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BEATING PAYETTE

Minister assures protection for non-francophone media

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JANUARY 16, 2009

# Martin Luther King, Jr. Legacy Award Ceremony at City Hall

## Métropolitain publisher receives award for promoting human dignity

Rev. Darryl G. Gray's remarks on Beryl Wajzman and the Institute for Public Affairs of Montreal

Beryl Wajzman has done a unique service to this community in merging the assets of social action organization and media power to raise conscience and consciousness on the challenges that befall our most vulnerable citizens. His work is not theory. It is roll up your sleeves, get on the streets and get down and dirty to help folks in trouble. Along the way he has achieved many firsts.

Bringing some twenty years of political and community activism to bear, including service with Irwin Cotler in human rights and as his exec in Parliament, Beryl started his Institute for Public Affairs of Montreal almost a decade ago and it has become one of Canada's broadest social advocacy alliances, and one which was the first to bring together thousands of national business, labor, cultural community and social action leaders in common cause for the unempowered and disenfranchised at home and abroad.

As editor-in-chief of The Suburban newspapers, publisher of Barricades Magazine and The Métropolitain, the first bi-lingual Quebec journals of public affairs since 1842 and as host of Montreal's 940 AM newsmagazine "The Last Angry Man" and guest commentator on CJAD, he has used the fourth estate to buttress the work of his advocacy and rally thousands to pressure elected officials on behalf of individual cases and causes. When he was warned that there was no precedent for combining social action and media, his response was "Then we'll create one" and we have. I say we because I have been proud to stand shoulder to shoulder with Beryl as he has with me.

On the agenda of social justice in this country, Beryl operates through direct intervention bringing real solutions to the problems of real people. He has fed the hungry. Helped house the homeless. Fought racism. And relieved suffering. With the support of labor leaders such as Edward Brandone of the FTQ he developed model plans for some of the first social housing units constructed in Montreal over the past eight years. Forming a unique corporate-labor partnership, he attacked the problem of hunger by strengthening the Quebec Food Bank Network by increasing its capacity by tens of tons every several months. This effort of Beryl's and his Institute was written up in the national press.

Beryl's work extends beyond Quebec. The Institute insured a flow of resources to the "Lawyers Feed the Homeless" program in Toronto which serves 1500 people a week. In the wake of Hurricane Katrina I was privileged to work with him to establish the first partnership between the



(l-r) Rev. Darryl G. Gray, Beryl Wajzman, Quebec Minister of Immigration and Cultural Communities Yolande James, Mayor Gerald Tremblay

Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a Canadian NGO which saw the Institute, in concert with Hal Newman's Team EMS, organize dozens of para-medics – more than most nations – to help in the SCLC's Delta Relief Project in the wake of that tragedy's devastation.

On racism and civil rights, particularly against visible minorities, Beryl has lent his voice in leading demands for justice in numerous cases. Both in the media and in person with elected officials, he has been a vital ally in keeping the pressure on for answers in cases ranging from the death of Rohan Wilson, the killing of Mohammed Benis, the Montreal North riots and so many other instances where citizens of colour face benign neglect at best and extreme prejudice at worst.

In the past year alone he has organized Canada's leading Conference on the Darfur Genocide for the benefit of Save Darfur Canada. Participants included a who's who of civil society. I am proud to say that among those he brought here was Charles Steele, Jr., President of the SCLC. It was the first visit by a sitting SCLC President to Canada. I should add that years ago Beryl organized the first inter-faith demonstration on Darfur, appropriately at Montreal's Holocaust Centre, in which I participated.

With Irwin Cotler, David Kilgour and Nazanin Afshin-Jam, Beryl organized a mass rally in Ottawa for Chinese human rights. His Institute personally made possible busloads of Tibetan-Canadians being able to go to Ottawa. This past October, the Institute helped activist lawyer Brigitte Garceau and her Garceau Foundation stage what may have been the first multi-artist multi-charity benefit concert that aided frontline organizations fighting for children's health-care, against the scourge of hunger, and for an end to homelessness.

He has used his Institute network and his media platforms to help individual cases, as well as collective causes, at home and abroad. Using the press, political contacts and a multi-faith group of clerics he

brought together, Beryl worked successfully to get an innocent Montrealer, Saul Itzhayek, released from unjust imprisonment in India. I was once again happy to be engaged with Beryl and Irwin Cotler as well as civil liberties champion Julius Grey in this redemptive struggle. But it was Beryl who took on Canada's foreign affairs establishment directly. He did the same on the provincial level when his ceaseless attacks on the Public Curator resulted in the freeing of Erna Dietrich from an illegal curatorship. Fighting the health department, Beryl's work secured RAMQ funding for Ella Marchildon, a mother of five, who finally got live-saving surgery in Washington and is today back in her Montreal home. Without intervention, she would have died.

With all this, paramount on his agenda is the fight against racism. In whatever form it takes. Beryl has continued to defend with vigour and resolve all the victims of this soul-deadening killer. He has attacked the false piety of reasonable accommodation, demanded answers in the Courtney Bishop assault and confronted police over the Gemma Raeburn affair. All those who are the victims of nullification and interposition could have no better champion.

Beryl and his Institute have responded to many requests for help from social action groups such as Dans La Rue, the Committee for Justice for the Duplessis Orphans, Sister Andrée Menard's PROMIS Refugee Organization, Share the Warmth, le Carrefour des communautés du Québec and the Montreal Holocaust Memorial Centre. Working with support groups for seniors, he helped organize the first major Conference that shed light on the issue of financial abuse of the elderly.

Beryl's views and writings have appeared in many publications ranging from Time Magazine, the National Post, The Montreal Gazette, The New York Forward and the Jerusalem Post. He is a frequent commentator on radio and television and has appeared on CNN, CTV, CBC and Global. He is also a guest host and commentator on CJAD.

Beryl has received the Robert F. Kennedy Community Service Award from the International Academy of Law and Mental Health, the Medal of Merit from the Association for the Welfare of the Soldiers of Israel and was named as one of the Présidents d'honneur of UNICEF Quebec's 50th anniversary celebration.

But perhaps as important as all that is that Beryl Wajzman has been able to teach all those who have rallied to his standard and fought with him at the barricades, some very important lessons. All those he has touched, and who have been touched by him, have learned to view the world through the eyes of its victims. He has taught us that the vulnerable are no less human and that the unempowered no less worthy of our compassion. These have been his greatest gifts. And as much as anything, that is what we honor today.

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19 MARS 2013

# BILL 14

# Don't even think about it! Cinq éléments les plus honteux de le projet de loi 14

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Rarely does a piece of legislation come forward that calls for complete rejection. Bill 14 however is just such a piece of proposed law. No Liberal or CAQ MNA should even think of compromise or common cause with the PQ government of Pauline Marois on this regressive and retrograde proposal.

Its rejection is compelled not just by the social, cultural and economic damage it will cause; not just by the civil rights - legislative and acquired - that are once again aborted ; but by the sheer transparent political opportunism and venal prejudice that gave it birth.

We have had linguistic peace for the better part of ten years, save for the unnecessary and humiliating experience of Bill 104. There is no threat to French today, if there ever was. As an example, the OQLF's own figures demonstrate that 85% of businesses in downtown Montreal serve customers in French. Even on the West Island, the figure is 76%. Cultural communities, particularly the Italian and Jewish communities, are more than 80% bilingual.

This legislation is meant to do nothing more than deflect attention from the humiliations already suffered by this government on the critical economic issues of the day which it has so early in its mandate proven inept and incompetent at handling. It is meant to raise once again the false sceptre of fear of the "other." The false demon of "assimilation." It is meant to propogate once again the politics of division and discord at the lowest common denominator upon which the separatists have

constructed so much of their political edifice.

Le projet de loi supprime le terme de droit « minorités ethniques », une désignation des droits de l'homme utilisée dans le Pacte international relatif aux droits civils et politiques (1948), la Déclaration des droits des personnes appartenant à des minorités nationales ou ethniques, religieuses et linguistiques (1992) et la Déclaration de Québec de l'Union interparlementaire (octobre 2012, acceptée par ce même gouvernement, la Charte canadienne et la Charte québécoise, avec la désignation de « communautés culturelles » n'ayant aucun statut juridique). Le Québec devient ainsi la première autorité démocratique occidentale à se retirer d'un ensemble de conventions internationales sur les droits de l'homme.

Le projet de loi donne aux inspecteurs de l'OQLF le pouvoir de saisir quoi que ce soit dans un lieu de travail qu'ils trouvent contestable, de s'adresser au Directeur des poursuites criminelles et pénales, de signer un affidavit et d'obtenir un jugement de la cour pour imposer une amende 2 500 \$ sans aucun préavis pour le citoyen. Le Québec devient ainsi la première autorité démocratique occidentale à permettre les poursuites sans préavis, un principe de base du droit occidental depuis mille ans et considéré par Montesquieu dans « De l'esprit des lois » comme étant le fondement des régimes juridiques civilisés. En fait, les fonctionnaires de Revenu Québec détenaient ce pouvoir depuis un an et demi, jusqu'à ce que je fasse changer cet état de fait en travaillant avec Jean St-Gelais, alors directeur général de Revenu Québec et aujourd'hui à la tête de la fonction publique.

Depuis sa création en 1970, le Parti Québécois a fait du respect de la démocratie locale un principe fondamental d'organisation.

Le projet de loi 14 veut en finir avec le statut bilingue de 89 municipalités – dont 70 comptent plus de 90 % de francophones – qui ont adopté des résolutions affirmant qu'elles souhaitent conserver leur statut bilingue. Voilà pour la démocratie locale.

L'article 33 de ce projet de loi exige des cégeps anglophones qu'ils n'évaluent pas les demandes d'admission provenant d'étudiants francophones tant que toutes les demandes d'admission d'étudiants anglophones n'ont pas été acceptées. C'est ce que j'appelle de la ségrégation. Aurions-nous accepté une telle exigence si le mot « anglophones » était remplacé par « hommes » et le mot « francophones » était remplacé par « femmes »? Les normes fondées sur la langue sont aussi discriminatoires que celles qui sont fondées sur la couleur, le sexe ou la religion.

Les soldats qui risquent leur vie pour notre sécurité seront obligés d'envoyer leurs enfants à l'école française, même s'ils viennent d'autres régions du pays et qu'ils sont eux-mêmes anglophones. L'élimination de l'exemption des soldats de la loi 101 est tout simplement odieuse

This Bill also demands that small businesses of 26-49 employees face Francization. In an already stagnant economic environment that accompanies every separatist electoral victory, this government would impose more burdens. Small business in Quebec, responsible for 80% of new job creation, now spends some 19 full working days a year dealing with government compliance issues. This Bill would raise that number. We cannot afford more destruction of productivity. We cannot afford some three weeks taken out of our economic cycle every year. And worse, Quebec cannot afford business



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MARCH 19, 2013

# BILL 14 CRITIQ launch draws near record numbers opposed to Marois' policies

"Canadian rights in Quebec are in jeopardy," group warns, "and maybe it's time for a Maple Spring."

P.A. Sévigny

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In what many have called the largest gathering against discriminatory Quebec acts that curtail civil rights since Premier Bourassa used the notwithstanding clause in 1989, some 800 people crowded into the downtown Delta Hotel in order to attend a conference staged by CRITIQ (Canadian Rights in Quebec.) CRITIQ is a broad alliance of anglophones, allophones and francophones dedicated to ensuring that constitutionally enshrined Canadian civil rights - particularly with respect to language - are respected in Quebec.

It was clear from the speakers, and the attendees during question period, that there is a broad Montreal stirring across ethnic lines fed up with the Marois' government's overt assault on the province's ethnic and linguistic minorities. Five of the city's better-known activists spoke to the crowd about the urgency of defending their rights.

"The few cannot continue to fight for the many alone forever," said Beryl Wajzman, publisher of the *Métropolitain* and President of the Institute for Public Affairs of Montreal. "Our individual rights are being challenged and now it's our duty to rise up together and ensure that they are protected and respected. This is one law too far."

During a short and passionate ten-minute address, Wajzman described the Marois' government's proposed new Bill 14 legislation as nothing less than a direct assault on the legal and constitutional rights of all Québécois. Originally intended to strengthen Québec's already onerous language law better known as Bill 101, Wajzman said the new bill compromises minority rights protected in the Canadian and Quebec Charters and in UN Covenants by replacing the status of "ethnic minorities" which are protected, to "cultural communities" which are undefined in law. Besides extending Bill 101's language dictums to even smaller businesses, Wajzman explained that Bill 14 annuls the PQ's longstanding commitment to respecting local democracy by promising to strip the bilingual status of many Québec cities, towns and municipalities even the 89 who have passed resolutions wanting to keep it. Wajzman also pointed out that francophones face prejudice because the bill would make it nearly impossible for French students to get into English CEGEPs. And due process may be thrown to the wind as the Bill would give language inspectors unprecedented rights of seizure and prosecution without

notice.

Wajzman saluted Gary Shapiro the founder and chair of CRITIQ, for bringing together so many centres of "energy and daring to tear down the walls of resistance." He also praised the efforts of councillor Marvin Rotrand, who convinced city council to accept his resolution supporting Pierrefonds-Roxboro in its bid to remain bilingual. Wajzman also announced that Rotrand would soon be drafting a broader resolution at his request and would work with him to assure its passage. That resolution would see Montreal's council voting support for all Quebec municipalities that seek to retain bilingual services.

Journalist Barbara Kay also stirred the audience with a number of opinions and observations about the Marois' government's new law. Following Kay's assertion that the province's non-francophones were originally willing to put up with Québec's onerous Bill 101 in order to maintain a social peace within a province many of them have called 'home' for centuries, she now believes the present government is once again moving the goal posts further, much further down the field. In a province where the great majority (over 80%) of Québec's non-francophones are bilingual and work in French, according to the OQLF's own figures, Kay told her audience that the Marois' government is demonstrating a serious level of anglophobia.

"They can't stand to hear your voice," she said. "They can't stand to see your language." Kay then went on to deconstruct several elements of the so-called nationalist narrative as nothing less than a revisionist history which did not match the city's realities. "Montreal is not a French city", said Kay. "It's always been a bilingual city."

Kay described a world in which Québec's nationalist politics have reduced the city's non-francophone population to little more than a shadow of its former self. Aside from condemning the Marois' government's plans to restrict English education for the province's Francophone students, Kay said the government should recognize how the use and command of at least two to three languages is a good thing and not yet another example of the creeping, genteel, ethnocide defined by the St. Jean Baptiste Society and several of the leading ministers within the Marois government's cabinet.

"If we lose this battle, more people will move away from Québec," said Kay. "If we lose this battle, we could be losing the war."

