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# THE MÉTROPOLITAIN

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## LA CRISE D'OCTOBRE

## OBAMA'S CRISIS



### Aftermath The "No Fun" Zone

David T. Jones

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This is the time of "spin." The Democrats sound as if they were victims of an IED blast, delighted to have only lost an arm and a leg instead of two of each. The Republicans sound like roosters believing that the sun rose because they crowed. The reality check is more complex. The Democrats were sharply defeated, losing the House of Representatives, but not as catastrophically as was predicted earlier in the summer. And, they retained control of the Senate, saving their vulnerable majority leader Harry Reid. Moreover, Democrats gained a great, oft unmentioned prize: the governorship of California, which will assist them substantially in the 2012 presidential election.

The Republican victory was substantial--very much so--but again

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### The political junkies meet

Dan Delmar

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A steady stream of beer, wine and fried snacks were being served to patrons crammed into the John Sleeman Pub on Peel St. as they watched U.S. election events unfold last week on big-screen TVs, cheering and jeering with every development. The atmosphere had all the markings of a major sporting event, but the crowd wasn't watching the Canadiens losing to the Blue Jackets. They were watching the Democrats lose the House of Representatives to the Republicans and almost lose the Senate as well.

For political junkies – even those in Montreal with no vote and no direct stake in the race – the American mid-term elections are virtually as exciting as the Super Bowl or Game Seven of the Stanley Cup finals.

"We have a keen interest in American politics and what goes on in

Continued on page 12

## Les faits oubliés de la Crise d'octobre

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Il y a quarante ans le 5 octobre 1970, commençait la désormais célèbre Crise d'octobre avec l'enlèvement de James Richard Cross, diplomate britannique, par des terroristes du Front de libération du Québec (« FLQ »), prétextant agir au nom de la sécession du Québec et de la révolution marxiste. Le 10 octobre, ils enlevaient Pierre Laporte, fraîchement élu Ministre du travail du Québec, alors qu'il jouait au ballon avec son neveu dans

la cour avant de sa maison de la rive sud de Montréal. Il sera assassiné par ses kidnappeurs 7 jours plus tard.

Depuis quarante ans, de grands pans de la Crise ont malheureusement été oblitérés de la mémoire collective, créant une situation surréaliste où les assassins et les partisans de la violence sont présentés comme des « victimes », et les défenseurs de l'État de droit et de la démocratie sont devenus des « oppresseurs ».

Dans Octobre 1970 : Dans les coulisses de la Crise publié aux Editions Héritage, William Tetley, professeur de droit à l'Université McGill, combinant son expérience de ministre dans le cabinet Bourassa pendant la Crise à

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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

NOUVELLE PERSPECTIVE SUR LA CRISE D'OCTOBRE

# La crise d'Octobre : l'arbre qui nous cache la forêt

Déjà quarante ans ! Il fallait commémorer la crise d'Octobre. Les journaux, la télé, la radio ont fait oeuvre utile. Les survivants ont révisé leurs rôles, raccommodé leurs costumes, retouché leur maquillage, puis, devant un vaste parterre de journalistes et de commentateurs brandissant micros et caméras, ont récité et mimé des bribes de la tragédie qu'ils avaient improvisée il y a quarante ans. Quiconque a vécu ces événements et lu ce qui s'est dit et publié ensuite, ressort de l'exercice de cet automne avec une impression de déjà-vu. Pour ne parler que d'eux, que nous ont dit Jacques Lanctôt, Paul Rose, Robert Comeau, Marc Lalonde, Jérôme Choquette, Julien Giguère que nous ne savions déjà ? Qu'ont découvert les journalistes ? Quelles nouvelles pistes d'interprétation les commentateurs ont-ils tracées ?

Rien d'inédit n'a donc surgi de l'oubli. L'existence de l'enregistrement de la conversation entre Robert Lemieux et Jacques Rose, où ce dernier affirmait que son frère Paul était absent au moment de la mort de Pierre Laporte, nous avait déjà été révélée en 2006 par Carl Leblanc dans son livre *Le personnage secondaire* (1). Nous savons maintenant, grâce à Guy Gendron, que Laporte a été étranglé au moment où on allait l'enfermer dans le coffre de la Chevrolet. Voilà qui ne change rien à tout ce beau gâchis. Mathieu Bock-Côté frappe dans le mille quand il écrit : « Il faut en revenir avec cette idée simple : Pierre Laporte ne serait pas mort si on ne l'avait pas kidnappé ».

La crise d'Octobre ne fut que le plus sinistre des coups de théâtre d'une saga dont le lever de rideau avait eu lieu en 1963 et qui n'allait prendre fin qu'au début des années 80 avec la dissolution de partis d'extrême gauche qui, sans poser de bombes ni kidnapper de bourgeois, avaient repris le flambeau de la Révolution et préparaient, par la méthode dite de l'agit-prop, le soulèvement armé de la classe ouvrière. L'histoire du FLQ et celle de En lutte! et du Parti communiste ouvrier (PCO),

sans parler de la nuée de groupes et groupuscules révolutionnaires créés à la même époque, se situent dans un continuum historique dont le fil conducteur est un rejet radical de l'ordre politique, économique et social de la société libérale. Soit, les felquistes visaient un double objectif, relié ou non par un trait d'union : l'indépendance ET le socialisme; soit, les marxistes-léninistes des années 70 et 80 travaillaient à l'avènement d'un régime socialiste coast to coast. L'abandon de l'idéal nationaliste par les extrémistes qui succédèrent au FLQ prouve seulement que le projet indépendantiste était davantage soluble dans la démocratie que ne l'était le projet socialiste. Cas exemplaires, les ex-felquistes Vallières et Gagnon, optèrent respectivement, après le fiasco d'Octobre, le premier pour l'action démocratique en vue de réaliser d'abord l'indépendance du Québec, plus tard le socialisme; le second pour la subversion marxiste-léniniste dans une optique pan-canadienne. Le premier adhéra au PQ, le second fonda En lutte !

Dans l'histoire du socialisme comme projet de société susceptible de rassembler les ennemis du libéralisme, le principal mérite de Charles Gagnon, comme d'ailleurs celui de Roger Rashi, leader du PCO, c'est d'avoir joué franc jeu. Ils n'ont jamais prétendu que le monde qu'ils préparaient pouvait être autre chose qu'une dictature du prolétariat avec, à la clef, camps de rééducation et exécutions massives le cas échéant. Ces deux joyeuses perspectives étaient implicites, sinon explicites. L'idéal de ces messieurs et de leurs troupes, c'était la Chine de Mao ou l'Albanie de Enver Hodja. Tous les socialistes n'étaient pas aussi limpides. Par exemple, à partir de 1965 sous la présidence de Marcel Pepin, la CSN adopta un discours de plus en plus radical à saveur, odeur et texture marxiste.

Dans la pratique, il n'y eut jamais de cloison étanche entre les deux tendances que je viens d'esquisser. Les tactiques et les stratégies des totalitaires assumés pouvaient différer de celles

des «modérés», mais leurs discours critiques était interchangeables. Ainsi, dès 1965, on pouvait lire dans *Le Travail*, organe officiel de la CSN : «Pour la CSN, et cela depuis très longtemps, la démocratie politique n'a toujours été qu'une démocratie apparente (2) ». En 66, dans son bilan de la première année d'activité de Marcel Pepin et de Robert sauvé (respectivement président et secrétaire exécutif de la Centrale), Pierre Vadeboncoeur écrit qu'ils s'étaient jusqu'ici «attachés à explorer de nouvelles formules d'action, d'une part, et à essayer de dégager davantage la vocation révolutionnaire du mouvement. (3)».

Ce n'était qu'un début... Ainsi, un certain Michel Chartrand ne douta pas un instant qu'il prêchait la bonne parole et se trouvait du côté des petits et des sans grade quand il jappa, lors de l'Assemblée du 14 octobre 1970 qui réunissait au Centre Paul-Sauvé 3000 sympathisants felquistes : «On avait un ministre du chômage qui faisait rien, alors y peut pas nuire là où il est !»

Chartrand ne faisait pas partie de ces timorés, et ils étaient nombreux, qui désapprouvaient les méthodes du FLQ tout en comprenant leurs motifs et partageant leurs objectifs. Lui, il soutenait quiconque visait le même but que lui : la destruction du capitalisme. L'enlèvement et la détention de Laporte, il n'y trouvait rien à redire. Je suppose que sa mort ne lui causa pas grand peine. On prétend en certains milieux que Chartrand était un humaniste. Il paraît que Falardeau aussi...

Entre ceux qui exercent la violence et ceux qui l'approuvent à grands coups de gueule, lesquels vous paraissent les plus méprisables ? Moi, mon choix est fait.

(1) *Éditions Boréal*

(2) *Anonyme, «Qui est Pépin», Le Travail, juin 1965*

(3) *Pierre Vadeboncoeur, «1965. On embraye 1966. On fonce» Le Travail, février 1966.*



Ideas before identities.  
Justice before orthodoxy.

THE MÉTROPOLITAIN



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### LES FAITS OUBLIÉS DE LA CRISE D'OCTOBRE, SUITE DE LA PAGE 1

une compilation exhaustive de ce qui s'est écrit et dit sur le sujet depuis, parvient à brillamment déboulonner chacun des mythes les plus répandus à propos de la Crise, faisant ainsi contrepoids au révisionnisme dominant.

En effet, il est grand temps que l'ensemble des Canadiens se rappellent que :

- Les terroristes felquistes qui, de 1963 jusqu'à octobre 1970, avaient tué six personnes en perpétrant plus de deux cents attentats à la bombe – dont un à la Bourse de Montréal qui, en 1969, éventrait la façade de l'immeuble et faisait vingt-sept blessés – n'étaient pas des prisonniers « politiques ».

- MM. Trudeau et Bourassa ont eu raison de ne pas négocier avec des criminels. L'histoire reconnaîtra leur combat courageux contre ceux dont le chantage mettait le processus démocratique en péril.

- Les seize « éminentes personnalités » signataires de la pétition du 14 octobre 1970 qui appelaient à la négociation avec les terroristes, à la libération des « prisonniers politiques », donnèrent un appui de facto inespéré au FLQ et au terrorisme, plutôt que de se ranger du côté du gouvernement nouvellement élu de Robert Bourassa.

- Le 15 octobre 1970, c'est le gouvernement du Québec, et non le gouvernement fédéral, qui, avec le soutien unanime des chefs des trois partis d'opposition de l'époque à l'Assemblée nationale – y compris Camille Laurin, chef parlementaire du Parti Québécois, a appelé le Régiment de Valcartier de l'armée canadienne en renfort pour aider les autorités policières québécoises à mater ceux qui défiaient la démocratie par leurs crimes et leurs appels à la violence. En tout temps, les soldats canadiens prenaient leurs ordres du chef de la Sûreté du Québec.

- La Loi sur les mesures de guerre n'a pas suspendu les droits et libertés dans leur ensemble. Elle n'a prohibé que l'appui aux gestes violents du FLQ. La liberté d'expression, même à l'encontre de cette Loi, la liberté de presse et la liberté de

rassemblement furent préservées. À preuve, les rassemblements étudiants, dont celui où fut chaudement applaudie l'annonce de l'assassinat de Pierre Laporte, ne furent pas interdits. Les dirigeants et les organes du PQ continuèrent à se réunir et à faire des déclarations publiques pendant toute cette période. Les médias ne furent jamais gênés dans leurs activités, contribuant même au contraire parfois à exacerber la Crise.

