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# THE METROPOLITAIN

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# COPENHAGEN

# THE BIG LIE?!



## EXCLUSIVE

The real scandal of  
climategate

They got the  
math wrong

H. Douglas Lightfoot

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The level of confusion and misinformation surrounding the real and perceived issues of “climate change” related to CoP 15 in Copenhagen is enormous, but it need not be.

The real issue is not about “climate change”, but about the effects of global warming on the environment. Every adverse effect on the environment cited by people who study these things is always about the effect of warming. For example, glaciers are melting; species are dying out or changing geographical ranges because of increased temperature. No one denies that since 1910 the atmosphere has warmed. Several different records show the same result.

The term “climate change” is not useful in the current situation because the only constant factor about the earth’s climate since the beginning of time is “change”. It is normal for the climate to change. At some time, and with 100% certainty, we can say the current warming will stop and the earth will move into a period of global cooling.

The controversy, and there is a controversy, is about the cause of the current warming. Some scientists claim that the increased concentration of carbon dioxide (CO2) in the atmosphere is the major cause. Other scientists claim that the major cause is changes in the energy output of the sun.

Confusion has entered the controversy on both sides with the incorrect use of the word “consensus”. Achieving consensus in social situations is very powerful and contributes greatly to the success of churches and other social organizations.

Copenhague: Une  
grande douleur  
pour peu de gain

Robert Presser

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Plutôt que d’analyser tous les détails de l’accord, l’objectif de cet article sera d’adopter une perspective à plus long terme fondée sur l’hypothèse que l’accord non-contraignant conclu à Copenhague doit être transformé en un accord contraignant et vérifiable pour la réduction des émissions à long terme. L’entente conclue entre les États-Unis, la Chine, l’Inde, le Brésil et l’Afrique du Sud contient des engagements pour que la réduction des émissions limite le réchauffement climatique à un maximum de 2 degrés Celsius, mais que veut dire cela en termes de vraies

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The end  
of the line?

David Solway

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Following the release into the webworld of hacked emails, computer codes, and a raft of supplementary documents recording the antics of sundry paleoclimatologists at the University of East Anglia’s influential Climate Research Unit, it has now become ice-crystal clear not only that the world has been cooling for the last decade, but that the global warming crusade is an environmental racket of historical proportions. Many “climate skeptics” and independent researchers have long known this to be the case and have understood that the motivating factor behind this massive and unprecedented fraud is the

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Canadians are too  
hard on themselves

David T. Jones

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There is an aphorism to the effect that you can always make a sensitive person feel guilty. Extrapolate that judgment to a national level and one can conclude that Canada is so afflicted.

There is much wrong, indeed evil, that is done in the world that we can do nothing to mitigate, let alone eliminate. To paraphrase scripture, too often “we do those things that we ought not to have done and leave undone those things that we ought to have done.” We cudgel ourselves with “what ifs.” If we had only paid more attention; worked harder; spoken out;

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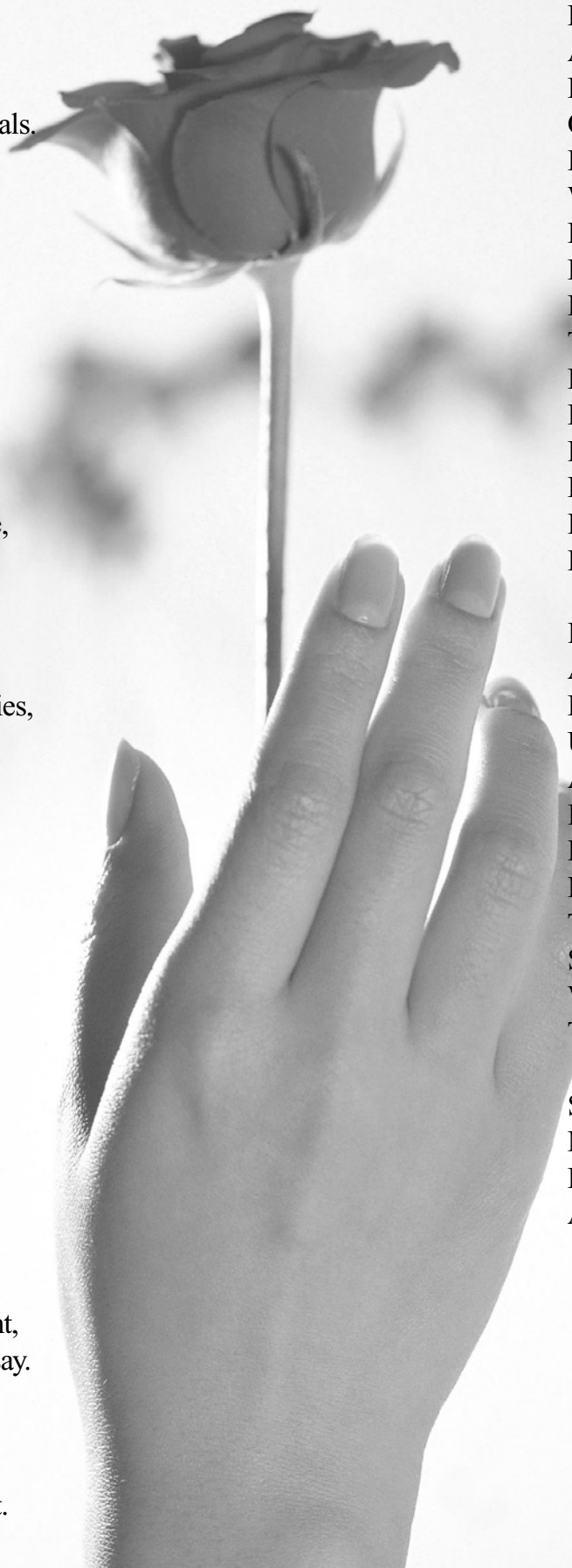
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# "One Single Rose"

Bring me one daisy,  
Bring me your smile,  
Darken my doorway,  
Through life's untimely trials.  
Write me a kind note  
Bring me one rose,  
Sit down beside me,  
Because you chose.  
Ring my doorbell  
Bring me a single flower,  
Look into my eyes,  
Show me love's power.

Come to my home  
After a long distance drive,  
Cherish the moments  
While we're still alive.  
Sit at my table,  
Let's eat a good meal,  
Let's laugh at life's mysteries,  
And express how we feel.  
Let's live in the moment,  
The now and here,  
I'll reach out a hand  
To dry your tear.  
Tell me what you think,  
Don't hold it inside.  
Show me your heart  
And in turn I'll confide.

Life is too short,  
Unpredictable and rare.  
Never hold back  
To show you care.  
Tell me your love me  
Tell me today,  
Don't wait another moment,  
If you have something to say.  
For when I am gone,  
T'is surely too late,  
Imagine the regrets  
Because you chose to wait.



Don't write me a kind message  
After I am gone.  
Don't send me a bouquet of flowers,  
Or sing me a song.  
Don't host a lavish party  
Which I can no longer attend.  
Don't write me a beautiful speech,  
For my family and friends.  
Don't fly across the country  
To put me in the ground,  
Don't whisper your true feelings,  
For you'll hear no sound.  
Don't weep tears of sadness,  
Don't be overwhelmed with sorrow,  
Because I asked you to love me,  
But you waited until tomorrow.

I am here today,  
Asking to be loved,  
Don't turn your back to me  
Until I am high above.  
All that is certain,  
Is the here and now,  
For tomorrow may be  
My final bow.  
Today I stand tall,  
Strong and brave,  
With a wish for you to love me,  
T'is all I crave.

So I ask again,  
My heart forever true  
Please bring me one single rose,  
And that rose is you.

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Ex-dramaturge, romancier persévérant, essayiste et poète à ses heures, Pierre K. Malouf fréquente des fédéralistes et des indépendantistes, des gens de gauche et des gens de droite, des jeunes et des vieux, des écrivains et des ingénieurs. Gentil comme tout, il ne dit pas toujours tout ce qu'il pense, mais pense toujours ce qu'il écrit.

LA PATRIE

# Fouetter le chat pour que le chien cesse de japper

Avant et depuis son implantation dans les écoles québécoises, le cours Éthique et culture religieuse (ÉCR) est mitraillé de critiques venant de tous les côtés : catholiques traditionnalistes, défenseurs de la laïcité, nationalistes « identitaires », etc. Ces tirs croisés n'ébranlent en rien la flopée de théologiens qui dirigent en sous-main notre système scolaire, mais tant pis ! Continuons de répéter que le roi est nu.

Faisant ma modeste part, j'ai publié il y a un an deux articles dans lesquels je dénonçais ce cours qui étouffe l'esprit critique de nos enfants dans la guimauve du « vivre-ensemble ». Je suis revenu à la charge il y a un mois : « Entre la superstition et la connaissance rationnelle, l'école québécoise a fait son choix. À bas la pensée logique, vive la pensée magique ! » Je proteste en vain, mais que voulez-vous, le mal devient de plus en plus profond, tout le monde s'en rend compte. C'est comme la réforme scolaire : plus le temps passe, plus il faut la dénoncer.

L'Institut de recherche sur le Québec (IRQ) vient d'ailleurs de publier une étude de Mme Joëlle Quérin qui a déjà fait l'objet de nombreux commentaires. Hélas, il s'agit d'une « analyse biaisée (1) », d'une « erreur de lecture (2) », je dirais même d'une entreprise de récupération. Mme Quérin conclut : « [Le cours d'ÉCR] impose une nouvelle définition de l'identité québécoise fondée sur le chartisme qui interdit, dans le cadre du sacro-saint « dialogue », l'expression des opinions nationalistes. » Le cours ECR est sourd, aveugle, anosmique et cul-de-jatte, mais Mme Quérin ne retient de ses tares que celle-ci : il fait de l'acné ! Avez-vous remarqué ? Elle reprend ici une opinion plusieurs fois exprimée par Mathieu Bock-Côté, qui est, comme par hasard, directeur de la recherche à l'IRQ !

On ne le dira jamais assez : le programme ÉCR mérite le procès qu'on lui fait. Et tous les accusateurs sont les bienvenus. Mais condamner pour recel un coupable de viol, c'est fouetter



le chat pour que le chien cesse de japper. L'article du Devoir auquel je fais référence démolit d'ailleurs l'interprétation de Mme Quérin. Grand apôtre du cours ÉCR, Georges Leroux, qui est souverainiste, s'oppose au multiculturalisme ! Entre-temps, Pauline Marois, qui est dans ses petits souliers, retire le dossier des mains de Pierre Curzi, qui, dans l'enthousiasme du moment, avait donné raison à Mme Quérin... puis le lui rend. C'est Mme Marois, souvenons-nous, qui forma en 1997, le GROUPE DE TRAVAIL SUR LA PLACE DE LA RELIGION À L'ÉCOLE présidé par Jean-Pierre Proulx, comité qui, le 29 mars 1999, déposa son rapport devant un autre multiculturaliste notoire, François Legault. Quel service M. Legault n'aurait-il pas rendu à ses concitoyens en le déposant sur une tablette !

Non, il fallait que la religion rentre à l'école par la grande porte ! Le chemin était tout tracé pour les ministres libéraux qui ont succédé aux ministres péquistes. Pour Mme Quérin, le pire défaut de tout ce beau monde c'est d'être multiculturaliste !

La critique laïciste du cours ECR demeure toujours la plus pertinente : lier dans un même cours éthique et religion est une infamie ; associer culture et religion, une entourloupette ; cimenter le tout sous le signe du dialogue et de la bonne entente, un tour de prestidigitation. Si vous voulez que règne la bonne entente, ne parlez pas de religion if you please ! Les religions ne cessent de nuire au vivre-ensemble que lorsqu'elles sont remises à leur place ! Les religions n'ont été inventées que pour s'entre-détruire, les religions sont exclusives l'une de l'autre. Tant qu'à parler de religion à l'école c'est ça qu'il faudrait dire à nos enfants. Culture religieuse... ça existe, oui... Mais c'est plutôt de culture tout court qu'il faudrait parler, sans nier évidemment que la religion en est une composante. En fait, le meilleur service qu'on pourrait rendre aux religions, c'est de les exclure entièrement de l'école, ou du moins de n'en parler qu'à partir du secondaire dans le cadre d'un cours d'histoire. On y analyserait les sacrifices humains des Aztèques, le massacre de la Saint-Barthélémy, les hécatombes inter-religieuses qui accompagnèrent l'accession de l'Inde à l'indépendance, le sort des mères canadiennes-françaises qui n'obtenaient du curé la permission d'empêcher la famille qu'après avoir mené à terme une douzaine de grossesses et mis au monde trois futures nonnes, deux futurs frères, un futur bonze du futur ministère de l'Éducation.

(1) « Une analyse biaisée », *La Presse*, 16 décembre 2009, p. A 35.

(2) « Critique nationaliste : une erreur de lecture », *Le Devoir*, 16 décembre 2009, p. A 11.

...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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# Of scans, profiles and freedoms

Much time has been spent, and appropriately so, defending our privacy rights in this time of war on terror. The public must be convinced of their importance. Justice Louis Brandeis called them “the most prized right of civilized nations.”