As the city's leading legal activist on language rights, lawyer Brent Tyler once again repeated the



elementary truth that lies at the center of every one of his arguments against Québec's onerous language laws. While he believes the Marois' government's new bill is, in his words, "...obnoxious, mean and divisive..." legislation, he was also quick to say that the root of the problem was the law itself. Three decades after the Parti Québécois originally introduced their infamous Bill 101, Tyler described Québec as a stricken province in which ethnocentric nationalism has infected every part of Québec's body politic including its judiciary.

"Some people describe us as 'angry', but maybe it's time they realize that there's a lot to be angry about," said Tyler. "After all, that's part of the cost of living here."

Following a brief description of what both Rosa Parks and Canada's Ann Flagstaff did to fight for their rights, Tyler reminded his audience that their fight was all about equal rights for everybody no matter who they were, where they came from, what color they were and in Québec's particular situation, what language they speak.

"We are not being treated as free and equal citizens," said Tyler. "Freedom and equality must be a part of every person who lives in Québec." Tyler later told the media that last year we saw an "Arab Spring" and maybe this year we'll see a "Maple Spring."

According to respected Montreal strategic consultant Michel David, the new language fight could end up costing Montreal its quality of life which is also its greatest asset. Aside from a disturbing number of statistics which continue to illustrate the city's ongoing decline, David said the city's growing poverty gap is the major factor which now defines the city's economy. Following decades of high taxes, innumerable government regulations and the city's ongoing language issues, Montreal is now in last place out of all of North America's 22 cities with more than 2 Million residents.

"People left," said David. "The creators of this city's wealth have left a long time ago."

David still believes the city's decline could be easily stopped if the government demonstrated the political will required to develop some intelligent policies to re-animate the city's hobbled economy. Aside from opening the city to Montreal's entrepreneurs, imposing some intelligent tax policies, the government should grant its citizens and residents the freedom to speak whatever language they want while they're doing business in this city. Failing any progress on these issues, David suggests that Montreal as a city/state or new province would not be technically, as opposed to politically, difficult to achieve.

"Why can't this government make sure every child speaks at least two languages when they leave primary school and at least three when they leave secondary school?" asked David. "Why can't they recognize that speaking several languages is an asset?"

In his summation of the Conference, former Equality Party MNA Robert Libman said the general theme was, "Enough is enough!"

As one of the founders of the Equality Party that was created to protest the then Liberal government's language policies along with its ban on English language signs, Libman was surprised by the number of people who showed up at the protest.

"They're tired of the big lie," said Libman. "De Courcy (Québec Language Minister Diane De Courcy) isn't the only one who knows this is a bilingual city."

Many believe that CRITIQ is the broadest, most inclusive and most credible organization poised to lead a major wave of popular resistance against the Marois government's policies. Activist attorney Richard Yufe, who moderated the evening, laid out the founding principles of the CRITIQ. He announced that there are several working groups within CRITIQ with places for everybody who wants to do something to express their frustration. Working committees already in action, Yufe explained, are already organizing mass emailings to CAQ MNAs to pressure them to vote down Bill 14, liaising with city councillors offering support to help passage of more city resolutions on bilingual status, contacting Ottawa to review this legislation, translating articles and communiqués, writing letters to media and fundraising. Yufe made a strong appeal for more volunteers.

To learn more and contact CRITIQ to get involved you may go to [CRITIQ.CA](http://CRITIQ.CA) or its Facebook page.

We are very proud that Métropolitain columnist Pierre Malouf and Associate Editor Daniel Laprès authored & published this book. The Métropolitain is pleased to have been able to offer moral and material support.



9 JUILLET 2012

# LES FACES CACHÉES D'AMIR KHADIR

**Eric Duhaime**



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À cette époque, Khadir trône en tête des sondages comme politicien le plus populaire au Québec. L'expresident du Centre des auteurs dramatique décide alors d'investiguer sur ce mystérieux personnage et le parti qu'il co-dirige.

## DÉMASQUER

Malouf amorce alors un long et méticuleux travail d'enquête afin de révéler au grand jour le vrai visage du député de Mercier et celui de la gauche radicale dont il est le plus flamboyant porte-étendard.

L'essayiste démontre, preuves à l'appui, comment Khadir a manigancé par en arrière pour maintenir la pression contre les petits commerçants qui vendent des chaussures israéliennes sur la rue St-Denis. Il illustre le fossé entre ce que dit publiquement Khadir et ce qu'il trame dans l'ombre.

Il élargit par la suite ses recherches sur l'ensemble de l'oeuvre de Khadir pour révéler qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un incident isolé ou d'un accident de parcours. L'auteur finit par mettre en lumière les « alliances douteuses » du député solidaire et se demande de qui

Khadir est vraiment solidaire.

## RÉVÉLATIONS

### TROUBLES

Ce livre choc permet d'expliquer pourquoi Khadir s'acharne contre Israël alors qu'il demeure pratiquement muet et inactif au sujet des dictatures islamiques ou de gauche. Il rappelle comment Khadir instrumentalise la question de la souveraineté du Québec pour promouvoir ses objectifs partisans. Il nous apprend de plus que Khadir accuse le Québec de pratiquer l'apartheid contre nos Premières nations.

La conclusion de Malouf est on ne peut plus claire: « Un politicien déjà nuisible dans l'opposition et dont l'action, s'il parvenait au pouvoir, mènerait le Québec au désastre, ne mérite pas qu'on lui fasse confiance. »

Personne ne pourra accuser Malouf d'être un adversaire politique: indépendant, il n'a jamais milité ni même été membre d'aucun parti ou mouvement politique.

**Jacques Brassard**



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Alors, il vous faut lire le livre de Pierre K. Malouf, paru aux éditions ACCENT GRAVE, Les Faces Cachées d'Amir Khadir. Ça défrise et ça déniaise!

C'est un livre non seulement bien écrit, mais solidement documenté. Et agrémenté d'humour caustique.

C'est le dévoilement, la mise à nu, de la vision, des objectifs, des obsessions idéologiques du député de Mercier, Amir Khadir, bien sûr, mais, du même coup, de l'extrême-gauche mal élevée et de la gauche caviar bon chic bon genre québécoise. On y voit aussi apparaître en pleine lumière les accointances, les alliances et les complicités du personnage avec tout ce qui grouille et grenouille dans le cloaque gauchiste.

En fait, quand vous fermez le livre de M. Malouf (après l'avoir lu bien sûr!), vous en sortez convaincu que le Kamarade Amir est l'archétype du gauchiste québécois. Il synthétise en lui-même tous les travers, toutes les dérives, toutes les falsifications idéologiques et historiques du socialisme contemporain. Il est tout à la fois anti-américain, anti-capitaliste, antisioniste, anti-occidental, écolo radical, socialiste pur et dur et compagnon de

route cordial des communistes et des islamistes. N'en jetez plus, la cour est pleine!

Et l'auteur reprend un à un chacun des éléments constitutifs de cette figure de proue de la mouvance québécoise du socialo-écologisme.

Dès le départ, la narration complète de ce que M. Malouf appelle « l'intifada sur la rue St-Denis », nous dévoile les motivations et les arrière-pensées d'Amir Khadir sur Israël et le peuple Juif.

On y décrit les connivences et les collusions du député de Mercier avec tous les escadrons antisionistes de la gauche québécoise. Et tout particulièrement un groupuscule dénommé Palestiniens et Juifs Unis (PAJU) qui organise le boycott d'un marchand de chaussures de la rue St-Denis qui a l'audace de vendre des produits israéliens. Ce qui constitue, selon ces antisionistes délirants, un soutien intolérable à « l'apartheid » qui sévit en Israël.

Cette accusation d'apartheid est tout à la fois une grossière diffamation et une falsification malveillante de la réalité. Israël est l'unique démocratie du Proche et Moyen Orient et l'état de

Les prochaines semaines risquent donc d'être aussi difficiles que le dernières pour Khadir, lui qui a du se porter à la défense de sa fille arrêtée deux fois pour avoir bloqué des ponts et après s'être fait rabroué par son propre parti à la suite de sa prise de position en faveur de la désobéissance civile.

À tous ceux qui songent voter Québec solidaire aux prochaines élections, particulièrement ceux qui habitent sur le Plateau Mont-Royal, courez à la librairie la plus proche afin de vous procurer au plus vite « Les faces cachées d'Amir Khadir ». L'image du bon médecin bourré de compassion humaine cèdera rapidement la place à un portrait moins flatteur d'un homme « au service de causes délétères ».

droit y est solidement établi. Prétendre que l'apartheid y règne ne peut être inspiré que par la haine pathologique de l'État hébreu et des Juifs.

Car, après le récit des épisodes de cet immonde et scandaleux boycott d'un honnête marchand, une question surgit dans l'esprit du lecteur : Amir Khadir est-il antisémite? Une chose est sûre, il est antisioniste, c'est-à-dire qu'il nie manifestement le droit d'Israël à exister. Prenant fait et cause en faveur de la légende d'un « peuple palestinien » dépouillé de son territoire par les Juifs, il devient ainsi l'allié et le compagnon de route de l'islamisme dans toutes ses composantes (Hamas, Hezbollah, Fatah, Jihad islamique etc.), toutes imprégnées non seulement d'antisionisme (négation de toute légitimité à l'État d'Israël) mais aussi d'antisémitisme (haine des Juifs). Ce que poursuit l'islamisme, c'est donc non seulement l'anéantissement d'Israël, c'est aussi l'éradication des Juifs de toute la région. La Palestine doit être « judenrein », comme l'Allemagne hitlérienne, c'est-à-dire sans le moindre Juif. Tel est « l'idéal » de l'islamisme.

Par conséquent, Amir Khadir est trop intelligent  
Suite à la page 6

# THE MÉTROPOLITAIN

## RevQue reforms after Institute initiative

EXCLUSIVE

Minister and Director-General act to correct inequities brought to light by The Métropolitain

**Beryl Wajzman**  
Editeur et Rédacteur en chef



When we take on advocacy cases and causes they usually center on an individual. An individual who has suffered a prejudice that is demonstrative of a broader systemic problem whether in a government department or within a major corporation. Individual cases that have within them issues illustrative of universal applicability. But sometimes it can't be done that way. Fear and impotence stand in the way. Fear of retribution, and impotence in the face of a maze of ever-changing rules and regulations that baffle even experts. That is the way it is for most citizens who feel victimized by Revenue Quebec and have no idea what to do about it. Many call us.

# OCTOBER 19, 2012

# Revenue Quebec reforms after Institute initiative

Minister and Director-General act to correct inequities brought to light by The Métropolitain

**Beryl Wajzman**  
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When we take on advocacy cases and causes they usually center on an individual. An individual who has suffered a prejudice that is demonstrative of a broader systemic problem whether in a government department or within a major corporation. Individual cases that have within them issues illustrative of universal applicability. But sometimes it can't be done that way. Fear and impotence stand in the way.

Fear of retribution, and impotence in the face of a maze of ever-changing rules and regulations that baffle even experts. That is the way it is for most citizens who feel victimized by Revenue Quebec and have no idea what to do about it. Many call us.

For whatever reason, the calls increased exponentially this year. We decided to do something about it. More importantly, universally respected former Finance Minister Raymond Bachand, his special assistant for Revenue Cody Barker-Greene and Revenue Quebec's President and CEO Jean St-Gelais listened to our presentations and acted to make things right. Compassionate authority working in concert — expeditiously and efficiently — to help citizens. This is the way government is supposed to work.

Some four months ago I finished a review of the many complaints and calls we received. Roughly eight out of 10 fell into one of three categories. The first was seizures of bank accounts and garnishment of wages within 30 days of one notice being sent by Revenue Quebec. The regulations were so fixed that it seemed the authors never considered that a

taxpayer may be out of the country or dealing with a personal crisis.

The second was the problem of estimated assessments sent out to late filers that bore no relation to the past earning history of the taxpayer. They were meant to get the attention of the taxpayer. Sometimes they were as high as five times the amount the taxpayer ever earned. Most who received such an assessment never bothered to look at the back of the letter where it set out the 90-day period in which to file and correct. They went into a panic. Some were so shocked they attempted suicide. And more than one heart attack had been reported by recipients.

The third problem was a disregard of due process that is sacrosanct in every western democracy. Legal actions taken by Revenue Quebec against taxpayers without notice of a court date. Revenue Quebec had the power to go into court and, based on a certificate signed by any RevQue officer, get a judgment against a taxpayer from the clerk of the Superior Court. It was unprecedented power. An annulment of equitable due process.

In our initial conversation, Minister Bachand gave us full consideration and said that if these problems existed, they should be fixed immediately. As I reviewed the issues with St-Gelais and Barker-Greene it became clear that this was not the first time they had heard of some of these problems. And when I pointed out that a great part of the problem lay in the fact that some front-line Revenue Quebec officers, those that first met the public, were not schooled in the law nor the interpretation of regulations. Too often some also had an attitude of a presumption of guilt, rather than innocence, when meeting a taxpayer.

The experienced St-Gelais, who was

formerly head of the Autorité des marchés financiers, wanted to have a look at the regulations that governed the actions of the front-line officials. He thought the problem may lay there. And he hoped that it would because changing directory regulations to protect the public was within his purview. New law would take much longer to write and pass.

As it turned out he was right. It was not so much that the regulations gave the bureaucrats these specific powers, as that the regulations were too general in wording. St-Gelais immediately ordered the agency's lawyers to start drafting based on recommendations we had given him. After a week of work with him and Barker-Greene, the new regulations were published in the Revenue Quebec manuals for its officers.

The new rules are included in two sections. The first under the heading of "Consequences of non-production of a tax report." The second heading is entitled "Third party seizures and certificates in court."

As a result of our efforts the following changes are now specified in the rules: 1. No estimated assessments will be done before two letters have been sent out, the second by registered mail, over a 60-day period; 2. estimated assessments will now be based strictly on an average of historical data on the taxpayer's previously declared earnings and not just using a "shock" number; 3. if there has been no response to the assessment, Revenue Quebec officers must endeavour to reach the taxpayer by phone and letter over a 10-day

period. If there is still no co-operation or response, only then will Revenue Quebec officers proceed to seizure of bank accounts and/or garnishment of wages; 4. after all these options have been exhausted, only then may Revenue Quebec officers proceed to court with a certificate attesting to non-production or non-payment but the taxpayer will still have the right to use any and all "mechanisms of opposition" available in the Court of Quebec; 5. the final reform we argued for and is now included in the regulations is that if at any time a taxpayer feels that his file has not been dealt with "fairly and equitably by Revenue Quebec or any of its officials or agents" the taxpayer may complain directly to the Chief Ombudsperson for Revenue Quebec who reports directly to the President and CEO of the Agency.

These changes will help, literally, hundreds of thousands Quebecers obtain just and fair treatment. Front-line Revenue Quebec officers now have clear directives. And, as I wrote above, government worked the way it should, efficiently, effectively and expeditiously. Were it only always so. Minister Bachand and Mr. Barker-Greene are now in the process of leaving their positions given the change in government. We shall miss them and wish them well. They embody the highest principles of public service. Mr. St-Gelais has been promoted to the post of secrétaire-général et greffier du Conseil exécutif, the head of the entire public service of Quebec. Sometimes nice guys do finish first.