- C'est à partir de ce moment que les fomenteurs de troubles se sont calmés, que l'escalade de la violence a pris fin, et que la démocratie a été rétablie.

## Le 15 octobre 1970, c'est le gouvernement du Québec, et non le gouvernement fédéral, qui, avec le soutien unanime des chefs des trois partis d'opposition de l'époque à l'Assemblée nationale.

- Dès mars 1971, les personnes incarcérées injustement pendant cette période (103 individus sur les 497 appréhendés au total) ont eu droit, à la suite d'une démarche entièrement indépendante du Protecteur du citoyen du Québec, à une compensation de l'État québécois jusqu'à \$30 000, en dollars de l'époque.

- Les Canadiens — et parmi eux, au premier chef, les citoyens du Québec — ont dans leur immense majorité à l'époque approuvé sans réserve cette démarche qu'ils trouvaient légitime pour contrer les insurgés et rétablir l'ordre.

Les bâtisseurs de mythes oublient trop souvent les faits pour mieux masquer les défaillances de ceux des leurs dont le comportement pendant la Crise aura été mal avisé, voire même

déplorable. De telles attitudes ont dans les faits fourni une caution à ceux qui voulaient élever l'enlèvement et le chantage terroristes comme solution légitime à des problèmes politiques.

Par le fait même, on a oublié les six morts causées par les terroristes entre 1963 et 1970 et l'assassinat de Pierre Laporte, pour porter au lieu toute l'attention sur la Loi sur les mesures de guerre, occultant la façon dont l'escalade terroriste avait eu lieu. On a oublié aussi que l'arrivée de l'armée a eu pour effet de rassurer la population, de calmer les fomenteurs de trouble, et d'éradiquer, non pas le mouvement indépendantiste, mais bien le terrorisme et ses méfaits.

On a également oublié que René Lévesque avait avoué, dans sa chronique du Journal de Montréal du 30 octobre 1970, que la décision de faire appel à l'armée avait été « la bonne décision ». À l'époque, cette prise de position arrivait bien tard, soit 15 jours après l'arrivée des soldats de Valcartier, mais Lévesque l'a tout de même prise clairement, contrairement à ce qu'on laisse entendre depuis maintenant 40 ans.

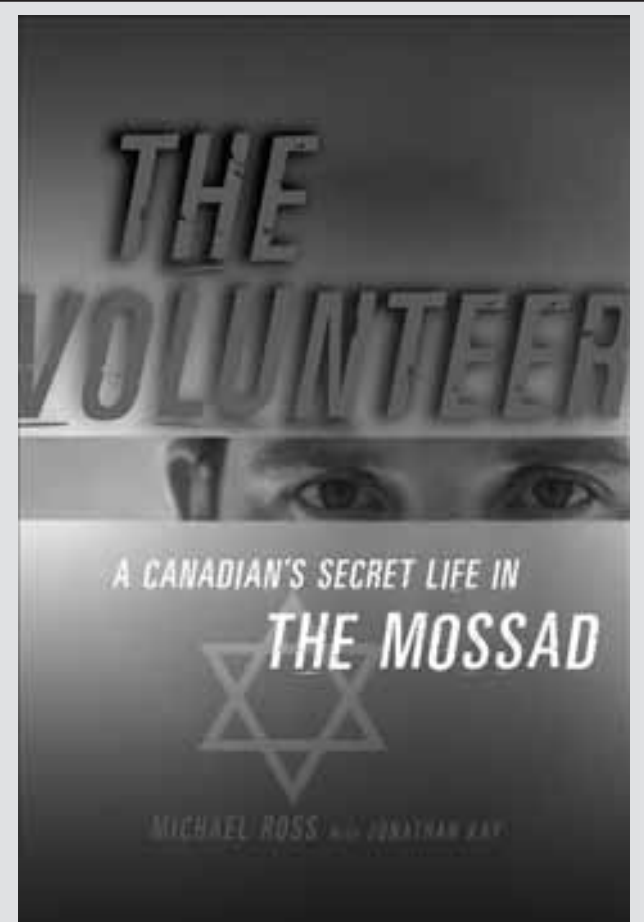
Les croyances à l'effet contraire et la démagogie perdurent depuis ce jour, si l'on se fie à la vaste couverture qui en a été faite depuis deux semaines dans les médias. Ainsi, par inconscience, insouciance ou irresponsabilité, les tenants du révisionnisme contribuent à banaliser la violence et ses conséquences dans une société démocratique.

# 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.





# The October Crisis and the Destruction of the “Canayen” Culture

The young professor snapped his pencil in half in an act of passionate drama. “We must define our culture,” he said. The heads of his colleagues nodded. They had to protect their culture, of course. And they were determined to do so. But first they had to figure out what it was.

‘Culture’ is one of those words that serves more to raise emotions than to mean anything. Nobody knows what any culture is because, roughly, the word means the sum total of all our habits and values and attitudes and – well – just everything. No two people on earth have the same culture in all respects. And all share much of their culture with the whole world. Within my own culture are many values that I shared with my francophone, working class neighbours. I admired Maurice Richard. I didn't like rich anglos. Why should I?

What makes it tougher is that culture is always changing. Like all people, Quebecois are a mixture. They're German and Scots and English and Irish and native peoples – and some French. And the French of them are a mixture of German and Gaelic and Italian and even Norse. Ultimately, going back far enough, our traditional culture is that of a caveman.

The drive of the 1960s and '70s was to preserve a culture that nobody knew what it was made up of. So let's just deal with parts of it we do know about.

What had been notable about Quebecois culture before the '60s? Well, it had been the high status of the Catholic Church: Political and economic privilege for it, the right for it to control its own system of education – which was one that left most francophones with terribly under-funded and inferior educations.

What did the Liberals do in the '60s? Well, they remodeled the Catholic public schools as secular schools to work along the more egalitarian lines of the Anglo public schools; they encouraged the shift away from classics in the universities;

and created incentives to encourage francophone business. No ‘back to the farm’ stuff, here. The PQ, as time would prove, followed very similar lines, destroying traditional culture rather than protecting it. Only two elements of traditional culture were slated for preservation.

One was language, to be preserved most notably in Bill 101. Few noticed that when the author of Bill 101, Camille Laurin, prepared a charter of the Quebecois culture, it was mostly about changes to the culture, and trivial ones at that. (“Quebecois smoke too much,” it read.) On balance, Bill 101 was designed to benefit those middle class people who made a living with words

(journalists, for example.) They, far more than bricklayers or factory hands, have been the beneficiaries of Bill 101.

The other cultural element preserved was the privileged status of private schools. This was actually more important than the language question. The Liberals and PQ were both dominated by a middle class and upper middle class (lawyers, doctors, professionals, inheritors of wealth). Their social and economic position rested on the foundation of private schooling. They had to protect that part of the culture that made them and their families the leaders of Quebec. The crisis was a class crisis, not a language one.

The Crisis really began in the '60s with Léandre Bergeron, a university teacher who wrote a best-seller, “Petit Manuel d'Histoire du Québec.” He was not a teacher of history, which may explain why his book had at least one major error of fact in almost

every paragraph. It was really much the same history that had been taught by the church for almost two centuries. The English were rich. Protestants were agents of the devil. The English exploited the French.

But Bergeron wrote his *Petit Manuel* in the context of another church. The context was not Catholicism; it was Marxism. Alas, his understanding of Marxism was even shabbier than his understanding of history. However, his Marxism opened a whole, new debate in Quebec. If the Quebecois were a people, almost a race, who were characterized as exploited, then where did all those rich lawyers and doctors and politicians come from?

How come Parizeau was a millionaire?

To turn that corner, Bergeron had to invent a new race, a race that was Quebecois – but not rich Quebecois. It was a race of factory workers, farmers, day labourers. All of these were French-speaking of course. All the Anglos of the Pointe and Griffintown and Rosemount were rich – because they were Anglos. This new race of poor Quebecois he called Les Canayens.

Teachers and professors of the 1960s and '70s (as now) were not rich. But they were, both French and English, raised in a tradition of racial/religious caricatures and blame-seeking. This blended with their generational post-adolescent wisdom, so that Marxism and denunciation of all their parents believed in came in a package along with long hair, beards and flared jeans.

Petit Manuel became a standard

text in both English and French CEGEPs, and even in universities. Students learned that the Canayens had babies because the church told them to (nonsense); that capitalists in France made fortunes out of the fur trade (false. The fur trade was a loser for France.); that the English were all rich businessmen (wildly false throughout the history of the province).

Essentially, it was a quasi-racist history along the lines of Lionel Groulx, but tarted up with a trendy dash of working class rebellion. The Liberal leadership, excluded now from the Canayen “race,” were unhappy with the book. The Parti Quebecois was lucky to be still in its

founding stages. Otherwise, its leadership would have had to deal with the challenge to Quebec's traditional social and economic structure. But Bourassa and Trudeau gave them the chance to sit back and be just-pretend rebels.

Both Laporte and Cross were non-Canayens. That justified the murder of Laporte. (Yes, it was a murder. The self-proclaimed Patriotes announced it as an execution, and the autopsy showed a deliberate strangling. Radio Canada lied recently when claimed that the death was an accident. Lying on such an issue is not unusual for Radio Canada.)

But the authorities went easy on the kidnappers and murderers. The PQ, as well, was gentle. *Le Petit Manuel* had signaled a change in Quebecois thinking, a change that threatened to stimulate a passion for a Canayen state, a state that neither Liberal nor PQ leaders would fit into. It was better to let it die a natural death.

Challenging it would only bring it back to life.

After a passage of time, not much of it, the kidnappers were forgiven. One of them was allowed to return from exile because it was felt he had suffered enough. His exile had been to France. Often, the “Patriotes” were invited as heroes to speak at schools. And so, they would be tromped into classrooms, ostentatiously garbed in the working class boots and thick suspenders of the working class labourer. Both Liberals and PQ were tender to the rebels; but none of the rebels was ever invited to the high councils of either party. The PQ covered its unCanayeness by somewhat

beefing up its commitment to social legislation. But the old Quebec social structure, a structure that was old and traditional as long ago as the birth of Duplessis' great grandfather, had been saved.

The Liberals and the PQ both made sure of that as they cemented private schooling to its traditional mates, political, social and economic privilege. Within less than a decade, *Le Petit Manuel* went out of style, as a new generation bursting with post-adolescent wisdom entered the classrooms. The old wisdom was tossed into the wastebaskets, along with long hair and flared jeans. And so it was that Parizeau could one day assume his rightful seat as premier of all the Quebecois.

Thanks to the October Crisis, the Canayens had shrunk back to the darkest shadows. Quebecois could now return to arguing passionately about problems that didn't exist, while ignoring the ones that did.



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Dan Laxer can be heard weekdays at 2 p.m. on CJAD 800 and on The Trivia Show Sundays at 9 a.m. Dan also writes an entertainment blog at [www.citeeze.com](http://www.citeeze.com) and does stand-up comedy when he finds the time.

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# Who are the victims of Quebec bashing?

Gilles Rhéaume and his Ligue Québécoise contre la francophobie canadienne are heading to the United Nations to ask the Human Rights Committee to denounce “Quebec bashing” as a form of racism, discrimination, and xenophobia.