But amidst the tumult over the impending use of full body scans at airports in the wake of the foiled Christmas Day suicide terror attempt in Detroit, we must today realize that the alarms raised over privacy on this issue are excessive. In addition, the pejorative denunciations of so-called “profiling” of watch-list passengers being determined by country of origin or boarding is also disingenuous to say the least.

One “flyers rights” activist stated vociferously that “the price of liberty is too high.” We would suggest that before “flyers rights” there is a right to live. There is the superior right of freedom from fear. The reality is that we are in a war. A war which the west did not start or choose. For those who think that the body scan is an over-reaction to one incident, they miss the point.

Terrorists from the organizations operating under Bin-Laden’s umbrella of Al-Qaeda have carried out hundreds of successful suicide attacks since 9-11. The only reason there have not been more, is due to intelligence work and security measures. Some failed plots we know about – like the Toronto 18 – but most are kept secret so as not to compromise security agents and operations.

One important element in security work is the gathering of intelligence. Clearly this work must be done by state authorities with the greatest respect for the sanctity of personal domains. Wiretaps and other surveillance methods must be authorized with probable cause. We cannot criminalize – nor need we to be effective – an entire population.

But certain realities exist. It is far better to undergo a body scan when we fly, than to allow – for example – unfettered recording of our cell phone conversations by Canada’s Communications Security Establishment (CSE). Though it is hard for some to accept, the truth is that examination of our physicality is far less invasive than the surveillance of our mentality. Though the airport is the last, worst line of defense against terrorists, if the body scans work they may actually lessen the necessity for some of the abridgments of our privacy rights that have been ongoing since 9-11 particularly with respect to our personal information and communication.



On a more mundane note, there have been many merited complaints that we are, as one reporter recently wrote, “already shoeless, beltless and waterless.” Well, here again, if the body scans work, perhaps we can be spared those other inconveniences. We walk into them fully clothed. These machines are supposedly so accurate that they detect undigested food in our stomachs. They give off one-tenth thousandth of the energy of a cellphone. The images are not stored or transmitted unless something is found. We’ll see. But we should hope for the best. They are no panacea, but they will be an important, sharper arrow in our anti-terror quiver.

The second change announced this week is that the United States has put 14 countries on a watch list. Passengers from those countries, or whose flights originated in those countries, will be subject to full examination. Among the countries on the

list are Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Iran, Libya, Iraq, Sudan, Somalia and Syria. The United States hopes that other countries will join it in this new directive.

This directive has been denounced as “profiling at its worst” by Canadian civil libertarians. They point out that in 2007 there were more than 30,000 landed immigrants in Canada from those 14 countries. According to Stats Can, over one million Canadians were born in those countries. They want “evidence-based, targeted and narrowly tailored investigations based on individualized suspicion.” The civil libertarian argument is that intensive searches at airports based on country of origin is somehow against our values. I beg to differ. Frankly, we should be surprised why the west took so long.

The word “profiling” has gotten an altogether bad rap in recent years. If profiling means that one ethnic or racial group is automatically singled out without reason as a matter of institutional prejudice then clearly that is unacceptable. But if a series of crimes have been committed with witnesses identifying members of a particular community again and again, would it not be negligent of security authorities not to take origin into consideration as one of the components of a criminal “profile”?

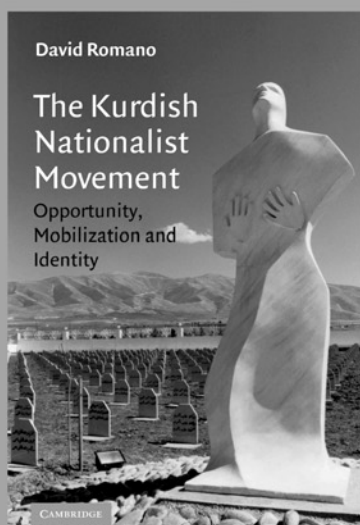
The fact is that some eighty percent of suicide terrorists over the past eight years have come from ten of these fourteen countries. Sixteen of the 9-11 killers came from Saudi Arabia and Yemen alone. And those two countries – with Afghanistan and Pakistan – still account for the origin or training of the majority of suicide terrorists active in the past few years.

Origin is not a perfect determinant of course. We all remember the pre 9-11 terrorist attacks from the Japanese Red Army, Italy’s Briggate Rossa, Germany’s Baader-Meinhof gang and Peru’s Maoist Shining Path. But the past eight years have seen a geographical narrowing of terror. Generally we know where they are coming from. Origin is but one of 52 components that go into a criminal profile. But it is a critical one. And an airport security check, though inconvenient and invasive, is not a scarlet letter.

Individualized, evidence-based targeting would be best, but despite the evidence about the Detroit bomber the dots were not connected.

This debate is just starting. It is one we need. But we hope it takes place with eyes wide open about our international realities.

## Cambridge Middle East Studies



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

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

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# Louis « le Pieux » Cornellier, sublime gardien de l'orthodoxie politico-religieuse

Dans les sphères rocambolesques du nationalisme québécois, il m'arrive parfois, au hasard de mes lectures, de tomber sur un article dont le titre accrocheur m'invite à lire plus avant. Parfois, c'est un auteur particulier qui m'attire, et il est vrai que j'en chéris quelques-uns. Louis Cornellier, dit « le Pieux », est l'un d'eux car je suis toujours certain qu'il ne me décevra pas. En effet, je serais bien déçu s'il fallait qu'un jour ses propos me plaisent, quoique je n'ai aucune crainte à cet égard. Je crois que j'ai gardé une dose de masochisme de mon passé judéo-chrétien. Louis « le Pieux » me donne l'occasion de l'entretenir et, qui sait, de peut-être en guérir un jour. Disons que c'est la grâce que je me souhaite, même si ce n'est pas pour tout de suite.

Cornellier est un nationaliste et catholique « chevronné » (comme dans balises à chevrons), un tel qualificatif s'appliquant fort bien à ce pluminif obtus, superbement imbu de lui-même et dont ce qui lui tient lieu de pensée ne cesse depuis longtemps de tourner à vide. Louis « le Pieux » pontifie dans les pages littéraires du Devoir, cette tribune nationaliste et bondieusarde par excellence où notre vertueux chroniqueur littéraire a carte blanche pour excommunier systématiquement tout libre penseur.

Prenons par exemple le cours « Éthique et culture religieuse », dont Louis « le Pieux » est un fervent partisan. Se situant résolument du côté des élites et pouvoirs concernés, « le Pieux » Cornellier défend ce cours avec un acharnement tel qu'il en devient, lui l'homme d'une si exemplaire piété, carrément malhonnête

intellectuellement. En voici un exemple parmi tant d'autres :

Dans l'une de ses dernières cuvées tout aussi mirobolantes les unes que les autres, le bien-pensant catho-nationaliste Cornellier fulmine contre Normand Baillargeon, un auteur réputé pour son incontestable finesse de pensée. D'entrée de jeu, le procédé de Louis « le Pieux » s'avère d'une admirable perfidie : il prend d'abord soin de flatter sa proie dans le bon sens, histoire de mieux la faire passer par la suite au bûcher. Ainsi, Cornellier fait mielleusement les louanges de Baillargeon en évoquant « son souci de vulgarisation philosophique, son attachement à la pensée critique et son sens de l'engagement social », mais les flatteries sont aussitôt suivies d'une bonne dose de fiel, avec Louis « le Pieux » qui souligne le fait que « Baillargeon a des CONVICTIONS POLITIQUES PARTICULIÈRES [comprendre : il n'est pas un adepte de la pensée unique nationaliste dont Louis « le Pieux » est un fervent gardien] mais il reste un pédagogue hors pair, même quand il discute avec ses adversaires. » Par cette élégante entrée en matière, Cornellier cherche notamment à susciter l'admiration de son lectorat en mettant en évidence le fait qu'il sait s'attaquer à mieux qu'au menu fretin. Évidemment son auditoire, acquis à son point de vue comme les dévots qui assistent à la grand'messe, salive déjà, agenouillé devant la vindicte annoncée et attendant avec impatience que tombent les divines foudres de l'inquisiteur. Les dévots ne seront pas déçus.

L'un des autres procédés favoris de Louis « le Pieux » est la vilaine comparaison. Ainsi, il écrit

que Baillargeon « est athée, alors que je me réclame du catholicisme ». Remarquons ici que notre saint Louis « national » (puisque'il est de ceux selon qui tout au Québec devrait être « national ») ne dit pas : « Il est athée et JE SUIS catholique », mais plutôt : « Il est athée et JE ME RÉCLAME du catholicisme », ce qui permet à Louis « le Pieux » de se mettre de l'avant en tant qu'être tout en nuances et modération, tandis que Normand Baillargeon ne devrait quant à lui être perçu que comme un sans-dieu vulgaire et extrémiste.

Baillargeon « déçoit », fait mine de déplorer Louis « le Pieux », quand il aborde les « théodicées », notamment sur la question du mal et de la souffrance : comment un dieu que l'on dit souverainement bon peut-il permettre le mal et la souffrance ? Baillargeon refuse la croyance suivant laquelle dieu aurait créé l'homme libre, impliquant qu'il soit libre de faire le bien ou de faire le mal. Il préfère en appeler à la raison plutôt qu'au « mystère » dans l'explication de la souffrance et du mal. Selon Cornellier, qui s'arrange toujours pour montrer qu'il en connaîtrait plus que quiconque sur la question, Baillargeon appuierait sa critique à partir d'une version dépassée des fameuses « théodicées ».

Pour (du moins c'est ce qu'il s'imagine) porter le coup final à l'infidèle, Louis « le Pieux » s'inspire de la pensée du jésuite Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, que notre élégant bien-pensant classe dans la nouvelle et ineffable catégorie des théologiens « théo-évolutionnistes » (Oh Darwin ! que n'a-t-on pas inventé pour usurper ton nom et ta science... preuve encore s'il en est une de la

malhonnêteté intellectuelle de Louis « le Pieux »), dont le passage tiré d'un livre de Jacques Duquesne et que cite allègrement Louis « le Pieux » Cornellier se révèle on ne peut plus embrouillé. Le cœur rempli de gratitude pour « celui qui ne me déçoit jamais », je reprends tel quel ledit passage en le laissant à votre sage et éclairée compréhension :

« Si Dieu n'est qu'Amour, il ne peut créer un homme tout fait. Lequel ne serait pas libre. Aimer, c'est respecter la liberté de l'autre. [...] Dieu ne pouvait donc que créer l'homme dans un monde inachevé. [Remarquez ici le « ne pouvait donc » qui implique « qu'il n'avait pas le choix », ce qui en enlève un peu à la liberté même de dieu. Évidemment, c'est la raison qui me fait parler ainsi et non la foi, donc Cornellier dira sûrement que je me trompe, indécrottable mécréant que je suis]. Puisque, si l'homme vivait dans un monde tout fait, figé, parfait, il ne pourrait tout simplement pas être. » [J'ai beau lire et relire ce passage, je n'arrive pas à saisir la « profondeur » de cette pensée, du moins selon les critères, souvent creux il est vrai, de notre bien-pensant attiré du Devoir. Ce serait donc ça le « mysticisme scientifique » dont se pare Cornellier, non sans quelque évidente vanité qui lui donne cet air devenu si caractéristique de se penser plus intelligent que quiconque ? Vite ! Un cachet !]

Et dire que c'est comme ça que Louis « Le Pieux » Cornellier s'imagine avoir asséné le coup de grâce à son adversaire. S'il-vous-plaît, ne vous ai-je pas déjà dit de ne pas me faire rire alors que j'ai les lèvres gercées ?

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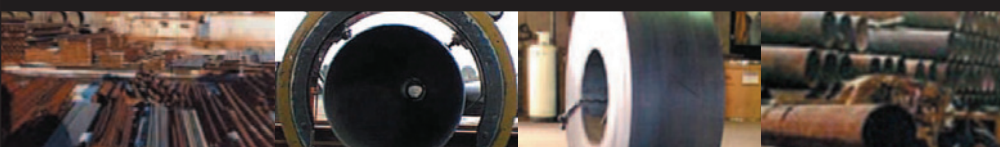
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# 'It sounds like a whisper!'

-Tracey Chapman, "Talkin' bout a revolution"--1988

Folk artist Tracey Chapman may be right. When people start talking about a revolution, it really does sound like a whisper.

"People are angry," said Maison du Partage food bank director Madeleine Daoust. "...really angry. There's a lot of tension in the air and people are beginning to lose patience ... They know something's wrong and for once, they're not to blame."

La Maison du Partage may be only a short walk down the street from Sister Dianna Liefers' food bank in the basement of the St. Gabriel's parish refectory but for all intents and purposes, it could be on the other side of the planet.

"It's no longer a question of fighting poverty," said Daoust. "At this point, it's all about feeding hungry people."

*'While they're standing in the welfare lines  
Crying at the doorsteps of those armies of salvation'  
Talkin' bout a revolution, 1988*

As a hardcore veteran in the fight against poverty and social alienation, Daoust believes we're losing the war. After spending most of her life working to help the sick, the poor and the desperate in Montreal's Sud-Ouest, Daoust is beginning to hear

the whispers.