Suite de la page 5

pour se proclamer ouvertement antisémite. Mais il copie assidument et collabore étroitement avec les antisémites les plus virulents. Dis-moi qui tu fréquentes...

Dans la deuxième partie de son livre, Pierre K. Malouf décrit, à partir de textes, de déclarations et du programme de Québec Solidaire, le «projet de société» pour le Québec du député de Mercier. Attachez vos tuques et vos bretelles, c'est la descente aux enfers!

Le Québec d'Amir Khadir sera, tenez-vous bien, un Québec écologiste radical, socialiste de bord en bord (on nationalise tout, ou presque), un territoire «privilegié» de la décroissance (il faut

mettre à terre l'odieuse société de consommation), et, par conséquent, de l'appauvrissement généralisé. M. Malouf ne peut s'empêcher de lancer ce cri du cœur : «C'est ça la gauche de la gauche? Plus cave que ça, tu meurs!».

Je vous le redis, il faut lire ce livre. Après sa lecture, vous serez heureusement immunisés contre la gangrène socialiste, la folie islamiste et la peste écolo. Et surtout, vous n'aurez plus aucune envie de faire partie de la brigade des «idiots utiles» et des zélotes zombies d'Amir Khadir.

Aux dernières nouvelles, le député de Mercier était en crise de mégalomanie : il se prenait pour un Ghandi québécois. Manque de chance, Pierre K. «Malouf vient, avec son livre, de déboulonner sa statue!

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MARCH 12, 2012

# 1500 "model" UN participants hear message of challenge and responsibility from the Met publisher McGill conference third largest next to Harvard and Penn State

By Alan Hustak & P.A. Sévigny

*"An informational currency based on hatred, falsehood and arrogance, is devoid of any moral or legal value. The new currency of international relations must not be, to paraphrase Martin Luther King, Jr., a cheque drawn on the moral capital of mankind that is returned for insufficient funds."*

**M**étropolitain publisher and editor Beryl Wajzman, who is also the founder of The Institute for Public Affairs of Montreal, gave the keynote speech to some 1500 participants in McGill's annual Model UN Conference and lost little time sending them a message for a new model for the international system, the bankruptcy of the current one and the moral challenges the future leaders who made up the audience had a responsibility not to betray. Attendees at the four-day conference at the Sheraton Centre came from over fifty North American universities. The McGill model UN Conference is held every year, and this year was the biggest such gathering behind only Harvard and Penn State. Harvard and McGill have consistently been the largest over the past decade.

Nida Nizam, of Syracuse, N.Y., who has attended 31 such youth assemblies, and was Chair of McMun's world economic forum downplayed the comparisons. "The others may be a bit bigger, but McGill's is more innovative." This year, she pointed out, McMun (McGill Model UN) introduced social networking as a forum for public debate. "We went over 40 topics in three days, with critical conversations on line - so many have never been tried before - all on a social network."

Wajzman was in good company. Previous keynotes have included former Prime Minister Joe Clark, former Liberal leader Stephane Dion, Canada's former ambassador to the United Nations, Paul Heinbecker and Jordanian Princess Badiya Bint El Hassan.

Wajzman took less than forty minutes, speaking without a set text, to remind his audience that among its challenges and responsibilities was the duty "...to

speak truth to power, stand up for what is right and just and change a UN that has become morally bankrupt and increasingly illegitimate in a desperate world moving toward bi-lateral and multi-lateral arrangements to counter the UN's irrelevancy."

After complimenting McMun's organizers for the decorum, efficiency and depth of the gathering, Wajzman then drove home the point that each must now take the next step and become, in Robert Kennedy's words, "part of the thousand centers of energy and daring" to tear down the walls of nullification and resistance put up by the tyrannies that now control the UN and make it such a dangerous influence on the international system.

Wajzman's speech quickly took on the form of a personal conversation which maintained the crowd's rapt attention right up to the point when he received a standing ovation. After warning his audience not to fall in love with their own sense of moral righteousness and worse- "...your own PR," he also reminded them that in the beginning, there's always the word and words do matter. Following a reference to the fact that last Friday was the 67th commemoration of the liberation of Auschwitz and the deportation of Leon Mugesera back to Rwanda because of an alleged hate speech in which his words sparked that country's genocide, he quoted Irwin Cotler-Canada's former justice minister- that "Holocausts begin with words-not bullets," and Wajzman warned that the words coming out of the UN are dangerous in their "mendacity and demonization."

Addressing the title theme of the gathering "Information: The new currency of international relations," Wajzman said that even if instant information has become an influence on what nations do and how fast they do it, he made a point of reminding his audience that disinformation spread by the same media is its evil twin sister. He asked where was the coverage of the liberals now betrayed, marginalized and jailed in the betrayals of the Arab Spring and described that both Joseph Goebbels and Joseph Stalin practiced the art of the "big lie" that if repeated often enough is "believed by the broad masses." And with one sentence that

struck much of the audience, Wajzman dismissed much of what passes for the truth in today's media coverage of international affairs as nothing more than "...new cloaks for the old tyrannies."

Wajzman described how it took less than a decade after its founding before the compromise of the UN's original mission began as tyrannies gained membership and tyrants began to use their so-called 'sovereign rights' as a justification for murder and mayhem and using the world body as a cover. Citing such current examples as Syria's brutal suppression of its own people, the ongoing genocide taking place in Somalia and China's ongoing repression and suppression of both its own people as well as the people of Tibet, Wajzman told his audience that they too would have to take a stand against the UN's complacent, compliant and sometimes complicit political leadership which can no longer do anything but tolerate lies while millions die and democracies demonized. And he directly linked the Arab world's ability to get away with attacks on one of the UN's few democracies, Israel, on its oil power and the common thread of hatred of the "other" as an essential tool to maintaining the power of despots and dictators not only over their own people but over the direction of the world body.

"An informational currency based on hatred, falsehood and arrogance, is devoid of any moral or legal value," said Wajzman. "The new currency of international relations must not be, to paraphrase Martin Luther King, Jr., a cheque drawn on the moral capital of mankind that is returned for insufficient funds," said Wajzman. "It is your challenge, and responsibility, as future leaders, to ensure that the world bank of morality is never leveraged, nor compromised, to the threats of tyrants or the cowardice of moral relativism."

The two rows of ribbons stitched on Cadet Russ Boston's uniform had a lot to say about the time he spent as a fighting soldier during America's recent conflict in Iraq. The former Marine is presently studying at the U.S. Army's elite West Point Military Academy. When asked about Wajzman's address, Boston said he was more than impressed by what

Iran: A response to a different paradigm of "rationality"

Prof. Aurel Braun

The not proper in this article to address the...  
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1500 "model" UN participants hear message of challenge and responsibility from the Met publisher  
McGill conference third largest next to Harvard and Penn State

By Alan Hustak & P.A. Sévigny  
The international conference...  
The international conference...  
The international conference...

DU VIN AIGRE DANS DE NOUVELLES OUTRES :  
DE L'ANTISÉMITISME CLASSIQUE AU NOUVEL ANTISÉMITISME

Prof. Jean Ouellette  
D'antiquité...  
D'antiquité...  
D'antiquité...



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# BEATING PAYETTE

## Minister assures protection for non-francophone media

**P.A. Sévigny**  
During an official government consultation which took place in the Théâtre Rouge located in Quebec's Ministry of Culture and Communications...

## Payette: A community protected, a battle won but the campaign continues

**Beryl Wajzman**  
We have to give credit where credit is due. When The Suburban's publisher Michael Sochaczewski and I testified in front of Culture Minister Christine St-Pierre...

**Beryl Wajzman**  
Editeur et Rédacteur en chef  
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We have to give credit where credit is due. When The Suburban's publisher Michael Sochaczewski and I testified in front of Culture Minister Christine St-Pierre, and her commissioners, hearing testimony on the Payette Report that seeks to institute journalistic accreditation creating two classes of writers, we came with a long list of concerns. Not only those of The Suburban and The Métropolitain but also those of the 31 member Quebec Community Newspaper Association whom we represented.

formation" in the French language every year. Payette drew no distinction between francophone and non-francophone journalists. This would have posed a threat to all non-francophone media.

After some heated exchanges, the Minister finally clearly and candidly gave assurance that nothing in Payette relating to language would touch the non-francophone media and that she, and the government, were committed to its growth and viability. And she asked that we disseminate the message. She should be thanked for her forthrightness. This particular issue was also of grave concern to the Quebec Community Groups Network who had written a letter in support of our position which was presented to the Commission. We obtained a vital commitment that protects Anglophone and ethnic media on this island which is more than fifty per cent non-francophone. But other issues were presented, noted, but remain unresolved.

First among them is the illegitimacy of the state taking any hand in determining who is a journalist. It would put Quebec in the company of Cuba, Zimbabwe, North Korea, India and China. The press, since the French revolution, has been the fourth estate

of government. For politicians to allow bureaucrats to determine who is "accredited", is the same as allowing them to determine who may stand for public office. A free society cannot have two levels of citizenship or two levels of expression.

Secondly, the Payette report is replete with violations of private property. Freedom in a society is grounded in a respect for private property. Payette seeks to dictate to private owners of media everything from how to produce to what to pay to how to hire. If these recommendations are adopted, there will be wholesale closures of media properties.

Thirdly, the report states that there is a "crisis" in media worldwide. It is wrong. There is no crisis. Free expression and the rise of the citizen-journalist as we saw in the Arab spring, is eloquent testament to that. Payette is trying to create a problem where none exists.

Fourthly, the report speaks to the problem of "concentration." Yet we alone represented some 32 independent media businesses. By introducing state fiat Payette would really see concentration because the independents could not survive under the suffocating demands of the state. More forms. More reports. The Fraser Institute and the Center for Policy Alternatives have already determined that small businesses in Canada spend 19 full working

DECEMBER 15, 2011

# Payette: A community protected, a battle won but the campaign continues

days a year fulfilling government demands. If Payette is enacted, media businesses would easily spend double that. The independents would not be viable.

The bottom line is that radio did not kill newspapers. Television did not kill newspapers. The internet cannot kill papers. We are the content producers.

As a matter of fact, in recently released bankruptcy court documents it was revealed that major newspapers in the United States forced into Chapter 11 protection last year because their mother companies had leveraged their assets to get into other businesses - papers like The Philadelphia Inquirer, The Chicago Tribune and The Los Angeles Times - actually had healthy profits. But the Payette report, if substantially adopted, will certainly be the death knell for many. And certainly for freedom of the press in Quebec as writers, editors and publishers seek to pacify and placate the suffocating demands of the command state. The Payette Report contains a harmful amount of open-ended spending, unnecessary new programs with unmanageable new bureaucracies that will cost the taxpayer dearly and are totally divorced from the necessities and economic realities of today.

A battle was won but the campaign continues. This story is far from over.

# Minister assures protection for non-francophone media

**P.A. Sévigny**  
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During an official government consultation which took place in the Théâtre Rouge located in Montreal's Conservatoire D'Art Dramatique, Quebec's Minister of Culture and Communications stated that there would be "no mandatory French language tests," for Quebec's ethnic and Anglophone media.

Ministre Christine St-Pierre is presently leading a province-wide consultation which is examining assorted issues related to Quebec's media following the release of what has come to be known as the Payette Report.

Her assurance came in response to concerns voiced by Suburban publisher Michael Sochaczewski and Editor Beryl Wajzman, also publisher of The Métropolitain, in their presentation. "We have no intention of imposing French language tests on the province's English or ethnic media, or affecting any of its rights and viability, and I would ask you to disseminate that message," she said. "We do, however, want to improve the French used in Quebec's French-speaking media," she added.

Some 10 minutes into the presentation by Sochaczewski and Wajzman, who were not only representing The Suburban and The Métropolitain but also the 31-member Quebec Community

Newspaper Association (QCNA), and were carrying a letter of support from the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN), the minister understood that there was substantial opposition to the Payette Report and its assorted proposals.

Following a brief yet inspired defense of every Canadian citizen's rights and freedoms among which Wajzman included "the citizen's inalienable right to a free battleground of ideas unfettered by the heavy hand of the state" as the backbone of a strong democracy, it took Wajzman only a few minutes to follow up with a convincing argument as to why the government had no business using its powerful bureaucracy to police what is already a free and vigilant press. Following Wajzman's address, Sochaczewski used his time to argue that the media needed less rules and more freedom if the sector was to survive and thrive during the shifting economic conditions of the 21st century.

"If you reliably and consistently deliver the truth, it doesn't matter if you have a degree or pay a fee to an association. No amount of school makes you a journalist," said the veteran publisher. "Only writing stories makes you a journalist." Apart from several points he made about giving Quebec's media the time they need to adjust to the new century's shifting market conditions, he also told St-Pierre that the demands proposed by the Payette Report would effectively kill many of Quebec's independent weeklies. "They cannot afford the burdens being imposed," said



Sochaczewski, "and a French language requirement for an English, Italian or Chinese paper is absurd." During the commissioners' question period, the minister, who was visibly annoyed with the suggestion that the plan recommended language testing, told both men they were wrong about the report's draconian language proposals.

She also asked Wajzman why *The Suburban* never bothered to contact her office prior to its editorials on the subject which went viral and his own national op-eds.

Well, Wajzman had. Apart from telling St-Pierre that he discussed the issue "at length," with Premier Charest's Chief of Staff, Wajzman told the minister he had spoken to officials in her office on five separate occasions before the writing of the editorials and opinion pieces which denounced the Payette Report's more draconian recommendations, including the infamous single sentence (located on page 117) which reads (in French) as follows:

"Que le maintien du titre de journaliste professionnel soit lié à l'obligation d'obtenir un crédit

annuel de formation en langue Française." Sochaczewski had pointed out to the minister that he was very satisfied to hear her assurances that the recommendation did not mean to include non-francophones, but the language was clear.

Roughly translated, that means that every one of Quebec's journalists would have to take an annual French exam if they wish to maintain their accreditation as a working "professional journalist." While St-Pierre conceded that the wording was open to misinterpretation, she also repeated to the audience that the measure was meant to improve the quality of written and spoken French amid Quebec's French-speaking media.

"As far as we're concerned," said the minister, "this measure - if adopted - would only affect Quebec's French-speaking media. Everyone else has nothing to worry about." The minister then made a point of thanking Wajzman for making his presentation and comments in French and asked that he disseminate this message since he had brought his denunciations of the Payette recommendations to national attention.





OCTOBER 26, 2011

# Occupy what?

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Ok, everybody gets it. Economic disparity between the wealthy and the workers is expanding at a faster rate than at any time in the post war period. We have seen the destruction of a free and fair market by rapacious corporate chieftains. But why occupy Wall St.? The problems do not lie in Wall St. or Bay St. and certainly not in Pace Victoria.

