and prisoners of conscience and complete control over the media.

In trading with Iran, China and other countries doing so legitimize its government and help to maintain regime officials in positions of absolute power. Trade and investment from abroad also provide for the funding of terrorist groups abroad, including Hezbollah and Hamas, under the mantle of "expanding the Islamic Empire".

China-Iranian trade has grown from \$200 million in 1990 to \$10 billion in 2005. This includes conventional arms and ballistic missiles for Iran despite Tehran's declared hostility to 'godless communism' and Beijing's continuing severe persecution of its Uyghur Muslims. Beijing simply ignores theocratic rule in Tehran. A major attraction for Tehran is Beijing's permanent seat on the UN Security Council, which is useful for resisting Western pressure on nuclear and other issues.

Ali Hashemi Rafsanjani pushed the relationship while Iran's president (1989-1997) and became a stakeholder in it. A Chinese contract to build the Tehran metro has as its local partner a company headed by his oldest son. He and others in Iran strongly favour the 'China model' of air tight political control while encouraging economic growth. In the mid 1990's, China became the leading supplier of conventional arms to Iran and has since provided assistance on developing dual use technology that can be converted to developing nuclear weapons. In 1995, China under pressure from the U.S. did stop the sale of nuclear reactors to Iran. There appears little doubt that China has since resumed nuclear weapon technology sales to Iran.

There are also indications that China has helped with Iran's Shahab-3 and Shahab-4 medium range ballistic missiles. Both are capable of hitting any state in the Middle East; the Shahab-4 could hit significant portions of Europe. Two years ago, the U.S. imposed penalties on eight Chinese companies for exporting material that can be used to improve Iran's ballistic missile capability.

China's goal of securing a reliable source of cheap oil and gas is probably being hindered rather than helped by its weapons sales to Iran by inserting a destabilizing element into Middle East domestic affairs, but also encouraging the United States to continue its extensive military presence there to deter Iran's use of force.

Canada initiated the successfully-passed UN General Assembly resolution in late 2007, which drew attention to numerous human rights abuses in Iran, including confirmed instances of: torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, including, flogging and amputations; public executions,

including multiple public executions, and of other executions carried out in the absence of respect for internationally recognized safeguards; stoning as a method of execution, and the continued issuing of sentences of stoning; execution of persons who were under the age of 18 at the time their offence was committed, contrary to the obligations of the Islamic Republic of Iran under article 37 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; arrests, violent repression, and sentencing of women exercising their right to peaceful assembly, a campaign of intimidation against women's human rights defenders, and continuing discrimination against women and girls in law and in practice; increasing discrimination and other human rights violations against persons belonging to religious, ethnic, linguistic or other minorities, recognized or otherwise, including, inter alia, Arabs, Azeri's, Baluchis, Kurds, Christians, Jews, Sufis and Sunni Muslims and their defenders.

We might all keep in mind too on the issue of Sino-Iranian relations and their current negative implications for world security that in the past few weeks alone the Government in Tehran has locked up all seven senior leaders of the country's 300,000-member Baha'i spiritual community. Not a word has been heard about them for almost four weeks. It also fired missiles at the approx 4000 UN-protected residents, including about sixty Canadians, living in Ashraf city, Iraq. This second act was clearly an act of war; the first violated a host of international covenants, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which protects freedom of religion.

Mia Farrow, Steven Spielberg, Uma Thurman and many others have already stood up for human dignity in the face of the 2008 Olympics. Is Minky Worden of Human Rights Watch not correct when she says that corporate sponsors, governments and National Olympic Committees should urge Beijing to improve human rights conditions in China? "Olympic corporate sponsors are putting their reputations at risk unless they work to convince the Chinese government to uphold the human rights pledges it made to bring the Games to Beijing," she said. "Human rights are under attack in China, and Olympic sponsors should use their considerable leverage to persuade Beijing to change policy." The rest of us should too. We are asking the government of China to honour the promises made when it bid for the Games. If you agree, please press our own government and our own national Olympic Committee to urge the government of China to fulfill its commitments. ♣



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Prof Ian Irvine



L'ÉCONOMIE

Cette texte a été gracieusement offert par l'Institut Économique de Montréal

LE PROTECTIONNISTE AGRICOLE—SUITE DE LA PAGE 1

récemment, ce sont des politiques gouvernementales malavisées qui sont à blâmer. Il faudra admettre un jour qu'une baisse durable des prix ne sera possible qu'avec l'augmentation de l'offre agricole et son corollaire, le démantèlement du protectionnisme. Cette réforme répondrait tant à l'accroissement de la demande de nourriture qu'au comportement imprévisible de Dame Nature.

Ce débat est difficile au Québec et au Canada, car on peut avoir l'impression que nous profitons des prix élevés à l'international pour tirer les marrons du feu pendant que des populations crévent de faim dans les contrées lointaines. Mais on ne peut reprocher aux exportateurs le fait que le prix des céréales, de l'énergie et des engrais atteigne des sommets. Le Canada est notamment le plus grand producteur mondial de potasse, un engrais dont l'industrie est concentrée en Saskatchewan et en Alberta. Son prix, tout comme celui d'autres engrais, a aussi été poussé à la hausse par l'expansion de la culture du maïs.

Cette dernière résulte elle-même de la croissance fulgurante de la production mondiale d'éthanol et d'autres biocarburants, largement subventionnée, qui a détourné l'utilisation du maïs de l'alimentation animale et humaine et a entraîné une réduction de la surface des terres utilisées pour la culture du blé et du soja. On estime que jusqu'à un quart des terres dédiées au maïs sera consacré à l'éthanol aux États-Unis en 2008.

Cette conjoncture profite à notre économie, mais nuit à l'agriculture de subsistance dans les pays en développement. Les engrais et les carburants ne représentent qu'une faible part du coût des aliments ici, mais la situation est très différente dans les pays peu développés où cette part est substantielle, les aliments y étant significativement moins transformés.

On entend régulièrement que la croissance des revenus à l'échelle mondiale, particulièrement en Inde et en Chine, a provoqué une augmentation de la demande et par conséquent

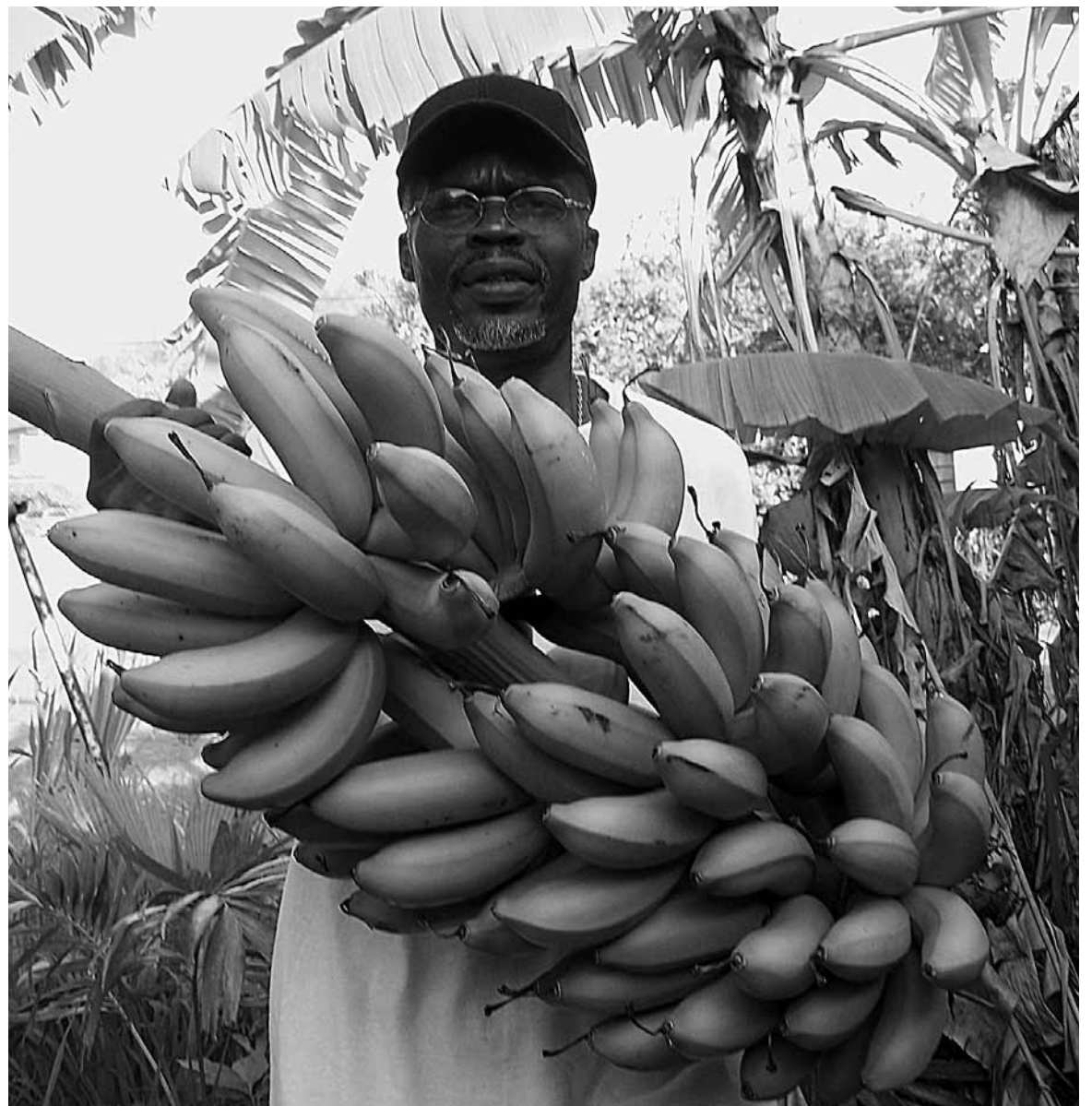
des pressions sur les prix. Le bonheur des uns ne cause pas toujours le malheur des autres : cet enrichissement ne peut expliquer l'explosion du prix des aliments observée ces deux dernières années, car la demande pour les céréales a augmenté de manière continue à un taux de croissance qui n'a pas varié substantiellement depuis dix ans.