"It's simple," she said. "If nothing is done to alleviate the social and economic conditions for the city's unemployed and the working poor, it won't be long before the mayor and his people will be facing similar problems as those that sparked the August riots in Montreal North two years ago."

This year, La Maison is preparing over 400 Christmas baskets for the poor people in Montreal's Sud-Ouest. As opposed to her regular clientele, Daoust said she is starting to see a lot of middle-aged, middle class people lining up with the others for some food. A lot of them say their problems begin once their money runs out and they still have a couple of weeks to go before they get their first un-employment insurance check. For others, it's the end of the line because they're waiting for their first welfare check. As a working community activist, Daoust understands the concept of middle class stability which is why she is so worried for the city's economic future. If the city's political leadership wants to get serious about dealing with the city's immediate problems, she suggests they begin by taking a look at what's happening on the streets before speaking to the city's assorted real estate developers. Housing, as ever, is the priority because the high cost of shelter affects everything else.

If the government can manage to keep its interest rates in check, Daoust doesn't believe there will be much change to the situation but if there's any kind of serious rise in interest rates, she believes it will be nothing less than a catastrophe, especially if there's a corresponding price for energy.

"Lower taxes don't mean much to poor people who don't pay taxes," she said. "Most of these people have jobs but once the bills are paid and the rent is due, there's nothing left for food and that's serious when you have a family to feed."

While the city's endemic poverty is always an issue, Daoust said people are no longer willing to accept what they consider to be a complacent, compliant and sometimes complicit political leadership.

*Poor people are gonna rise up  
And get their share*

*Poor people are gonna rise up  
And take what's theirs*

*Talking 'bout a revolution, 1988*

"As bad as it can be, most people can accept their situation," she said. "But there's a limit when people read about Québec's Caisse de Dépôts losing over \$40 Billion on bad investments,

Continued on page 8



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# Pour une vraie commémoration de la Bataille des Plaines

Le 13 septembre 2009, la tenue d'une commémoration du 250<sup>ème</sup> anniversaire de la bataille des Plaines d'Abraham aurait été importante pour l'ensemble des Canadiens et ce, à plus d'un titre. Il est encore temps de faire l'effort pour aller au-delà du délire de la dernière année et vraiment comprendre la falsification historique des indépendantistes à ce sujet.

En février dernier, Pierre Falardeau, Patrick Bourgeois et leurs disciples, porte-étendards extrémistes de l'idéologie nationaliste au Québec, auront eu raison de l'événement projeté à coup de menaces de violence non dénoncées.

Ceux-là même qui décriaient le «manque de respect et de sensibilité» de l'événement original glorifient maintenant le Manifeste du FLQ. Cela manque résolument de respect et de sensibilité, notamment envers les familles de Pierre Laporte, James Richard Cross et des nombreuses autres victimes du

FLQ. Se plaisant dans leur rôle de «victimes», ils se réfugient maintenant derrière une attaque à leur liberté d'expression. N'est-ce pourtant pas exactement ce qu'ils faisaient en février dernier en réclamant l'annulation de la reconstitution de la bataille ?

Rien dans tout cela ne devrait nous faire oublier l'importance le caractère fondateur de cet épisode historique.

La position des indépendantistes se résume à prétendre encore en 2010 que les «Anglais» nous «oppriment», 250 ans après nous avoir «conquis» et qu'ils seraient notre «ennemi» de par leur seule identité ethnique. Selon cette rengaine, nous ne serions qu'un peuple de «vaincus» et d'«opprimés», des «victimes» d'un «complot anglo-saxon» menaçant notre identité et notre survie en tant que Français d'Amérique. Toute référence à notre «défaite» ne peut qu'être «humiliante» et «malveillante».

En filigrane, ils idéalisent le régime totalitaire, monarchique et religieux d'avant 1759, et pas du tout la France républicaine de 1789. Le drapeau québécois rappelle d'ailleurs cette nostalgie rétrograde et ces idéaux réactionnaires : une croix rappelant le pouvoir temporel de l'Église, avec comme toile de fond les couleurs et l'emblème de la royauté française de l'époque... Il s'en est fallu de peu pour que le Sacré Cœur n'y figure aussi !

Même en faisant abstraction des manœuvres d'intimidation (qui n'en furent pas moins réelles), cette position est tout simplement revancharde et passiste.

Plus troublant encore, ce parti-pris est cautionné sans broncher par les leaders indépendantistes du jour. Ils marquent ainsi à nouveau le caractère résolument identitaire et exclusif de leur démarche opposant toujours Anglais contre Français, s'accommodant de ce «conflit» pour justifier la victimisation et l'opposition «eux- nous» indispensables à leur théorie de pseudo-libération.

Une telle rhétorique n'a pourtant plus sa place dans le Canada d'aujourd'hui. Pourquoi alors encore toujours se réfugier derrière pareil non-sens ?

Qui plus est, pour la soutenir, il faut nécessairement oublier de grands pans de notre histoire. En effet, déjà au moment de la Guerre de Sept Ans, les colons français vivant ici s'identifiaient uniquement comme «Canadiens», ayant depuis longtemps perdu tout réel attachement pour la «mère patrie». On oublie l'étonnante résilience de ces colons qui devaient composer avec l'incurie de la monarchie française et la domination du clergé catholique, en l'absence d'un État de droit. Comment peut-on encore aujourd'hui avoir la nostalgie d'une société si arriérée ?

Les nationalistes taisent aussi le fait que le régime de droit criminel anglais de l'époque reconnaissait l'habeas corpus face à toute

détention injustifiée. Pourquoi ne pas plutôt célébrer ce progrès et la fin de l'arbitraire du Régime français ?

L'argumentaire des indépendantistes refuse délibérément de prendre en compte la reconnaissance du français et du droit civil par les autorités britanniques. Le Gouverneur Murray, dès 1759, s'associait aux Canadiens pour la gouvernance et acceptait le bilinguisme comme *modus operandi*.

Comme le grand Louis-Joseph Papineau l'a bien dit lui-même à l'occasion de son célèbre discours prononcé lors du décès du Roi George III en 1820 :

«Qu'il me suffise de rappeler que sous le gouvernement français, gouvernement arbitraire et oppressif à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur, les intérêts de cette colonie ont été plus fréquemment négligés et mal administrés que ceux d'aucune autre partie des dépendances françaises[.]

Depuis cette époque le règne de la loi a succédé à celui de la violence, depuis ce jour, les trésors, la marine et les armées de la Grande-Bretagne ont été employés pour nous procurer une protection efficace contre tout danger extérieur; depuis ce jour ses meilleures lois sont devenues les nôtres, tandis que notre religion nos propriétés et les lois par lesquelles elles étaient régies nous ont été conservées; bientôt après les privilèges de sa libre constitution nous ont été accordés, garants infailibles de notre prospérité intérieure, si elle est observée. Maintenant la tolérance religieuse, le procès par jury, ... le droit de n'obéir qu'aux lois faites par nous et adoptées par nos représentants, tous ces avantages sont devenus pour nous un droit de naissance, et seront, je l'espère, l'héritage durable de notre postérité!»

Ce détournement de l'histoire par les nationalistes a aussi l'habile «avantage» d'oblitérer 250 ans de coexistence et de métissage entre

autochtones, francophones, anglophones et nouveaux arrivants au Canada. Pendant la même période, la seule Guerre de Sécession aux États Unis avait fait en quelques années plus d'un million de morts, soldats comme civils. Les Canadiens ont ainsi fait preuve d'un esprit d'avant-garde remarquable, tout comme en accomplissant alors ici en pratique, la Cordiale Entente que Français et Britanniques n'entérineront finalement en Europe qu'en 1904.

De même, il occulte les immenses progrès accomplis depuis grâce aux combats communs des Canadiens de toutes origines pour le gouvernement responsable, la démocratie et l'indépendance face à l'Angleterre. À ce titre, la reconnaissance constitutionnelle des droits et libertés dans la Charte canadienne des droits de 1981 fait aujourd'hui la fierté de l'immense majorité des Canadiens de tous horizons, les Québécois francophones au premier rang.

Comment ignorer la progression de la langue française au Québec et les bienfaits des protections constitutionnelles de la Charte en faveur des minorités linguistiques notamment en Acadie, au Manitoba et en Ontario, de même que dans les institutions fédérales, toutes réalisées dans le respect mutuel et dans le cadre de la Constitution canadienne ?

Tout cela et bien d'autres progrès qu'aucun retour nostalgique au Régime français ne saurait remplacer. L'idée que de ne pas parler de l'événement puisse contribuer à «réparer» l'«humiliation» de la «Conquête» n'est qu'asservissement intellectuel.

Pour paraphraser Tocqueville, le nationalisme a fréquemment pour effet d'endormir les esprits les plus critiques, lesquels sont pourtant impératifs à la survie et à l'épanouissement de la démocratie.

Or, la réalité, fort heureusement, est toute autre. Il est grand temps de se le rappeler.

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## 'It sounds like a whisper!'

continued from page 7

when Montreal is cited as one of the most corrupt cities in all of North America and Vincent Lacroix can steal over \$130 million from people and not go to jail for the rest of his life."

As if things couldn't get worse, Daoust also told The Suburban her organization would no longer be supported by Centraide, the city's major charity.

"We seem to have a bit of a communications problem," she said. "It seems we're not doing enough to solve the poverty cycle," she said.

With nothing but a \$50 000 government subsidy to offset her \$230 000 operations budget, the food bank's director said the next year would be a serious challenge for her organization. After the doors opened, people began to line up for their food and Daoust said she would have to go because her volunteers needed some help at the counter.

"I don't know what's going to happen but we can't lose hope," she said. "It's a day by day situation but we still try to do our best...because in the end, that's all we can do."



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**GLOBAL VILLAGE**

THEY GOT THE MATH WRONG, CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

# COPENHAGEN

Consensus is the agreement among a group of people about how to accomplish a particular goal or objective. Consensus encourages the individuals in a group to work together smoothly and efficiently towards a common goal.

Consensus does not work in science because science is not about opinion; it is about verifiable and reproducible evidence—the evidence rules. Throughout history, many examples show consensus in science was just plain wrong. Some of the most famous are that of Galileo, Copernicus, Einstein and more recently, Alfred Wegener, the discoverer of the tectonic plate theory of continent movement. In the current controversy, it is safe and intelligent to disregard the results of counting the number of scientists with one opinion or another.

A complicated set of variable forces determine the earth's climate. Understanding

how these forces work together is only just beginning. New information and reassessment of existing information will continue to surface for many years and change how we must view the climate and its effect on the environment.

There is a dangerous misconception that we can change the climate. If the sun is the cause, it is obvious that we cannot control the sun. If the cause is CO<sub>2</sub>, then we also cannot control the atmospheric temperature. Even if we could reduce carbon emissions to zero today, the warming from CO<sub>2</sub> currently in the atmosphere will be with us for centuries. That is how long it will take the excess CO<sub>2</sub> to dissolve in the oceans or react with rocks.

We have no alternative but to adapt to climate change and to concentrate on a more important problem – future energy supply as coal, oil and natural gas become scarce. Without sufficient energy, we cannot adapt to climate change.

Even if we could reduce carbon emissions to zero today, the warming from CO<sub>2</sub> currently in the atmosphere will be with us for centuries.

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CANADIANS ARE TOO HARD ON THEMSELVES, CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

# COPENHAGEN

saved more/spent less, the wrong would be righted (or would never have happened at all).

Of course there is more than a touch of arrogance in such expressed (or secret) guilt. The individual is given to believe that his/her efforts would have made a difference when, bluntly, they would not. Or the effort is really designed not to prompt positive action but to promote punishment—given the benefit of twenty-twenty political hindsight.

Thus watching from Washington, one smiles a bit at the woe-is-me (blame us) lamentations concerning both official Canadian policy toward "climate change" and the provincial sniping over who is greener/blacker than thou.

During the recently completed Copenhagen conference to address climate change issues, Canadian officials took a very low profile, allowing their policies to be characterized as "fossils" (presumably because of the use of "fossil" fuel) and even to be caricatured as the "colossal fossil" for the conference. Canada quite adroitly stood aside from the collective chaos; there was no order that could be imposed on the worthies, not even the Obama charisma generated more than a vague aspirational agreement of which the conference "took note" rather than taking action. The Canadian alternative would have been to commit economic suicide at the behest of a mob of juvenile delinquents playing reindeer games on the Copenhagen streets.

What these worthies appear to want is for Canada to adhere to the ridiculous reductions in "greenhouse gases" and consequent limits associated with the Kyoto Protocol. That such

## Watching from Washington, one smiles a bit at the woe-is-me (blame us) lamentations concerning both official Canadian policy toward "climate change" and the provincial sniping over who is greener/blacker than thou.

commitments were never regarded seriously by the Liberals when they were agreed apparently has no relevance to the current critics. Jump off that cliff—now.