If these protestors really understood the markets, they would know that the stock exchanges are the great equalizers. No you can't beat the markets. But if you understand them, then a relatively small amount of money, properly invested, can produce a healthy supplementary income. People should pay as much attention to that as they do to sports.

The real problems lie in our capitals. Over-regulation that stifles industrial growth and under-legislation that does not address the real problems. For example, the lauded Dodd-

Frank bill that is some 2000 plus pages does not even touch on the issues that allowed the Lehman collapse to happen. Does not restrict the ETFs that control trading and destroy the individual investor. And does not forbid the kind of exotic instruments that led to the sub-prime debacle. What these protesters, no matter how good their intentions, do not know about the real causes and effects could fill volumes.

Their frustration with lack of jobs and a contracting economy is understandable, particularly when corporations are sitting on historically high cash reserves. But the protesters need to understand that the reason the corporations are not expanding is that they don't know what new regulations they are going to get hit with next. Nothing good can come out of a 2000 page bill. The protesters want more government intervention. What they should be protesting for is for government to get out of the way.

This year's Lehman, the Euro debt crisis, was not caused by markets or the private sector. It was caused by the avarice of politicians to acquire more power and control over

people. The Eurozone is a leviathan that does not work. Government is no longer the solution. It is the problem. And the protesters should be in our political capitols not our financial ones, pressing elected officials to get us back to the service state not the control state.

But to bring the protests to Canada is truly meaningless. There are no specific systemic issues. There was no failure of regulation as there was in the States with the repeal of the Glass-Steagall Act that led directly to the excesses of the Lehman era. That was a responsible piece of regulation. Naturally it was repealed. Under President Clinton no less. As a friend of ours said, if there is an earthquake whose epicenter is in New York City, one doesn't send search and rescue crews to Montreal.

How can we be frustrated with the players in a Canadian banking system that abided by the rules and adhered to a solid national regulatory system that kept it out of trouble in 2008 with the implosion of the U.S. economy? Canada's

Federal

government pleaded with the Big 6 of Canadian banking to take its bailout money, but they were greeted with a resounding "Why?"

Are the "Occupy Montreal" protesters railing against the top 1% of taxpayers within the rest of Canada who continue to support Quebec social benefits which they themselves do not enjoy, such as subsidized day care and parental leave? Or is it against the 1% of income earners in Quebec who continue to send almost half of every dollar they earn either West to Ottawa or East to Quebec City. Maybe that 1% has every bit as much to complain about as the remaining 99%.

The "occupy" movement is putting its energies against the wrong enemy. It is a disproportionate response to an abstraction that does not exist.

## 9/11 - TEN YEARS AFTER

# To revive our courage to loathe

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No, this is not another essay about the abomination of the modern theocratic kamikazes of the Middle East and why we must remember 9/11 because of them. Enough has been written about that. Legitimacy or condemnation, applause or denunciation, they seem to all assume a single phenomenon at issue: killing for a cause, strategic murder. However, they sadly miss the point. These are very different activities indeed. A new manifestation of an old evil was loosed upon the world that day 10 years ago.

Today's terror of Islamic fundamentalism is not the modernist version of the mid-20th century politics of assassination. This is not about the killing of particular people thought to be guilty of particular acts. This terror is random murder and thuggery. It is meant to impose tyranny on the minds of all people and exact submission through fear. It is not ended because Bin Laden was killed nor because of

the high hopes arriving out of the "Arab Spring." Too many of the latter's leaders have ties to the Muslim Brotherhood and other extremist organizations. And that is true in Egypt, and Tunisia and even in Libya where the current operational chief of the TNC was thrown out of the United States for being a high level operative of a deadly Islamist group.

9/11 was a radical transformation of the practice of political violence characterized by the targeting of unknown victims innocent of any act that we saw too often over the decades aimed at Israel. Nine-eleven signaled that that small frontline nation in the family of the free would not be the lone target. Indeed, Canada is the only western country on Bin Laden's original hit list that has not yet been attacked. Yet as Robert Frank points out in his excellent article in this issue, 24 Canadians were killed in the Towers, including eight Quebecers. The deep moral and political significance of 9/11 will continue to affect all aspects of the lives of our current generation. This is not an overstatement.

Albert Camus wrote in *The Just Assassins*, "Even in destruction, there is a right way and a

wrong way -- and there are limits." The Islamists know no limits.

9/11 obliterated forever the tenuous line, more honoured in the breach than in reality, between people who could and people who could not be attacked. It had been the political equivalent of the line between combatants and non-combatants. The very word terrorist may be inapplicable for the perpetrators and their fellow travellers that followed. As we devised a new vocabulary for horror after the Holocaust so perhaps we may need to devise a new vocabulary to reflect the brutal elimination of even notional post-war values of civilization that we witnessed on that day.

From New York to New Delhi the obliteration of this line is the critical feature of contemporary terrorism and a chief characteristic in our very real "clash of civilizations." The heirs of the 9/11 killers have emptied the category of the innocent. They claim butchery as their right, slaughter as their legacy.

Assassination is often futile as a means and vile as an end. But we do judge assassins, to some degree, by their victims. When the targets are Hitler-like agents of oppression and

cruelty we may even praise the assassin's work. It is at least possible to be a "just assassin". The assassin fights a limited war; he aims at known individuals and seeks specific political and social changes. "Just terrorism", in today's post 9/11 world, is an oxymoron.

Today's Islamist terror has only one unmistakable message regardless of its public claims. Random murder to indulge an uncontrollable bloodlust. And Western leaders need to better understand this. There is no official program to deal with, as even President Obama found out after his spurned overtures to Iran at the beginning of his administration. The line that marks off agents of the state from civilians, officials from ordinary citizens, is critically important. Once it has been crossed, there is no further line to draw, no stopping place beyond which people can feel safe. Today we are witnessing the ultimate lawlessness with no compromise possible. That very message of no compromise is a key component in the psychological armament of terror that accompanies the physical destructive act itself. It is a paralysis of the rational.

Continued on page 16



FEBRUARY 17, 2011

# Boycott this!

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Ainsi, une partie des puissantes forces "progressives" du Québec ont décidé de boycotter les produits et les compagnies israéliens en raison de « l'apartheid politique » d'Israël. Simplement de l'hypocrisie et une ruse. Par leurs mots et leurs actions elle a démontré, en folie et en honte, le vrai visage de cette partie de la société « civile » du Québec qui tout en déclarant hardiment sa propre « différence », est vraiment hanté par un doute de soi-même poussé par une jalousie des croyances individuelles des autres.

Un aspect du dernier effort de boycott qui est agréable est la condamnation quasi-unanime de la participation du député de Québec Solidaire Amir Khadir dans l'harçèlement d'un individu qu'il est sensé représenter - Yves Archambault - qui possède un magasin de chaussures nommé Le Marcheur et qui a la « témérité » de vendre des chaussures israéliennes. Peut-être les voix

plus raisonnables de la société civile du Québec devraient maintenant se concentrer sur la CSN et la CSQ.

This call for a boycott of products and divestiture of investments in Israeli companies is not important in and of itself. Its importance lies in its manifestation of that part of Quebec society that is still caught up in the hypocrisies of petty narcissisms and the prejudices of its own narrow particularities. And how petty the narcissisms are. These groups start boycotting Israeli consumer goods and then want to move on to companies such as Caterpillar that, besides tractors, sells boots, caps, toys and pocketknives to Israel. In other words nothing that would really cause the boycotters any discomfort.

The cell phone was developed in Israel by Israelis working in the Israeli branch of Motorola. Most of the Windows NT and XP operating systems were developed by Microsoft-Israel. The Pentium microprocessor was made in Israel. Voice mail technology was developed in Israel. So our suggestion is that these "progressives" first cause themselves a little discomfort and refrain from using all these instruments that allow them to disseminate their disinformation and propaganda. But no, that would be too inconvenient for them. They want their cake and they want to eat it too. Particularly those pseudo-intellectuals in PAJU.

Well, boycott this PAJU!

Arabs inside Israel have complete civil rights including the recognition of Arabic as an official language. There are Arab judges, diplomats and some 15 members of Parliament including several representing parties dedicated to the break-up of the State. Jews still cannot get visas to most Arab countries. We would also like to remind the CSN and CSQ that Israel is the only society in the world where more than half its population is affiliated with unions. In most of the Arab Middle East union leaders are routinely harassed, beaten up and sometimes killed.

Except for the right to vote, Palestinians living on the West Bank have - in law - many of the same equity rights. And yes, far too many cases where rights have been abrogated by individual Israeli officials. There are problems there. But hardly of the type to justify the use of the word apartheid. Israel has extended full medical, educational and social services to the Palestinian population. The infant mortality rate, as well as the rate of those finishing high school is the highest among Arab societies in the Middle East. Some 30% of the student body of Hebrew University is Palestinian. Israel not only subsidizes social services - including Palestinian universities - it has also helped to get the Palestinian Authority on its feet by fully outfitting its police force including the supply of some 150,000

weapons.

Les politiques de l'apartheid en Afrique du Sud visaient la ségrégation, la marginalisation et l'annulation de sa population noire. L'Israël est en Cisjordanie seulement parce qu'elle s'est défendue contre des guerres d'agression de ses voisins arabes. Il n'y a aucune politique de destruction de la population palestinienne. Tout à fait le contraire. L'Israël toute entière cherche sa reconnaissance et la paix de sorte qu'elle puisse seretirer.

Several years ago, at the first ever conference between leaders of Quebec civil society and Israeli diplomats - sponsored by the Institute for Public Affairs of Montreal - FTQ President Henri Massé said that he saw nothing to condemn in Israel's policies and vehemently denounced Palestinian violence and hate. For the sake of the credibility of Quebec's true progressives, it is time to hear this message out in the open, clearly proclaimed and candidly defended. If it is not done, then Quebec's dream of the "projet national" will be hijacked by purveyors of parochial prejudice, like Amir Khadir, rather than led by those loyal to the doctrines of social democracy and truth.

Martin Luther King a dit : « Une société commence à mourir quand elle demeure silencieuse envers l'injustice ». Au Québec, aujourd'hui, résolvons de ne pas rester silencieux quand nous entendons des mensonges déguisés en vérité.

## Les souliers d'Amir

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Le député de Québec solidaire, Amir Khadir, ne fait pas que lancer des souliers. Il les boycotte!

Au cœur de son comté de Mercier, la boutique Le Marcheur a pignon sur la rue St-Denis depuis 25 ans. Yves Archambault y vend des chaussures venues des quatre coins du monde. Le 2 octobre dernier, Monsieur Archambault reçoit une « mise en demeure » d'une organisation radicale de gauche qui le menace de piquer devant son commerce pour lancer un appel au boycott s'il continue de vendre des souliers fabriqués en Israël.

Ces radicaux veulent « faire de la rue St-Denis une zone libre d'apartheid israélien ». Bref, une grande purge des produits de l'État juif.

Même s'il n'est pas juif et que les souliers

israéliens Beautifeel représentent moins de 2% de ses ventes, Monsieur Archambault refuse de céder au chantage. Il vend ces chaussures de bonne qualité depuis plus de 15 ans. Apolitique, il refuse qu'une poignée d'idéologues extrémistes lui dictent ce qu'il peut vendre.

Depuis, tous les samedis, aux meilleures heures de vente, une dizaine d'activistes obstruent l'entrée de son magasin avec des affiches anti-Israël, distribuent des tracts qui appellent au boycott de la boutique et apostrophent les clients.

Surprise samedi dernier: Amir Khadir s'est joint aux manifestants, en compagnie de ses camarades Jafar Khadir, ex-membre du Comité central du Parti communiste du Québec, et William Sloan, membre du comité central du Parti communiste du Canada.

### POSITIONS RADICALES

Un député, payé par vos taxes, s'efforce de nuire à un simple commerçant de sa circonscription qui vend légalement des produits venant

d'un pays avec lequel le Canada a une entente de libre-échange et le Québec des accords de coopération.

De son activisme pour un groupe « islamomarxiste » classé terroriste à son soutien public pour George Galloway, propagandiste payé par la télé d'état iranienne, Khadir n'en est pas à sa première controverse avec ses positions extrémistes sur les questions du Moyen-Orient.

Musulman non-pratiquant, Khadir ne soutient pas certaines causes islamistes par conviction religieuse, mais participe plutôt à l'alliance « anti-impérialiste » entre l'extrême-gauche et les islamistes qui se forge partout en Occident.

### LONGUE LISTE

À la suite des attentats du 11 septembre revendiqués par al-Qaïda, Khadir évoquait la possibilité d'un complot de la CIA.

En 2006, en plein conflit armé initié par le Hezbollah, Khadir était le seul politicien à ne condamner qu'Israël sans dire un mot contre le Hezbollah.

En mars dernier, Khadir reçoit à l'Assemblée nationale Jamal Zahalka, leader politique israélo-arabe prônant la dissolution d'Israël.

En septembre dernier, Khadir participe à la commémoration des martyrs de la résistance libanaise du Hezbollah.

À l'Assemblée nationale, Khadir multiplie les interventions pour dénoncer la seule démocratie du Moyen-Orient sans jamais une seule fois condamner les organisations terroristes islamistes, ni les tyrannies du monde arabe.

Combien de Monsieur Archambault devront être terrorisés avant que la population déçante et cesse de faire d'Amir Khadir le politicien le plus populaire au Québec?

En attendant, combattons sa campagne d'intimidation en allant magasiner chez Monsieur Archambault samedi après-midi. Votons avec nos pieds en achetant des chaussures. Nous vaincrons le terrorisme économique de Khadir une paire de souliers à la fois.

17 FÉVRIER 2011

# Le boycott sur St-Denis est un échec

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Normand Guay pendant qu'il quittait le magasin avec sa nouvelle paire de chaussures. « Ce type a le droit de gérer sa propre entreprise sans qu'on lui dise ce qu'il devrait ou ne devrait pas faire. »

Après le gros titre du dimanche précédent quand Le Journal de Montréal a publié une photo en première page montrant la députée de NDG Marlene Jennings essayant une paire de chaussures dans le magasin d'Archambault, un nombre de plus en plus important de députés fédéraux et provinciaux et de personnalités assorties des médias utilisent la manif sur St-Denis comme une occasion fait sur mesure pour démontrer leur soutien au milieu des affaires infortuné de la ville. Indépendamment du samedi quand Jennings et le député libéral fédéral de Westmount Marc Garneau sont venus pour acheter quelques chaussures, plusieurs informations rapportent que Benoît Dutrizac, l'animateur populaire de radio de Montréal, est venu au magasin afin de s'acheter une paire de chaussures de même que l'ancien ministre de la justice et député fédéral de Mont-Royal Irwin Cotler. Après que le député conservateur Steven Blaney a condamné le boycott comme du « ... terrorisme économique », le chef du Bloc québécois Gilles Duceppe a suivi avec sa propre lettre dans laquelle

il a dit que le boycott (avec une autre série récente d'incidents antisémitiques) n'a aucune place dans la société ouverte et démocratique du Québec. Dans une lettre adressée à Adam Atlas, le président du Congrès juif québécois, Duceppe mentionne que le boycott est « ... totalement inacceptable dans une société démocratique », et s'est assuré qu'une copie soit envoyée à Archambault.