La seule solution pour nourrir la planète est d'augmenter l'offre agricole et, à terme, de laisser baisser naturellement les prix. C'est loin d'être impossible, contrairement aux craintes malthusiennes voulant que la croissance démographique finisse par éliminer les demandeurs plutôt que la demande. Comment y arriver?

D'abord, les prix agricoles élevés et la conclusion prochaine du cycle de négociations de Doha sont une occasion rêvée de faire progresser le commerce international et de réduire le protectionnisme afin de stimuler les exportations et la production alimentaire. Un système de prix librement établis doit jouer un rôle de premier plan dans l'agriculture mondiale pour que l'offre rejoigne la demande et pour que les agriculteurs du tiers monde augmentent leur production. Le cœur des politiques agricoles traditionnelles des pays développés, y compris le Canada, a été de subventionner l'agriculture. Cela a mené à un surplus d'offre sur les marchés mondiaux, contrecarré les incitations à la production et réduit les investissements en agriculture dans les pays en développement.

Actuellement, on empêche encore une fois le système de prix de faire son travail par le biais de restrictions à l'exportation adoptées dans plusieurs économies en développement, l'objectif étant d'empêcher une hausse de prix à l'échelle locale. Cependant, de telles politiques vont en fin de compte réduire l'offre en deçà des capacités de production et ainsi maintenir les prix mondiaux à un niveau plus élevé que nécessaire.

Ensuite, plusieurs pays pourraient accroître l'offre alimentaire en cultivant les terres qui ne sont pas convoitées



# Un système de prix librement établis doit jouer un rôle de premier plan dans l'agriculture mondiale pour que l'offre rejoigne la demande et pour que les agriculteurs du tiers monde augmentent leur production.

pour le développement urbain, particulièrement dans l'ancien bloc de l'Est. Ces pays ont vu leurs surfaces agricoles disponibles augmenter avec la hausse de la productivité permise par l'abandon de l'économie collectiviste.

Finalement, des gains d'efficacité à grande échelle seraient encore largement possibles en utilisant des technologies agricoles plus performantes, par exemple grâce à un meilleur usage des engrais, malgré

leur hausse de prix récente. Des technologies semblables ont rendu possible la « Révolution verte » des années 1960 et 1970 en Inde et ailleurs et ont sauvé des millions de personnes de la famine. ♣

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MONTREAL: THE NEW "CAPITAL OF COSTLY GOODS"

# New tolls proposal could spell disaster

On June 16, Montreal's city council voted overwhelmingly in favor of Mayor Gérald Tremblay's plan to revitalize the city's transportation system – a plan that could potentially use region-wide tolls to help fund the \$8.1 billion, 20-year project.

For years, tolls have been a hot topic in cities around the world, like New York and London, as urban planners look to combat traffic congestion and meet environmental challenges. As Montreal commuters look to a future that potentially reverts to a toll system similar to the one wiped out in the late 1980's, some experts and community members are wary of the potential economic impact tolls could have on the area.

The revitalization plan, given the green light by a vote of 50 to 12,

suggests the city explore the use of tolls to help fund the project's projected annual cost of \$400 million. With annual funds of \$200 million already in the coffers, the tolls, according to city officials, would balance out the costs. As discussions progress, André Lavallée, member of Montreal's executive committee, has said the plan does not necessarily demand tolls are erected at all 15 points of entry onto the island.

Although the city does have the right to install tolls at all entry points, city officials are still investigating what the best tolling option would be, according to Darren Becker, the Mayor's spokesperson. The city has explored the option of receiving funding from the federal and provincial levels, however Ottawa denied

Montreal's demand for one percent of the Goods and Services Tax revenue and Quebec refused the city's request to increase a special provincial tax on gasoline by 1.5 cents a liter. Becker said any plans for tolls will be decided after experts and community members have had a chance to weigh in on the issue. A committee has been created to hold hearings on the tolls this coming fall, he said.

Stephane Lacroix, spokesperson for Teamsters Canada, said the trucking industry is plummeting into an economic catastrophe throughout the country and transportation companies are shutting their doors. Although Teamsters Canada, which represents Canada's trucking industry, is not taking a political stance on the potential tolls in Montreal, Lacroix admitted the tolls

could have a negative effect on an already suffering industry.

"With the incredible price of fuel, we might end up losing hundreds, if not thousands of jobs in the trucking industry," said Lacroix. "Of course imposing a toll in Montreal wouldn't be a good thing for the trucking industry. With the price of gas right now, some within the industry can hardly pay their bills. If they put a toll on top of that, it could be very difficult for them to keep operating their companies or their trucks."

The tolls could have a ripple effect on Montreal's economy, according to Marc Cadieux, president and general manager of l'Association du Camionnage du Québec which represents over 1000 members and 700 carriers throughout the province. Though his organization is not completely opposed to tolls in certain situations, Cadieux warned potential tolls around Montreal could increase the price of goods on the island.

"With any goods that you buy in Montreal or anywhere else, the cost of transport is always included in the price," Cadieux said. "This means Montreal will be the capital of costly goods. Everything will cost more. You might not necessarily see the cost increase when you buy a pack of gum, but you will with the entire shopping cart."

Transportation, Cadieux said, is like any other business and prices need to reflect operation costs. Anywhere that truckers go, like New York's toll roads or Toronto's 407, the cost of tolls is always factored into the bill. With the recent increase in expenses caused by inflated fuel costs, Cadieux said it is certain the transport industry will charge the stores for the tolls and those costs will be relayed to the consumer.

That increase in costs will cause an economic shift as businesses and consumers move away from the island to avoid the price hikes, according to Missouri-based Wendell Cox, who is considered to be one of the world's foremost experts on urban policy and transport. Cox has done consulting work around the globe—including Toronto and Montreal.

Cox said some businesses will uproot and move to other districts in response to the increase in costs and other businesses, who are considering making Montreal home, will be turned away. In today's world, Cox said, businesses are able "to go anywhere they want." The potential economic stress caused by an increase in shipping costs, bringing in employees and the loss in business caused by potential customers not wanting to drive to Montreal, has the potential to wreak havoc on the local

economy, Cox said.

"There is nothing sacred about Montreal," said Cox, noting the ever-growing suburbs. "There is nothing sacred about anyplace. Montreal is a delightful city, but you can make it so people won't go there. It is hard to imagine anything worse for the future of the Ville de Montreal than tolling."

One of the biggest issues with raising money through tolls is that public transit operators, with powerful unions at the helm, have a tendency to hoard money and never give anything in return, according to Cox.

"Transit can swallow up the funding in a matter of ten years," Cox said. "The cost escalation is dreadful. What has happened to transit costs in North America is outrageous. You essentially have unions that are in a monopoly situation with respect to bargaining and city administrations that don't dare stand up to them because, as you know, a transit strike in a city like Montreal causes a lot of trouble. It happens all over North America."

Looking back at Montreal's transit system to the early metro years and up through today, he said, there is very little increase in ridership and yet there have been large increases in costs. Most of this money, he said, is going into paying the people that run the transit system.

One of the biggest issues with raising money through tolls is that public transit operators have a tendency to hoard money and never give anything in return...

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## Piperberg's World

ACCOMMODATION OR ACQUIESCENCE



Another of the city's claims, that tolls will reduce traffic, has also been challenged by officials at the Canada Automobile Association of Quebec (CAA-Quebec). Last year's member survey found that most commuters won't make the switch to public transit even if they are forced to pay bridge tolls. Even with the tolls, people would still use their cars, according to Roxanne Héroux, spokesperson for the 900,000 member-strong association (half of whom are in Montreal). One of the reasons, she said, is it's the best ways to get their children to school or daycare.