Moreover, the prime minister is belabored for closely linking prospective Canadian energy policy to still-to-be-decided USG policy. But such an approach is no more than practical realism. Should Canada dash forth and create energy policy only to find that it has no connection to what the USG ultimately decides? (And then be forced into ignomin-

ious adjustment while the Opposition sneers). Our countries are indeed attempting to coordinate such policy, but unfortunately for near-term action, the USG is prezeled over its domestic struggles regarding national health insurance policy. There is little left-over political enthusiasm for the vagaries of "cap and trade" or, frankly, even less for the suggestion that "climate reparations" to the tune of \$100 billion per year should be shoveled out inter alia to African kleptocrats. It is also useful to recall that Americans largely remain

unconvinced that (a) the climate is warming; (b) if warming, it is the consequence of human action; and (c) whether humans can do anything to reduce the process—if it is occurring—without action so draconian that they would prefer to deal with the consequences rather than try to prevent them.

But instead of just blaming us for our errors (always a good device for Canadians), your provinces have adopted a beggar-thy-neighbour approach that is baffling in itself. For example, Quebec seems to believe that federal equalization payments reflect its inherent virtues rather than money extracted from the pockets of other Canadian taxpayers—very substantially Albertans. The Alberta oil sands are an incredible national asset and will be for generations; significant efforts are being made to "clean" this oil during extraction, but, in the end, the taxes that Albertans pay have a significant laundering effect.

Likewise, one suspects Quebeckers would not be amused were Albertans to side with various aboriginal and Inuit loudly protesting that every Quebec dam (proposed as well as extant) destroys unique salmon fishing grounds and should be prohibited and/or torn down so the rivers will flow pristine to the sea. Sauce for the goose is also sauce for the gander.

In short, Canadians should give themselves a break. Isn't it enough to struggle with the climate you have rather than getting hot under the collar about a climate that may never come to pass?



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David Solway is the award-winning author of over twenty-five books of poetry, criticism, educational theory, and travel. He is a contributor to magazines as varied as the *Atlantic*, the *Sewanee Review*, *Books in Canada*, and the *Partisan Review*. His most recent book is *The Big Lie: On Terror, Antisemitism, and Identity*.

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THE END OF THE LINE?, CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

## COPENHAGEN

unsavory quest for power and profit on the part of governments, corporations, and ambitious individuals, scientists as well as entrepreneurs. The evidence for data tampering and all manner of hocus-pocus was available some time ago for anyone who cared to look.

There is a rapidly growing adversarial bibliography on the subject of climate change which anyone interested in the global warming controversy might do well to consult. A partial list would include: *Unstoppable Global Warming: Every 1,500 Years*, by Fred Singer and Dennis Avery; *An Appeal to Reason*, by Nigel Lawson; *Climate Confusion*, by Roy Spencer; *Meltdown*, by Patrick Michaels; *Taken by Storm*, by Christopher Essex and Ross McKittrick; *Heaven and Earth: Global Warming, the Missing Science*, by Ian Plimer; *Green Hell: How Environmentalists Plan to Control Your Life and What You Can Do to Stop Them*, by Steven Milloy; and *The Deniers*, by Lawrence Solomon.

The authentic scientific expertise assembled in such books cannot honorably be ignored or discounted. The last chapter of William Gairdner's *Oh, Oh, Canada!*, "Global Warming in a Nutshell," should also be required reading. It is the most effective short account of the global warming swindle that I have yet come across. Global warmists, I might point out, are not known for playing fair. Lawrence Solomon, the subtitle of whose book is "The World-Renowned Scientists Who Stood Up Against Global Warming Hysteria, Political Persecution, and Fraud," refers to himself as "the most disinvited speaker in Canada." In an article for the *National Post*, he provides a list of debates and conventions to which he was invited and subsequently disinvited once his convictions became clear. This is not surprising since in the few global warming debates that have thus far been arranged, "the skeptics have won convincingly, leading most in the doomsayer camp to boycott any debate in the future."

The fact is, as these writers have amply demonstrated, we have become the willing dupes of a pervasive deception. To mention only a few of the red flags that have recently sprung up: Not long ago, the NASA Goddard Institute for Space Studies in New York perpetrated an embarrassing error—if error it was. The institute, on whose statistical data the United Nations' Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) depends heavily for its reports, "typed in" the September 2008 temperatures for its October assessment, concluding that global warming had risen vertiginously. The finding was accepted in the major sites and media around the world as confirmation of the global warming dogma. The institute itself admitted that it does not conduct independent verification of the data it logs, regretfully rendering some or even many of its prognostications all but useless.

Frank Tipler, professor of mathematical physics at Tulane University, had some more intriguing news for us. The Hadley Climate Research Unit in Britain "has begun to eliminate the daily temperature records from its public websites," taking a page from the Goddard Institute, which has been deleting facts and figures unfavorable to the global warming hypothesis for some time now, as well as adding "corrections" to the data "to obtain global warming." The big lie has reached the point where it must be maintained by the omission of details, the distortion of data, and the suspicious liability to error. And as we have seen, the plot thickened when the Climate Research Unit was hacked, releasing thousands of files suggesting a covert mega-operation to propagate an anthropogenic global warming myth. "Warmist scientists," writes James Delingpole in *The Telegraph*, may "have manipulated or suppressed evidence in order to support their cause." Tipler has recently posted yet another convincing exposé outing the CRU's counterfeit science, concluding that "most of the evidence for global warming was simply made up." What we are hopefully observing is the unfolding of a major Climategate scandal.

Such practices, however, even after disclosure, do not seem to operate as a deterrent to persistence, and embarrassment is easily forgotten when there is a theory to uphold. Just as the Goddard Institute continues to abide by its errors, so does the National Snow

and Ice Data Center at the University of Colorado. This despite the fact that a faulty satellite sensor reading led it to estimate that the Arctic ice cap was receding dramatically—500,000 square kilometers of lost ice covering an area considerably larger than California. While admitting its mistake, the NSIDC did not alter its view until April 2009, when it released a graph showing, in the words of Steven Goddard, that the Arctic ice cap had "actually increased by more than the size of Texas." From the purported loss of California to the substantive acquisition of Texas represents a significant gain for the United Ice Fields of America.

Naturally, the mainstream media have not caught on as yet, or perhaps they simply refuse to acknowledge the evidence that would serve to discredit their years of advocacy and bring them into even greater disrepute than at present. For example, the *Montreal Gazette* for November 25, 2009, banners "Prognosis on Climate Change Is Grim," and retails bogus data, such as "the stunning retreat of the Arctic sea ice" as well as rising temperatures and sea levels, which have been reliably challenged by a host of credible agencies, organizations, and leading scientists. The only thing that is "stunning" is the sheer duplicity of such claims. There is—big surprise!—no reference whatsoever to the damning leaks in the climate warming dikes that threaten to flood the field of study. As the pressure continued to mount, however, the same newspaper for November 28 reprinted two articles side by side, one mentioning the email controversy but soft-pedaling its consequences, the other citing the already-exploded "unprecedented meltdown" data from the NSIDC.

The global warming movement most likely did not begin as a deliberate, well-organized scam, but as an expression of genuine concern by people of good intentions. But it was soon amplified by pseudo-religious zealots with a passionate animus against the free enterprise system, such as Canada's David Suzuki, and eventually hijacked by unscrupulous entrepreneurs intent on abusing the free enterprise system to their own advantage, such as Al Gore. David Suzuki appears to believe what he says, carefully selecting data to reinforce a position in which he has invested emotionally. Al Gore plainly does not believe what he says or practice what he preaches, often falsifying his data to strengthen a project in which he has invested financially. A UK court ruled that his global warming movie, *An Inconvenient Truth* [22], contains at least nine salient falsehoods and could not be shown in classrooms without a prior disclaimer. Gore earned \$570,000 in royalties from Pasminco Ltd. for a highly toxic zinc mine on his property. Then there is the venture capital investment firm Kleiner Perkins Caufield & Byers in which Gore is a partner. KPCB has just floated a \$500 million special fund for "green investments"—the same firm, incidentally, that is behind Terralliance, an "oil wildcatter," which is about as non-green as one can get.

In any event, it wasn't long before governments, interested corporations, and the United Nations completed the travesty. The payoff for governments involved increased control over the private lives of their citizens, using the environmental scare to further their statist agenda. Companies saw new scope for enormous profits deriving from ventures in the cap-and-trade market and so-called "clean energy" alternatives. The United Nations recognized a golden opportunity to effect a massive transfer of wealth from the industrialized Western nations to the third world in various forms of carbon subsidies.

The long-term result is not hard to see: the growing infringement on personal liberties to the convenience of the state, the enrichment of shrewd individuals and energy consortiums coupled with the gradual impoverishment of punitively taxed Western electorates, and the hypothetical solvency of corrupt, backward, and inefficient third world countries at the expense of the developed world, except for the parasites and scavengers—those whom UK science advisor Lord Christopher Monckton bluntly calls "criminals"—whose fiscal and professional bolsters would be secure.

All this should be obvious to anyone willing to undertake a little impartial research. What is most alarming, however, is the extent to

which the Western public has allowed itself to be bamboozled, conscripted into the cause, and, in effect, brainwashed. It is as if we are witnessing something like a collective hallucination at work, a mass psychosis not structurally different from the apocalyptic movements and revolutionary millenarianism of the medieval world analyzed by Norman Cohn in *The Pursuit of the Millennium*. Only the initiating gradients are different.

For we have been pampered by the freedom, comparative prosperity, and multiplying amenities of a productive society the likes of which has never been seen before. We have too much time on our hands, more "life-enhancing" devices, services, inventions, medications, and pharmaceuticals than most of us know what to do with, more leisure than any previous culture has been able to afford its members, entertainment choices that leave us bewildered before their unstinting profusion, greater abundance in our food marts than probably all the granaries of the past combined—so that, inevitably, we have become a vast community of unthinking consumers spared the upheavals, scarcities, invasions, disruptions, and perpetual violence that has, until very recently, characterized life on the planet, as it still does in less fortunate regions of the globe.

Like the generation prior to the First World War, we have grown bored, stupefied with excess, ignorant of the blessings of plenty from which we have benefited, loath to engage in the quotidian struggle for normal existence or defend the ramparts of the "city upon a hill." We have, in short, grown personally and culturally debilitated, a gaggle of effeminate narcissists determined to save the world but who cannot even save themselves. The upshot is baldly predictable. Having taken this rare interregnum in the war of survival for granted, we have become restless and dissatisfied, and find ourselves prone to every passing infatuation that promises a species of redemption from our own inner nullity. And environmentalism has arrived as the religion du jour to give substance and significance to the emptiness within, to rescue a cosseted populace from the apathy, lassitude, and cultural ennui that has descended upon it—and, of course, rendered it progressively exploitable by venal and power-hungry elites.

Meanwhile, from Kyoto to Copenhagen and whatever comes next, "we lay waste our powers," to cite the poet Wordsworth in a context opposite to the one which he imagined, "we have given our hearts away, a sordid boon." We will end up destroying our society rather than saving nature. The big lie gets bigger. The UK's World Meteorological Organization released a chart at the Copenhagen climate circus purportedly showing that the last decade has been the warmest in recorded history—a flagrant torturing of the accumulating facts. One wonders what Danny Kaye might have made of wonderful, wonderful Copenhagen, this "friendly old girl of a town," in the recent symposiac framework. But no doubt the 15,000 delegates and thousands of hangers-on who descended on Copenhagen were clinking glasses and drinking one down 'neath her tavern light, even perhaps listening to Dave Brubeck's sprightly rendition of the song, as they plotted the greatest deception of our times.

The lemming reflex may now be undeflectable. And our competitors in the international arena, who have no intention of abiding by or even signing on to international protocols and agreements in order "to save the planet," cannot believe their luck. The Chinese are rubbing their hands with glee. The Russians are chortling in their vodka. The Indians are performing namesté in a gesture of ineffable gratitude. Latin-American caudillos and African dictators are contemplating their numbered accounts and salivating.

The climate warming thesis has about the same degree of validity as the plot of the Hollywood SF clunker *The Arrival*, in which space aliens land on earth and begin heating up the atmosphere by generating greenhouse gases to accommodate their biology. Those of us who have paid attention know we have been fed a line. The question is whether people will awaken in time and put an end to this insidious design—for that is what it truly is—against our welfare and very preservation, or whether we will continue to acquiesce in the end of our privileged and hard-earned "lifeworld" as we know it.



## Joel Goldenberg

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# Sakharov remembered

On Dec. 14, 1989, law professor, rights activist and now Mount Royal MP Irwin Cotler was on his way to Moscow to have dinner and a discussion with renowned Soviet human rights activist Andrei Sakharov, when he called his wife Ariela during a stopover in London.

“She said ‘you won’t be able to have dinner with Dr. Sakharov,’” Cotler recalled, his voice breaking and halted. “‘He died this morning.’ Instead of having dinner with Andrei Sakharov, I attended his funeral.”

Cotler paid extensive tribute to Sakharov recently at the YM - YWHA at an event put on by Dr. Vera Parnes’ Raoul Wallenberg International Movement for Humanity to commemorate the 20th anniversary of Sakharov’s passing. The RWIMH was formed to commemorate and look into the fate of the Swedish diplomat who saved some 100,000 Jews but was captured by the Soviets, whose claim he died in 1947 was met with widespread doubt.