PAJU avait également fait face à l'embarras dans une manifestation récente quand un manifestant de PAJU - devant les leaders de la coalition anti-boycott Éric Duhaim, Beryl Wajzman et David Ouellette - a commencé à crier des insultes racistes à Tshibain Tshibungu, un nouveau immigré au Canada originaire du Congo.

« Que fais-tu ici ? », a-t-il crié. « Ta peau n'est même pas blanche comme la mienne. »

« Qu'est-ce que la couleur de ma peau à avoir avec le droit de cet homme [Archambault] de gérer son entreprise sans que des gens lui disent quoi faire? », a demandé Tshibungu.

Après quatre mois de manifestations intermittentes, Archambault perd rapidement la patience avec le théâtre de rue devant son magasin. Bien qu'il soit reconnaissant de tout l'appui qu'il a reçu au cours des dernières semaines, il a dit au The

Metropolitain qu'il n'arrive pas encore à comprendre pourquoi ils [les militants de PAJU] considèrent son magasin un endroit approprié pour une discussion au sujet de la politique du Moyen-Orient

« Peut importe ce qui arrive, » a dit Archambault, « ... je ne laisserai toujours pas quiconque me dire ce que je peux ou ne peux pas vendre dans mon magasin. »



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

- George F. Lengvari, Sr.



LENGVARI & ASSOCIATES INC.



JUNE 10, 2010

# PGL: Réformer et renouveler



« Chaque jeune intellectuel au Québec était alors un socialiste, » il a dit. « Scott et moi avions des opinions qui étaient infiniment similaires. »

M. Gérin-Lajoie était quelqu'un d'influence même avant qu'il ait fait son entrée en politique. En 1948, il a proposé des amendements à l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique visant à assurer la place du Québec dans la confédération et a publié sa thèse en 1950. Il n'était pas, cependant, le genre de politicien qui sentait le besoin de charmer le grand public, et a subi deux défaites en tant que candidat libéral dans Vaudreuil-Soulanges. Il a alors perdu une course à la chefferie du parti à Jean Lesage.

Quand Gérin-Lajoie fut enfin élu en 1960, et les libéraux ont pris le pouvoir, « je suis rentré au conseil des ministres avec mes rêves, René Lévesque est rentré avec ses rêves. » Mais Lesage « n'avait aucune idée où on avait besoin de moi, et voulait initialement que je sois le procureur général. Puis, il m'a demandé d'être ministre de la jeunesse, que selon moi, était seulement la moitié d'un ministère, alors je l'ai convaincu de me donner le ministère de l'éducation aussi. »

Après que le gouvernement ait été défait en 1966, Gérin-Lajoie servait de président du comité libéral de fédérations sur la constitution et a proposé que le Québec adopte une forme de gouvernement républicain, à l'intérieur du Canada, avec un large accord pour un statut spécial qui réduirait les pouvoirs du fédéral. Mais quand Pierre Trudeau est devenu premier ministre en 1968, M. Gérin-Lajoie n'était pas prêt d'être candidat pour un siège à la Chambre des communes.

Après que le gouvernement ait été défait en 1966, Gérin-Lajoie fut Président du comité libéral de fédérations sur la constitution et a proposé que le Québec adopte une forme de gouvernement républicain, à l'intérieur du Canada, avec un large accord pour un statut spécial qui réduirait les pouvoirs du fédéral. Mais quand Pierre Trudeau est devenu premier ministre en 1968, M. Gérin-Lajoie n'était pas prêt d'être candidat pour un siège à la Chambre des communes.

« Mon intérêt continu fut la politique provinciale, et la place du Québec dans la confédération. J'ai vu la question fondamentale du point de vue du Québec, et je n'ai pas voulu compromettre cette vision en allant en politique fédérale. L'issue constitutionnelle, d'ailleurs, n'est pas réglée. La discussion n'est pas terminée. Je ne prévois pas quand elle sera rouverte, mais elle restera avec nous pendant encore quelque temps. »

Mr. Gérin-Lajoie was named head of the Export Development Corporation in 1970, a post he held for six years. At a time when most of the developed nations cut back on foreign aid, Mr. Gérin-Lajoie substantially increased Canada's contributions. In 1981, he became the general manager of the Old Port in Montreal, a post he held until a Progressive-Conservative government was elected in 1984.

M. Gérin-Lajoie fut nommé à diriger l'Agence canadienne de développement international en 1970, un poste qu'il a gardé pendant six ans. À un moment où la plupart des pays développés coupaient leur aide à l'étranger, M. Gérin-Lajoie a sensiblement augmenté les contributions du Canada. En 1981, il est devenu président-directeur général de la Société du Vieux-Port de Montréal, un poste qu'il a occupé jusqu'à l'élection du gouvernement Progressiste-Conservateur en 1984.

In 1977, he created the foundation that bears his name to promote literacy in Haiti and Africa.

En 1977, il créa la fondation qui porte son nom dans le but de promouvoir l'alphabétisation en Haïti et en Afrique; et depuis 1987, il s'y consacre à plein temps.

« Si je devais faire un choix, je suis le plus fier de mes réalisations en tant que ministre dans le gouvernement de Lesage. J'ai parlé avec passion au sujet de la réforme de l'enseignement, et l'ai réalisée, ça fait partie de ma vie, de mon legs. Mais ma fondation est une prolongation de ce travail, » il dit. « Ce que j'ai fait pour l'éducation au Québec, la fondation le réalise maintenant autour du monde. »

En reconnaissance de ses contributions, il s'est vu décerner le prix de la Paix attribué par le Mouvement canadien pour une fédération mondiale, et est un Compagnon de l'Ordre du Canada, ainsi qu'un Chevalier de l'Ordre National de la Légion d'Honneur. L'année dernière, en raison de sa philanthropie dans le tiers monde, il a été proposé en tant que candidat pour le Prix Nobel.

ministres de l'administration de Jean Lesage, qui a initié la Révolution tranquille du Québec, M. Gérin-Lajoie est un homme d'une immense habileté intellectuelle. En tant qu'étudiant de 18 ans au Collège Brébeuf, il a écrit un papier, *Maîtres chez nous*, promouvant la notion d'un statut spécial pour le Québec. En tant que boursier Rhodes dans les années 40, il a étudié et a milité pour un changement constitutionnel au Canada. Témoignant devant la Commission Tremblay en 1956, il a proposé des grandes réformes au système d'éducation archaïque du Québec. Quand les libéraux sous Jean Lesage ont été portés au pouvoir par un vent de changement le 22 juin 1960, il est devenu le premier ministre de l'éducation de la province et a présenté ce qui est depuis devenu la grande charte de l'éducation du Québec. Ses changements ont amélioré le programme d'études, exigé aux élèves de rester à l'école jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient au moins 16 ans, et a établi un système de CEGEP à travers la province.

« Sa contribution était de réformer le Québec sans jeter ses valeurs, » un de ses biographes, Mario Cardinal, écrit dans *L'Homme qui veut changer le monde*. « Il n'a pas provoqué une révolution idéologique, des réformes plutôt institutionnelles et administratives, globales dans le sens qu'elles ont touché tous les aspects d'activité de gouvernement : la santé, l'agriculture, le transport, l'administration publique, et en même temps, la culture. »

Paul Gérin-Lajoie vient d'une famille particulièrement distinguée du Québec (sa grand-mère, Marie, était une Lacoste, et une pionnière des droits des femmes) et en 1944 il s'est marié à une autre (son épouse, Andrée, est une Papineau). La carrière de M. Gérin-Lajoie a été stimulée par son père, Antoine, un poète, un journaliste et le bibliothécaire du Parlement canadien qui a écrit les paroles pour « Un Canadien errant ». À Brébeuf, un de ses camarades de classe était Pierre Trudeau. Il a étudié le droit à l'Université de Montréal, fut un boursier Rhodes, et à McGill, il a été influencé par le professeur de droit Frank R. Scott, un intellectuel socio-démocrate de gauche qui fut l'un des fondateurs du Parti social démocratique du Canada (aussi connu sous le nom de Fédération du commonwealth coopératif).

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Une collection amusante d'une centaine d'hiboux ornementaux remplit un cabinet dans l'appartement spacieux de Paul Gérin-Lajoie - une centaine d'hiboux en cristal, porcelaine, verre, bronze et argent. Les hiboux, dans toutes les formes et tailles, sont des cadeaux qu'il a reçus au cours des années des amis qui le considèrent un vieil oiseau sage qui, comme un hibou, travail tard, et bat des paupières en reconnaissance tranquille de tout ce qu'il voit.

Few have contributed as much to public life as Paul-Gérin Lajoie. A lawyer of seemingly unlimited ambition, he has enjoyed four remarkable careers. He was Quebec's first minister of education during the 1960s, head of Canada's Export Development Corporation in the 1970s, a guiding force behind Montreal's waterfront park in the Old Port in the 1980s, and in the 1990s, started the foundation that bears his name to promote literacy in Haiti and Africa.

Peu ont contribué autant à la vie publique que Paul Gérin-Lajoie. Un avocat d'une ambition apparemment illimitée, il a eu quatre carrières remarquables. Il fut le premier ministre de l'éducation du Québec pendant les années 60, il dirigea l'Agence canadienne de développement international dans les années 70, il fut un des responsables derrière le projet des berges du St-Laurent dans le Vieux-Port de Montréal dans les années 80, et dans les années 90, il s'est consacré à la fondation qui porte son nom dans le but de promouvoir l'alphabétisation en Haïti et en Afrique.

Le dernier ministre encore en vie du conseil des

## Résister au comparaisons

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Vous lirez beaucoup dans ce numéro au sujet de l'héritage de la Révolution tranquille dans notre vie politique, notre place sur la scène internationale, notre économie, nos mœurs sociales et nos arts. Ma réflexion dans cet espace est au sujet de ce que la Révolution tranquille - et l'extraordinaire

révolutionnaire tranquille Paul Gérin-Lajoie - peut encore nous enseigner aujourd'hui et demain.

A Québec Senator once told me that the real two solitudes exist not between anglophone and francophone, but between those francophones who view themselves as the inheritors of an almost unparalleled progressive political tradition and those who see themselves as the defenders of "La Grande Noirceur". It is the fidelity to that former tradition that made the "Équipe de tonnerre" so

## To withstand comparisons

important then and such a beacon today. They were about the politics of inclusion, not of nullification. They had the courage to look outward, not the fear that turns inward. They had the wisdom to understand the difference between policies of compassion and those of control. How we need that all of that today.

Après presque quarante ans de guerres de cultures, leur exemple - réaffirmé - pourrait placer le Québec sur un nouveau parcours plus noble. Un parcours qui ne confondrait pas le progrès avec le nationalisme. Qui ne

chercherait pas à construire pour certains sur les ruines d'autres. Qui comprendrait que des droits sont des droits et les respecter n'est pas contradictoire à être « maître chez nous ». En effet, la protection et l'expansion des droits pour tous est le raison d'être même d'être maître politique chez nous.

Our hope for the future rests with the recognition by all Canadians that in the final analysis Quebec is the society where Louis-Joseph Papineau led the struggle for full



22 AVRIL 2010

# ASSEZ, C'EST ASSEZ!

## Enlevons les « ombrages » du gouvernement

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Il y a un contrat social entre les gouverneurs et les gouvernés. Nous le peuple acceptons d'abandonner une partie de nos libertés et de notre trésor en échange de prestation de services qui rendent nos vies meilleures. Des services que même le plus fort parmi nous ne pourrait pas se fournir à soi-même. Quand nous sommes sortis des jungles et des forêts et avons créé des habitats, nous nous sommes rendus compte qu'en repoussant les loups ensemble, nous aurions le time de vivre. Pour grandir. Pour aimer. Pour engager nos passions et nos poésies et réaliser la pleine capacité de notre individualité.

Throughout history however, our governors too often turn out to be wolves in sheep's clothing. Instead of getting the essentials right – the effective and efficient provision of services – they engage in social engineering with groaning bureaucracies that do nothing more than enhance their power and control over us. Public service is called just that because it is about service and services. Assuring the people of sufficient, accessible and affordable food, clothing, housing, teaching, healing, security, transport and freedom from want. It's not welfare. It's just decency. A helping hand up is not a hand out. But the institutions of social security – the highest and most noble promise of industrial liberalism – is a far cry from the statist dictates of today that so much of our taxes are wasted on. This statism seeks to change you. It goes beyond the bounds of any natural law and erodes the fundamental trust between the government and we the people. It also supports massive shadow govern-

ment structures that squeezes the last cent out of our livelihoods. Structures which abnegated the sovereignty of our suffrage. Structures created in council rooms apart far from the public they are supposed to serve.

The recent provincial budget has egregious flaws. But this budget – for the first time in recent memory – also gave us a glimpse at the shadow structures whose never-ending and ever-growing funding needs seep our very lifeblood. Examining them, we can see how the state wastes our money. We can also understand what John Reed meant when he wrote that, “There comes a time in the relations between governors and governed when every action by the state excites the people’s contempt and every failure to act sparks the people’s disgust.”

In dusty little corners of the budget we learned of “fusions or abolitions” of provincial government agencies. Agencies which in each and every case duplicated or triplicated the work of government ministries and pre-existing commissions or crown corporations. These shadow structures – shadow in the sense that they simply mirror the work of existing entities like a shadow reflects our form – seem to exist merely for the sake of expanding state control over our lives with larger bureaucracies, employing armies of inspectors, broadening ministerial powers and having convenient places to elevate political allies under the pretext of public service. In this budget we are told that 28 such shadows will be abolished or fused into ministries or pre-existing entities. Unfortunately, we are also informed that 172 will continue. And we are not told whether the regiments of bureaucrats soldiering them will be eliminated or simply transferred to continue receiving salaries paid by the public dole.

Ce n'est pas un petit geste. Voici le cœur de la

façon dont le gouvernement gaspille notre argent au Québec. 28 de fait, il ne manque que 172. Mais quand? Et où? Ce n'est pas un petit geste parce que Bachand lui-même admet qu'au Québec nous payons 26% de plus pour des services publics qu'en Ontario, et l'Ontario a un PIB de 14% plus grand que le nôtre. Combien de temps il croit que les gens se laisseront traiter comme des vaches à lait pour financer les avantages politiques provinciaux. Ce n'est également pas un petit geste parce que quelques 40% de nos fonds public sont dépensés en soins de santé. Et le Québec est la seule juridiction politique occidentale où plus de la moitié des personnes gens payés par le système de santé sont du personnel non-médical. Ce sont des bureaucrates, plusieurs qui sont dans ces ombrages regardant au-dessus des épaules de nos guérisseurs. La juridiction politique la plus rapprochée en occident de notre 52% non-médical est la France. Et la France est seulement à 37%.