Such is the case for 32-year-old Sainte-Julie resident Pierre Gauthier. Father of two young children, Gauthier said the current public transit system was not designed for

families. Daycare hours and bus operation hours don't line up, he said. Were he to rely on the bus to get from the South Shore to his job at Radio Canada, he would need to shift his schedule completely. The bus schedules would force him to drop his kids off at six in the morning – nearly two hours earlier than he does now. Not only that, he would have to pick them up no earlier than 17h15, therefore losing yet another hour from his day.

"I have checked all the public transit options and nothing is convenient," he said. "Maybe tolls are a good way to popularize public transit but they must improve the transportation system. Even if Montreal installs pay tolls, I will continue to use my car if the

common transportation system doesn't improve."

CAA-Quebec's position seems to find support from Britain's National Alliance Against Tolls (NAAT). Formed four years ago the NAAT has repeatedly stated that tolls, in general, are ineffective and uneconomic. John McGoldrick, NAAT spokesperson, admits there is slightly less traffic in London since that city's Congestion Charge was implemented, but, he said, traffic is moving as slowly as before and there has been no detectable improvement in air quality. The tolls have been so costly to run that there has been very little profit margin, he said, and retail owners and restaurants within the "charge zone" have taken an economic hit.

The tolls in London, like the

proposed tolls around Montreal, don't necessarily cover every possible route into the "charge zone." This means, McGoldrick said, that traffic is being diverted to other routes, causing an increase in congestion, smog and accidents in other areas that weren't necessarily designed for the heavy traffic flow. Not all commuters are completely against the idea of paying tolls to enter Montreal but people like Isabelle Laperrière, 31, who owns a condo on the South Shore, feel the potential cost of nearly \$5 per trip is too high. Although she already uses the bus to get to work everyday, she hates the idea of paying a toll each time she wants to drive into Montreal. With gas prices where they are, she said anything more than

a dollar is just too much.

Paul Mackenzie, 41, lives in Verdun but drives to the South Shore once a week to study martial arts. He said he takes the metro on occasion but, partly because of the 25 minute walk to his dojo from the Longueuil station, the trip ends up taking a lot of time. Driving, even through traffic, is faster, he said, and therefore he would, were tolls implemented, look into starting a carpool to split the cost of the toll.

"I support tolls," said Mackenzie, "As long as the money goes toward transportation infrastructure like roads, bridges, metro, etc. and there are no additional traffic jams because of it." And that's the big question mark. Where is the money really going to go? ♦

## SOCIETY



## Michel-Wilbrod Bujold

Poète écrivain et chercheur indépendant, Michel-Wilbrod Bujold a publié plusieurs ouvrages, dont *Les hockeyeurs assassinés : essai sur l'histoire du hockey, 1870-2002* et *Le lynchage constitutionnel de la famille Latimer*.

VIOLENCE DANS NOTRE SPORT NATIONAL

# L'affaire n'est pas tout à fait hockey

La Ministre Courchesne perd son temps et gaspille nos argent avec sa croisade qui vise à interdire «les bagarres» au hockey junior. Si, au moins, elle avait l'ambition de régler, à ce niveau, le problème de «la violence au hockey»...

Quant à ces dites bagarres, un problème de gangs... d'arénas, elles

surtout interdire d'autres formes de tricherie beaucoup plus violentes à l'égard du joueur et du jeu lui-même. Il est en effet permis – et puni de causer des collisions volontaires masquées sous les termes de «solides mises en échec dans le feu de l'action». On accepte ces ruées au corps le long des bandes qui passent

violence de ces contacts physiques et gérer cette tolérance à toutes les violences, on n'a pas trouvé mieux que d'*inventer* les punitions de banc qui permettent aux joueurs, qui n'acceptent pas de se faire surclasser sur un jeu, de se faire oublier pour quelques minutes ou quelques matches... Au hockey, un joueur,

frappe plus souvent sur la rondelle (ça va finir par rentrer) ou le joueur (rentre-le dans la bande !) qu'on ne joue avec la rondelle ; on se débarrasse davantage de la rondelle qu'on ne la contrôle ; on bouscule plus qu'on n'esquive ; on a tendance à retenir et à se retenir au lieu de s'abandonner au jeu ; on prend moins de

Enfin, on n'a pas à interdire les bagarres au hockey puisque aucun joueur n'est obligé de se battre ! Prenez l'exemple de ce gardien de buts qui en a agressé un autre au hockey junior cette année. En refusant de jeter les gants, le joueur *invité* à se battre a fait paraître l'autre pour ce qu'il était. D'accord pour les

## On n'a pas à interdire les bagarres au hockey puisque aucun joueur n'est obligé de se battre...

ne constituent pas le premier degré des violences au hockey. Ces combats sont généralement des commandes qui viennent de ces entraîneurs qui veulent «changer l'allure d'un match». Avant d'être une expression spontanée de frustration, elles font partie d'une tactique d'intimidation à l'égard d'un joueur en particulier et/ou elles constituent une manière de tricher sur l'issue d'un match en provoquant un arrêt de jeu stratégique.

De sorte que si on abolissait ces bagarres, il faudrait régler et

pour des «mises en échec légales» et qui amènent les joueurs agressifs à «compléter» ces dites mises en échec. Bref, des charges au corps qui provoquent de nombreuses fractures et commotions cérébrales, allant jusqu'à estropier des joueurs et causer la mort de certains.

Il y a un sérieux problème au hockey organisé depuis ses débuts en...1875. On n'a jamais pu et voulu régler et règlementer la question des contacts physiques dans un jeu de maniement de bâtons et rondelle qui se voulait nouveau. Pour limiter la

momentanément surclassé ou généralement moins talentueux, peut toujours tricher pour ne pas perdre la face ou sa place.

Si ce système de tricherie est maintenu, c'est que «la violence au hockey» est présentée comme un problème insoluble, comme «faisant partie du jeu». Et c'est vrai dans le sens où l'agressivité doit constamment intervenir pour contrer le talent. Les tricheries de violence sont si présentes dans ce jeu-de-guerre qu'on peut dire qu'on joue peu du (bâtons-rondelle) de hockey au ...hockey : on

risques alors qu'on devrait multiplier les feintes. L'affaire n'est pas tout à fait hockey au (jeu de maniement de bâtons de) hockey!

Il y a tricherie et violence dans un jeu quand on veut gagner à tout prix ou par tous les moyens. Mais gagner par tous les moyens peut être au prix même de la victoire. Gagner peut être une manière de perdre...

Le hockey comme jeu n'a pas à s'enfermer dans une bipolarité obsessionnelle victoire-défaite liée au seul pointage. Au jeu, on ne peut pas perdre, à moins de tricher.

combats à coups de poings au hockey-spectacle. Mais aucun joueur n'est forcé de laisser tomber les gants... Les pugilats disparaîtront d'eux-mêmes quand le joueur *invité* acceptera le combat tout en gardant ses gants de hockey, laissant paraître l'autre, avec ses poings nus, comme un *bum* de rue ou un boxeur égaré sur une patinoire...

Donc, que la ministre en prenne bonne note et cesse immédiatement toute cette politique de *shadow boxing* qui veut sauver la face de la véritable *violence au hockey*. ♣



## Jessica Murphy

JOINT VENTURE BETWEEN THE MONTREAL YMCA, DANS LA RUE, PASSAGES, AND THE CENTRAL BUS STATION.

## First stop

On a late sunny May afternoon, Henri-Charles Baudot sat in Place Émilie-Gamelin, wrapped in a scarf to recover from a spring cold, and spoke about his experiences helping vulnerable people in the area.

Baudot is the coordinator for First Stop, a joint venture between the Montreal YMCA, Dans la Rue, Passages, and the Central Bus Station. Located in the station, it consists of an unassuming booth and five staff – two who work full-time.

Its mandate is simple: inform and refer vulnerable travelers to organizations that can provide them with necessary assistance.

“We have a mandate, and after that we have a field. It's a battlefield. No. Well, sometimes yes, it's a battlefield between bad influences and where we are trying to protect people from those influences,” Baudot said.

The staff is equipped with an extensive list of shelters, hostels, and support services, some money for emergencies, some food vouchers – and experience.

“The tools we use most are

ourselves and each other—along with the centers in the Montreal area,” said Charles Goulet, one of the most recent additions to the First Stop team. He takes a moment to step away from his booth and speak to a young boy nearby. What made that boy stand out from the crowd? His facial expression, his youth, his hesitancy “you could see his vulnerability,” said Goulet.

The statistics are telling. Some seventy per cent of the homeless population in the city actually comes from outside Montreal. Of those, 23 per cent arrive by bus. A study by QPIRG-McGill found that 11 per cent of the youth who arrive report their first contact is with a pimp or a drug dealer. And there's a general acknowledgement among community organizations working with street people that violence is on the rise. “There's no tolerance, help, friendship, support. And 10 years ago there was more of that,” Baudot said.