What the Quebecois perceive as Quebec bashing seems to have swelled in the wake of the 1995 referendum. The expression seems to be cognate with “Gay bashing,” a reprehensible form of discrimination-based violence, not unlike lynchings in the American south decades ago. The term ‘homophobia’ implies a manifest hatred of gays, often expressed through violence, stemming from a deep-rooted fear. A similar deep-rooted fear of French-Canadians does not exist, nor does a similar form of violence targeting the Quebecois. Mr. Rhéaume’s use of terms like “francophobie” and “Quebecophobia” offends me.

I am also offended by the implied assertion that those who live according to the laws of Quebec, those who abide by that set of arbitrarily appointed regulations that deprive Anglophones and Allophones of their rights, may not publicly and vocally take issue with those laws, rules, and regulations without being branded racist, discriminatory, or xenophobic. I used to cringe when former Premier Lucien Bouchard would trot out the term “humiliation,” as if crying that feelings had been hurt was enough to stifle legitimate critique.

There is nothing wrong with Quebec bashing if it means taking issue with either the government of Quebec, or aspects of the ingrained culture of the Quebecois majority that could foster discrimination of Quebec residents from other cultural groups. The Bouchard-Taylor commission was criticized, and praised, for exposing the ugly underbelly of Quebec society. At least we know, some said at the time, where we stand.

There is nothing wrong with Quebec bashing if it means casting a critical eye, and a critical voice, upon those policies one finds unacceptable and incompatible with a democratic society. Bill 103, the successor to Bill 104, was pushed past the democratic throng who had long ago stopped trusting their government to uphold and respect not just the constitution and the letter of the law, but the spirit of democracy.

Where does this great cry of Quebec bashing come from? Call it a backlash. Was there at time when Francophones were treated as second class citizens in their own homes? Certainly. Gabrielle Roy’s *The Tin Flute* chronicles the dichotomy of inequality between the English on the hill and the French down below. Did the fist-waving heroes of the October Crisis inspire the Quebecois to rise up and become the Maîtres chez eux they always knew they could be? Perhaps. The Crisis blurred lines between hero and villain. And those who cheered on the heroes of the would-be revolution are today pointing fingers at such Old World English institutions as, well, *Maclean’s* magazine.

The magazine, and writer Martin Patriquin, labelled Quebec as “the most corrupt province.” Is pointing that out tantamount to Quebec bashing? Mr. Patriquin did not blame the perceived corruption on anything inherent in Quebec culture, or on some atavistic carryover from the French character. There was no mention of the old standby stereotype of “Pepsi-May West,” or its bastardization “Pepper.” No one from the Rest of Canada has ever called for Quebec to be bulldozed into the sea. And I haven’t heard of any WASPs spray-painting anti-French slogans all over town.

But I used to see “Anglo go home” tagged here and there, and it confused me; where did that mean I was I supposed to go? I have never heard of Francophone tombstones being toppled or defaced. But I have seen Anglophone Jewish tombstones desecrated in the very cemetery where my grandparents, father-in-law, and other family members are buried. I don’t know who is responsible, and I cannot make any assumptions as to who I suspect, regardless of the history of strife between the Jewish and French communities in Montreal.

Mr. Rhéaume provides a handful of examples of noted Quebec bashers, like novelist Mordecai Richler, political gadfly Howard Galganov, journalist Diane Francis, Don Cherry, and, of course, former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.

The Galganov era of Quebec politics came with its own set of problems, and really amounted to no more than a footnote in Quebec history. Mr. Galganov is gone now, and so, it seems to me,

are the kind of sentiments he harboured deep in his belly. Don Cherry is a clown. Given his infamous sport jackets and flippant on-screen performances, I don’t think he’d object to that characterization.

Mordecai Richler, though, still haunts the Quebecois, or at least those few who still feel the sting of what they considered to be misplaced invective. Richler made a career of holding up a mirror to society. In 1992, he wrote *Oh Canada, Oh Quebec: Requiem for a Divided Country*. In that book, and in two journalistic pieces that preceded it, Richler chronicled the history of discrimination against anyone and anything not French in Quebec. Needless to say, Richler was vilified in the Francophone community, and still today, nearly a decade after his death, is considered an enemy of the people.

“I’m trying to tell the truth,” Richler said at the time. “I don’t think that it’s something that has to be in season, like hockey or hay fever. I think you should be able to tell the truth any time. And if it makes people uncomfortable, I can’t help it.”

Indeed, if his claims can be substantiated by history, and I think that they can, then can they really be considered Quebec bashing?

I was disappointed in *Maclean’s* for pulling its punches and apologizing for the magazine cover, which depicted Bonhomme Carnaval carrying a cash-stuffed briefcase. I thought it was funny, as good an attempt at pointed criticism as an editorial cartoon can be. It is hardly Quebec bashing, because, again, corruption exists in Quebec, and Bonhomme is as good a representative of Quebec as anyone.

The direction and target of any kind of bashing in this province would seem to be out of proportion. And the community who seems to suffer the least has some nerve tapping the UN for help. The term “nation” has become complicated over time. If separatist Francophones want to consider themselves a nation, that’s their business, whether *La Federale* supports them or not. But to spuriously argue that they have become the targets of discrimination is dishonest and arrogant, and makes a mockery of the real discrimination that identifiable groups genuinely face every day, right here in Quebec.

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# Quebec: The most insecure province

« *Ce que nous attendons de notre premier ministre, c'est qu'il défende ce petit peuple en Amérique, ce petit peuple de francophones... Nous sommes deux pour cent ! Deux pour cent en Amérique du nord !* » ~ Pauline Marois

Witnessing a hysterical Pauline Marois shrieking in the National Assembly a few days ago, describing the Québécois as a “petit peuple” could be interpreted as one of many signs that this province has lost its way; that it is the societal equivalent of a 13-year-old with adolescent angst and a desire to angrily lash out against authority figures.

Marois' fit provided a rare moment of honesty and insight into the attitudes of Quebec's sovereignist political class. The leader of the Parti Québécois wants to lead a small people – in numbers, surrounded by Anglo North America, yes – but does she also want to lead a weak people; lost, confused and distracted by the red herrings of petty linguistic squabbles?

Why was she so incensed? The Charest government fast-tracked Bill 115 (its precursor was Bill 104, whose precursor was Bill 103, challenged to the Supreme Court – you can understand the urgency), legislation that would allow non-Quebec natives the option of sending their children to English public school – but only after they first entered the English private system and collected a sufficient amount of “points,” in a complex system that would make the most seasoned bureaucrat's head spin.

The law, although it is a half-measure that will undoubtedly lead to more administration costs at an already bloated Education Ministry, only affects a few hundred Quebec children. But listening to the panic and desperation in Marois' voice, one would think that the government had declared October 18 to henceforth be known as Howard Galganov Day.

The panic exposes an underlying fear. The PQ's education critic, Pierre Curzi, fears the “bilingualization” of Quebec, and Montreal in particular.

“I think right now the equilibrium is moving in a very fast way,” Curzi told me on the airwaves of CJAD over the summer, “and I think that's we're going to a ‘bilingualization’

of the island of Montreal and I don't think it's good for you or for French people. It's a bad situation.”

Curzi is scared. Marois is scared. Nationalists everywhere are scared because many view the French language as being in competition with the English language in the same way that McDonald's competes with Burger King. Unfortunately for those who hope to earn political capital through division and finger-pointing, things are a bit more complicated than that.

Montreal is considered to be one of the communication industry's hubs worldwide and it's precisely for the same reason that Marois

make sure students aren't learning it, business-people aren't speaking it and Quebecers will never miss what they have never known. They can then be more easily manipulated into accepting the absurd theories peddled by Marois and Curzi; that tolerating English will diminish French, that restricting English will bolster French. They can further alienate Quebec from the Rest of Canada, making sure that the provincial-federal relationship is strained and suffering from lapses in communication. Then, they hope, they can convince the “little people” to follow them into the abyss of sovereignty.

With a tip of the hat to *Maclean's* magazine,

comment is incredibly insightful and points to the aforementioned insecurity that plagues this province. We can't seem to get to the business of governing properly until the question of who governs us and from where is finally settled. That question can't be answered as long as the PQ remains in a position to plunge Quebec into a national identity crisis every time rights are (sort of) given back to non-Francophone minorities. It's a vicious cycle with no end in sight.

When Marois stands in the National Assembly, shrieking at the Premier like a madwoman, incensed at the prospect of parents choosing where and how to educate

**Despite ramblings by Péquiste leaders, it is safe to assume that Quebec parents largely want their children to finish high school with as many tools at their disposal as possible to best enter the workforce. Bilingualism is one particularly valuable tool, but language insecurity is standing in the way of a better educated population.**

and company are getting more and more paranoid by the day: Most of us speak at least two languages fluently. But how can this be? How can Quebec professionals use two – gasp, sometimes even three – different languages in their day-to-day affairs? How come the French language, statistically, is not dying a slow, painful death but is actually quite steady when you look at the number of Francophone households over time?

Despite ramblings by Péquiste leaders, it is safe to assume that Quebec parents largely want their children to finish high school with as many tools at their disposal as possible to best enter the workforce. Bilingualism is one particularly valuable tool, but language insecurity is standing in the way of a better educated population.

The PQ wants their petit peuple to be compliant and unilingual. Restrict English;

Quebec may indeed be our “most corrupt province;” that corruption is rooted in the insecurity of the Québécois. The most insightful paragraph comes not as journalist Martin Patriquin recounts a long, sorted history of government abuse, but in analyzing the root cause of the abuse.

“I don't think corruption is in our genes any more than it is anywhere else on the planet, but the beginning of an explanation would be the fact that we have focused for so long on the constitutional question,” Éric Duhaime told *Maclean's*. The former ADQ candidate heads a ractivist group called the Réseau Liberté-Québec. “We are so obsessed by the referendum debate that we forget what a good government is, regardless if that government is for or against the independence of Quebec.”

Agree or disagree with the politics of this emerging right in Quebec, Duhaime's

their children, she exposes inherent flaws in her vision for achieving Quebec independence. Who will usher the Québécois into nationhood? With a recent poll suggesting the unnamed centre-right political party, with no name (although rumoured to be Force Québec), no leader (perhaps François Legault) and no platform is leading in support over the five existing parties, one has to wonder if anyone is capable of corraling Quebec, whether it is a province or not. Marois' voice may carry well across the assembly floor, but René Lévesque she is not.

As is the case with the angst-ridden adolescent, an end to insecurity will come with empowerment; empowerment will come with education. And meaningful education means broadening one's horizons – a concept that works against the PQ's policy of sovereignty-via-ignorance.



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# Le Réseau Liberté Québec est né

## Quebec's freedom network is born

«Les réalités ont changé. Les Anglophones et les Francophones sont du même côté», selon le cofondateur

**V**ous n'avez probablement pas entendu parler du Réseau Liberté Québec, mais vous allez bientôt connaître ce

groupe. Ils ont dû refuser l'entrée à des gens car la salle était trop pleine pour leur réunion inaugurale à Québec le mois dernier. Plus de 500 personnes ont écouté Ezra Levant, Tasha Kheiriddin, Adam Daifallah et Éric Duhaime réclamer un état québécois plus libre et moins envahissant avec une bureaucratie

nettement réduite et un plus grand accent mis sur l'indépendance personnelle. Le prochain rassemblement du Réseau Liberté Québec sera à Montréal, peut-être même au West Island.

Conceived as an anti-statist grassroots movement to fill the emerging political vacuum in

Quebec, it cleverly launched on U-Tube weeks before the Quebec conference..

Un journaliste et un analyste politique, Éric Duhaime, un des six membres fondateurs du groupe, dit que la conférence vise les électeurs qui sont à la droite du centre et qui ont perdu patience avec le gouvernement Charest mais qui ne veulent pas embrasser Pauline Marois et les séparatistes.