Let us take a brief glance at some of these “fusions and abolitions.” We have been a bit free in our translations of the names of these shadows. Our personal favorite involves transport. Now follow closely. The activities of the Fund for the sale of goods and services; the Fund for partnership in transport infrastructure; the Fund for contributions of drivers to communal transport and the Fund for the conservation and improvement of the transport network will be rolled into a new Fund for road infrastructures and communal transport!!! Four fund into one. Not a bad deal it seems. Except what in the name of sanity were the four Funds doing in the first place? We the taxpayers were funding these bureaucracies. We have a Ministry of Transport. Couldn't these matters have been taken care of there?

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emancipation of all minorities in 1832 eight years before England. This is the place where Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine battled successfully for the first experiment in responsible government in the British Empire. Here is the ground that responded to Georges-Etienne Cartier's call to put aside petty differences and helped give life to the seeds of a great new country. Here is the culture that nurtured Laurier's vision of an inclusionary and internationalist Canada of the 20th Century.

Quebec was the indispensable crucible that forged the heroism of men like Jean Marchand and Pierre Elliot Trudeau in the 1950's and 1960's who, from the labor struggles of Lac

Megantic on, helped break the back of a revanchiste right and a retrograde clergy and paved the way for a re-definition of what Canada is as a nation through their social policies of the 1970's and 1980's coming to full flower in the guarantee of the sovereignty of the individual enshrined in the Charter of Rights. This was the battleground for the “Révolution Tranquille” that made so many more of us true stakeholders in our governance and established a model that was followed nationally. And yes, this was the stage where René Levesque gave voice and vigor to a national striving but steadfastly maintained Quebec's full dedication to democratic principles and pluralistic doctrines.

Ceci est le Québec que nos mémoires institutionnelles doivent inspirer. Ceci est le Québec que nous devons nous assurer réussit. Un Québec où le patrimoine politique produit une grande partie du cœur et de l'âme de la tradition progressive canadienne. Et si nous pouvons renverser notre échec de conviction en nous-mêmes comme Canadiens et abandonner nos précautions de mépris, nous pourrions finalement commencer à comprendre ce qui est vraiment dans l'intérêt du Québec.

Ironically it was Lucien Bouchard – in his resignation speech - who so eloquently expressed what we must always strive for in Québec and what PGL and his band of

There will also be a merger into one agency of the Fund for health research, the Fund for research on nature and technology and the Fund for research on society and culture. Are we the only ones asking – what in blazes? What do they have in common and why did they exist to begin with? The crown corporation on asbestos will be abolished. And we had one why? The Fund for the horse racing industry will be abolished. Again, why did we have one? What happened to the free market? And we thought the government did not want to encourage gambling. The Council on seniors will be integrated with the Secretariat on seniors which in turn is part of the Ministry for Seniors. Why three levels? Not to be forgotten, The Permanent Council on Youth will be integrated to the Secretariat on Youth which reports to the Minister responsible for Youth. Again, why three levels? Why weren't all these areas handled by policy advisors to the respective Ministers? Just one more, the Council on the family and early childhood will be integrated into the Ministry for the family and seniors. And again...why wasn't it there to begin with?

Notre utilisation moderne du terme « contrat social » provient des écritures du philosophe français Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Ses pensées ont inspiré la révolution française. Nous au Québec avons brûlé les bâtiments du Parlement en 1839. Alors que nous réfléchissons comment réparer notre contrat social aujourd'hui - tellement mal compromis par une malfaçon financière et budgétaire spectaculairement non-partisane - les leçons de l'histoire devraient être maintenues dans l'esprit de tous nos principaux acteurs politiques.

brothers tried to instill in us. “When issues are matters of principle, there is no room for negotiation. We touch here clearly at the heart of what is essential. I wish to affirm with absolutely no qualifications, that citizens of Quebec can exercise their right to vote, in which ever way they want, without being accused of intolerance.” Anything less he said, could not withstand comparisons.

To withstand comparisons with the freest political cultures. That is the heart of the matter. For the great and agonizing question is not Quebec sovereignty. It is to continue building Québec on what truly makes it distinct. And that distinction is the patrimony

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25 MARS 2010

# Israël n'a pas le choix

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Quelque 7000 obus de mortiers et roquettes tirés sur le territoire d'Israël depuis 2001. Des dizaines de milliers de civils israéliens ciblés par des attaques quotidiennes. Les alertes plus que quotidiennes qui terrorisent les enfants dans leurs écoles et leurs garderies. Quel gouvernement peut tolérer cela ? Depuis sept ans, les brigades d'Al-Aqsa (branche du Fatah), le Jihad islamique et le Hamas

se sont armés pour atteindre leur but : détruire l'État d'Israël. Imaginons un instant que les enfants de Longueuil vivent jour et nuit dans l'effroi, que les entreprises, magasins, hôpitaux, écoles soient la cible de terroristes localisés à Brossard. Qu'attendraient de leurs gouvernements les Québécois, y compris ceux qui ne seraient pas à la portée des terroristes, sinon qu'ils soient protégés de ces actes terroristes ? Aucun gouvernement ne peut tolérer que son territoire et ses citoyens soient mis en danger. Or qu'a fait Israël ? En 2005, il a totalement évacué la bande de Gaza. Un geste de bonne volonté coûteux et risqué qui devait servir la paix et amener une coopération entre Israéliens et Gazaouis. Mais ce geste fut interprété par les islamistes comme un signe

de la victoire ultime sur Israël, de même que le Hezbollah a interprété le geste de bonne volonté d'évacuation du Sud-Liban par Israël en 2000 (en vue de faciliter les négociations avec Arafat). Après avoir pris le pouvoir, le Hamas a massacré des centaines de Palestiniens pro-Fatah. Au lieu de la paix attendue, au lieu d'administrer la vie quotidienne des Gazaouis, le Hamas s'est comporté en agent de la stratégie globale des mollahs iraniens. Au lieu de la paix, le Hamas a délibérément opté pour la confrontation directe, conformément aux instructions des dirigeants iraniens. Terreur et misère Israël a conclu en juin 2008 une trêve avec le Hamas, laquelle prévoyait l'interruption totale pendant six mois des tirs de roquettes et de mortiers sur Israël. Or, ils n'ont jamais cessé. Au lieu de gérer la population dont il a la charge, le Hamas a opté pour la terreur et la misère qu'il impose à sa population. Alors que le Hamas maintient que sa population n'a pas de quoi se nourrir, le Hamas s'est procuré des quantités de munitions et d'armes de toutes sortes, dont des missiles sophistiqués provenant de l'armée iranienne. Il aurait suffi que les tirs de ces missiles cessent pour que passe tout ce dont les Gazaouis ont besoin, exactement comme c'est le cas des Arabes de Cisjordanie. Le Hamas a choisi la confrontation. Toute amélioration du sort des Palestiniens au plan économique, social et sanitaire passe par le nettoyage des institutions palestinienne corrompues. Les Palestiniens cherchaient des leaders responsables qui mettraient de l'ordre dans leurs affaires publiques. Le Hamas a des objectifs militaires et terroristes : liquider Israël. Disciple du Hezbollah, téléguidé depuis la Syrie, pion de l'Iran, le Hamas a contribué à l'échec total de la gestion des Territoires. Israël s'est montré plus généreux que les Ottomans, les Britanniques, les Égyptiens et les Jordaniens, qui ont dominé les Palestiniens durant les cinq derniers

siècles, en donnant au Hamas la possibilité de gérer Gaza en toute indépendance. Le Hamas a-t-il tenté de remettre à flot l'économie palestinienne ? A-t-il commencé à édifier l'État auquel les Palestiniens prétendent, à construire des écoles, des routes et des hôpitaux ? La communauté internationale ne demandait qu'à les financer généreusement, en contrepartie de quelques déclarations rassurantes, même ambiguës. Le Hamas a plutôt choisi de cultiver la haine et la misère de la population palestinienne. Cette misère et le désespoir qu'elle génère lui apportent des troupes fraîches. Encore une fois, les Palestiniens sont les victimes de leur propre leadership. Le Hamas est manipulé par les dictateurs syriens et iraniens qui promettent de l'aide qui ne vient jamais, si ce n'est sous forme militaire et diplomatique, car ils n'ont cure des Palestiniens qui ne sont pour eux que des pions. (...)



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25 MARS 2010

# Les vraies vérités sur Israël

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 « L'Israël n'est pas l'Afrique du Sud »  
 ~ Edward Saïd, auteur de « L'Orientalisme »

 « Everyone has a right to their own opinion.  
 No one has a right to their own facts. »  
 ~ Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Over the past month – from that annual hatefest called Israel Apartheid Week to the needless row over the Jerusalem buildings – we have witnessed a viral and venal campaign of disinformation about our one democratic ally in a sea of theocratic tyranny. We want to devote this front page to setting the record straight. To fight the teachings of contempt. Here's the real deal on Israel.

During IAW we saw the usual collection of Islamist apologists and their fellow-travelers in academic, political and diplomatic circles seeking to portray Israel as an apartheid-era South Africa in relation to its Arab citizens.

C'est tentant de l'ignorer. Mais le silence serait une soumission qui ne pourra pas plus tard être surmontée. Ces campagnes de propagande sont la guerre bactériologique, psychologique et intellectuelle de l'agression de la haine. Et elles rabaisent notre discours public. En tant qu'exemple, le président de la Fédération canado-arabe Khaled Mouammar qui l'année dernière a appelé le Ministre de l'immigration et du multiculturalisme Jason Kenney « une pute professionnelle »

pour son appui à l'Israël. Ces campagnes ont déjà éliminé une grande partie des mémoires historiques et institutionnelles de plusieurs citoyens du monde libre d'une génération, et sont sur le point d'infecter une autre génération plus jeune.

The Islamist propaganda blitz in this new World War creates an enormous challenge for those still dedicated to the fate of freedom in the world. For the propagandists are engaged in an effort to destroy the legitimacy of one specific nation, a sister democracy, that is the free world's frontline guardian against the spread of theocratic tyranny. And for only one reason, because of what and who they are—Israeli and Jewish.

#### Liberté d'expression

L'Israël peut être plusieurs choses (et on peut être en désaccord avec elle sur plusieurs de ses politiques); mais elle n'est pas un État d'apartheid. Jamal Zahalka, un membre de la Knesset, le Parlement de l'Israël, qui est un arabe israélien musulman, a voyagé librement, et fréquemment, en Occident se prononçant sur le « mythe » de la démocratie israélienne. Zahalka n'est pas n'importe quel député; il est un membre du parti Balad.

Balad was founded by Azmi Bishara, also a member of Israel's parliament, who started his political life as a communist. On the 8 of February 2004 the High Court sitting in Nazareth found that members of Balad were "...guilty of having put in place a Hezbollah proxy terrorist cell inside Israel in order to carry out suicide bombings..." Bishara himself declared in Beirut's "L'Orient-le-jour" on the 13th of June 2001 that, "I do not consider

Hezbollah to be a terrorist organization."

En dépit de ceci, Balad n'a pas été interdit en Israël, et ses membres, comme Zahalka, n'ont pas été interdit de se déplacer. En effet, les diplomates israéliens dans les diverses villes qu'il a prononcé des discours n'ont pu le critiquer car le protocole israélien demande le respect pour un membre de la Knesset. Alors que les juifs ne peuvent pas encore obtenir un visa pour la plupart des pays musulmans. Un autre élément. Zahalka a obtenu son baccalauréat, sa maîtrise et son doctorat en pharmacologie de l'Université Hébraïque de Jérusalem. Les Arabes forment 25% des étudiants à cette université.

#### Political participation

Zahalka is not a rare case. There are about a dozen Arab Muslim members of the Knesset. They represent several Arab political parties including two who expressly support terrorism. Those two had been disqualified by Israel's election authority but re-instated by order of the Israeli Supreme Court.

En effet, les Arabes israéliens, primordialement des musulmans, votent en un pourcentage plus élevé que les Nord-américains. Les Arabes servent dans les corps diplomatiques sans un plafond de verre. L'ambassadeur de l'Israël en Finlande est un Arabe. C'était le Premier ministre Ariel Sharon qui a nommé le premier Arabe israélien, Salah Tarif, au Conseil des ministres. En mai 2004, Salim Jubran a été nommé à la Cour suprême de l'Israël.

Though making up some 18% of Israel's population, 22% of the membership of the Israeli Labour Party that ruled Israel for most of its

existence was Arab as of May 2005.

#### Droits civiques

L'arabe est une langue officielle en Israël; c'est même sur tous les panneaux routiers, ce qui n'est pas le cas de l'anglais au Québec. Plus de 300 000 enfants arabes vont aux écoles primaires et secondaires en Israël. En 1948, il y avait seulement une école secondaire arabe en Israël. Aujourd'hui, il y a des centaines. Il y a naturellement une « discrimination » envers les Arabes en Israël. Ils ne sont pas obligés de faire le service militaire, bien qu'il y a plusieurs, - particulièrement les Bédouins, les Druzes et les Circassiens - qui le font de façon volontaire.

Though discrimination in employment and social services is outlawed, there are certainly many cases of individual prejudice. But a 2000 study published in the Jerusalem Post shows just how close the living standards are between Arabs and Jews in Israel. Unemployment among Jews stood at 6.8%; among Arabs it was 10.4%. The average Jewish household had 1.80 persons for every room; the average Arab household 2.30 persons for every room. Life expectancy for Jews averaged 75; for Arabs 73.

Un des grands problèmes dénoncé à chaque semaine annuelle contre l'apartheid israélien est que le Fonds national juif et les départements gouvernementaux israéliens contrôlent la majeure partie des terres en Israël et refuse de vendre aux Arabes. La vérité est que ces terres ne sont pas vendues à personnes. Elles sont louées. Et il n'y a aucune restriction religieuse ou ethnique

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25 MARS, 2010

# Nous n'avons pas à tolérer l'intolérable

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Si il y a une chose qu'a révélée au grand jour cette épisode de la jeune femme égyptienne en burqa qui s'est auto-exclue d'un cours de francisation à cause de son attitude sectaire, c'est la grande incapacité d'un bon nombre de journalistes à décrypter le discours, les symboles ainsi que l'activisme des tenants de l'obscurantisme le plus réactionnaire du monde musulman, à savoir le salafisme.

Le phénomène de l'islamisme politique dont le spectre est très large, est aussi très complexe. Il inclut aussi bien des prédicateurs en costume tel que Tarik Ramadan que des imams en turban tel que Qaradawi qui appelle, dans ses prêches diffusés à Al-Jazira, à l'assassinat des juifs, des mécréants et des apostats, à l'extermination physique des homosexuels, au recours à la violence pour punir les femmes.