In his speech, Cotler pointed that he recently released an international petition on the danger of a nuclear, genocidal and rights violating Iran, as led by Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

“Would we have had a Sakharov today, in the last 20 years, to

be sounding the alarm with respect to what was happening, maybe we would not have reached that point in Ahmadinejad’s Iran. The man who almost alone, stood up against the whole of the Soviet Union and, in terms of his moral voice in history, prevailed, we would have heard that moral voice.”

Cotler said Sakharov was “one of the authentic heroes of the 20th century, a person who emerged not only as a metaphor for the struggle for human rights. Others could lay claim to that as well — he was not the only metaphor for the struggle for human rights — but he was a metaphor for moral courage in the 20th century.

“It was Sakharov who stood up in 1968, when there was for a brief moment, the Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia, to speak out against the Soviet invasion as he did against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. He perhaps, amongst those of the 20th century along with Wallenberg, deserves to be spoken of in that Talmudic idiom, that ‘if you saved a single life, it is as if you have saved an entire universe.’

“Sakharov’s [unparalleled] moral courage saved untold lives, freed untold peoples and freed countries in the 20th century from

the yoke and oppression of Communist tyranny. He was the conscience of his own people, as the Soviets called him, and the conscience of humankind.” Cotler added that he was also a pioneer in calling for the freedom of Soviet Jews.

Cotler said the funeral of Sakharov on Dec. 15, 1989, was unforgettable.

“People, one by one, walked by in solemnity, some expressing their apologies for not standing with him, when they should have stood up on his behalf as well as on the causes for which he stood.

“Indeed, two hours before we went to the cemetery, close to 100,000 people had gathered in a stadium, where they held placards saying ‘we’re sorry.’ In effect, ‘please forgive us for not standing up for you and for what you stood up for. Forgive us, for you stood alone.’

“That was the greatness of Andrei Sakharov, he stood alone, together with his wife Elena Bonner, who continues that courageous advocacy, which sometimes goes unnoticed or unacknowledged. And so, 20 years later, Sakharov’s legacy may be said to live on in terms of all the things he made possible.”

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# Djemila Benhabib, sur l'affaire des minarets en Suisse

L'image de cette petite et riche enclave au cœur de l'Europe célèbre pour sa fondue, sa raclette, son chocolat et enviée partout dans le monde pour ses stations de ski et ses lacs paisibles, miroirs où se reflètent des paysages et jardins bucoliques, serait-elle en train de changer ? Que dire de sa flore humaine ? Les Suisses auraient-ils subi des mutations biologiques accélérées pour célébrer le deux centième anniversaire de Darwin et sa théorie de l'évolution ?

Les Suisses, d'habitude si « pragmatiques », s'enflammeraient pour quatre minarets ? Seraient-ils tout simplement trouillards ou plutôt courageux ? Et s'ils étaient ni l'un ni l'autre ?

Se pourraient-ils qu'ils craignent tout simplement la montée fulgurante de l'islamisme politique partout dans le monde et en particulier en Europe ?

Une chose est sûre, les Suisses viennent de créer un précédent en assénant un coup de massue populaire à la gent politique. En effet, leur vote massif pour l'interdiction des minarets n'est pas tant une victoire de l'extrême droite qu'une défaite des politiques, incapables de recentrer le débat sur les valeurs fondamentales de la démocratie, à savoir la laïcité, l'égalité entre les hommes et les femmes et l'égalité des chances.

Il est évident que ce suffrage traduit un écart de plus en plus profond entre le bon peuple et l'élite bien pensante qui avale, cette fois-ci bien difficilement, la pilule. Faut-il pour autant annuler le vote comme le réclame certains ? Et pourquoi ne pas changer de peuple ? Y a-t-on pensé ?

Pourtant, tout avait été mis en place pour que l'on « vote bien ». Quasiment toute la classe politique suisse, de la droite à la gauche, des écolos aux curés, des gauchos aux patrons, avait

mené le bal pour appeler à voter non. On a sorti la grosse artillerie habituelle : quiconque s'affichait en faveur de l'interdiction a été accusé de xénophobe, de raciste, d'intolérant et d'islamophobe.

Des alliés ont même été appelés au renfort : l'ambassadeur de l'Organisation de la conférence islamique (OCI) est invité à faire campagne pour le non après avoir vertement critiqué la Suisse. Ce qui a fait dire au journaliste Vincent Pelligrini : « C'est un peu l'histoire de celui qui voit la paille dans l'œil du voisin et pas la poutre dans le sien » !

L'OCI, là où fourmillent des dictatures et des théocraties islamiques, qui mène une campagne acharnée pour faire reculer partout dans le monde - et à l'ONU en particulier - les droits des femmes et des homosexuels, qui fait tout pour réduire la liberté d'expression et de conscience au nom du respect des religions, des traditions et des cultures, est montée au créneau pour défendre la démocratie en Suisse.

Pendant la campagne, le bon peuple s'est bien gardé d'exprimer ses penchants. Motus et bouche cousue. De toute façon, à quoi bon ? Pour les bien-pensants, la problématique est si simple : en quoi l'existence de 4 minarets menacerait-elle la quiétude des Suisses ?

On aurait cru entendre Jean Charest parlant des accommodements de la Société d'automobile et d'assurance du Québec (SAAQ) et de son projet de loi 16 ou encore Françoise David qui défend corps et âme le port du voile islamique dans la fonction publique québécoise ou la FFQ qui, main dans la main avec Présence musulmane, mène la même campagne.

Faites un tour en Iran et vous verrez bien quelle liberté ont les

femmes dans une théocratie islamique, même en Algérie qui ne ressemble franchement pas au pays des mollahs ; le sort des femmes est peu enviable.

Au moins pour le bon peuple, c'est clair. On ne peut réduire la démocratie à une comptabilité d'épiciers. Qu'il s'agisse de la burqa en France, des quatre minarets en Suisse, des quelques cas d'accommodement à la SAAQ ou du port des signes religieux dans la fonction publique québécoise, on ne saurait réduire ses nombreuses manifestations à des « épiphénomènes, des micro-problèmes ou encore à des perceptions ».

Tout le monde sait que le problème est ailleurs. De nombreuses études, reportages et ouvrages démontrent que la Suisse a été infestée d'islamistes et que c'est à Genève que l'islam politique des Frères musulmans a élu domicile, parrainé par Saïd Ramadan qui n'est nul autre que le gendre du fondateur du mouvement des Frères musulmans, Hassan al-Banna et père de Tariq Ramadan.

Le premier centre islamique - celui de Genève - a servi de modèle aux nombreux centres islamiques implantés depuis le début des années 1960 en Europe avec le soutien de l'Arabie saoudite. La Suisse va en effet assumer une double fonction dans la stratégie islamiste : celle de "coffre-fort" et de lieu de prédilection à leur propagande. De cela personne ne veut parler. Ni les politiques, ni la « bien-pensance », comme l'a baptisée Élisabeth Badinter.

Pour le bon peuple, la beauté des minarets ne saurait cacher ni la laideur des discours qui s'y tiennent ni la lâcheté et surtout pas la complicité de la bien-pensance. Puisse seulement le bon peuple être entendu !

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COPENHAGUE: UNE GRANDE DOULEUR POUR PEU DE GAIN, SUITE DE LA PAGE 1

## COPENHAGEN

cibles ? Présentement, les États-Unis visent 17% d'ici 2020, l'Union européenne et d'autres pays promettent de faire mieux; mais les scientifiques disent que cela n'est pas assez. Indépendamment des cibles, cette présente entente n'est pas contraignante et les signataires ont été invités à s'auto-régler, notamment la Chine qui considère la vérification internationale comme une violation de sa souveraineté. Tandis que les pays développés ont acceptés de donner 10 milliards de dollars américains par année à des pays plus pauvres pour les aider à combattre le changement climatique; cela signifie simplement que des îles océaniques seront submergées plus lentement à moins que les émissions soient coupées de façon plus significative. La vraie épreuve pour l'Accord de Copenhague viendra vers la fin de 2010, quand les signataires ont accepté de finaliser un accord contraignant.

The chance that nations are going to respect their targets is virtually non-existent. The link between the consumption of fossil fuels and economic growth is unbreakable

**Les planificateurs économiques à long terme identifient que le charbon devra jouer un rôle énergétique important dans les pays en voie de développement parce que des sources d'énergie soutenables à grande échelle de remplacement ne sont pas encore disponibles dans les quantités nécessaires pour le déplacer.**

under the current economic model and the irresponsible argument advanced by developing nations that the developed world should pay them to use an alternate, sustainable model for growth is appalling. The developing world is saying, essentially, "hey, you got to use oil and coal to rapidly expand your standard of living, and we will do the

same, the environment be damned, unless you bribe us to act differently." What is worse than the advancement of that dead-end argument is that China and India know that there is not enough cheap oil left in the world to allow their economies to achieve Western standards of living even if they were to ignore the environmental impact.

These countries recognize that they must choose a more sustainable model, and are already investing in the new technology to replace the fossil-fuel based economy. The vast majority of solar cell manufacturers are Chinese, for example, and they have 10 nuclear plants in operation and over 40 in the planning and construction phases. So why refuse

to change on their own without billions in bribery from the US and the EU? Why not open their borders to international verification? The truth is that before the environment can get better, it is actually going to get much worse. The reason: the next oil crisis and the temptation of cheap and abundant coal.

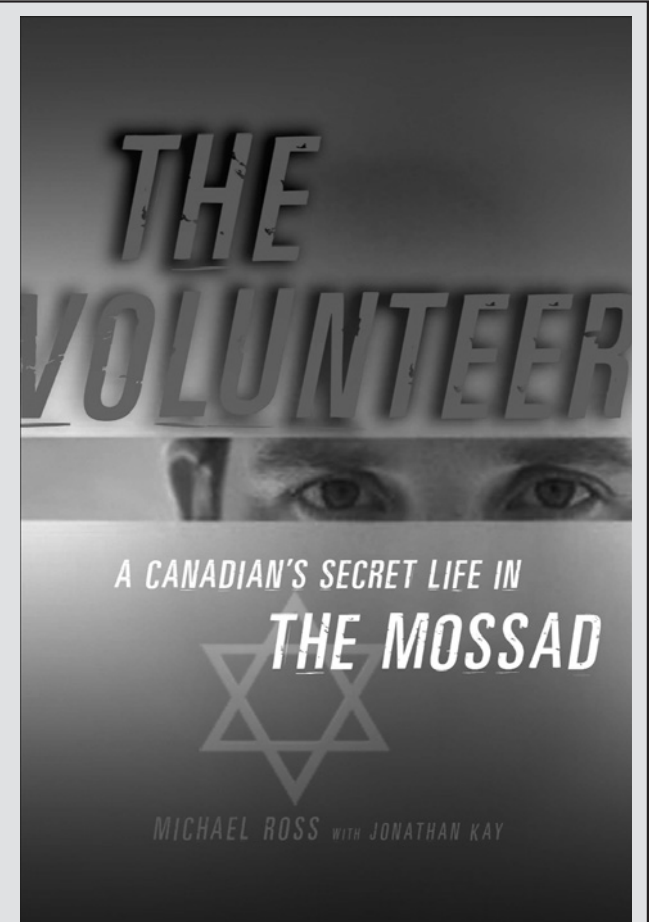
Coal fired power plants still provide nearly half of all the electricity generated in the US and almost the same proportion in China. While China is investing in nuclear, wind and solar, they also still have 45 coal-fired power plants under construction or in the planning stages. CO2 emissions sequestration works well in pilot plants but there aren't enough empty holes in the ground to shove the billions of tons of CO2 that these plants are going to produce. Scrubber systems remove soot, but they cannot remove the CO2. As soon as oil consumption rises to fill the 5 million barrel a day gap that currently exists between daily consumption and the production capacity, oil prices will rise into triple digits once again and natural gas prices will rise in sympathy. The

# 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.



# COPENHAGEN

combined-cycle gas plants that have been built over the past decade or so will become less economical than the coal-fired plants that were mothballed, and the dirty coal plants will be brought back on line. National governments will hope that the reduction in emissions from private vehicles due to high gas prices will compensate for this return to coal fired power plants, but it will not be enough. The end result after the next spike in oil and gas prices will be the return to coal-fired electrical generating facilities in the US, China and India to sustain their economies regardless of the effect on global CO2 levels. Economic nationalism will replace international collectivism and if there are penalties to be paid, those can be negotiated downwards given that the three largest emitters in the world will be in violation of the treaty.