Duhaime has worked as a political advisor to both Stockwell Day when he was leader of the federal reform party and to Mario Dumont former

first generation of Quebecers to grow up poorer than our parents. We have to think about personal responsibility, and forget about political parties who continue to promise much more than they can afford to deliver.”

Le Réseau a pour mission d'être ouvert à quiconque qui favorise la réduction du déficit et l'équité intergénérationnelle.

With only 500 days – give or take a few – until the next Quebec election, Duhaime believes the time is ripe to tap into a constituency that has grown disillusioned with

### Conceived as an anti-statist grassroots movement to fill the emerging political vacuum in Quebec, it cleverly launched on U-Tube weeks before the Quebec conference.

leader of Quebec's Action Democratique Party . He says the purpose of the meeting was not to create a political party, but “to change politics from a grassroots perspective, to stimulate new ideas then spread them.” Duhaime agrees Réseau Liberté Québec is patterned on the populist Tea Party movement. But he says, unlike the Tea Party, there is no religious right in Quebec to influence the movement. “That changes the dynamic,” he says, “People have to understand that there is a French nationalist element that has to be respected, and that we are Quebecois, but language is not the only issue. Constitutional and language issues have split the country for the last half century, but the realities have changed. It has always been the Yes camp against the No camp. There has been no real debate on where these camps would take us. Francophones and Anglophones are on the same side. We have the same concerns. No matter what language we speak, those of us who are under the age of 40, will, during our lifetime pay more than \$200,000 in taxes that we will never get back. We will be the

politics. “We can't afford to elect the Parti Quebecois and go through another referendum The Bloc and the PQ are not indépendantistes, they are dépendentistes, dependent on Alberta's resources Ottawa's largesse and federal transfer payments.”

Il précise que seulement 56 pourcent des Québécois ont pris la peine de voter à la dernière élection provinciale, le pire taux de participation depuis 1927. « Les Anglophones sont particulièrement resté loin des bureaux de scrutins, parce qu'ils ont été pris pour acquis par les libéraux, et non jamais vraiment eu leurs soucis entendus par le gouvernement du Québec. Nous avons besoin des voix anglophones dans le Réseau Liberté Québec. »

Le Réseau Liberté a été formé par six citoyens avec une conscience publique, incluant Duhaime, Roy Eappen, Ian Sénécal, Guillaume Simard-Leduc, Gérard Laliberté, et la productrice de documentaires télévisés, (L'illusion tranquille), Joanne Marcotte. Quiconque qui souhaite assister à la convention peut s'enregistrer en ligne au : [www.liberte-quebec.ca](http://www.liberte-quebec.ca)

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# Words do matter

## Time to end the waste of so many

A local media ad campaign has used the slogan “words matter” for some time. Sadly that is not getting through to our intelligentsia. Words should matter and we shouldn’t waste so much time arguing what language they are spoken in.

There has been a parallel current in media and academic circles in recent weeks focusing on how much English is spoken in Montreal. The debate has grown broader following the announcement of Francois Legault’s “Force Quebec” and leading up to this past weekend’s opening conference of the Réseau Liberté-Québec. What is appealingly sickening is that most of the angst over the “English rebound” has come as much from English circles

call on moral superiority in this debate. Both came here as agents of European imperial powers. Both ravaged and pillaged native populations and exploited the land for the glory and treasure of their respective monarchs. And both have committed sufficient injustices one to the other to warrant both sides just saying “Ca suffit!” It’s enough. Let’s get on with life and love and art and business.

This has nothing to do with the question of separation. Political decisions made democratically and freely by a population in a political jurisdiction on a clear proposition is one thing. But that proposition can never be democrat or free if it is based on false notions of a threatened culture or a demonization of

oxymoronic explanations. Because in the very same texts they admit that the reason more English is heard on the island is that Francophones are moving to the suburbs. Their suggestion that Anglophones should make concerted efforts to speak French because of it goes against the very fabric of a democratic society. In a democracy the freedom to choose is paramount. Just as Francophones

choose to live off the island, so non-Francophones must have the choice of speech. Yes, language is very much at the heart of freedom of speech. And the freedom to choose was also exercised by the hundreds of thousands of Francophones who left Quebec for Toronto after the PQ election and the almost equal number who left for Florida. That is a part of the narrative the nationalists

choose to exclude.

The non-Francophone mythmakers have even suggested that these is no threat to English in Montreal. To call these suggestions pandering propaganda would be kind. Those who propagate such a fiction are engaging in nothing less than the encouragement of the self-abnegation of a culture. They should be roundly condemned.

**It is one thing for a society to legislate the official languages of the public service. It is quite another for a free people to be afraid to talk in whatever tongue they wish. No society that engages in law and legislation or rule and regulation built around “sang et langue”, blood and language, can be called truly free.**

as French nationalist ones. The whole issue is one big lie.

It is one thing for a society to legislate the official languages of the public service. It is quite another for a free people to be afraid to talk in whatever tongue they wish. No society that engages in law and legislation or rule and regulation built around “sang et langue”, blood and language, can be called truly free. What is worse, a society that so demonizes minorities that they begin to pontificate on how to placate the majority so as not to anger it by the use of a language other than French is badly damaged indeed. And the fellow travelers in the anglophone and allophone communities that warn citizens about a “lack of respect” for French should be ashamed.

The reality is that neither of the two main founding cultures has any

the other.

The nationalist narrative of a threat to French was false thirty years ago and is false today. Those non-francophones who would make a journalistic or academic career pandering to the that narrative in hopes of acceptance are doing a grave injustice to the truth and are frankly missing the tide of history. Whether it is Liberté-Québec, or les Lucides or the students at French universities who know they can compete globally and see English as merely a tool of the trade, are confident enough in themselves that they no longer engage in the debate of the lowest common denominator.

Those non-Francophones who have recently called for more “sensitive” legislation on language in response to French concerns that Montreal island is hearing to much English are engaging in the most

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# VERA 1944-2010

Vera Danyluk's anger over the attempted rape of a young teenager in Montreal's quiet, upscale Town of Mount Royal neighbourhood 40 years ago led her into a life of public service when she co-founded a Women's Committee on Public Safety. The committee began demanding better police protection, and it helped launch her distinguished career in public service. She went on to win a seat on council, four elections as Mayor of Mount Royal, today a borough in Montreal's recently re-constituted system of municipal government, and served for eight years as Chairman of the Montreal Urban Community's now defunct regional authority.

She often described herself as "a street fighter with a soft exterior." A leader who endorsed "traditional values," she displayed considerable diplomatic skill to broker consensus and navigate her way successfully through Montreal's treacherous system of municipal politics. A steely but always gracious politician, Danyluk championed fiscal responsibility, crime prevention and safety issues that concerned women, especially spousal and child abuse.

She was 66 when she died of a progressive neurological disorder four months after resigning as mayor because of ill health.

"She was there to serve. She had empathy, compassion, experience and competence," said Montreal Mayor Gerald Tremblay, "It's a great loss not just for the Town of Mount Royal but for the entire island. She strongly believed in the future of Montreal. She did her homework, was always on top of her files, and always laid her cards on the table. As head of the MUC she was always caught between what was best for the urban community as a whole, and what was best for the suburbs within it. It must have been very difficult for her, but you could see that everyone, even the suburban mayors who disagreed with her, respected her."

Vera Mystic was born in her grandmother's house on Hogan St, in east-end Montreal on March 16, 1944 and grew up in Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, one of the city's poorest districts. It was there, that she said she became "fluently bilingual, secure, savvy,

ambitious and street smart." Her father owned a garage and a small fleet of taxis. He died when Vera was 16, and after finishing high school went to work in Drummondville as a waitress to help her mother and two older brothers pay off his debts. It was then, she said, that she learned the value of a dollar.

She then put herself through St. Joseph's Normal School, became a teacher, and taught in Granby and in Montreal, then was elected a commissioner on the St. Croix school board. In 1963 she married greenhouse operator Victor Danyluk and moved to the Town of Mount Royal where she continued her studies in philosophy, theology and psychology at McGill University where she obtained her B.Ed. in 1986. First elected as a town councilor in 1983 she won the mayoralty election four years later. As chief executive, she quickly earned a reputation for fair play. In 1994 she was elected chief executive of the Montreal Urban Community, the 79-member umbrella organization that co-ordinated the interests of 28, independent Island municipalities, often with rival interests. In that capacity she was responsible for a \$1.2-billion budget and 15,000 public security and transit employees. She immediately irritated members by making them pay for their coffee, which she pointed out was costing taxpayers \$10,000 a year. She was instrumental in the re-organization of the Montreal Police Department, and in the introduction of neighbourhood police stations. Danyluk was also a founding member of the International Crime Prevention Centre.

Her position as head of the MUC was eliminated in 2001 when the provincial government unsuccessfully attempted to merge the island's municipalities into one single megacity. She dropped out of the political scene, saying she had worked to make the MUC a place of cohesion, of good governance, but instead of blending



local and regional interests, the forced merger created tension. "I couldn't see myself waiving my values and convictions to align myself with others out of expediency," she said. Out of office, she was courted by several political parties but claimed she was too idealistic to toe any partisan party line. "I don't believe in power, I believe in leadership," she once told a reporter, "I don't want to be seen as a witch, or anything, but I believe strongly in

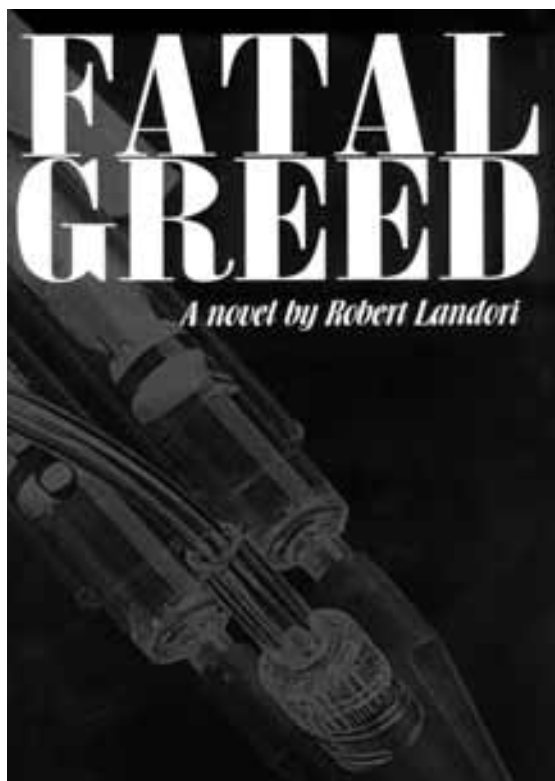
moral values. I am not a feminist. I love my husband too much to be a feminist. I believe in hard work. I believe you accomplish things through simple gestures. There is an old proverb about a bamboo tree. For the first four years after you plant a bamboo tree, nothing happens. Then in the fifth year it shoots up. It's the small gestures that add up to big changes."

Danyluk considered running for Mayor of Montreal in 2001, but by the time she had weighed all her options, she discovered it was too late: Gerald Tremblay had an unbeatable head start. He invited her to join his team, but the one position she expected to fill in his administration, as head of the city's powerful Executive-Committee – had already been promised to another candidate. She declined Tremblay's invitation, and returned to borough politics in 2005 when she was elected to a third term as mayor.