First Stop was created in 1999, when the founding organizations noticed the revolving door of vulner-

“When we see someone who's at risk, we can give them that little nudge in the right direction.” Charles Goulet

able individuals coming through the station. Over time, First Stop has expanded its work into Berri Square. The staff will often walk through the park a couple of times each day. “I'm not going to try to focus on problems, but I will follow a feeling. Here are people I know, I can say hi, not friends, but faces I recognize,” said Baudot.

“For me what's important, when we come into the park, is to see who's here and who's in difficulty. By coming around the bus station, sometimes we can follow up with people we've seen.”

The descent can be rapid for the vulnerable if they're not referred to community organizations, hostels, or shelters right away. “It's possible to

learn to smoke, how to use crack, cocaine, how to deal drugs, to steal stuff to make money – it's not only here, but this park has a long history,” said Baudot. “It can become too late on the street very rapidly. You don't sleep well, you don't eat well, your brain starts to go—you become very confused. I feel more unable to help after a certain point. What we see here is not a future; it's a really strong present. It's crisis.”

Police station 21 commander Alain Simoneau conceded that drugs, especially crack, were being dealt in the park. “There's a lot of that there,” he said. Many of those receiving assistance have substance abuse problems, mental health conditions, or have been victims of assault. Forty

per cent of the clients are under 25-years-old.

First Stop has also developed a close ties with the ambulance workers and the security guards who work in and around the station. “It's a great collaboration,” said Gaetan Beaulieu, a guard at the station. “The value I see in their presence, they really keep an eye out and aren't afraid to leave their kiosk and dive into a situation.”

The YMCA community program also has some of the most direct contact, in terms of numbers, with the transients. The staff speaks with roughly 29,000 people each year. Of those, over 1,000 will use their services. And the spring and summer months see an influx of vulnerable people coming into Montreal from the regions, struggling to find their place.

“It's not us who do the real work, it's them,” said Goulet. “No one can help them, no organization. It's really up to them. (We) focus on prevention. When we see someone who's at risk, we can give them that little nudge in the right direction.” ♣





# Mauvais diagnostic, funeste ordonnance

Les médecins étant réputés pour être des gens sérieux et sensés, on les écoute attentivement lorsqu'ils nous prodiguent leurs conseils. On a donc toutes les raisons de s'inquiéter quand Margaret Chan, directrice générale de l'Organisation mondiale de la santé, qualifie le réchauffement planétaire de «cinquième cavalier» de l'Apocalypse, qui apportera la ruine et la peste à l'humanité. M<sup>me</sup> Chan n'est pas le seul médecin de «haut rang» à nous mettre en garde contre les conséquences apocalyptiques des changements climatiques sur la santé humaine. En janvier dernier, le président du prestigieux Royal College of Physicians de Londres déclarait pour sa part que leurs effets «sur la santé pourraient éclipser ceux du tabac, de l'alcool et de l'obésité».

Cet alarmisme repose sur une argumentation théoriquement plausible. La hausse des températures pourrait en principe ramener aux États-Unis et même au Canada d'anciennes maladies «tropicales» comme le paludisme. La chaleur intense, qui met notre système cardiovasculaire à rude épreuve, risque de multiplier les décès partout dans le monde. Sans compter les pertes de vie occasionnées par les inondations et les catastrophes météorologiques, surtout dans les régions les plus pauvres du globe.

Tels sont les scénarios invoqués par les médecins qui soutiennent de leur prestige les partisans d'une baisse radicale des émissions de carbone en vue de stabiliser le climat mondial. Nul doute qu'ils souhaitent ainsi favoriser la santé publique, surtout dans les pays pauvres. Mais ils pourraient difficilement prescrire pire remède au mal qu'ils croient combattre.

## Le climat et les maladies à transmission vectorielle

Examinons tout d'abord le lien entre le climat et les maladies à transmission vectorielle, c'est-à-dire les affections transmises à l'homme par

des anthropodes hématophages comme les moustiques et les tiques. Selon Paul Hunter, professeur en protection de la santé à l'Université East Anglia, «les changements climatiques exposent l'Europe à un risque réel de propagation des maladies à transmission vectorielle», le paludisme par exemple (Lantin, 26 janvier 2008). Or cette assertion fait l'impasse sur les nombreux facteurs économiques et humains qui déterminent l'incidence du paludisme.

Paul Reiter, spécialiste des maladies transmises par les insectes et collaborateur du Groupe d'experts intergouvernemental sur l'évolution du climat des Nations unies, soutient au contraire qu'«aucun élément probant n'indique que le climat ait joué le moindre rôle dans la propagation tragique de cette maladie». Le paludisme, rappelle-t-il, a sévi à l'état endémique dans toute l'Europe et certaines régions du Canada et des États-Unis jusqu'à la seconde moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, quand l'amélioration des pratiques agricoles, du drainage et des conditions d'habitation a spontanément fait reculer la maladie (Reiter, 2007b).

Les moustiques ayant en effet moins d'occasions de s'en prendre à l'homme, la transmission du parasite du paludisme s'est interrompue et la maladie a disparu de ces pays, malgré la hausse des températures répertoriée durant cette période. En fait, le paludisme s'était propagé aussi loin au nord qu'à Archangel, dans le glacial cercle arctique, faisant 10 000 victimes dans les années 1920. Le dernier cas observé en Europe l'a été aux Pays-Bas, déclaré libre de paludisme par l'OMS en 1970 (Reiter, 2005).

Paul Hunter soutient également que l'écllosion de fièvre à virus Chikungunya observée l'été dernier en Italie a confirmé que le réchauffement climatique expose l'Europe aux maladies transmises par les insectes (Lantin, 26 janvier 2008). Mais selon

une étude approfondie de Paul Reiter, cette poussée de Chikungunya s'expliquerait plutôt par la mondialisation, notamment par l'essor du transport maritime intercontinental par conteneurs (Reiter, 2007a).

## Vagues de chaleur et coups de froid

Certains médecins affirment en outre que les vagues de chaleur liées au réchauffement planétaire seront fatales à de nombreux malades et vieillards. Ici encore, il faut mettre les choses en perspective. Selon Bill Keatinge (2004), spécialiste des effets du climat sur la physiologie humaine (University of London), on enregistre effectivement une augmentation des décès au début des vagues de chaleur, mais surtout chez des gens très malades dont la vie ne tenait plus qu'à un fil. Les données révèlent en fait une baisse de la mortalité moyenne aux derniers stades de ces phénomènes.

Entre le rituel de la sieste et les systèmes de climatisation, les êtres humains ont imaginé différents moyens de se protéger de la chaleur. Les Australiens ou les habitants de la Floride, par exemple, vivent dans des régions très chaudes sans pour autant tomber comme des mouches. À en juger par le nombre de gens qui émigrent volontairement dans ces régions du globe, l'espèce humaine serait même très attirée par les climats chauds. En vérité, la chaleur est beaucoup moins pathogène que le froid, qui accroît les risques d'infection respiratoire, de crise cardiaque et d'accident vasculo-cérébral. En Grande-Bretagne, on dénombre annuellement 1 000 décès liés à la chaleur contre 40 000 imputés au temps froid (Keatinge, 2004). Le parallèle s'impose évidemment avec le Canada.

On évitera aussi de s'inquiéter outre mesure du spectre des catastrophes météorologiques. Selon Indur Goklany (2007), analyste des politiques de santé établi aux États-

Unis, le nombre des victimes de phénomènes météorologiques extrêmes a chuté de 95 % depuis les années 1920. Nous avons en effet appris à nous protéger contre la sécheresse et les inondations en élaborant des solutions technologiques permettant d'anticiper et de combattre ces phénomènes: «Des solutions qui vont des systèmes de préalerte aux codes du bâtiment, en passant par l'amélioration des prévisions météorologiques, des techniques de construction, des communications et des transports, soit autant de moyens qui facilitent les déplacements de personnes et de matériels (ravitaillement en vivres, en fournitures médicales et autres biens essentiels) au sein comme en dehors des zones sinistrées.» Et c'est la prospérité de nos sociétés qui a favorisé cette évolution.

## Effets négatifs de la réduction des émissions

Ce qu'il en coûterait pour réduire les gaz à effet de serre aurait en revanche une incidence funeste sur la santé humaine. Selon les calculs effectués en 2005 par Lombard Street Research, un groupe-conseil en économie du Royaume-Uni, tout nouveau traité international visant à stabiliser le climat à ses températures actuelles – pour autant qu'on y arriverait en réduisant les émissions dues aux activités humaines – devrait prévoir un budget de 18 à 20 billions de dollars US, soit un manque à gagner égal à 45 % de la production économique mondiale d'une année. Tel serait l'effet réel – et réellement nocif – d'une politique irréfléchie en matière de changements climatiques, notamment dans les pays les plus pauvres du globe.