Les planificateurs économiques à long terme identifient que le charbon devra jouer un rôle énergétique important dans les pays en voie de développement parce que des sources d'énergie soutenables à grande échelle de remplacement ne sont pas encore disponibles dans les quantités nécessaires pour le déplacer. Si la Chine se soumettait à une vérification internationale et obligatoire, elle ferait face à un « vide énergétique » entre le pétrole et le charbon d'aujourd'hui qui pollue énormément et l'énergie verte de demain qui n'est pas encore disponible en quantité suffisante pour soutenir des taux de croissance économiques annuels de 10%. Chaque année, des dizaines de millions d'ouvriers chinois partent de la campagne et se dirigent vers les villes industrialisées, cherchant un emploi d'usine. Même si la croissance économique était réduite à 5% dans l'intérêt de chercher la conformité à un niveau d'émissions soutenable, cela risquerait l'agitation sociale car les chômeurs réclameraient des emplois. La Chine a tout intérêt à poursuivre l'utilisation d'énergie sale jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit assurée que l'utilisation de la variété verte ne lui nuira pas. L'Inde agira utilisant plus ou moins la même logique, bien qu'elle soit plus arriérée en termes de développement de l'énergie nucléaire civile et soit sur le point d'entamer une surenchère avec tous les pays occidentaux qui ont signés des accords de coopération avec elle.

Certains lecteurs peuvent se rappeler des sommets de l'OPEP des années 70 quand les consommateurs autour de la planète attendaient impatiemment de nouveaux quotas de production à être répartis entre les pays, ainsi qu'un plafond de production global. Ces accords, conclus en grandes trompes parmi les pays membres, ont cherché à soutenir le prix international du « light sweet crude » et à assurer un retour sur investissement équitable pour tous. Le problème avec ces accords se



**Si la manipulation prévue dans le prix des émissions de CO2 a lieu, alors le Canada émergera en tant que grand gagnant. Le Canada et les États-Unis ne veulent pas arrêter le développement des sables bitumineux parce qu'il représente la promesse à long terme de 4 à 5 millions de barils par jour de pétrole d'une source politiquement stable**

faisait ressentir dès leurs signatures car les signataires commençaient immédiatement à tricher. Le plus rapidement ils trichaient en élevant leurs niveaux de production, le plus d'argent qu'ils faisaient pour chaque baril avant que le marché puisse réaliser ce qui se passait et le prix se mettait à baisser.

The agreements on emissions reductions will work the same way. Nations will agree to limits and penalties, a cap-and-trade system will put a fair price on a ton of CO2 emissions and signatories are likely to permit self-regula-

tion with public declaration of emission levels at climate summits. The longer the period between climate summits, the longer the cheating can go on before a nation will be forced to admit its errant ways and negotiate a lower fine among fellow cheating nations. The cap-and-trade price will be maintained artificially low while international markets believe that nations are in compliance, will spike briefly once the market discovers that they are not, and then will be artificially re-set at lower levels because at the high price the industrial-

ized polluters will face ruin. Detractors say that the climate accords will represent unprecedented UN intervention in the affairs of sovereign nations as it seeks to police compliance, but they should really be upset at the way those nations will manipulate the market for emissions to keep prices artificially low.

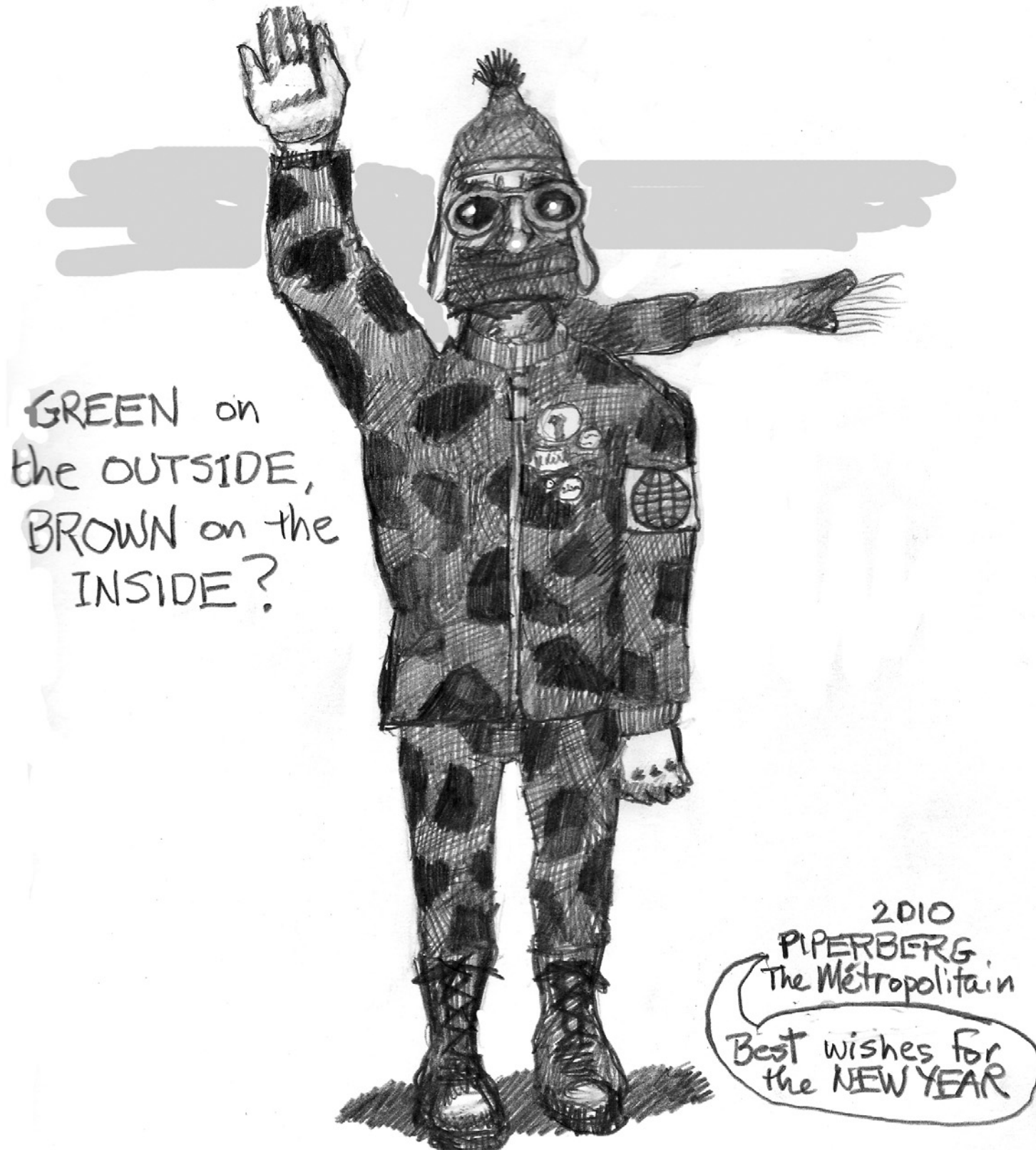
Si la manipulation prévue dans le prix des émissions de CO2 a lieu, alors le Canada émergera en tant que grand gagnant. Le Canada et les États-Unis ne veulent pas arrêter le développement des sables bitumineux parce qu'il représente la promesse à long terme de 4 à 5 millions de barils par jour de pétrole d'une source politiquement stable. Le Canada est susceptible de négocier un accord asymétrique entre les provinces sur la réduction des émissions, avec des provinces plus vertes comme l'Ontario et le Québec apportant de plus grandes réductions en échange des réductions moins agressives pour les provinces de l'ouest qui sont productrices des combustibles fossiles – l'Alberta et la Saskatchewan. Si le Canada était capable de considérer une réforme constitutionnelle qui a proposée le fédéralisme asymétrique, alors la réduction asymétrique de pollution devrait être un compromis plus facile à adopter. Si l'Alberta va continuer de fournir le pays avec des milliards de dollars en paiements de péréquation financés par sa richesse pétrolière alors les provinces sans ressources pétrolières ont une énorme incitation de ne pas trop s'acharner sur lui en ce qui regarde la pollution.

What was accomplished at Copenhagen? The environment has achieved permanent mindshare at the pinnacle of the international community. To see the President of the United States barge into a private negotiating session between China and India in order to salvage a deal means that we will be glued to the TV for all future environmental summits, such will be their enduring importance. Of little note this week was the announcement that the US and Russia are close to concluding a new nuclear arms reduction treaty to replace the START agreement from 1991, which expired on December 5th. Thirty years ago the expiration of a nuclear arms treaty without a signed replacement would have been a fixation on the international stage, but no longer. The environment has replaced the nuclear arms race as the potential Armageddon of the future. Certainly the failure to reduce emissions, rather than reduce warheads is the new trigger for Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). Ronald Reagan said of nuclear arms deals, "Trust, but verify". The same should apply to the Copenhagen deal, or we will eventually suffer a new form of MAD.

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## THE ENVIRO-RADICAL—



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Pierre Arbour est un ancien du Collège de Montréal.  
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**SOCIETY**

# Les Sulpiciens et la liberté de presse

**A** l'occasion du 350<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de l'arrivée des Sulpiciens en Nouvelle-France, de nombreuses fêtes, cérémonies et célébrations eurent lieu pour commémorer cet événement ainsi que les réalisations des Messieurs de St Sulpice; ces réalisations ne furent pas des moindres surtout dans le domaine de l'éducation. Un livre vient d'être publié "Les Sulpiciens de Montréal; une histoire de pouvoir et de discrétion 1657-2007, Fides"; curieusement, on n'y fait pas mention d'un épisode marquant de notre histoire ancienne où le Supérieur du Collège de Montréal, Etienne Montgolfier (1712-1791) joua un rôle important quant à la suppression du premier journal au pays.

Un grand oublié de notre histoire post-Conquête est Fleury Mesplet (1734-1794), qui se distingua comme notre premier imprimeur et éditeur, comblant ainsi une lacune désolante, soit l'absence d'une imprimerie au pays. Les Sulpiciens de Montréal avaient bien tenté à l'époque de la Nouvelle-France d'établir un atelier d'imprimerie; voici la réponse adressée au Supérieur des Sulpiciens de Montréal, François Vachon de Belmont, de la part du Supérieur de Paris, Louis Tronson:

"On a cru qu'il serait inutile de vous envoyer les caractères d'imprimerie que vous demandiez parce qu'on nous a dit que vous ne pourriez pas vous en servir et que les livres ne vous en apprendraient pas assez pour pouvoir réussir."

Montréal fut occupé pendant près d'une année en 1775-1776 par les Américains alors qu'ils avaient été repoussés à Québec; Benjamin Franklin, alors âgé de 70 ans, accompagné d'une importante délégation officielle se rendit à Montréal au début de mai 1776. Le but de cette délégation était d'inciter les canadiens français à se ranger du côté des américains afin de se débarrasser du joug britannique. Pour cela, Benjamin Franklin avait en sa possession une lettre en français du Congrès Américain; lettre qui se voulait un plaidoyer en faveur de la liberté. La lettre fut remise aux notables de Montréal qui restèrent de glace.

Néanmoins, sachant qu'il n'y avait

pas d'imprimeur à Montréal, Franklin avait convaincu Fleury Mesplet, né à Lyon, de venir avec la délégation américaine à Montréal avec tout son matériel d'imprimerie.

Franklin, découragé de l'attitude négative des seigneurs et du clergé, décida de revenir à Philadelphie après un séjour d'à peine deux semaines; Mesplet lui, décida de rester. Mesplet s'installa donc à Montréal en mai 1776, mais aussitôt après, les Anglais reprirent le contrôle de la ville, et nommèrent Frederick Haldimand (1718-1791) Gouverneur général du Canada; celui-ci trouva que la présence d'un imprimeur à Montréal ne pouvait qu'être bénéfique pour ses habitants et laissa donc Mesplet en liberté.

Fleury Mesplet obtint alors quelques contrats d'imprimerie, surtout des livres pieux tels que

"Règlement de la confrérie de l'Adoration perpétuelle du Saint-Sacrement et de la Bonne Mort", premier livre imprimé au Canada. En 1778, il décida de fonder une publication hebdomadaire appelée la "Gazette Littéraire de Montréal". Imbu des idées du Siècle des Lumières, Mesplet fit publier des articles des Encyclopédistes, des écrits de Voltaire, ainsi que des plaidoyers réclamant une plus grande liberté d'expression.

Mal accueillie par les autorités religieuses, la Gazette Littéraire signa son arrêt de mort lorsqu'elle ouvrit une tribune aux lecteurs où, sous des noms d'emprunt, certains étudiants du Collège de Montréal firent publier des lettres considérées séditieuses par le Supérieur du Collège. Après enquête, on identifia les «coupables» et ceux-ci furent mis illico à la porte du Collège.

Habitué à un ordre intégriste pré-Lumières en France, Monsieur Montgolfier s'allia au Seigneur Hertel de Rouville (1720-1793), un juge qui avait ses entrées auprès du gouverneur, pour réclamer la fermeture de la Gazette Littéraire. Initialement, Haldimand résista aux pressions conjuguées de ces deux notables, au nom de la liberté de presse chère aux Anglais, mais finit par céder, surtout après avoir reçu une lettre de Montgolfier en janvier 1779, où celui-ci réclamait la suppression de la Gazette Littéraire avec comme motif "les éloges continuels à des auteurs impies". En juin 1779, Haldimand fit arrêter Mesplet et son rédacteur Jautard, pour cause de "traitorous practices" et sans plus de procès, les fit jeter dans un cachot de la ville de Québec.