She served as President of the Canadian Club of Montreal in 2004, was an advisor to the board of the Canadian Police College for nine years, and for four years was vice chair of the National Strategy on Community Safety and Crime Prevention.

In 2001 she was one of five women honoured by the Governor-General with the Persons Case Commemorative Award for her work in promoting the cause of Canadian women.

She leaves her husband and a son, Peter, who is with the Ottawa police force.



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**GLOBAL VILLAGE**

AFTERMATHS: THE "NO FUN" ZONE, CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

with caveats. The party victorious in the presidential election almost always loses seats in the subsequent "off year" mid-term election. Additionally, a good number of Republican victories were "reclama" events; the massive Obama sweep of 2008 elected Democrats in traditional Republican districts. Victories against such newbie Democratic representatives reflected the pendulum returning toward equilibrium. So some gains were simply the consequence the Obama tidal wave receding.

And knowing U.S. predilection for litigious approaches some contested elections probably won't be decided until July 4.

**Contradicting predictions from 2008 when various observers believed the Republicans were dead for a generation, the corpse arose. And for this resurrection, the "Tea Party" deserves substantial credit. Unorganized, amorphous, chaotic, multifaceted, the Tea Party provided the proverbial "mad as hell and not going to take it anymore" galvanic energy that disinterred the Republicans.**

Nevertheless, contradicting predictions from 2008 when various observers believed the Republicans were dead for a generation, the corpse arose. And for this resurrection, the "Tea Party" deserves substantial credit. Unorganized, amorphous, chaotic, multifaceted, the Tea Party provided the proverbial "mad as hell and not going to take it anymore" galvanic energy that disinterred the Republicans. Reacting against the imperial overstretch and snide condescension that epitomized the Obama administration, Tea Party acolytes, in and out of office, sparked the opposition. But demonstrating that every positive has a negative, they adopted more-conservative-than-thou semi-litmus tests probably costing Republicans victories in senate races that would have won both houses of Congress. Now the Republicans have the problem of trying to live in the same structure with a more than infrequently furious "adolescent" with tremendous energy and commitment, but who believes his parents are idiots. For now, the Republicans are happy with the energized results and hope Tea Party fury will continue focused against Democrats and not prompt a third party movement.

The core of the American political problem, however, is deep and serious dissatisfaction with its government. Significant majorities appear to believe that government is not as good as the people, and a majority would have been willing to see all congressional members (including their own) replaced. Levels of popular support for Congress and for both major political parties are exceptionally low. Thus the "Republicans" did not win the 2010 election; Democrats (and particularly incumbents) lost it.

The obvious prospect in Congress is for gridlock. There will be ostentatious professions of "outreach" and "across the aisle" bipartisanship which should be taken with a dump truck load of salt. Any outstretched hand will be wacked off at the wrist; we

will see two years of political thrust and parry with Obamaites deflecting efforts to undo flagship health legislation while praying that the economy/employment will rebound sufficiently to gainsay Republican charges of disastrous debt/deficit Democrat doings. We can expect nothing but conflict until the 2012 election either makes Obama a Carter/GHWBush one-term or returns him victorious for "four more years."

But the 2008 Obama mystique is clearly dead. The "hopey/changey" slogan is past passé. Democrats are using athletic metaphors to the effect that the president must "pick up his game, etc. Obama's once attractive "cool" image has too frequently appeared frostily insensitive--no Bill Clinton, he doesn't "feel your pain." He has seemed to blame the people for not understanding and appreciating his efforts--and in doing so has lost the Independent (and substantial numbers of women) voters that provided his 2008 victories.

But the Republicans must find a candidate. The old saw remains: you can't beat somebody with nobody. And today Republican "wantables" far outnumber "could be" candidates.

Democrats would like to see foreign policy on autopilot for two years. Republicans will support "stay the course" action in Iraq/Afghanistan which are our most neuralgic international problems but did not intrude on the midterm election. Of course there are always "events" that force policy action, but do not expect sweeping (successful) international relations initiatives--certainly nothing foreign observers would conclude as contingent on Obama's reelection.

And, in microcosm, I participated as an election official in a county precinct: up at 4:00 a.m., returning home at 10:30 p.m., helping to manage voting in a district where a "dead dog" Democrat would be elected-- one that Obama would wish reflected the USA.



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POLITICAL JUNKIES MEET, CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Washington,” said organizer Adam Daifallah, who works as a political strategist. “A lot of our friends are political junkies, so we just wanted to get everyone together from all parties to watch the results.”

“PQ, PLQ, Tories, PLC, NDP... we have people from all types of political parties and they’re all very interested in American politics,” said

Daifallah’s colleague, Marie-Claude Johnson. “We planned a small party at first and invited a few people, and then it grew!”

Among those in attendance, city councillor Marvin Rotrand, *The Gazette’s* L. Ian Macdonald and former Green Party deputy leader Claude William Genest. As diverse as the crowd was politically, most

seemed to sense that President Barack Obama had alienated himself from the American electorate.

Obama’s election was “a big change for America and when the pendulum swings that far in one direction, it’s going to have a counter-reaction back the other way,” said Daifallah. “It’s an interesting political phenomenon. Americans aren’t

  
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Organizer Adam Daifallah

seeing any tangible benefits for them so they’re frustrated, and that’s what gave rise to the Tea Party.”

The interest in American politics goes far beyond the sport and entertainment aspect of these elections; for many Canadians, the election of certain candidates over others could have huge financial repercussions depending on the individual politician’s stance on trade and international commerce.

“We have a close economic relationship with the US,” Johnson said. “Every decision that is taken south of the border has an impact on Canada and on Quebec.”

“It’s actually probably better for Canada to have Republicans because they’re open to free trade,” Daifallah added. “The Democrats, because they have a lot of union support, tend to be more protectionist, which is not good for Canadian companies doing exporting to the US.”

Just a few blocks away, at McGill’s Faculty Club, teachers and students played billiards while watching the results come in on CNN. Professor Thomas Velk, who chairs the school’s North American studies program, tried to contain his glee as it became clear the Obama administration would be dealt a severe blow by voters.

“When you have created such divisions in the country, which I think Obama has done, you’re not acting in the traditional way that American politics works,” said Velk, who is a “patriotic American,” a dual citizen.

“Obama is an non-American in the special political sense that he doesn’t understand the way American politics work. Obama has damaged the country and taken it in the wrong direction. I think the election is about him. He’s not on the ballot, but if he were, he’d be thrown out of office.”

Velk organizes these parties for students whenever there is a major election in the US or in Canada. Witnessing history, he said, is a lot more beneficial for political science students than reading it later on in a textbook.

“It’s nice to have students debate about American politics and really be involved,” said Cynthia Ho, one of Velk’s students. “What I’m being more attentive to is the degree to which it does sway from left to right; that’s what makes it more interesting. There’s great polarity in American politics versus Canadian politics, so it’s dramatic enough to be entertaining!”

Did Velk, Johnson and Daifallah put so much effort into organizing these parties to take some sadistic pleasure in witnessing Obama’s downfall, like a rubbernecker watching a car crash?

“Maybe a little bit for some people,” Daifallah laughed. “But not for me. I like the art of politics. The Americans are always on the forefront of trends in politics and in campaigning. For people who are interested in the tactics of campaigning, it’s very interesting. And that’s why I’m here.”



# Confronter le grand mensonge - L'affaire Al-Durah

## ACT for Canada hosts Karsenty

*“The truth is the only weapon we have to defend ourselves against lies.”*

~ Philippe Karsenty

Pour la majeure partie de la planète, ça fait plus d'une décennie que le monde entier a vu le vidéoclip où le jeune de 12 ans Mohammad Al-Durah a supposément été tué par une volée de balles israéliennes près du carrefour de Netzarim dans la Bande de Gaza. À l'intérieur de quelques heures après que le caméraman Talal Abu Rahma ait filmé le corps du garçon se trouvant à côté de son père blessé, le journaliste français Charles Enderlin a ajouté un commentaire audio où l'histoire entière a été réduite en un court reportage qui a par la suite été télévisé à la télévision française et plus tard diffusé au monde entier à travers l'Internet. Seulement quelques jours après les débuts du deuxième Intifada, l'image est devenue virale après avoir été rapidement transformée en une puissance iconique d'un étendard sur les lignes de front d'une guerre postmoderne et féroce de propagande étant combattue sur les ondes de la télévision et sur l'Internet. Alors que le débat à propos de l'image continuait à être propagée par les médias, elle a brusquement gagné son statut iconique où, comme dans l'art religieux au cours des siècles, le spectateur pouvait désigner quelque soit la signification qu'il voulait de l'image.

As anti-Zionism became the new anti-Semitism, French journalist Catherine Nay placed the Al-Dura media-borne image into its own historical context when she said it “cancels that of the Jewish child, his hands in the air before the SS in the Warsaw Ghetto.”

Alas, while there is little discussion about the historical context which probably defined the little boy's fate after he was caught by Hitler's SS, the discussion about the Al-Dura image is only beginning as good journalism and courageous journalists continue to prove the Al-Dura Affair was nothing less than an elaborate media-driven hoax.

During last month's evening conference held in Westmount's new Marionopolis campus auditorium,

French media analysts and vice-mayor of Neuilly Philippe Karsenty used the same power point presentation he used to defend himself against libel in a French court to convince his audience that the Al-Dura incident was nothing more than a made-for-TV scenario transformed into a mythic and iconic reality after it made its way onto the Internet. After thanking Act For Canada activists Evelyne Schachter and Valerie Price for their courage and determination to fight for the public's right to know the truth, Métropolitain Editor Beryl Wajzman introduced Karsenty as a warrior on the front lines of the battle for free speech against what he described as “an intellectual conspiracy...to de-legitimize the state of Israel.” Wajzman said Karsenty's epic eight-year battle proves how dangerous weak journalism can be once it's amplified by the anarchy of social networks fed by electronic media working at the speed of light squared. During his short but eloquent introduction, Wajzman also said the Al-Dura affair “was not an isolated incident,” and only part of a global intellectual mindset to reduce any and all free nations — particularly those allied to the United States and Israel — to being pariahs and eventually “the ultimate ‘autre’.”

Dix ans après que Mohammed Al-Durah ait supposément été tiré et tué au carrefour de Netzarim, cela a pris à la justice française plus de huit ans pour décider finalement que Philippe Karsenty avait exercé en bonne foi son droit de critiquer ce qui est vraiment arrivé à Mohammed Al-Durah. Dans une décision de 13 pages, une cour française a émis, de façon spécifique, que l'énoncé du caméraman Abu Rahma n'étaient pas crédible en forme ou en contenu.

After a ferocious and very expensive fight to defend himself against libel charges brought against him by both Enderlin and France '2', one of the largest and more important television networks in the country, it took less than 15 minutes for Karsenty to use the same evidence he used in court to convince his audience the Al-Dura pictures were a fraud. As a number of witnesses provided conflicting versions of where, when and what actually



French media analysts and vice-mayor of Neuilly Philippe Karsenty with The Metropolitain publisher Beryl Wajzman.

happened to the boy, ballistic reports and further ballistic evidence about assorted bullet wounds combined with further evidence of another boy's corpse being used to portray Al-Dura's in the morgue, Karsenty's conclusive research began to tear massive holes into what was the accepted narrative as to what happened to young Mohammad Al-Dura. Abu Rahma's own videotape provides crucial evidence as a number of experts pointed out how

there was no blood and none of the kind of visible trauma bullets can do to a person.