Car un traité du genre ralentirait énormément une croissance économique pourtant indispensable à l'amélioration de la santé humaine. Une croissance qui produirait dans les

pays en développement les ressources nécessaires pour combattre les principales causes de décès, qu'il s'agisse des maladies pulmonaires dues à l'usage du bois fuligineux et du carburant de biomasse pour la cuisine et le chauffage domestique, des diarrhées liées au manque d'hygiène ou de la malnutrition. Autant de maladies directement liées à la pauvreté. Or, selon une étude faisant autorité, une progression d'à peine 1,5 % de la croissance économique des pays en développement au cours des années 1980 aurait sauvé la vie d'au moins 500 000 enfants (Pritchett et Summer, 1996).

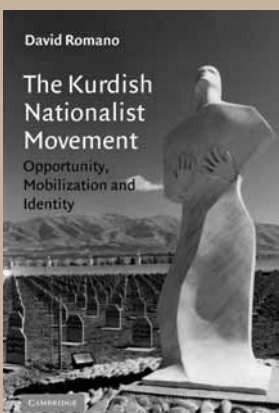
L'éradication du paludisme dans des pays européens comme la Grande-Bretagne est le fruit de la prospérité. L'exposition aux moustiques y a diminué dès que les gens ont équipé leurs maisons de fenêtres, que les éleveurs ont construit des granges pour leur bétail et que les fermiers ont pratiqué le travail et le drainage des sols, empêchant ainsi les moustiques de se nourrir et de se reproduire. Les pouvoirs publics d'autres pays riches comme les États-Unis l'ont éradiqué en jumelant ces techniques à des arrosages massifs de DDT. Que le paludisme ne touche plus aujourd'hui que les régions les plus pauvres du globe ne doit rien au hasard, puisque ces régions sont justement incapables de financer de telles mesures.

C'est pourquoi l'imposition de plafonds d'émissions de carbone reviendrait à trahir les malades des pays pauvres, car on enrayerait l'unique mécanisme – la croissance économique – leur permettant de s'affranchir des conditions de vie rudimentaires à l'origine de leur état. Freiner la croissance économique pour conjurer d'hypothétiques menaces qui pèsent sur l'humanité entraverait presque certainement notre capacité de résoudre les véritables problèmes de santé actuels.

La prospérité aide aussi les populations des pays développés à se protéger des caprices de la nature en leur permettant de chauffer et d'isoler leurs maisons, de s'offrir parapluies et vêtements chauds. Elle crée de même les ressources servant à construire des systèmes de drainage et des dispositifs de lutte contre les inondations. En excluant les pays en développement du cercle vertueux de la prospérité, nous les empêchons en fait d'accéder aux technologies qui leur permettraient de s'adapter au réchauffement planétaire. ♦

*Ce texte a été publié dans le magazine Perspectives, été 2008, dont le contenu intégral peut être lu à l'adresse [www.institutfraser.org](http://www.institutfraser.org) en cliquant sur l'onglet 'Perspectives'.*

## 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.



[www.cambridge.org/us](http://www.cambridge.org/us)



## Dan Delmar

WWW.THEMETROPOLITAIN.CA

“UN HOMME D'OPINION NE PEUT FAIRE L'UNANIMITÉ.”

“Je suis vieux. Après 46 ans, ça me fatigue. J'ai des problèmes de surdit  et je n'ai plus d' nergie,” Gilles Proulx began as he prepared for last Friday's edition of *Le Journal du Midi* on Montreal's francophone powerhouse talk station, 98.5 FM.

“  68 ans, j'ai d pass  largement la plupart des carri res   la radio, qui durent en moyenne de 10   12 ans.”

There is a certain defeatist attitude in Proulx that is unexpected for someone who has made a name for himself as a fighter; a fierce defender of the French language and an unrelenting critic of anyone with the gall to get elected to a public body in his province—or, more appropriately, his State. He entered the business because he wanted to affect change. In his final years, Proulx said he has come to realize that journalists are not agents of change; they just get the news a little earlier than everyone else.

He isn't a modest man, but he does not have the inflated ego that would normally come with three hours of daily airtime on one of Quebec's most popular radio stations. The closest he came to a diva-like tantrum in *The M ropolitain's* presence was when, jokingly, he gave his assistant a hard time for bringing him apple juice instead of orange. He is fairly quiet and soft-spoken, no doubt mellowing with age. Industry rumours about his temper are legendary though. He was once acquitted on charges of roughing up a researcher and pepper-spraying a truck driver alongside an autoroute.

Brushes with the law didn't get him down, nor did it soften his on-air persona. Some of Proulx's critics predicted the last nail in his coffin would have been a shockingly insensitive statement he made about a teenage rape victim in 2005. On a TQS debate show he co-hosted, he referred to a 14-year-old victim as “une petite cochonne. Elle est all e se donner dans la gueule du loup (rapist Fr d ric Dompierre). Tant pis pour elle.”

“C' tait tr s malhabile,” he admitted, “mais qui n'a pas eu des chutes dans une carri re publique?”

After every embarrassing tumble, he has consistently bounced back. It's a remarkable feat, given the temptation to escape public scrutiny and recoil in shame. He often deplors his listeners' lack of memory and short attention spans but, ironically, that may partially explain why he still has a job.

Last year, Proulx nearly lost a lot more than a gig. After leaving the studio, “je ressentais une pression et je ne pouvais plus respirer.” He needed a quadruple bypass, which he said he has barely recovered from.

The off-air Gilles Proulx, who is married to an Italian songstress 25 years his junior, is not the curmudgeonly blowhard listeners tune in to every lunch hour, according to his right-hand, researcher Audrey Simard.

“C'est un personnage,” said

Simard. “Quand il rentre en studio et met le micro sur ‘on,’ c'est parti. Hors-onde, il est tr s s rieux. Il n'est pas m chant mais des fois il se f che... pas avec nous, l' quipe, mais par rapport   la situation.”

A self-described “ath e politique,” Proulx said he no longer believes in government and hasn't seen a decent leader in Quebec since Ren  Levesque.

“F d raliste, nationaliste... je ne sais plus qu'est ce que je suis,” he said. “La vulgarit  est devenue une marque de commerce pour le Qu bec. Le sexe, le joual et le sacrage sont les trois piliers de la culture qu b coise.”

Although often mistaken for a sovereignist, his deep mistrust of politicians and disappointment in an underachieving populace has eradicated any hard-line nationalist tendencies that were present earlier in his career.

It began at a paint store in 1961, he recalled. His version of the fat lady at Eaton's was an intolerant Sherwin-Williams franchise owner who, when overhearing Proulx speak his mother tongue, snapped and said, “don't talk French!”

He began working in radio in the regions, making \$35 per week as a disc jockey, following in the footsteps of his brother, Jacques. He was swept up in a nationalist tidal wave in the mid-1960s and began exploring the news side of the communications business. Proulx's biggest break, he said, was the confidence radio mogul Jack Tietolman had in him, adding him to the roster at CKVL, a small station in his hometown of Verdun. He would go on to host *Le Journal du Midi* on CJMS for a decade, then bringing the same program to CKAC through most of the 1990s.

Proulx has made his fair share of enemies along the way. Many of them, who are often victims of his razor-sharp wit, still have an appreciation for the man as a Quebec institution; a straight shooter, an equal-opportunity offender and un gars qui dit les vraies affaires.

Huntington Mayor St phane Gendron, a controversial media personality who hasn't rebounded from scandal quite as gracefully, saluted Proulx in a recent blog posting:

“Malgr  toutes les controverses suscit es par Gilles   mon endroit, je persiste   souligner l'influence que cet homme a eu sur ma jeunesse, ma vie, et sur la formation de mon opinion sur les affaires publiques. Il repr sentait un exemple   suivre et   imiter. Un homme d'opinion ne peut faire l'unanimit . Et au fond, qui n'a pas de travers ici et l ?”

“Il dit ce qu'il y a   dire,” said friend Dominique Blanchard, who spent an hour in studio with Proulx, showing her mother H l ne what the radio business is like. “Les gens sont un peu mouton... lui, il est toujours contre le courant.”



# Gilles Proulx!

After nearly half a century in the business, one of the most controversial, feared and respected talk show hosts in the history of Quebec radio will cut his mic for good at the end of the summer. Gilles Proulx, far from regretful, is looking forward to being free at last from the constant bombardment of meaningless press releases, pompous ribbon-cuttings that go nowhere and politicians as interchangeable as the hacks who leech onto them for a living.

Blanchard credits Proulx with helping her learn history. Every edition of *Le Journal* has a history segment where he answers listener queries,   la “why is my street named this?” It's an interesting few minutes and rare in an age where that airtime, on other programs, would otherwise be spent on jokes and various qu taineries.

His on-air guests typically fall into one of the two following categories: the ones that adore him and the ones that fear him. While interviewing a PR person from the STM, the disdain in the woman's voice is apparent after the first few seconds.

“Bonjour, Monsieur Proulx,” she said, in a laborious slur that really meant, “get this over with.”