Pour ce qui est des femmes violées « provocatrices parce que non habillées décentement devraient être punies [...] pour qu'elle soit affranchie de la culpabilité, une femme violée doit avoir montré la bonne conduite. » affirmait-il. D'un bout à l'autre du spectre islamiste, ses prédicateurs partagent tous le même système de valeurs archaïques et puisent leurs sources dans une interprétation littérale du Coran ainsi qu'une application pure et simple de la charia islamique. Dans cette optique, il n'est guère surprenant que les livres de Qaradawi soient préfacés par Ramadan.

Traiter de l'islamisme requiert des connaissances appropriées

Les observateurs avertis qui travaillent sur ces questions, depuis plusieurs années, vous le diront : la ligne est très ténue entre islam et islamisme et seuls ceux qui ont un bagage important en la matière peuvent prétendre la tracer. Encore là, rien n'est jamais sûr car le phénomène de l'islamisme politique est dynamique, requiert de notre part de larges connaissances et une grande prudence car les enjeux qu'ils soulèvent sont énormes et traversent toutes les sociétés qu'elles soient orientales ou occidentales (le Québec n'y échappe pas). D'ailleurs un débat existe au sein même des communautés musulmanes entre les tenants d'un islam radical et ceux qui refusent le marquage des femmes par TOUS les voiles islamiques, marquage possessionnel et obsessionnel du corps féminin, stigmate de servitude, volontaire ou forcé, de discrimination, de séparation et de fantasmes sexuels aussi bien orientaux qu'occidentaux.

Or, il est surprenant de constater que certains journalistes, qui n'iaient jusqu'à l'existence même de ce phénomène (le salafisme) et de l'une de ses manifestations (la burqa) se soient emparés de cette histoire pour s'improviser commentateur de la première heure au mépris des fondements même du journalisme. Est-ce que la rédaction d'un journal aurait accepté qu'un commentateur sportif se saisisse d'une question économique pointue sans en avoir la compétence? Est-ce que la direction d'un journal aurait accepté qu'un journaliste politique non informé de ces questions nous explique le phénomène de la physique quantique ou de la relativité générale? Certainement pas. En tout cas, pas un journal sérieux.

Confondre travail journalistique avec bêtise et désinformation

Pourquoi le journal La Presse l'a-t-il fait dans son édition du 6 mars, sous la plume de Michèle Ouimet ? N'aurait-il pas fallu un peu plus de professionnalisme dans le traitement de cette affaire? Certes, une telle histoire avait toute sa place dans les colonnes du journal, là n'est pas la question. Fallait-il encore que l'ignorance crasse cède la place à la rigueur. Que dire encore du goût effréné de la journaliste Michèle Ouimet pour l'activisme le plus nauséabond confondant travail journalistique avec voyeurisme, sensationnalisme et tout simplement bêtise et désinformation.

Tester la tolérance des Québécois face à la burqa? Depuis quand les journaux font-ils passer des tests de civisme aux citoyens? Quelle prétention sordide! Depuis quand les journaux se font les relais d'une propagande chargée de barbarie à l'égard des femmes? Et, depuis quand devons-nous être tolérants face au fascisme, au nazisme, à l'apartheid sexuel et face à tous les bourreaux de ce monde qui saignent les femmes? Or, on reproche aux Québécois de condamner l'une des pires dérives de l'islam politique, le salafisme. On veut leur forcer la main pour qu'ils tolèrent l'intolérable au nom d'une distorsion de la liberté religieuse.

L'islamisme : une idéologie essentiellement réactionnaire

Les aspects réactionnaires de l'islamisme ne sont pas que des questions accessoires, elles sont centrales. L'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes n'est pas seulement une question de justice sociale ou d'intégration, c'est également une question de libertés fondamentales. Les deux vont de pair et ne sont jamais indissociables. Il n'y a nul courage à se vêtir d'un accoutrement qui stigmatise les femmes comme autrefois l'étoile jaune stigmatisait les

juifs. Le véritable courage est porté par toutes celles qui résistent à l'hydre islamiste au péril de leur vie. C'est à toi Choukria Haider que je pense, en particulier, en écrivant ces quelques mots, toi avec qui j'ai partagé un grand moment de solidarité à New York à l'occasion de la 54<sup>ème</sup> assemblée générale de l'ONU dédiée à Pékin + 15, vendredi dernier. Toi, qui refuses tout compromis avec les Talibans, toi qui ne crois pas aux talibans modérés, toi qui a dédié toute ta vie à reconstruire ton pays l'Afghanistan. Je t'ai vu interpellé, avec une rare bravoure, un à un les grands de ce monde pour qu'ils tiennent compte de ta voix et de celles des femmes de ton pays.

A signaler que nulle avancée significative n'a été enregistrée lors de cette rencontre internationale, car comme l'expliquait un ambassadeur occidental, « nous n'avons pas fait de recommandations en matière des droits des femmes, de peur de voir les recommandations des pays musulmans gagner du terrain, alors nous nous sommes entendus pour le statut quo ». Voilà pour l'état de santé des droits des femmes dans le monde.

Inutile de préciser que nulles voilées n'étaient là pour demander des comptes aux États islamistes. Lorsqu'elles ne servaient pas de relais à leur propagande, elles étaient là pour terroriser les féministes et laïques des pays musulmans en les traitant de traîtres à l'islam et de vendues à l'Occident.

Domage que ce grand rendez-vous international pour les droits des femmes n'ait pas été couvert par un plus grand nombre de médias. C'est aussi cela la mission d'un organe de presse : informer le public des grands enjeux internationaux.

Essayiste, Djemila Benhabib a publié *Ma vie à contre-Coran*, Montréal, VLB éditeur, 2009.

## To revive our courage to loathe

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Kill the spirit, then kill the body.

Yet the Islamists operate today in a permissive atmosphere. Despite the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, we still see statesmen rush about to make bargains. Journalists and academics construct elaborate apologias on their behalf. The undeniable is denied and the indefensible is defended.

It is said in some quarters that today's butchery is nothing new. They are acting as revolutionaries and as nationalists have always acted. This is demonstrably false. It is said that these terrorists are the inevitable product of hardship and oppression, which is also false since so many come from backgrounds of privilege, as many of the

9/11 killers did and indeed of extreme wealth as in Bin Laden's case.

We are losing our sense of the historical past. We are falling into an age of ignorance that erases all institutional memory and moral distinctions. Many say that random murder is an effective political strategy — the terrorist will win the day. This is most frightening of all for it is less a recognition of reality (witness Churchill and Britain in WWII) than an indictment of the cowardice and complacency of current culture.

Trotsky once said that "The revolution must have its code of honour." Maybe it once had. Previous revolutionaries were not necessarily good or gentle people but they realized there were limits on political action.

Everything was not permissible for a very practical reason. To quote Trotsky again, the revolution should not be "...loathed by the whole human race."

In our world today, radical movements have been taken over by autocratic and theocratic thugs and fanatics. To deal with them, all the aspects of an advanced security apparatus are necessary, obviously balanced against the need to protect individual liberties. We cannot mirror that which we seek to destroy. That would give our enemies the victory.

But none of this will be enough unless we can also restore a collective sense of outrage at the vileness of the perpetrators. Just as they utterly disregard the sanctity of the lives

of children and innocents, so we must refuse to afford them the normal considerations granted to card-carrying members of the human race when we pursue them in battle.

We must stop being confused, frightened, defensive, and merely weakly indignant. It is these new barbarians who have completely and consciously rejected the old codes. To be sure, those codes were nothing more than the most meager and minimal standards of political decency.

But reasserting minimal standards would, at this time in history, already be a great advance for civilization. The least we must do is to marshal our resolve to revive the courage to loathe. It is only the first step to victory, but victory there will be.



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# Les vraies vérités sur Israël

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quelconque pour les louer. Une réalité qui a été confirmée dans un jugement de la Cour suprême israélienne écrit par le Juge en chef Aharon Barak. The "wall"

The real story of "apartheid" is on the flip side. The "Waqf", the Muslim Religious Authority, has the protection of Israeli law to possess land and the Waqf – with no Israeli interference - has openly issued proclamations that its lands are strictly reserved for sale or lease to Arab Muslims only. In fact the Palestinian Authority has from its inception enforced the Jordanian law in place since the Jordanian occupation of the West Bank that no land be sold or leased to anyone other than Arab residents of the West Bank on pain of death.

La semaine « apartheid » attaque toujours le mur de sécurité en l'appelant le « Mur de l'Apartheid ». Les orateurs aux divers événements soulèvent toujours la décision de la Cour internationale de justice exigeant que l'Israël change l'emplacement du mur. Ce qui est toujours négligé est que la Cour suprême israélienne a exigé la même chose des mois avant la Cour internationale de justice et que le gouvernement israélien s'est conformé. Et il s'est conformé à plusieurs autres changements d'emplacements exigés par les cours. Je ne suis pas le supporteur le plus fervent pour un mur de sécurité comme solution permanente à quoi que ce soit, mais il faut se rappeler que la grande majorité du mur est accolé à la frontière de 1967. Et l'Israël a raison d'être inquiète. Quand l'Autorité palestinienne fut organisée, c'était l'Israël qui a fourni 150 000 armes pour sa milice simplement pour voir plusieurs de ces armes utilisées contre les citoyens de l'Israël par des factions du Fatah et de l'Hamass, en plus des attaques suicides. Et en conclusion, une dernière chose. Où dans le monde arabe verriez-vous un arrêt de la Cour suprême contre son gouvernement et l'acceptation d'un tel jugement par un gouvernement?

The justice system

Another big lie of Israel Apartheid Weeks is that Israel has created in the West Bank a regime of separation based on discrimination, applying two separate systems of law in the same area and basing the rights of individuals on their nationality. This is the classic half-truth. Residents of the West Bank can choose the legal jurisdiction they want to have recourse to. Including religious courts if they like. Part of the reason West Bank Arabs choose Israeli justice is the abject failure of the Palestinian Authority in implementing not only a constitution, but a functioning court system with legislation it can act on. What legislation there is, is nothing but a remnant of the Jordanian occupation from 1947-1967.

Une étude des résidents de la Cisjordanie et de Gaza, datée de décembre 2002 et effectuée par le Centre palestinien pour la recherche en politique et statistique, a démontré à quel point ils sont méfiants de la justice palestinienne. À la question : « Comment évalueriez-vous l'état de la démocratie et des droits de l'homme dans l'Autorité palestinienne? », 19.1% ont dit bon, 28.4% ont dit satisfaisant; et 50.5% ont dit mauvais. Quand cette

question a été posée à ces mêmes résidents au sujet de l'Israël, 65.5% ont dit bon, 11.9% ont indiqué satisfaisant, et seulement 17% ont dit mauvais.

La terre et le droit international

Le fait est que peu importe ce qu'on puisse penser de l'occupation, hormis les politiques de colonisation qui sont répréhensibles dans beaucoup trop d'exemples, l'Israël exerce les mêmes droits en droit international que la France et que les États-Unis ont exercé après la deuxième guerre mondiale alors qu'ils ont retenu un territoire conquis pour sa propre défense après avoir survécu une attaque agressive jusqu'à ce que la paix ait été instaurée. Et sous l'occupation israélienne, les Palestiniens ont le pourcentage le plus élevé d'étudiants universitaires, le taux le plus bas de mortalité infantile et l'espérance de vie la plus élevée de tout État arabe. Tout cela est grâce à l'aide de l'infrastructure des services sociaux israélienne.

The intellectual godfather of Palestinian nationalism Edward Said once wrote that "Israel is not South Africa" As Irshad Manji has pointed out, he could have stated nothing less since an Israeli publishing house translated his seminal work "Orientalism" into Hebrew. Israel is not so much the Jewish state as a state of Jews. The only preferential legislation that exists is the "Law of Return" that gives a Jew automatic citizenship while other prospective immigrants must wait three years. That law reflects the reality of a world that butchered millions of Jews and no country would take any in. Including Canada with its infamous "none is too many" policy. Israel was a haven for many Vietnamese boatpeople when Saigon fell, but there was no haven for the Jews of Europe.

Les vrais faits sur le terrain

Si les premiers Sionistes socialistes avaient eu raison, il y aurait un État binational et laïque. Mais même avant Hitler, le dirigeant religieux et politique des Arabes palestiniens musulmans, Haj Amin al-Husseini de Jérusalem, avait encouragé la tuerie dévergondée des juifs en Palestine sous le mandat britannique, en particulier entre 1929 et 1940. Il fut entre 1941 et 1945 l'invité personnel d'Hitler à Berlin, diffusant de la propagande nazie en arabe et aidant à former deux divisions musulmanes pour le SS. Il fut jugé à Nuremberg en tant que criminel de guerre; mais avec l'aide des Français et des Anglais, il retourna en Palestine et continua son carnage même après que l'Israël soit devenu le seul pays à reconnaître l'État arabe de la Palestine en acceptant le plan de partition de l'ONU. La réponse des cousins arabes d'Al-Husseini fut d'envahir la Palestine et de maintenir la Cisjordanie et Gaza en tant que prisonnier pendant vingt années. Son neveu Feisal était un membre du cercle intime d'Arafat.

These are the facts on the ground. Facts that the Palestinians must reconcile with their history if they are ever to achieve maturity as a people and as a nation.

The politics of disinformation

The current condemnations of Israel's planned additions to the Ramat Shlomo neighbourhood

demonstrate an appalling ignorance – feigned or real - regarding the accepted status of Jerusalem since Camp David through two American administrations; the context of American criticism in light of similar treatment recently meted out to democratic allies like Poland and the Czech Republic by the Obama administration; and the domestic political infighting in Israel that led to the unfortunate timing of the announcement and Netanyahu's apology. It is another example of the doctrines of contempt and the politics of disinformation. Though I am by no means supportive of the entire settlement policy, too many politicians and commentators fail to point out the carnage Israel has suffered since its unilateral pullout from Gaza that put the lie to the "land as an obstacle to peace" argument. As Daniel Patrick Moynihan once wrote, "Everyone is entitled to their own opinion. No one is entitled to their own facts."

Le quartier où ces unités pourraient être construites fait partie de Jérusalem depuis 1995. Au Camp David, l'Israël a offert à l'autorité palestinienne 99% de la Cisjordanie. Avec l'appui total du Président Clinton cette offre excluait toute partie de Jérusalem aussi bien que les villes d'Efrat, d'Ariel, de Ma'aleh Adumin et du bloc d'Etzion près de Hébron où des centaines de juifs ont été massacrés avant la Guerre d'Indépendance. Ces pourcentages territoriaux ont suivi les bases du plan d'Allon qui fut proposé après la guerre des Six Jours et ont été acceptés par tous les gouvernements occidentaux. La terre pour la reconnaissance et la paix avec une annexion minimale par l'Israël (en-dessous de 3%) pour avoir une défense soutenable.