Considérant le fait que le père d'Al-Durah, Jamal, est censé avoir été tiré à 12 reprises, le narrative accepté est affaibli davantage quand les experts ont témoigné qu'un examen approfondi n'a révélé aucune cicatrices d'entrée ou de sortie typique d'une blessure par balle.

While Enderlin and France '2', the French television network, have

appealed the court's decision to confirm Karsenty's rights “to criticize what really happened to Mohammad Al-Dura,” Karsenty isn't worried because it's hard to argue against the truth..

« Vous devez vous rappeler, » il a dit, « comment les Juifs ont été tués pendant des siècles en raison de tels mensonges. Nous devons nous rappeler comment la vérité est la seule arme que nous avons pour nous défendre contre ces mensonges. »



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David Jones, co-author of *Uneasy Neighbo(u)rs: Canada, the USA and the Dynamics of State, Industry and Culture*, is a former U.S. diplomat who served in Ottawa. He now lives in Arlington, Virginia."

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# Take back the right to be offensive

"Freedom is the right to say things others don't want to hear."

~ George Orwell

After nine years of carefully navigating between the Scylla of global revenge against the Muslim world for 9/11 and the Charybdis of insisting Islam is inherently peaceful with the 9/11 terrorists depicted as nonreligious miscreants, we have gone aground.

Americans are now impaled on the Constitutional imperative of First Amendment "free speech"-- which we have made even more a national shibboleth than the right to bear arms. Over the years, it has mattered not that many other countries have scuttled free speech and/or neutered it in practice (if it might be interpreted as "hate speech," it must be foregone or punished). We have exulted in discord.

Burn the American flag? Free

speech. Burn the Bible? Free speech. Paint swastikas and march in Nazi uniforms? Free speech. Place the crucifix in a beaker of urine? Free speech. Depict Jesus Christ as the principal pederast leading a homosexual flock? Free speech. Pretty much the only limit has been burning witches.

So what was different with the Rev Terry Jones proclaiming that he will burn a stack of Qur'ans? Wasn't it as much his right to burn a Qur'an as it is for anyone around the world to burn the U.S. flag, the Constitution, the Bible? Are Americans to be responsible for the maniacal action of any yahoo anywhere in the world who takes offense at our existence?

The traditional constraint on free speech has been the classic statement by Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes that no one has a right to cry "Fire" in a crowded

theater (assuming that there is no fire). But Holmes' hypothetical fire shouter is broadcasting a lie--he knows there is no fire. The Rev Jones may be wrong (or right) regarding the invidious aspects of Islam, but his action is not the immoral equivalent of the Holmesian fire shouter.

Western society is moving further and further away from the childhood adage that "sticks and stones will break my bones, but names will never hurt me." Instead, we have embraced a version of self-censorship that has been labeled "politically correct" and desperately avoid words that are no longer deemed acceptable even in impolite society. In so doing, we have conceded the ground of political dialogue to enemies of free speech, who make a fetish of being deliberately thin-skinned injustice collectors. We are so fearful of the

Western society is moving further and further away from the childhood adage that "sticks and stones will break my bones, but names will never hurt me." Instead, we have embraced a version of self-censorship that has been labeled "politically correct" and desperately avoid words that are no longer deemed acceptable even in impolite society.

consequences of whatever may be regarded as offensive, that we preemptively duct-tape our lips, indeed revel in it as

"sophisticated" post-national conduct.

But we really are creating a society in which only the speech of minorities is protected--and that they have unlimited license to insult the majority. Or do you really believe that visible (or invisible)

minorities speak of majorities in Emily Post phraseology?

To be blunt, we are cowards. A soft answer turneth away wrath? In your pipe dreams; a soft answer convinces the speaker that you are open to insult indefinitely or open to manipulation to say only what the terrorist wants said. Thus in 1988 Salman Rushdie publishes novel (*Satanic Verses*) and has required protection against death threats for almost a generation. There should be a subsidized new edition annually. Or the Jyllands-Posten publishes a dozen mildly satiric cartoons of Mohammed in 2006 and the Islamic world riots, reducing the Danes into cringing caricatures of their Viking ancestors and the rest of the world cowers in mealy-mouth fear of reprinting them. Every newspaper should rotate one on its editorial page every day.

To be sure, fear is not baseless: narcoterrorists in South America murder offending/crusading journalists. Less than a month ago still another terror-bomber attempted to attack Jyllands-Posten (unsuccessful partly because the bomber was technically incompetent). And even a semi-satirical effort by cartoonist Molly Norris to defuse the issue with more cartoons ("Everybody Draw Mohammed Day") backfired. Reportedly, the FBI cautioned her after a fatwa called for her death; she has changed her name and gone into hiding.

We need to take back the right to be offensive--as offensive as those who offend us. We need not accept as our paradigm the classic description of a Canadian as one who says "Pardon me" when someone steps on his/her toe. We should be able to do more than temporarily withdraw an ambassador from Tehran when Canadian citizen Zahra Kazemi is raped, tortured, and murdered for



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# SORENSEN

*"Ask not..."*  
~ Ted Sorensen

So often today, throughout the free nations of the West, we seek leadership. Not simply the elected kind that confuses bookkeeping with boldness and social engineering with social progress. We seek the kind of leadership that with clarity, candour and courage gives us confidence in ourselves and realistic hope for our nation. The kind of leadership that dares to care, refuses to merely run between the raindrops and does not let focus groups and polls determine its vision and values. This week one of the last ties to one of the last such leaders died. Theodore Chaikin Sorensen passed away at the age of eighty-two from complications of a stroke.

Sorensen was Senior Counsel, chief advisor and co-author of many of the great principles and purposes of President John F. Kennedy's New Frontier. It was said it was said that it was difficult to tell where Kennedy ended and Sorensen began. Together with Bobby and Teddy he was a member of the band of brothers.

Sorensen came to Washington in the early 1950s as a young man of 24. He interviewed with two Senators. The first merely wanted Sorensen to be a PR flack who got his name in the paper regularly. The second, JFK, then the newly elected junior Senator from Massachusetts, wanted Sorensen to compose a plan for the economic revitalization of New England. The choice for Sorensen was easy.

One of his greatest traits was his

self-effacement. He rarely took credit for anything. Yet he was the father confessor and crucible of ideas and ideals to all three brothers. Whenever the standard was raised for a new campaign, Sorensen was the first called.

This trait stayed with him always. And though he wrote four books on the Kennedys, he revealed little of his full contributions. He was active until the end as a partner in the New York law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind. He was often asked what parts of Kennedy's famous inaugural speech that everyone remembers for the line "Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country!" he wrote. Sorensen's answer was always the same, "Ask not..."

But what he did reveal about that speech revealed much about the man. The words in that inaugural that meant the most to him are still so urgently apt for our time. It tells much about Sorensen the man and Sorensen the observer. Read them now and reflect upon our world.

"We shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

"To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends.

"To those new States whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. But we shall always hope to find them strongly



supporting their own freedom—and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

"To those peoples in the huts and villages across the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it

cannot save the few who are rich.

"To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support—to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective—to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak—and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

"So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that

civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof.

"Let all sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah—to "undo the heavy burdens ... and to let the oppressed go free."

Let us hope that the young Nebraskan of modest means and the scion of a Massachusetts dynasty are today both resting in the eternal peace they so well deserve for instilling so much courage, hope and generosity of spirit in the brotherhood of man.

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# The Economics of the Long Wars

A US president comes to power promising a change in foreign policy after the previous administration is discredited by overseas wars and tensions among its allies. A recent world financial crisis, coupled with increased spending on social programs has strained government spending. Upon entering office, the new president increases US military initiatives in the hope of bringing a swift end to the fighting. Almost two years into his mandate, the mid-term elections loom and the president is facing important losses in both the House and Senate, threatening his administration's ability to pursue its agenda. A presidency that began with so much promise has delivered little success abroad and at home, and fears the results coming in November.

Readers would be forgiven for believing that this is about Obama in 2010. Surprisingly, this is exactly the scenario that Richard Nixon faced in late 1970, two years after the first presidential election. Here's a brief history primer; in 1968

While the similarities of the political situations Nixon and Obama faced in their overseas wars is remarkable, the economics of each situation are completely different. Obama inherits an economy at the end of a spend and borrow frenzy that has impoverished governments and their citizenry, while Nixon was one of the principal architects of its unleashing.

Nixon campaigned for the presidency based on his commitment to chart a new course in Viet Nam and to extricate the US from a war that Americans did not understand from a strategic point of view and were fatigued by as a nation from watching their sons die in an endless war. The Johnson administration, which placed over half a million troops in Viet Nam, was unable to negotiate a truce with the Viet Cong regardless of never losing a battle on the ground. Nixon escalated the war with the secret bombing of Cambodia, where the Viet Cong had bases in the same way that the Taliban operate in neighboring Pakistan today. On the economic front, Nixon came to office after the currency crisis of 1968, in which the French moved to decouple their currency from the US Dollar and gold, representing the beginning of the end for the Bretton Woods gold standard agreement that had produced 20 years of international currency stability and low inflation in the aftermath of WWII. Internally, the US government was just starting to pay for Johnson's Great Society and civil rights package of social programs that had divided the country at the outset and raised great opposition from many conservative Americans, in the same

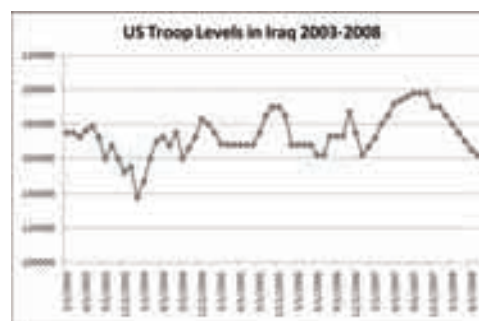


way that Obama's bailouts and national health care plans affected the current political terrain. Twenty months into both the Nixon and Obama administrations, the public was frustrated and ready to vote for the other party to punish the incumbent in the executive office.

The US suffered through another year of war before US troops began their withdrawal in 1973. The Nixon administration's policy was to reduce troop commitments while building up domestic military forces to allow the Vietnamese to fight their own war – they called it “Vietnamization”. Obama has been pursuing a Vietnamization policy of his own – which may eventually work

out in Iraq, since the Iraqi theatre of operations is a more mature war and the insurgency is practically over, while Iraqi troops will still benefit from 50,000 US service personnel to act as advisors in order to complete the mission. In Afghanistan, Vietnamization is going poorly, and there is no belief that Afghani troops will be able to assert control of the country if the US leaves as planned before the end of Obama's term. By mid-1972, American troop strength in Vietnam had been cut nearly in half to approximately 260,000, which is more or less equivalent to Obama's troop reduction in Iraq (100,000 to 50,000) during his tenure. In both cases, the reductions were not enough to placate the voting public into believing that the end was near, especially as troop strength in Afghanistan is now up to 90,000 or more – the troops have been shifted, the theatre of operations representing the most intense fighting has merely changed scenery.

The two troop graphs covering Iraq demonstrate that while the Bush administration began removing troops from Iraq following the surge in 2007, the increase in Afghanistan began as soon as Obama took office. When political pundits refer to Afghanistan as “Obama's war”, they mean



that Obama has made it his war of choice, that this is where the money will be spent and Obama's reputation will succeed or fail.

The third graph shows the rapid removal of US troops from Vietnam by Nixon following his election, up to the Paris peace talks of 1973. Nixon did not have another war underway, and his normalization of relations with China was an effort, in part, to get the Chinese not to step in to overtly aid the Viet Cong while the US pulled out.