Charles Lapointe, the head of Tourism Montreal, was just the opposite. He's been having chats with Proulx for 20 years and knows the drill. He seems almost excited to face the firing squad.

“C'est un animateur qui est assez amusant,” Lapointe said, adding that he wasn't the slightest bit intimidated. Proulx's humour is infectious and disarming. It may explain why the dimmest of callers keep coming back for more, even though he routinely refers to them as “salopards,” “ignorants” and the original and all-encompassing “con-tribuables.”

“Je suis triste. C'est vendredi... deux jours de vacances,” Proulx told listeners on Friday, munching on sesame snaps during the commercials, as he does every lunch hour.

“Le bonheur est dans le travail, comme disait Karl Marx.”

It's difficult to imagine the man resting. He seems to have an infinite supply of catch-phrases, drive-by opinions and an encyclopedic knowledge of the past, which he passes on to his listeners in succinct, radio-friendly sound bites. He has talk radio down to an art. In August, he'll hand it all over to commentator Beno t Dutrizac, who will be his successor.

Proulx is excited to leave the business and resume his travels; there's a trip to Italy in the works with a group of his fans. He won't totally vanish from all media, though. His television program, *Globe-Trotter*, on Canal  vasion will continue with new episodes. Producers have asked him to profile at least another 40 destinations and, as an amateur photographer, his work is often on display at charity events. He'll also be heard on 98.5 occasionally, when Dutrizac is on vacation.

Despite the profession being a disappointment, he doesn't feel that his time was wasted.

“J'ai rencontr  Fidel Castro, le Pape... je suis citoyen honoraire du Maroc... J'ai fait le tour du monde deux fois,” he said proudly, adding that he's going out the only way he knows how: on his own terms. “Je me calisse dehors, par la grande porte.”

Proulx can be heard weekdays from noon–3 p.m. on 98.5 FM. ♣





## P.A. Sévigny

REMEMBERING MONTREAL'S THEATRICAL LANDMARKS AND TRADITIONS

# Women protest global sex trade

As Formula-One festivities were taking over the streets in the downtown core, a small but determined group of women stood their ground against the passing crowds on the corner of Montreal's party central- Crescent and Ste. Catherine Street. While the women, all dressed in solid black, stood out among the crowds, they still managed to convince hundreds of people to sign their petition and to send signed postcards to Prime Minister Stephen Harper asking him to do something about the globe's flourishing trade in human flesh.

"We're not interested in bashing the Grand Prix," said Sharon Di

Fruscia. "We're just trying to point out what major sporting events like this one mean to girls and women who are forced into prostitution against their will."

As a member of the Montreal coalition against human trafficking, Di Fruschia knows what she's talking about. Citing numbers from a five year old American State Department report, she believes the international traffic in women (and girls) for the commercial sex trade can be now be defined as the slavery of the new millennium.

The report cites how an estimated minimum of 700 000 to a maximum of 4 million women and children are

trafficked across international borders every year. Not only are thousands of women and children shipped into Canada every year to supply the nation's ubiquitous 'massage parlors', but thousands more are being shipped through the country on their way to a similar fate in the United States. Police authorities also estimate human trafficking for commercialized sex brings in a minimum of \$400 million per year for the nation's organized crime cartels. While the trade is in third place behind drugs and illegal weapons, it is growing as fast as its consumer markets can be diversified

and exploited for further profits. While new girls are always a priority item, there's a growing sexual demand for pubescent boys for the city's booming gay trade. Montreal's reputation for its easy tolerance of gay lifestyles has turned it into one of the continent's prime destinations for the gay tourist trade.

Di Fruschia knows her campaign has a long way to go before the authorities will get serious about human trafficking and other criminal activities involved in the illicit sex business. Crescent street was jammed and the bars were doing gang-buster business while she and

her colleagues kept handing out postcards on a hot and sweaty Saturday afternoon.

"We're forced to use a direct approach," she said. "If nothing is done, we're no further ahead and there will be no one there to help these girls."

While the woman and her organization are trying to get the Harper government to do something about the century's new slavery, Di Fruschia is also looking to find and buy an empty house to use as a shelter for victims of human trafficking and other forms of sexual exploitation.

"It's not easy," she said. "There's lots to do and lots to pay for." ♦



## Louise Labrecque Lu

## ARTS & STYLE

CE SOUS-TITRE NE SEMBLE PAS ALLER LÀ...

# CHUT ! Ça commence... « Il était une fois... »



SANS TITRE  
Jo Légaré  
Les éditions du passage  
Outremont, Montréal  
60 pages  
2007

Elle : « Pourquoi ? »

Lui : « Parce que c'est comme ça. »

Jo Légaré a connu une histoire d'amour avec le peintre Guido Molinari, cet artiste en arts visuels de grand talent dont l'œuvre est trop peu connue. Jo Légaré parle en prose dans ce récit autobiographique. Un récit bien écrit donne toujours l'impression d'être autobiographique. Et puisque c'est d'amour dont il est ici question, les banalités y sont, comme de la musique, poignantes.

Les mots sauvages continuent à couler dans les souvenirs, longtemps après avoir refermé le livre. Effectivement, on se sent tous concernés, l'amour étant à l'existence ce que les mots sont au poème. « La littérature pour moi, c'est le merveilleux », disait un romancier dont j'oublie malheureusement le nom. En effet, il serait facile de sublimer ici, tant à partir des mots et des images, les rôles féminins et masculins se faisant tour à tour force

et beauté. Bref, ils coucheront ensemble et ils seront heureux.

Extérieurement, l'œuvre paraît simple. Dans les faits, tout est lourd d'amour et de poésie, magnifiquement complexe, fragile, dans une capacité à refléter le quotidien, de le décrire fidèlement, dans des fragments délicats, dans des morceaux choisis par l'auteure, comme autant de trésors à partager. Jo Légaré, ce n'est pas tout à fait la voix d'une muse. L'auteure n'est ni reine, ni dame ; elle n'a pas besoin de frontières. Tout simplement, elle est elle. Et c'est avec une tendresse humaine qu'elle et lui ont été profondément amoureux. Elle l'a accompagné toute une vie, durant trois ans, de la rencontre initiale jusqu'à son dernier souffle dans ce lit d'hôpital. Des années entières à aimer entièrement cet homme, dans le tout et ses parties. Elle n'en est jamais revenue. Fallait s'y attendre.

Pourtant, celui qui a fait le bonheur de Jo Légaré, Guido Molinari, est un peintre aussi vieux que sa grand-mère. Le jour où elle l'a rencontré, il regardait des dessins de Dora Maar, la muse de Picasso. Il s'arrêtait longuement sur chacun d'eux. Spontanément, il a fait le professeur, le philosophe sauvage. Elle fut étonnée. Il avait une tête de popcorn. Et il était vieux. Très vieux. Une manière à lui d'occuper tout l'espace. Un air vif. Il a plongé au

cœur d'elle, l'auteure, comme la faim est avide et comme la mort guette. « Dans le trou du cœur gît un trou plus grand encore, un trou noir comme tu les aimes et la balance hésite entre vivre et mourir. »

Jo Légaré résume en une phrase définitive la mort de l'homme qu'elle aime : « Sa vie aura été un long été ». Tout au long, des descriptions extrêmement savoureuses, et surtout, là, entre les lignes, des choses très sérieuses, mises en lumière à larges traits, tantôt complétées par de petites touches de couleurs, comme si on y était, à l'intérieur des silences, dans le cœur du cœur des choses essentielles. En somme, l'auteure nos fait pénétrer à l'intérieur de tout cet amour. L'autre personnage, c'est lui. Il a la stature d'un acteur de cinéma. Nous avons connu cet homme, nous, toutes les femmes ; il était harmonieux, il était le vaste monde, et même quelque chose de plus grave encore, dans les mouvements des soirs en feu, « Il est bien vrai que tu m'as guérie. De moi. Mille fois merci. Mon Molinari, mon ami Molinari ».

Née en 1953, Jo (Jocelyne) Légaré a grandi à Montréal, dans le quartier Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, entre Dézéry et Darling. Son grand-père, Alfred Dallaire, de l'entreprise funéraire du même nom, lui a légué une frousse bleue de la mort, qu'elle conjure en faisant du complexe

funéraire à l'architecture étonnante, une galerie d'art et un lieu de création... Elle signe avec ce récit de 60 pages, *Sans Titre*, son deuxième

livre. Elle a aussi réalisé deux documentaires : « *La dernière conversation de Moli qui ?* » et « *Molinari l'énigme* ». ♦

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## Esther Delisle Lu

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# Une excellente lecture d'été



L'Immeuble Yacoubian  
Alaa El Aswany  
Éditions Actes-Sud  
Arles

Il était une fois un dentiste qui rêvait d'écrire des histoires qui plairaient à des lecteurs. Il rejetait d'emblée l'idée d'«une écriture ampoulée, compliquée pour montrer ce dont je suis capable (...) Ça ne m'intéresse pas de faire des textes que personne ne comprend.» Cet artisan de l'obturation dentaire a assouvi son ambition en se faisant comprendre d'une multitude de lecteurs à travers le monde avec son premier roman, *L'immeuble Yacoubian*.