Pendant l'emprisonnement de

Mesplet, qui dura trois années, son épouse continua tant bien que mal à diriger la seule imprimerie au Québec et à survivre en obtenant des contrats d'imprimerie de la part des communautés religieuses du Québec, y compris des Sulpiciens de Montréal. La Gazette Littéraire n'était plus, et il fallut attendre la libération de Mesplet pour qu'une autre publication, "La Gazette de Montréal", y voit le jour en 1785. Maintenant bilingue, elle était lue par les Anglais aussi bien que par les Canadiens français. La Gazette devint ainsi à l'abri de toute tentative de muselage de la part des ennemis de la liberté de presse, puisqu'on pouvait plus difficilement arrêter la publication d'un journal lu par les occupants. Ce journal devint unilingue anglais en 1794 à la mort de Mesplet, et fut rebaptisé "The Gazette", qui continue d'être publiée jusqu'à nos jours.



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## Sophie Tarnowska

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### Sophie's Choices

# Painful Things I Have Endured

There's nothing people enjoy more than giving advice, which is unfortunate considering that most of us would rather eat our toenail clippings than receive it.

Six months ago my husband announced out of the blue that he was desperately unhappy with our marriage. Two days later he moved out, and within days he had decided that the only solution was to get a divorce. I believed at the time that his words had inflicted the most pain I would ever feel in my lifetime (this from someone who's given birth sans pain relief, and once had her eyebrow stitched together with wire after flipping into a ditch in Communist Poland). And yet, having become the recipient of well-meaning advice from my family, his family, friends of mine, their parents, friends of his, their parents, and finally, friends of friends who heard our story at a BBQ, I must add bad advice to the above list of Painful Things I Have Endured.

I admit that during those harrowing

first weeks after John walked out, I sought out and welcomed any advice, hoping that someone might give me insight into my husband's apparently addled mind. I even asked one of his best friends for advice - the one who's in his mid thirties, cheats on his girlfriend regularly, and openly admits that the only thing he's committed to is his brand of cigarettes. "Well, he kinda hates you", and "Ya know, I wouldn't wait for him", were his very insightful response. I had forgotten that unlike female friendships in which we discuss everything from our intimate details (shaving vs. waxing; the doctor put what where?), to relationships (How My Mother Scarred Me for Life; Is It Normal to Want to Smother Him with a Pillow While He Sleeps?), my husband and his friends bond over different things. Favorite hot sauces. Who's dad got drunkest last weekend. Who can eat the most burgers.

Sometimes they share intimate details as well - like effective

heartburn remedies. This isn't to say they don't gossip about each other's relationships, but when they do, it's to commiserate with one other, not to give advice, "Did you hear how pissed off Jeff's wife was when she heard he passed out on the sidewalk outside Ye Olde Pump last Saturday? What is her problem man?"

Ironically, not giving advice is what my husband's closest confidantes appeared proudest of, "Just so you know, I haven't given John any advice. I'm just here to listen..." I thought men were supposed to try to fix everything.

I find it easier to take advice from some people than from others. Happily married friends, yes. My twice-divorced mother who at last count has owned and been abandoned by 17 dogs and 9 cats and whose record with men is alarmingly similar, not so much. It doesn't help that she's convinced my husband left me because I refused to let him install a 3' by 5' flat screen TV over the fireplace in our dining room.

She offered her first piece of advice after my husband asked me to "give him his space" (which I now know to be code for: "I have a date with my short and furry coworker and this wedding band is seriously cramping my style"), and I agreed to take our 18 month old daughter to our cottage.

"Before you go", said my mother, "find all the Tupperware you own and fill it with homemade food, and place a loving note on each container. This will remind him that you really love him". This from a woman who views food as her own personal kryptonite.

"Are. You. Serious??", I sputtered, "You think that spaghetti sauce can save our marriage, Mum?"

Then I drove to the supermarket, bought a kilo of their highest-quality ground beef, and made a batch of Bolognese sauce, which I scooped into my best Tupperware, and topped with a bright yellow "I love you" note. Still no word as to whether my spaghetti sauce has saved our marriage.

A month later my husband informed me that he would be flying up to spend a week with our daughter Lily at our cottage, and could I plan on not being there? At that my mother advised that I rush to the nearest photo shop and have a picture of him blown up, framed and hung over our bed, to show him how much I loved him. Considering that his favorite name for me at that point was "control freak", I decided that nothing would creep him out more, and that I'd be more likely to use it as a dartboard anyway.

-Well then, you and Lily should disappear, she said.

-What? You mean take his daughter away?

-Yes, take her to...Italy! Make him wonder, Sophie!

-Wonder whether he should have me arrested Mum? Wonder which jurisdiction would incarcerate me longest Mum? Are you nuts?

-Well, in that case do not underestimate the power of sex - seduce him!

-Yes Mum, I'd love to except he's left me, he lives in another country, and I suspect his would require nothing less than a rohypnol cocktail - any idea where I can buy some date rape drugs these days?

And anyway, I did seduce him. It didn't work.

The nice thing about my mother is that unlike his mother, she doesn't segue into random tales of her coworker's-brother's-third-cousin's wedding day, and the fabulous centerpieces made of reclaimed shoe leather that they used. I've come to realize that the more my mother-in-law means well, the less relevant the story tends to be. And yet she has given me some of the best advice yet. What she said - and this has been invaluable - is that I must never again tell my husband how he feels, but only how I feel. This sounds simple to those of you who are normal, but for the rest of us (mostly females I'm willing to bet), following this advice is like tying shoelaces with your teeth (but more useful, I suspect).

In the weeks following the news of

our marriage breakdown, my wise grandmother (who had her own theory as to why he left me - something about my "abandoning" him with our daughter while I had my first weekend away with my girlfriends in 18 months) advised me to tell him how much I needed him, and to do so often. I told her that as a stay-at-home mother who enjoyed everything about our home except the "staying at" it part, I suspected that my excessive neediness over the past year was a big part of our problem, and I was certain that he'd probably rather light his hair on fire than hear me pronounce the words "I need you" again (although it's possible that hearing them without simultaneously trying to dodge my shoe might help).

"Fine", she said, "Then go back to that house you share and tell him to GET THE HECK OUT!". This from a diplomat's daughter and Reiki practitioner who keeps a shrine to Buddha, Jesus and the Virgin Mary in her home. Anyway, he'd already left. My father's advice was more spiritual - pray, then pray some more, and when you're finished, say a prayer.

The advice I got most often was: do what is right for you. Well, hand me a cocktail, fuel up the jet and tell Brad Pitt to meet me in Kenya dammit. That implies that I should know what "right for me" is, despite the fact that two months ago, what was right for me was playing Mrs. to his Mr.

I get the feeling that some people would respect me more for accepting my husband's decision and giving up on the nine years we had together, than for swallowing my pride and trying to save our marriage. I am simply not ready to. I'm in the difficult position of trying to prove to someone that I love him, and the only option I've been offered to prove it is to do as he says, and make it easy for him to walk out on his daughter and I.

I want a new option. Control freak, ME?

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# A crash course in unwanted expertise

A true benefit of being a journalist is having the opportunity to meet other interesting people and hear their stories. As a writer, it is a great by product to be able to amass information and skills from the good subjects.

This past November, my sisters, brother, father and I became defacto experts in the business of funeral arrangements. Death and taxes are indeed inevitable and eventually for most people, they will outlive their parents.

While my mother died suddenly, her Irish instincts knew that her time was indeed limited here as she had asked me a few weeks earlier for her and I to go to Rideau in Pierrefonds to make some pre-planning arrangements.

Pre-planning the arrangements for our loved ones of a certain age is a good idea considering they may take part in the decision making. This way you won't need to revisit the surreal journey my brother and I took when within the same hour, we chose my mother's eternal resting spot as well as the sandwich platters for the reception and the colour of the urn.

Despite walking in a fog and taking care of business those first few days, I have to commend Joseph at Rideau for his exemplary care. If ever someone was truly made for the role of funeral director, it is he. You need to deal with compassionate people at a time of need and that role fits him like a glove.

There is a sense of disconnectedness that occurs when a loved one passes suddenly. And while my father may be not as strong as he once was physically, he displaced true strength throughout a very tough ordeal considering his need for care that had been



diligently provided by his wife. My siblings and I stepped up to the plate because that is what is required of someone in a crisis. As Winston Churchill said, "when in Hell, walk straight."

And while the sadness of the loss is tough, hearing from family, neighbours and friends who had known my mother for

years was needed because you get to meet another side of the person you always thought you knew.

The one thing I did learn was how people share their grief and there is a marked difference getting condolences from people whose parents have passed as opposed to those who have not. Some were completely grief stricken while others chose to share an anecdote or a funny story that involved my mom.

We did get the odd call or e-mail and you just have to remember the affirmation: "they mean well" but people mourning do not need to be told that "this holiday season will be terrible for you all" or that my 83 year mother's death was "tragic". Children who don't have enough to eat and are abused, that's tragedy. Living a life filled with love, family, travel and adventure that ends suddenly yet peacefully is sad but not tragic.

And for what it is worth, I felt a touch repelled by the odd acquaintance that wanted details of my mom's passing. Obits avoid those disclosures for a reason.

Hospital stories on the news, around this time of year usually, focus on overcrowded ERs with not enough staff and too many patients. And while that is often the reality I can personally attest, having spent way too much time in hospitals all over the island the last two years or so, is that nurses, orderlies and doctors are proud of what they do and provide very good care for their patients.

We gained unwanted expertise. But having that knowledge lets you help others because you learn to say and do the right thing under the circumstances.

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

- George F. Lengvari, Sr.



ARTS & STYLE



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# MONTREAL JOURNALISM; THEN...

**MONTREAL CONFIDENTIAL**

A Reprint of a 1950's Montreal tourist guide; plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.

**A**l Palmer, the hard-boiled Montreal gossip columnist who covered the city's nightclub scene for The Herald and The Gazette in the 1940s and 50s, died in 1971, but his spirit lives.

Palmer occupies a niche in the city's history of journalism and he continues to entertain in the pages of the recent Vehicule Press reprint of *Montreal Confidential*, (165 pp \$12.00), his guide to the city's nightlife. It remains as delightful and as timely a read today as it was when it was first published 60 years ago.

Palmer hooked readers with his breezy column, (*Man About Town* in The Herald and *Our Town* in the Gazette) in which he reported intimate details of what was happening around the city during the golden age of entertainment, when clubs were "noisy sexy and had plenty of bounce." The book was meant as a tourist guide to the city's demi-monde. While many of the clubs and cabarets he writes about have long disappeared, the attitude has not. Then, as now, as Palmer writes, Montreal is not so much a city as a state of mind. "To live there is to love it. Those of us who were born there consider it the nearest approach to Heaven we know of without leaving the ground."

Palmer was born in Montreal in 1913, and was orphaned while still a child. In his teens he started covering amateur sport for suburban newspapers. During the Second World War he served with the Canadian Army and wrote for the armed forces newspaper, The Maple Leaf. When the war ended, he went to work for the Herald on the police beat. After a brief stint with the Key West Citizen in Florida, where ironically, *Montreal Confidential* was written, he came back to Montreal to cover



COURTESY CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, P084-Q2-382

the nightclub scene. When the Herald stopped publishing in 1957, he joined the Gazette, where he remained until his death at the age of 57.

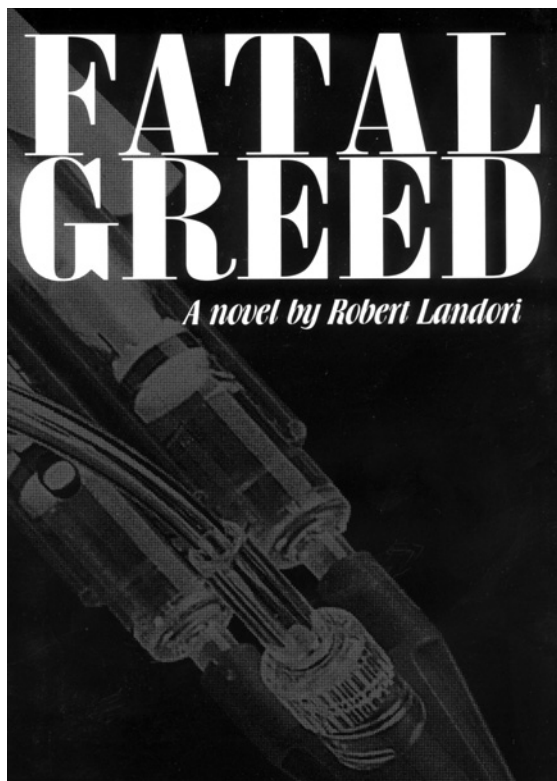
Palmer developed a Lingo of his own; St. Catherine St. was called St. Kitts, Stanley Street, where many of the cabarets were in the 1950's is referred to as Swing Street, and he nicknamed St. Lawrence Blvd "the hardened artery." His description of the The

lower main as "rough, tough, lusty and lewd," is still pretty accurate.

Palmer describes his book as a collection of "legends, facts, after dark data," and readers learn a lot about the city's social history in the 40s. Palmer devotes a chapter to the circumstances surrounding the sensational underworld slaying of Harry Davis in 1946, one of the first mobsters in the city to meet an untimely end, and certainly not the last. He dishes out advice to tourists that is as useful now as it was then. He offers dating tips but deliberately avoids telling the reader how to find a hotel room and a companion. "If you're under 21 we won't tell you," he quips, "and if you are over 21 you shouldn't need to be told."