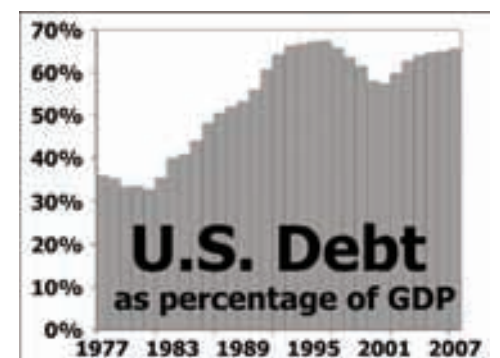
While the similarities of the political situations Nixon and Obama faced in their overseas wars is remarkable, the economics of each situation are completely different. Obama inherits an economy at the end of a spend and borrow frenzy that has impoverished governments and their citizenry, while Nixon was one of the principal architects of its unleashing. Following the French decision to decouple the Franc from the US Dollar and gold, other nations saw this move as the means to abandon fiscal conservatism and move to inflate the money supply since the nations' gold reserves would not have to increase in proportion to the money in circulation. This allowed countries to either borrow massively to fund the social program initiatives of the 1960s, expand the money supply available to government via their central banks, or in most cases, do both. When Nixon formally abandoned the gold standard in 1973, he made the famous remark, “we are all Keynesians now” indicating that massive government spending, stimulus and deficit were considered to be mainstream economic doctrine. Inflation quickly followed the unleashing of fiscal and monetary expansion in rapid order – it was Gerald Ford, as president in 1975, who had to initiate an inflation control program called “WIN”, Whip Inflation Now. It did not work, and the US waited until Paul Volcker and his 22% interest rates in 1979-80 brought inflation back down, just in time for the deficits of the Regan era.

No one stopped deficit spending in the US for the next 35 years – Democrat or Republican, except for a couple of years at the end of the Clinton era. With the US federal debt nearing 12 trillion and climbing, the US can no longer afford either guns or butter – which President Johnson famously indicated as both being possible in 1965.

The Vietnam war cost somewhere between \$110 and \$130 billion US in non-inflation adjusted dollars, while the total for Iraq and Afghanistan is not yet known, but it will certainly exceed \$1 trillion USD. When the US was paying for Vietnam, it was an unrivaled economic superpower that was producing wealth in far



greater quantities than it was indebting itself and it was just at the start of the debt cycle. Now, the US has multiple economic rivals with whom it must compete in a vastly expanded trading environment and its productivity is no longer creating increases in wealth to adequately support its accumulated debt.



Source: Budget of the United States Government for the Fiscal Year 2009

When Barack Obama took power in 2009, the US debt as a percentage of GDP sat at 83.4%. You can see that even after the Vietnam War, the US debt began falling as a percentage of GDP because the US was still able to grow its economy more quickly than its debt. The Reagan era of tax cuts set Americans on an anti-tax agenda that exists to this day; the peace dividend that the Clinton years benefitted from after the fall of the Soviet Union was not to last, as military spending for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan coupled with further tax reductions during the second Bush era were never matched by spending restraint in other sectors of US federal spending.

The US will eventually extricate itself from Iraq and Afghanistan, though it remains to be seen if Afghanistan will be able to avoid becoming a failed state governed by tribal leaders and fanatical religious zealots. No matter what the geopolitical outcome, the US will be financially exhausted without an obvious strategy to unleash a new era of economic prosperity like the one following WWII which allowed the US to work off a debt level that reached 120% of GDP by the end of that war. Should the Republicans retake the US House of Representatives or the Senate this November, they will be disappointed to discover that solving the budget problems unleashed over the past decade will be both fiscally and politically painful. By taking on these challenges, they will provide Obama with a platform to campaign against Congress as he runs for re-election in 2012 and get them to share in the blame and responsibility for bankrolling the wars overseas, and for managing their outcome.





# The secrets of the Sistine Chapel

The canonization of Brother André brought many Montrealers to Rome. Inevitably they will complain about the long line-ups to visit the Sistine Chapel but will they have uncovered the secrets of the Sistine Chapel? Viewing the work of Michelangelo is breathless but does the Chapel still hold its secrets from the average visitor. The incredible frescoes required a rather complex method to prepare the plaster before the first stroke of the paintbrush would bring color to life. Imagine Michelangelo laying on his back for four and a half years painting the entire ceiling and walls of ceiling and walls of the Chapel. The Chapel is a replica, of identical size, of the Jerusalem Temple and symbolized the successionism of Catholicism over Judaism. The masterpiece has, from the time of its painting, been regarded as an affirmation of the Roman Catholic Church's central place in the economy of salvation.

Here in Montreal Mary Queen of the World Cathedral in Montreal is another example of replicating beliefs in buildings. Though the scale is 1 to 9 it is a proportional replica of the Saint Peter's in Rome and this was to affirm the power of the Pope, the teaching of Ultramontanists. The Church of the Pope, as the Bishop of Rome, is not St. Peter's, but San Giovanni in Laterano. The Sistine Chapel is the four and a half year work of the finest painter and sculptor of all times, Michelangelo. He was commissioned by Pope Julius II to paint the Chapel against his will and against his better instincts to be a sculptor. Michelangelo detested Julius II for this reason and the secrets of the Chapel were that he painted the whole of the ceiling and the walls of the Chapel as an affront to the kind of Church of Julius II was espousing and as a personal attack on him.

The 1980's restoration of the Chapel was financially backed by a Japanese Television Network (*Sayonara Michelangelo – The Sistine Chapel Restored and Repackaged* by Waldemar Januszczak. Addison Wesley. 1990) and disclosed new findings which had remained hidden for centuries under the dirt and grime that covered the ceiling and walls. A traditional Christian understanding of the Chapel can be found in Michelangelo and the Sistine Chapel by Andrew Graham-Dixon. (Weidenfield & Nicolson. London. 2008) However, Rabbi Benjamin Blech and Roy Doliner (*The Sistine Secrets – Michelangelo's Forbidden Messages in the Heart of the Vatican*. HarperOne. NY. 2008) with the renewed frescoes found that Michelangelo



had indeed painted from the teachings of the Jewish Kaballah. A final blow to who Julius was and that for which he stood. Blech and Doliner offer a truly fascinating interpretation of the Chapel, and conclude: "Michelangelo knew that for the Church to fulfill the will of God it had to become a paradigm of true brotherhood. There had to be a bridge between rich and poor, between privileged and downtrodden, between those who spoke ostensibly for God and those who desperately needed divine assistance. Thus, Michelangelo filled the chapel with hidden messages of his passionate loves and his righteous rages, along

with mystic symbols of divine justice and divine mercy. For him the Sistine was indeed the Sanctuary, the neck of the world, but more than that, it was "The Bridge" – the bridge meant to unite people with God, with their fellow humans, and perhaps more difficult of all with their own spiritual selves." (p.306) A visitor to the Sistine Chapel, after reading Blech and Doliner, may be very surprised.

A Kabbalah primer: *Yehuda Berg. the power of kabbalah – Technology for the Soul*. Kabbala Centre International. New York. 2004).

## 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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# “The Jew is not my enemy!”

## Fatah challenges extremists within his own faith

Religious extremism in Islam, Tarek Fatah says, is a “disease that is affecting us to the point that we’re becoming insane with our hatred. I wanted to investigate what is the root cause of the hatred of the Jews.”

Born in Karachi, Pakistan, Fatah is the founder of the Muslim Canadian Congress and the author of the just-released “The Jew is Not My Enemy: Unveiling the Myths that Fuel Muslim Anti-Semitism.” His book tour included two stops in Montreal last week, including one at Côte St. Luc’s Beth Israel Beth Aaron Synagogue.

An outspoken critic of radicals in Islam, Fatah is no stranger to controversy. He has been criticized by many Muslim leaders for his opposition to the planned Mosque and community centre to be built near “Ground Zero” in New York City; he also went after Islamists – those who support the incorporation of Islam into the political system – with his first book, “Chasing a Mirage: The Tragic Illusion of an Islamic State.”

“The force of his message is first and foremost important to Muslims because many of the moderate voices have been silenced,” said Rabbi Reuben Poupko, who invited Fatah to speak last Wednesday. He hopes more prominent figures in the Muslim community will speak out against hate speech. “I’m sure this is just the beginning and not just an

isolated case.”

Writing this latest book “has been a long journey for me,” Fatah told the Congregation. He spoke of the ties between Jews and Muslims during World War II; Mosques in Paris would shelter Jewish children from Nazis, he said, and hundreds of thousands of Muslims fought in the war as well. He described a pamphlet that was distributed within the Muslim community during the Holocaust encouraging families to help Jews whenever possible.

“They are our brothers,” it read, “with children like our own.”

But in just a period of decades, Fatah said, examples of Muslim-Jewish collaboration have all but vanished. He contrasted the generosity of Parisian Muslims in the 1940s with some of the messages being sent to Muslims worldwide today on television. On one Egyptian program, Fatah explained to the audience of some 300, a seven-year-old boy wishes that Allah would “destroy and torment the Jews with a disease with no cure...to turn their women into widows, their children into orphans.”

“Brothers and sisters,” Fatah said, “we are at a stage in our history where our entire community has a cancer growing on it. That cancer is hatred.”

He also reminded the Jewish community that “attacking Islamo-fascism should never be confused with attacking Islam,” and that there



are plenty of secular Muslims who, like him, are tired of being lumped in with the extremists.

In Canada, “there are Muslims who look like

you – they eat ice cream and sometimes even bacon!” Highly active on social networking websites like Facebook and Twitter, Fatah observed that of his thousands of followers, “the majority are young Muslim men and women who are fed up.”

On top of appealing for more rapprochement between the two communities, he was also critical of the Orthodox Jewish community for opposing Quebec’s Bill 94, which would ban the wearing of burqas or niqabs – radical Islamic dress for women that covers the face – in the public sector.

“Who has come out to support it (the anti-Bill 94 movement)? The Jewish community. We need people like you to take guilt out of our system. You don’t have to apologize for Western civilization. The burqa is a symbol of slavery.”

Again not shying away from controversy, while showcasing his sense of humour, Fatah quoted his wife, Nargis Tapal, who is disappointed when she sees fundamentalist Muslim men walking on Canadian streets with their wives and children, “five yards back. If she walks two yards back, as my wife says, she’s a feminist!”

“*The Jew is Not My Enemy: Unveiling the Myths that Fuel Muslim Anti-Semitism*” is currently in bookstores. Fatah is the co-host of *Friendly Fire*, weeknights from 7-10pm on CJAD 800.