Avant de revenir établir sa pratique

en plein cœur du Caire dans l'Immeuble Yacoubian où son père a déjà eu son bureau d'avocat, Alaa El Aswany a étudié la médecine dentaire à l'Université de l'Illinois. Est-ce sa familiarité avec la culture américaine ajoutée à sa culture égyptienne originale qui lui a permis d'écrire un roman (paru d'abord sous forme de feuilleton dans un quotidien populaire cairote) dont se sont régalés des lecteurs tant occidentaux qu'arabophones ? Pour les premiers, son récit est émaillé de notes en bas de page qui expliquent les personnages et les mouvements politiques, les événements historiques ou les mœurs de manière concise et claire et non dépourvue d'humour, comme cette remarque sur les très bas salaires des fonctionnaires égyptiens qui les forcent «à rentabiliser au mieux leurs fonctions. (p.82). » En d'autres mots (ou maux), à recevoir

autant de bakchich (pots-de-vin) que faire se peut pour accomplir leurs fonctions. Une autre note explique au lecteur que le surnom de «poudre» donnée au petit modèle de Mercedes des années 1990 vient de la croyance que seuls les trafiquants de drogue avaient les moyens de l'acquérir (p.303).

Car c'est bien la corruption sous toutes ses formes qui régit de larges pans de la vie des habitants de l'Immeuble Yacoubian. Les plus vulnérables se vendent au plus offrant : la belle Boussaina accepte d'abord de se laisser tripoter par le patron de la boutique où elle travaille (mère veuve et fratrie nombreuse oblige), avant de passer dans le lit du héros du roman, l'aristocrate déchu Zaki Dessouki, comme participante au complot ourdi par Malak le chemisier pour mettre la main sur l'appartement du vieil érotomane. Abdou, marié et père

d'un petit garçon, devient l'amant du journaliste Hatem, qui tente de le retenir en lui achetant commerce et cadeaux. Soad, veuve et désargentée, marie en secret le Hajj Azzam, un homme d'affaires cupide et pétri de religiosité qui la prive de voir son fils. Au plus bas de l'échelle, il y a cette prostituée ivre, si démunie qu'ainsi que le constate l'insatiable Dassouki, ses sous-vêtements sont taillés dans de vieux sacs de ciment de la compagnie Portland.

Taha el Chazli fils du pauvre gardien de l'Immeuble Yacoubian, malgré de brillantes études, est refusé à l'Académie de police et, sans cesse en butte au mépris et aux railleries de ses condisciples plus fortunés, joint les rangs d'un mouvement intégriste avant d'être arrêté, torturé et violé.

Même les plus fortunés n'échappent pas aux rigueurs du pouvoir mafieux à qui ils doivent leur

fortune. Ainsi le Hajj Azzam qui se fait élire député et reçoit une concession d'automobiles Toyota avec la complicité du Grand Homme (le président Hosni Moubarak et sa clique), en échange d'une partie des profits de cette très lucrative entreprise. Avec une outrecuidance qui est un des grands moments comiques de ce roman, ce personnage harcèle le Grand Homme afin de réduire le montant de la ristourne qu'il doit lui verser, et s'étonne qu'on l'informe que l'autre activité commerciale d'où provient sa fortune (le commerce de la drogue) est bien connu du pouvoir et qu'il ferait mieux de se tenir tranquille.

Le talent de conteur d'Alaa El Aswany fait de ce livre une excellente lecture d'été. ♣

<sup>1</sup> El Watan, 11 Janvier 2007, [www.elwatan.com](http://www.elwatan.com)



## Chris Bumbray

# Le Piège Américain

The life of Quebec mobster Lucien Rivard is getting the big screen treatment in "Le Piège Américain" (THE AMERICAN TRAP), from local director Charles Binamé- who last directed a film about another Quebecois icon, "Maurice Richard." Suffice to say, Rivard is a much more controversial figure.

Rivard's life truly was stranger than fiction, and it's amazing that no one thought to make a film out of his life any sooner. In the late fifties, Rivard operated casinos in Cuba, under the dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista. In association with the infamous Bonnano crime family, Rivard ran guns and drugs out of the country, and paid Batista \$20,000 a week in bribes. Once Castro took over following the revolution, Rivard

was forced to flee. He ended up back in Canada, where he became the biggest heroin importer in the country. Eventually, he got indicted by a U.S Federal Grand Jury for drug trafficking, and in 1964 he ended up in Bordeaux prison awaiting extradition to the U.S (his extradition order was signed personally by Robert Kennedy). His stay at Bordeaux did not last long, and he escaped in March 1965, before being recaptured in May. His escape touched off a media firestorm, and allegations of bribery regarding the Canadian government led to an investigation-which resulted in the resignation of Canadian attorney general Guy Favreau. Rivard was extradited to the U.S, and he spent the next decade in a prison in Houston, before being

paroled in 1975. He returned to Montreal, and eventually died on Feb 3rd, 2002 at the ripe old age of 86.

"Le Piège Américain" takes quite a few liberties with Rivard's life. The film shows Rivard selling guns to Che Guevara, and running arms to Indonesia while accompanied by a CIA operative, who in the film is named Maurice Bishop, and is played by Anglo-Canadian actor Colm Feore. The film also alleges that Rivard might have somehow had connections to the JFK assassination.

Overall, "Le Piège Américain" is a fairly standard local production. The filmmakers have to be given credit for tackling such an ambitious project, but in the end it seems that they did not have the resources to do this incredible story justice.



Colm Feore as CIA agent Maurice Bishop and Remy Girard as Lucien Rivard.

The film is pretty much all talk no action, as we rarely see characters do anything but carrying on long conversations about things they're going to do. One notable example is the Bordeaux prison escape scene. The actual escape was fairly elaborate and involved using hoses to scale a wall, and using a wooden gun painted with shoe polish to subdue guards and hijack a car. In the film, we briefly get Rivard talking about the escape, and then we see him duck behind a few corners. Then all of a sudden he's on the lam! It would have been nice if the filmmakers had actually shown his amazing escape or his recapture in Chateauguay, where the police supposedly walked in on Rivard lounging around in a bathrobe.

Regarding the alleged ties with the Kennedy assassination, it seems that the filmmakers might have gotten a little inspiration from the book "American Tabloid" by James Ellroy. In this novel, one of the protagonists is a French Canadian mobster named Pete Bondurant, who ends up embroiled in the assassination (indeed, a little online research indicated that screenwriters Fabienne

Larouche & Michel Trudeau were inspired to write the film after reading Ellroy's novel).

While on the whole I did not entirely enjoy the film, it definitely was not without its merits. Rémy Girard does a great job as Rivard, and he handles the French, English, and Spanish dialogue very well. Girard has a commanding presence on screen, and he's one of the top actors in the province. Colm Feore also does a good job as Rivard's corrupt CIA contact. Despite the fact that he's playing an American, most of Feore's dialogue is in French, which actually makes sense if you think about it.

One thing that's important to note is that "Le Piège Américain" is out in two versions. The French version (which is the version reviewed) features some French narration at times by Girard as Rivard, and also features some English dialogue which is subtitled in French. The English version of the film is called "The American Trap", and judging from the English trailer, features the Rivard narration in English, while the majority of the film remains in French, but subtitled in English. ♣



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THE CENTENARY OF "ANNE OF GREEN GABLES"

# The Audacious Little Redhead of PEI

Little did she know the affect she'd have on the province's tourist trade and economy when she wrote the story so beloved by Canadians and others in so many countries the world over. She couldn't have conceived that her story and its sequels would be turned into movies, award winning television series and a musical that is staged to sold out houses every year in her home province. (Indeed, it has become the longest running musical in Canada.) Through no stretch of the imagination - even Anne's (that's Ann with an 'e', please) could she have envisioned the tourists that would flock from Japan every summer to marry on the lush greens of the little gabled house.

The story of a little redhaired orphan on Prince Edward Island inspired all of this.

Lucy Maud Montgomery's story, *Anne of Green Gables*, was published June 20, 1908, one hundred years ago, when the Island's main claim to fame was cultivating our the time honored basic food staple the potato. And the only way to reach the Island, back then, was by ferry.

Times have changed.

Anyone who has visited Prince Edward Island by car knows that the proliferation of straw hats with red braids attached, along with the red glint of the sand by the side of the road, grows more dense the closer you get to Confederation Bridge. In fact, the hats appear almost as soon as you pass the New Brunswick border. The hats, the smooth, well-maintained roads are all a sure sign that Quebec is behind you.

While many Islanders complain that the Island is simply too 'Annified', there's no doubt that Anne Shirley put Prince Edward Island on the map.