The book is peppered with wry observations in the form of one liners that still strike a chord. Even then, Montreal was "a cosmopolitan town, you can get indigestion in any language, and if you ask around a bit, you are sure to find a colony of fellow countrymen, even if you are an Eskimo." Palmer mines the Montreal-Toronto rivalry, and while Toronto isn't as uptight as it was when he wrote the book, nothing in its mentality has changed. In a chapter called *A Tale of Two Cities*, Palmer observes the feud between Canada's two major cities is a one sided affair. "Although Montrealers despise Torontonians, the feeling is not mutual," he observes, "We have yet to hear a citizen of the Queen City cast disparaging remarks about Montreal, with the exception of the few have decided that too many French Canadians live here...citizens from the Ontario capital descend en masse to Montreal, and a few, not the majority mind you, make themselves sufficiently obnoxious as to create an inhospitable feeling in a town where hospitality is everyone's stock in trade."

The reprint is enhanced with an introduction by William Weintraub, who knows about as much about the period as anyone, and with vintage photographs from Concordia University's archives. A must read for anyone who loves this town.



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# ... AND NOW

## POLITICS PEOPLE AND POTPOURRI

### I. Ian MacDonald's snapshot of history in the making

L. Ian MacDonald is a journalist who once wrote speeches for Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, worked as head of communications at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, and now edits *Policy Options*, the magazine of the Institute for Research on Public Policy. In spite of his political leanings, MacDonald, has earned a reputation as an icily observant, reasoned Canwest newspaper columnist and as an erudite broadcaster and political pundit. Some of his best *Gazette* columns have now been published in *Politics, People and Potpourri*, (McGill-Queens University Press, 329 pp. \$39.95.) It's a wide-ranging excursion into two decades of politics, an appreciation of local history, personal musings, and encounters with people he's met along the way. If you're not into politics of history, there are some nice reflections on cottage life and some gentle trips down memory lane. Through the pages, his measured personality emerges as clearly as if he had written his autobiography. In fact, he put the collection together so his two daughters, Gracie, who was born 19 years ago, and Zara, who was born last June, would have some appreciation of their family background. MacDonald's roots are in Cape Breton. His grandfather was a Glace Bay Insurance broker, his father, Arthur, was an engineer who died of a heart attack in 1958 at the Quebec Bonspiel when Ian was 10 years old. L. Ian (The 'L' stands for Lawrence) was raised by his mother Marian, a staunch Liberal by the way. Her son, who became a Conservative after writing the first biography of Brian Mulroney in 1984, suspects she would have disapproved of his political conversion. MacDonald's career was inspired by a class trip to Ottawa in 1965 when he Looked down on the



Parliamentary press gallery and decided he wanted to be a journalist. "I've never lost that sense of excitement, and I am very aware of having a privileged seat as a witness to history,"

**MacDonald isn't a doctrinaire conservative. He has called Prime Minister Stephen Harper "a school yard bully," in print, and described Harper as prone to self-inflicted wounds. In a column published last April, MacDonald referred to the PM as "a leader without confidants, and without mentors. There is no one to tell him what he needs to hear, as opposed to what he wants to hear, not in the cabinet, not in the caucus, and certainly not in his own office."**

he writes. After graduating from Concordia in 1969, he began doing a television column for the *Gazette* and eventually became the paper's national affairs columnist before he left to work for Brian Mulroney

MacDonald isn't a doctrinaire conservative. He has called Prime Minister Stephen Harper "a school yard bully," in print, and described Harper as prone to self-inflicted wounds. In a column published last April, MacDonald referred to the PM as "a leader without confidants, and without mentors. There is no one to tell him what he needs to hear, as opposed to what he wants to hear, not in the cabinet, not in the caucus, and certainly not in his own office." Presciently, he suggested the arrival of Michael Ignatieff as Liberal opposition leader would inspire Harper to take his game to a higher level, which for the moment, appears to be exactly what appears to have happened. MacDonald believes Ignatieff "has what it takes; he just isn't there yet." Michael Ignatieff, he tells us "is a very smart guy, but there is a difference between school smart and street smart." MacDonald has been a conscientious observer of the political scene from both inside and out. His political thinking was shaped not only by Brian Mulroney, but by "The Reagan years in North America and the rise of Thatcherism in the United Kingdom." The five years MacDonald spent in government, he says, gave him an appreciation and understanding of "public policy, as opposed to politics. I have never been a card carrying anything," he states.

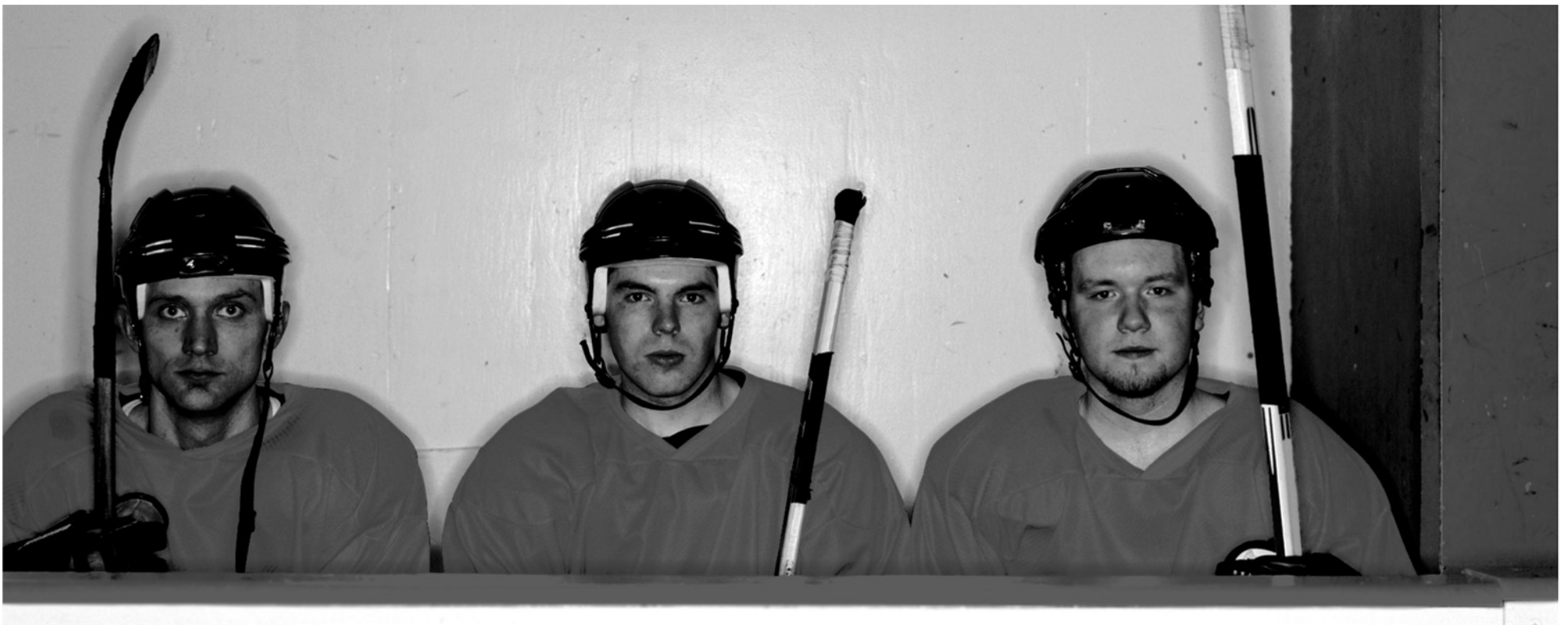
The book has some excellent profiles of prominent Montrealers, among them former Separatist leader Pierre Bourgault, ('Firebrand and radical that he was, he was also an extraordinarily nice man'), Radio-Canada anchorman Bernard Derome, ('Viewers rewarded him with their trust. And trust is not something they give to airheads') and Conrad Black ('While it is true he doesn't do humility very well, his personality has nothing to do with the formidable powers of the state that have been arrayed against him. In seeking to portray Black as a villain, the prosecution transformed him into an unlikely underdog').

In the interest of full disclosure, MacDonald's appreciation of my history of St. Patrick's Basilica, published in 1997, is included. The book also takes readers on a long forgotten fishing trip with Sir Winston Churchill at Lac des Neiges in the Laurentians, has a chapter on MacDonald's eye surgery and his observations about health care, discusses trips to the beach, and ends with a heartwarming tale of a Christmas Tree in New York.

Any journalist who is condemned to write a regular opinion column is bound to be a bit uneven in his observations and make the occasional misguided prediction, but one can only admire the quality of the output.

The only gripe about the book is that it has no index, and with *Kindles* growing popularity, at \$40 it's a bit pricey. And while it's not the author's fault, trying to find the books in Montreal was a challenge – Chapters didn't stock MacDonald's; Indigo said it was on its shelves, but a salesclerk couldn't find me a copy, and *Paragraphe*, where I finally bought one, had misfiled the book.

MacDonald's next book examines the relationship between Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and U.S. Presidents Ronald Reagan and the first George Bush.



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# EX-CENTRIS RE-BRANDS

## The Temple to Cinema on The Main becomes an Alternative Arts Centre

Ten years after Ex-Centris opened as Montreal's premier cinema art house, the \$35-million complex on St. Lawrence Blvd is attempting to carve a new niche for itself as a multi media showcase for emerging talent.

Ex-Centris was not your ordinary megaplex. With its digital production labs and sound systems better than THX AND Dolby, Ex-Centris has, for the past 10 years been used exclusively as a state-of-the-art movie arcade. Without the pop-corn. Nothing anywhere else in the world could compare. That changed earlier this year after Softimage media guru Daniel Langlois, who built Ex-Centris in 1999, teamed up with Herschel Segal, the founding chairman and former CEO of Le Chateau to set up Fondation Image Lumiere Movement & Son (FILMS) a non-profit foundation aimed at creating a new performance space for musicians and performing artists.

During the summer the largest of the three Ex-Centris screening rooms, the Salle Casavettes was converted into multi-media exhibition hall and 250 seat cabaret. Another 250 seat theatre, the Salle Fellini, which already had a built-in flat-floor stage and descending walls and a five tone screen on wheels also became an all purpose hall. The loading docks were converted into green rooms, a full-service kitchen and a lobby bar were added and a \$150,000 Steinway Piano that once belonged to actor Chevy Chase was brought in from New York.

The two rooms were inaugurated in September. Instead of films, Ex-Centris now offers a more varied concert series of multiple art forms. Singer Chloe Sainte-Marie used the Salle Fellini for the launch of her Innu album, Nitshisseniten e Tshissenitamin, and Swedish Singer Jay-Jay Johanson was the opening act in the remodeled Casavettes room. Since then Ex-centris has been the scene of corporate events, benefit concerts featuring an evening with Kent Nagano, performances by Leon Fleisher and Matt Haimovitz, and several CD launches.

Indie art house films will continue to be screened in Cinéma Parallele's smaller 100-seat theatre for another year until the cinema's lease expires.

"We're still doing movies," says Langlois, "But we want to push the envelope and expand the programming to include all kinds of performance art. Music has been greatly affected by the digital age. If alternative or world beat musicians want to attract fans to live shows, the musicians and singers require a new and innovative setting in which to mount their performance art. The main drawing card at Ex-Centris is its excellent sound and digital projection capabilities, comfortable halls, and the adaptability of the two main theatres. They are ideal for intimate shows that involve interaction between the artists and their audience."

Segal had originally thought of buying the Notman House on Sherbrooke St. and converting it into an alternative performance space, like the Poisson Rouge in Greenwich Village or a Hardrock Café. Then he met Langlois, who wanted to take full advantage of his Ex Centris complex and turn it into a multi-media cultural centre. The two men were perfectly in tune, but their foundation is still a work in progress.

"As an entrepreneur I try different things. What we would like to do is to produce shows at Ex-Centris that are commercial, yet experimental," says Segal. "A lot of artists need help, They're not in it for the deal, they just want to perform. We're offering them a place to do it." As one example, he cites the French group, Tanuki, project who are now living in Montreal and made their electronic trip-hop debut at Ex-Centris in November.

"Ex-Centris is Daniel's castle, it is his house," says Segal, "We've have considered a lot of things right across the board since we got together, but now we are taking a step back and rethinking the programming. We'd like to operate as a performance venue only. Acts who want to come in will get the gig and be given the performance space for nothing. They'll get the box office receipts, and, Ex-Centris will get the profits from the food and drink that's sold."

Langlois agrees that it will take time for the two to arrive at a recipe that succeeds.. "It's been intense,



Some things are working well, some are working less well, but we've learned a lot, and we're slowing down and trying to achieve a balance

and a marketing strategy that works," he says.

Programming at Ex-Centris resumes in February when the indie-

alternative-quiet pop-rock group, Stars perform. For programming information visit [www.eXcentris.com](http://www.eXcentris.com)

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