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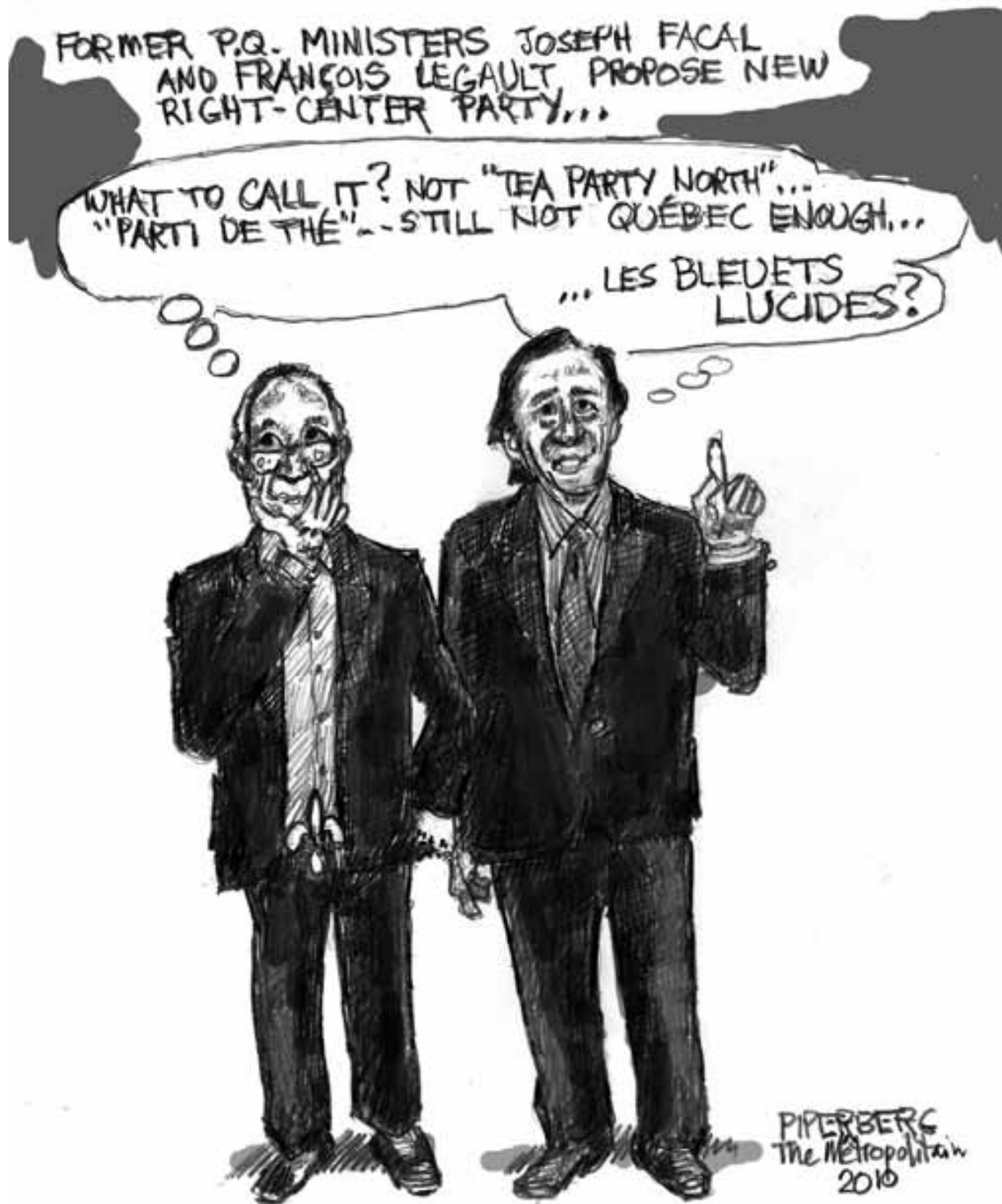
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### JFK bust moved

The bust of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy that has stood outside the Place des Arts metro station since 1986 is no longer there. Because the public square in which it stood is being rebuilt as part of the new Symphony Hall project, the statue has been taken away and JFK Square has been renamed Promenade des Artistes. The 113 kg bronze bust of Kennedy, 10 times larger than life, by Hungarian sculptor Paul Lantz was given to the city by Birks. Although it wasn’t an especially good likeness, it was unveiled at a spot on the boulevard between President Kennedy Ave. and de Maisonneuve Blvd. by then mayor Jean Dore on Nov. 28, 1986. Kennedy’s name was given to an avenue that was created when the the metro was being dug behind Place Des Arts, and the street name will stay. Mayor Jean Drapeau named the street for Kennedy six weeks after the president was assassinated in Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963. A City Hall spokesman says there are plans to relocate the bust, but that “nothing has been decided yet. We have a few places in mind, but nothing definite yet.”





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## ARTS &amp; STYLE



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# Death and Decadance: Otto Dix

“Never give any information about me in writing because you can tell at a glance my paintings contain the most accurate information about me. I have no intention of revealing to the astonished bourgeois and contemporaries the depths and abyss within my soul,” the German artist Otto Dix once wrote to a friend. That may explain why the engrossing exhibition running until January at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, *Rouge Cabaret, A terrifying and Beautiful World*, is both an immersive experience and a revelation. Not only do the 220 works on display examine the career of Otto Dix but follow a chronology that emphasizes the peculiar mix of decadence and despair which not only represents “the abyss within” his soul, but the dehumanizing

times through which he lived. Born in 1891 Dix served with the German Army during the First World War, emerged from the trenches as something of an enfant terrible and earned a reputation for his excess and outrage as an artist during the Weimar Republic of the 1920s and 30s. The Third Reich, however, considered his art “degenerate” and confiscated many of his pictures. Co-opted by the Nazis, Dix sacrificed his art to save his hide and served in the German Militia during the Second World War. He was taken prisoner by the French, and after the War lived in relative seclusion painting inoffensive, toxic landscapes until his death in 1969. If art can be said to be the barometer of a civilization, this represent some of best art of the period between the two world wars, indelible in the imagination. The

MMFA exhibition is divided into six themes: The Trenches, Streetscapes, The Brothel, The Portrait Gallery, Art and Nazism and The Landscapes. Self portraits carry a truth of how an artist wants to be seen; one painted in 1912, shows a youthful, if rather severe-looking Dix holding a carnation; the second, painted just two years later reveals that the self is not a stable thing, it depicts him with a shaved head, a deeply disoriented soldier deformed by war. His grotesque portrait of the dancer, Anita Berber, is a masterwork, which instantly reveals the loss of meaning, values and morality after World War I. His shocking *Little Girl in Front of a Curtain* a painting of a nude 12-year-old wearing nothing but a pink bow in her hair, invites debate over whether the work is exploitive, pornographic, or



Portrait of the lawyer Hugo Simons.

legitimate artistic expression that represents society’s ultimate moral breakdown. The show, however, is built around his outstanding *Portrait of The Lawyer Hugo Simons* one of his first paintings executed in oil and tempera which the MMFA acquired in 1993 from the Simons family in Montreal when it was in danger being lost to another country. The exhibition, as the MMFA’s director and chief curator Nathalie Bondil explains, offers rare insight into a tumultuous period of history. “It’s a snapshot of the first half of the 20th century, its upheavals, its ruptures, its total disintegration. At the same time it’s a cautionary tale, the story of immigration, of renewal, of re-inventing yourself a colossal symbolic door to understanding.” In his forward to the handsome exhibition catalogue, Olaf Peters, curator of New York’s Neue Galerie, who initiated the show, says the works mirror the myth of the so called roaring 20s, and reflect the “political and social ruptures and fault lines of their day.” Not to be missed, the show is at the MMFA until the New Year.



Portrait of the dancer berber.



Right: a self portrait.

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Fanny est une écrivaine, une animatrice et une comédienne de Montréal qui est récemment retournée à sa ville natale après avoir raffiné son art à Los Angeles. Elle a joué le rôle de Louise Lanctôt dans «Octobre 1970» sur les ondes de Télé-Québec et de la CBC, un rôle qui lui a valu une nomination pour un trophée ACTRA, and starred opposite Heath Ledger in the Bob Dylan biopic, "I'm Not There." She is also a city life correspondent with Virgin Radio 96.

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## October 1970: An 'on-the-set' education

As we pass the 40th anniversary of the October Crisis, my thoughts turn not to the lessons learned, if any, from this not-so-quiet revolution, or to questions surrounding the state of Quebec's ongoing war between the two solitudes.

No, my thoughts turn to that spring day when I, a young, eager Canadian actress was cast as FLQ terrorist Louise Lanctôt in a big-budget (by Canadian standards) CBC series recounting the events. A particularly vivid memory of the panic-attack that ensued comes to mind: How would I be credible in a role that would have me violently fight for the break-up of this beautiful country?

How could I 'become' Louise, a core member of the terrorist cell that abducted James Cross, and believe with all my heart that violence, if necessary, was justified in furthering the cause? And, more importantly, how could I possibly be expected to perform on camera without make-up, as the producers had hinted? Surely there was such a thing as a sexy terrorist.

The next month was spent getting acquainted with those October events and convincing myself that I could be credible in this role. The read-through did nothing to calm my nerves. Given that I had been raised as an Anglophone in British Columbia during my formative years, I felt it was more difficult than expected to related to the struggle of the Québécois – much to 'mon-oncle' Robert's chagrin. And so, at said read-through, I looked around and realized that all of my fellow cast-members were 'real' Québécois. It made me feel like an impostor; I worried my performance would reek of fraud.

The actual shoot got off to a rough start; it was scheduled to have been a 'double-shoot,' meaning the series would be filmed in both French and English in its entirety, to then be presented on both the CBC and Radio-Canada. At the last hour, Radio-Canada pulled its funding; I hoped it was simply a question of budgeting, with no

political motivation behind the decision.

Weeks later, Radio-Canada announced it would co-produce a lavish, big-budget political series after-all, but this one would be entitled 'René Lévesque.' It seemed that from beyond the grave, these two political animals were still fighting it out.

On day one of production, after all my research – reading the Manifesto, reading Louise Lanctôt's bizarre autobiography (only one paragraph is dedicated to the October events and the book

Brent Butt run his brightly-painted gas station, in the middle of nowhere. Yes, 'Corner Gas': the single-best example of a successful Canadian sitcom- we were up against that and we didn't stand a chance.

Heading into the filming of October 1970, I never expected to be changed in any profound way; my energy was focussed solely on getting 'Louise' just right, to give the best performance I could. What did happen though, through being exposed to this history for

Through being exposed to this history for the first time, is that it brought me closer to understanding my cousins, my fellow cast-mates, my fellow Québécois who believe with all of their hearts that Quebec needs and deserves to be its own nation.

includes drawings made by her infant children) and, of course, viewing Falardeau's iconic film, 'Octobre' – I felt ready.

The shoot went well; I felt like I was doing the best work I had ever done, stretching my acting muscles in ways I never had, not being the cute ingénue, but rather a strong, opinionated woman in a high-voltage situation. The first episode aired and the reviews were unanimously positive.

John Doyle of *The Globe and Mail*, was particularly supportive, calling the series "remarkable and brave." I thought, 'this is it; my big Canadian break!' Surely, this would open doors to bigger, better things: 'Men with Brooms III, here I come!'

The problem is, when the network decides to put your series in a timeslot against the most popular Canadian sitcom ever created, it makes very little difference that your plentiful family members and friends are all gathered around their televisions watching a critically-acclaimed and important recounting of the October Crisis. The rest of the country is sitting down with a beer watching a bumbling

the first time, is that it brought me closer to understanding my cousins, my fellow cast-mates, my fellow Québécois who believe with all of their hearts that Quebec needs and deserves to be its own nation.

I now see that there was an imbalance in Quebec at that time; that French-speaking Québécois felt ostracized, demeaned by a growing English population that had the means to pursue their education, who then arrived in the Quebec workforce armed with impressive degrees and were, perhaps, more readily hired by English companies. Was this fair? I don't believe it was, and that's why I can look back and feel their frustration, even commend them for standing up and speaking out.

What I cannot understand, and never will, is how the passion for what many at that time considered to be a noble cause led to violence, death; to the body of a husband and father curled up in the trunk of a car. That hate inside of Louise is not something I was able to relate to and it will never make sense to me.

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