Many actors have thrown themselves into the role of Anne - as they have into those of Matthew and Marilla. The BBC recently found its

television production of the story, starring Canada's Barbara Hamilton as Marilla. The most popular of all the adaptations of the book, though, is that by director/writer Kevin Sullivan in 1985. He wrote, directed and produced the television series that starred Colleen Dewhurst as the definitive Marilla, Richard Farnsworth as Matthew, Megan Follows as Anne Shirley and Schuyler Grant as her bosom buddy Diana Barry.

Grant is the great neice of Katherine Hepburn. Sullivan told me in a recent interview that Hepburn actually called him personally when she heard about his project and said she wanted her neice to play Anne. In fact, Hepburn admitted that she, herself, would have loved to have played Anne sometime during her illustrious career. She could have. One of the first movies on the book was done in 1919 - now considered a lost film. It starred Mary Minter as Anne. The next movie was in released 1934. With a stretch of the imagination, one can actually visualize a young Hepburn in the role, with that red hair and her acerbic wit. But there was nothing dreamy about Hepburn. She was far too brittle. I can't imagine her having a 'bosom buddy'. (Unless, of course, it was Spencer Tracy!) I can, however, imagine her walking along the eaves of a roof on a dare.

Touching on iconic status, the phenomenal rise to popularity of *Anne of Green Gables* is an enigma - perhaps because most of us can relate to the feelings of this little, unwanted orphan. Maud herself (she was rarely called Lucy) was a sensitive child and abhorred any teasing or being made fun of. Her cousins often tormented her, her aunts and uncles criticized her. She often felt unwanted, even by her grandparents, convinced that they



The Anne of Green Gables House, pictured above, draws some 350,000 visitors a year to PEI's ocean swept shores.

had taken her in only out of a sense of duty to her parents.

Not an orphan herself, her mother died when she was only two and her father relocated to Saskatchewan where he remarried. Little Maud was sent to live with her grandparents in Cavendish. The old homestead still stands and has a museum on the site. And what a site it is. You can amble through the woods all the way over to Green Gables—a walk Maud made many a time to visit her cousins. And it's on these walks in the surrounding countryside that she developed her imagination by giving names to places and landmarks, like the "Haunted Wood" and "The Lake of Shining Waters".

The story of Anne and Maud are somewhat parallel: Montgomery's grandparents were staunch Presbyterians, strict and unrelenting in

punishment for the slightest misdemeanor, which is probably why the need to be wanted and loved is so predominant in the Anne books. Her grandmother was likely the role model for Marilla. Maud grew up to be a teacher just like Anne, wrote stories and was published at a young age. Both enjoyed fertile imaginations and were happily in tune with nature. It was probably Maud's way of surviving with her grandparents. However, while extremely focused and determined, there is no record of Maud having the temper that Anne is famous for—and she certainly didn't have red hair.

One might recognize Anne to be one of the forerunners of the Women's Liberation movement. Unlike the demure and male-serving females of the day, she was feisty, faced adversity head on and stood up

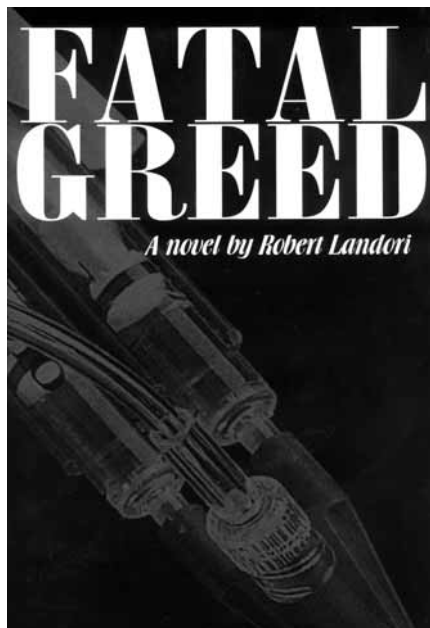
to the young men in her life - especially ones who yanked her pigtails. For that, she broke writing slates over their heads.

Maud faced many sorrows in her life, starting with her early years with her grandparents. She didn't marry until she was thirty-seven because, after her grandfather died, she felt it her duty to care for her grandmother. It was during this time that the story of Anne took root. (The book was actually rejected by several publishers and Maud packed it away in an 'old hat box' for four years.) Her first love, Herman Leard, a local farmer, died of influenza and Maud was devastated. One of her children, a boy, died soon after birth. Her later years were spent caring for her husband, who suffered from 'melancholia'. And in 1938, she suffered a nervous breakdown from fatigue and nervous exhaustion.

*Anne of Green Gables* is timeless. The era is clearly depicted by 'puffed sleeves' and the horse-and-carriage drives around the beautiful PEI countryside. Yet, Anne really could be any little girl, in any country, of any place, of any time. The book speaks loudly of the importance of friendship. The importance of nurturing the spirit. The need to be loved and wanted. We all can relate to that. This child breathes life as we seek it. She is a medicine our spirits can share and on which to grow.

We may better understand Maud's amazing success through the words of her journal:

"I wrote it for love, not money, but very often such books are the most successful, just as everything in the world that is born of true love has life in it." ♣



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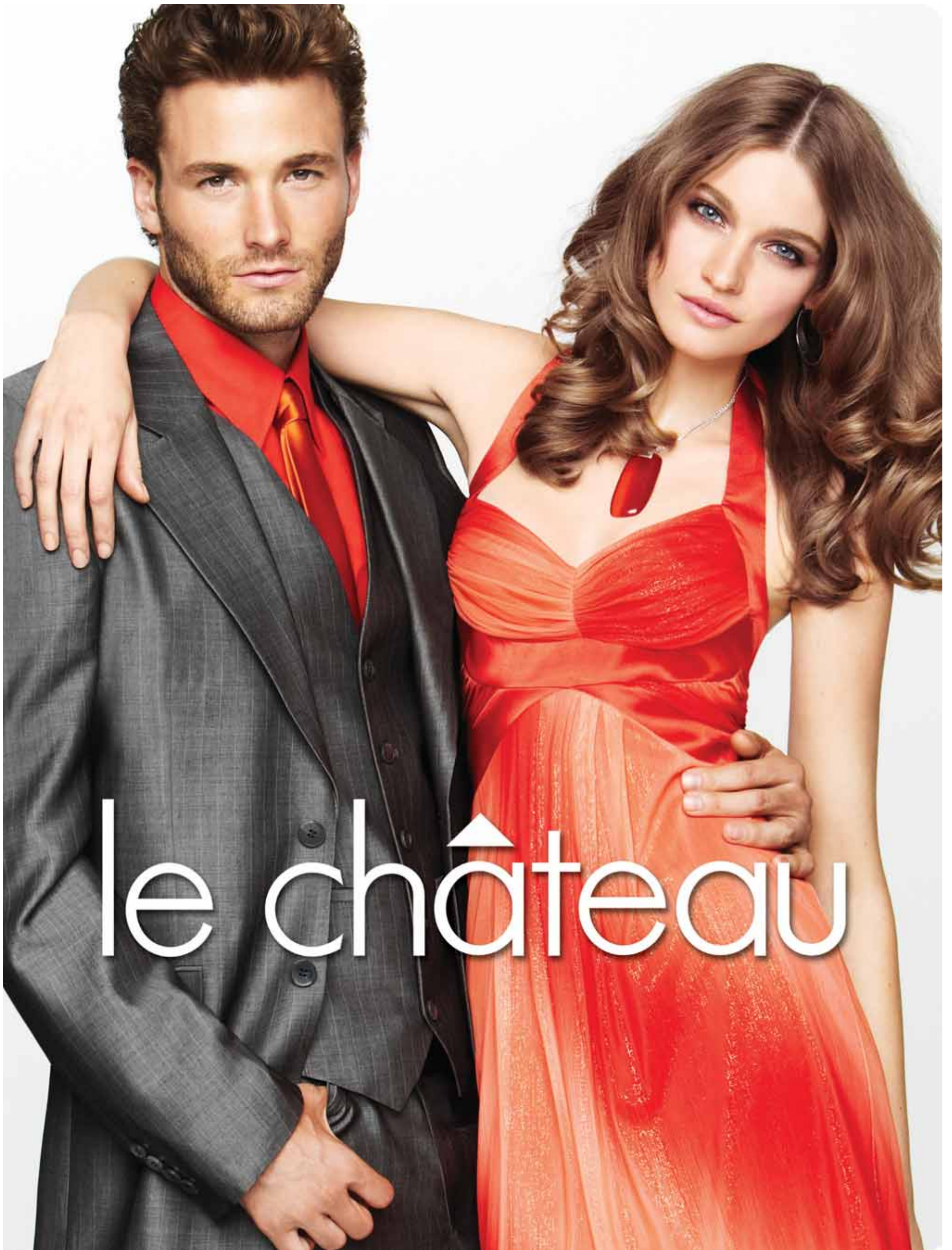
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