L'enjeu de Jérusalem

The issue of Jerusalem was to be dealt with as follows. Jerusalem would remain undivided and under Israeli administration but the Palestinian Authority could constitute its government entities within the boundaries of East Jerusalem. The Palestinians rejection of this offer not only stunned Clinton, but led former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to declare once again that "Arafat never misses an opportunity to miss an opportunity."

Sur l'enjeu plus large de la terre pour la paix, l'Israël s'est retiré unilatéralement de Gaza sous des garanties internationales de surveillance du système de terreur. L'Israël a fourni à Gaza presque toutes ses services essentiels, de la nourriture, des approvisionnements, des efforts de reconstruction et un marché du travail ouvert. En quelques mois, des citoyens israéliens étaient bombardés par des attaques de fusées Kassam qui à la fin en ont été numérotées à 7000. Le Hamas n'a pas besoin d'une excuse pour tuer des Israéliens. Jusqu'à ce que l'Autorité palestinienne puisse contrôler la terreur, l'Israël est en droit de dire qu'elle n'a aucun partenaire de paix. Les appartements dans une zone de Jérusalem, acceptés depuis le Camp David, ne peuvent aucunement être un empêchement.

Plus que malheureux. Un mensonge.

The moment of the announcement was more than unfortunate. It was a lie. This project has never begun its process of three years

de consultation et d'évaluation. Malheureusement, le ministère responsable est dirigé par un membre du Shass, un parti religieux de droite. C'était simplement pour coincer le premier ministre Netanyahu. Comme toujours, les partis religieux sont en conflits avec n'importe quelle coalition qu'ils font parti au sujet du financement pour leurs écoles. C'est le problème de permettre des partis basés sur la foi dans n'importe quelle société. L'Irlande a vu les mêmes tensions.

Vice-President Biden and Secretary of State Clinton are very well briefed on the internal political dynamic of the Israeli coalition government. As allies they should have graciously accepted Netanyahu's apology for the timing instead of magnifying it into an issue that supposedly affected the ongoing talks. They knew better and they also knew that is no way to treat a vital ally particularly in light of current tensions with Iran. Israel needs America strategically. America needs Israel just as much tactically. Why then did America blow it so out of proportion?

Troubling trend in recent weeks

Events in recent weeks may give us a hint. They have demonstrated a troubling trend in American foreign policy. The State Department's endorsement of "healthy relations" between Iran and Syria is unfathomable. This is the same alliance that saw Iran running arms through Syria to Hezbollah in Lebanon bringing that country to the brink of destruction. Despite this, Syria's Assad still accused the U.S. of colonialism and got nothing but a slap on the wrist. But perhaps the nadir of Obama's recent foreign policy has been the public apology to Libya's Muammar Gaddafi for criticizing him after the butcher of Lockerbie called for "a jihad" against Switzerland.

Trop souvent cette administration serre les amis et flatte les ennemis. Il y a plusieurs mois, lors d'une réunion de l'OTAN à Lisbonne, Obama a annoncé l'annulation du placement prévu de missiles intercepteurs en Pologne et d'une station radar en République Tchèque. « Comment pourrait Obama choisir un tel jour ? », a demandé à un haut dirigeant polonais angoissé. Il se référait au fait que l'annonce a été faite le 17 septembre, le soixante-dixième anniversaire de l'invasion soviétique de la Pologne. Obama avait décidé de faire un geste envers la Russie à cette date - une décision « courageuse » a indiqué Vladimir Poutine. Le New York Times l'a caractérisée comme un « équivalent approximatif pour les Polonais que s'ils annonceraient des concessions à un ennemi des États-Unis le 11 septembre ».

Il n'y a aucun doute qu'Obama et Netanyahu, et je suis certain que même Abbas, veulent la paix. Cependant, les barrières à la paix doivent être attaquées avec vigueur et résolues. Le président Obama devrait prêter attention à la remontrance de Churchill indiquant qu'un « apaiseur est quelqu'un qui nourrit le crocodile espérant qu'il le mangera en dernière. » Ni l'Israël, ni n'importe quel peuple libre, ne devrait jamais approuver à une telle calomnie.



AUGUST 6, 2009

# A FREER, FAIRER, RICHER MONTRÉAL PLUS LIBRE, PLUS JUSTE, PLUS RICHE

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tout concept de justice naturelle et d'équité, l'État ne peut être autorisé à dicter nos passions personnelles et nos poésies. En aucune circonstance, l'État ne doit être habilité à faire en sorte que les citoyens se sentent coupables pour le simple acte d'être humains et à leur faire porter le

*"Ethics and transparency? Inform the people of your decisions and leave more than a few hours a month for the public to ask questions. Montreal as an international city attracting world business? Stop the culture wars and make a tax free zone downtown for tourists. Transport? Build a highway and rail link parallel to the 20 through Turcot. Economic development? Cut social engineering and nanny state programs. Get rid of the boroughs. Reduce the size of government like New York and Toronto. And give the savings back in lowered taxes to Montrealers, particularly the small business people who create 80% of our jobs. Urban planning? Develop air rights and stop the empty talk of 'sustainable development' in a city with a third of our households below the poverty line. Governance? Talk straight to the people. They are not stupid. Just tired."*

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We must not be satisfied. We must not be satisfied because not one of the candidates for the mayoralty of Montreal are discussing the issues that matter most. None are proposing solutions to our most basic challenges. None are examining the actions we need to take for Montreal. They run to oppose each other for a job. None has proposed needed policies. They run on the politics of demonization and deflection. They fail in their duty. It is time for a fundamental, transformational change. It is time to make Montreal freer, fairer and richer. Time to stop demonizing citizens through rules and regulations that are nothing more than back-door tax grabs. Time to stop deflecting from core responsibilities through projects and programs that are questionable in their purpose and practicality. Time to end the profligate pilferage of our pockets for ends that no need demanded and no suffrage affirmed.

### FREER

Il vient un temps dans les affaires entre gouvernants et gouvernés où chaque action de l'administration publique aiguise la méfiance du peuple et où le défaut d'agir suscite sa colère. C'est là où nous en sommes rendus à Montréal. Tout contrat social entre les citoyens et l'État demande une certaine cession par le peuple de sa liberté et de son trésor. Rien de plus. Le contrat social n'exige nullement l'abdication de nos prérogatives. Selon

Sadly, Montrealers today have little choice among the leading contenders for city hall. We have an incumbent administration that has broken much of the social contract through sins of omission. Its main challenger is an unholy alliance of two of the fiercest statistocratic social engineers whose public lives have been characterized by sins of commission. The former taxes first, explains never. The latter demonizes first, discusses never. Both are manifestations of a revived prohibitionism, a recurring virus when our public life turns feckless and fey. Both sides, if still wedded to their current opportunism, would leave us all in virtual straitjackets.

Les politiques actuelles font de nous tous des victimes. Il nous faut reconquérir nos libertés. Nous avons peut-être besoin de mobiliser une coalition de victimes, en clamant : « Assez, c'est assez ! ». Assez de règlements et de législations étouffants. Assez de jeunes qui se voient imposer des amendes de \$500 pour avoir mis leurs pieds du mauvais côté de la bordure bétonnée du parc Émilie-Gamelin. Assez d'inspecteurs dans le Vieux-Montréal et dans NDG qui fouillent dans nos sacs à vidange pour y trouver nos adresses afin de nous imposer des amendes de \$1000 parce que nous aurions sorti nos sacs trop tôt. Assez de commerçants sur l'avenue du Parc qui se voient imposer des amendes de centaines de dollars pour ne pas avoir coupé l'herbe sur les trottoirs municipaux.

Assez de propriétaires du Centre-Ville qui se font coller des amendes parce que leurs restaurants ou leurs bars n'ont pas vissé des cendriers « officiels » à côté de leurs portes d'entrée. Assez d'amendes qui criminalisent les sans-abris. Assez de hausses des tarifs de parcomètre tandis que la ville cache des profits records. Assez de marchands qui se voient tenus responsables du maintien de la propreté des trottoirs face à leurs commerces. Assez de quartiers comme Ville-Marie qui instituent certaines des

amendes les plus offensantes afin de punir des comportements innocents tout en s'en vantant par des publicités via des dépliant affirmant, en lettres en caractères gras, que « les coupables seront punis ». Et coupables de quoi, au juste ? D'être humain, en échappant un emballage de friandise ou en fumant une cigarette sans se faire imposer les tâches des employés municipaux. Nous avons besoin d'être libres de nouveau. Nous avons encore besoin d'une cité libre !

Les Montréalais sont déjà les citoyens urbains les plus taxés de l'Amérique du Nord. Et il y a vingt mois, nous avons été frappés par la plus importante hausse de taxes de l'histoire.

Our taxes are supposed to cover the basics. Garbage collection, snow removal, public security, public transit, and water and sewage. It should not be up to the citizens to pay additional costs to manage what they have already paid for. The job of elected officials is not to engage in social engineering. To impose fines forcing citizens to do what is the city's work — street cleaning, garbage collection, maintenance of public spaces — is stark malfeasance at worst and double taxation at best. To impose fines on citizens for making personal choices about personal risk borders on social fascism. For municipal politicians to offset their responsibilities onto the backs of the public is an admission that they can't do their jobs.

This city's administration has failed to address solutions to improve any of its basic core service responsibilities. Eighty percent of our water lines leak. Our world-famous potholes are now craters. The transit system is in gridlock. The Agglomeration Council and the borough system have degenerated into paralysis as we have become the most over-governed city on the continent. The Mayor and the borough mayors can't get our blue-collar workers to pick up the garbage and clean our streets properly because they are too frightened to engage. And who can forget the abysmal failure to deal with the cemetery lockout leaving hundreds of bodies unburied. The city's solution was to deflect public attention from its nonfeasance by demonizing us all through needless regulation. It's time to be free again. It's time to revoke many recently enacted by-laws. Reduce the amount of fines in others. And we need to restrict, and in some cases eliminate, the powers or positions of smoking police, meter maids, the cleanliness corps, jaywalking cops and garbage inspectors. Nobody elected anyone to impose a control state on Montreal.

### PLUS JUSTE

As much as restoring freedom must lead the reform of this city, restoring fairness must parallel

that effort. As Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. wrote, "Justice must be seen to be done as well as done."

The most visible face of justice, done or undone, is the police. Whether we, or they, like it or not that is very much the reality. The daily connection of governors and governed is too often realized through contact with security authority. Much of our efforts at reform must be addressed at the way we police ourselves. Though faulty, we have many avenues of redress in civilian matters between citizen and city hall on issues ranging from taxation to regulation. But new fairness doctrines in policing are crucial because the authority the citizen faces is so great and often so overwhelming.

La police constitue le visage public d'une administration civique. Sa tolérance, sa compassion et son respect de la liberté du peuple peuvent être mesurées par les lignes de conduite qu'elle impose à sa police. Notre police a besoin d'une nouvelle doctrine. Il est temps que survienne une administration à l'Hôtel de Ville qui mettra fin à l'ingérence de la police dans nos sphères personnelles et qui maintiendra une bride ferme à la brutalité de ceux qui sont chargés d'imposer le contrôle étatique. Le principe fondamental d'une société libre est la liberté de choisir. Même de choisir erronément. Même si nos choix nous font du mal à nous-mêmes.

A reform civic administration must restrict police checkpoints enforcing the wearing of seatbelts. Particularly at the exits of highways. They cause more harm than good and often come close to inciting catastrophic accidents as drivers hit the brakes and start checking their belts while navigating a turn.

We have to limit anti-jaywalking actions. Certainly abolish the practice of four-cornered patrols that make an area feel like an armed camp. No citizen should have to put up with cadets sticking their hands up to their faces or chests. And worse, as I have witnessed, demanding identification from citizens so they can write up tickets. This is neither Tehran nor Havana. No citizen should be obligated to carry an identification card. But there is more that is objectionable.

À une époque de restrictions budgétaires, il est inacceptable que l'ont ait procédé à l'embauche de 110 officiers chargés d'imposer des amendes aux citoyens qui traversent les rues ailleurs que dans les zones cloutées. Le seul but de cette mesure est de faire croire aux citoyens qu'ils sont des criminels, en plus de leur soutirer davantage d'argent en amendes payées à la municipalité.

We have turned the law away from being an instrument for justice — a shield of the innocent

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and a staff of the honest — and made it into a revenue generating machine. As such we also have to eliminate the use of police in enforcing anti-smoking laws. The provincial government can pass whatever laws it wants. It can hire as many inspectors as it wants. But how much of local police resources are used to enforce personally invasive statutes is up to the civic administration. Our police should have a human, and most of all a fair, face.

But the overriding reform needed in restoring fairness in policing is a new set of measures on how to deal with visible minorities. It is time for new practices so that each week does not bring yet another story of a black woman surrounded by police as she was moving boxes from her garage to her house because someone called and thought she was a burglar; or of the Arab taxi driver being ticketed for parking in a non-taxi zone while feeding the meter because he had to run to a toilet; or a young black student wrestled to the ground by police with a gun to his head in front of his friends because some nightclub bouncer said he had a gun. The names of Gemma Raeburn, Jamil Ibrahim and Courtney Bishop — along with dozens of others — cry out for fairness. It is our responsibility to make fairness a reality.

### RICHER

The primary reason for the slow undoing of our basic liberties in this city is also the cause behind the steady impoverishment of this city. Too much government! In reducing the size and manner of our governance we will not only make this city freer and fairer, but we will make it richer as well.

Bill 9 that created the borough system was a devil's stew. But Bill 133, which devolved powers to the boroughs, was a legislative abortion of unparalleled proportion. It created 19 little fiefdoms with 19 little feudal lords. It has been said that the only thing more dangerous in politics than little people exercising a lot of power is little people exercising little power but thinking it is a lot. That is what has happened in Montreal the past six years.

Dans le but de perpétuer leur propre patronage sinon leur propre pouvoir, les administrations des arrondissements se sont mis à l'avant-garde de la perpétuation non seulement de règlements inutiles, mais aussi de la bureaucratie qui leur est inhérente. Leur leitmotiv semble être : « Nous réglementons,

donc nous sommes ». Pendant ce temps, c'est nous, les citoyens, qui payons le prix. Il est inconcevable que deux millions de Montréalais sont gouvernés par plus de cent élus municipaux, tandis que dix millions de New-Yorkais et cinq millions de Torontois en ont moins de trente. Ces 19 gouvernements dans notre ville, les dédoublements et la bureaucratisation qu'ils imposent, nous coûtent annuellement presque \$200 millions.

Ending the borough system would not only provide more direct and accessible one-layer government, but the savings could be immediately returned to the people through lower taxes. Even Mayor Tremblay has, I believe, recognized the folly of the boroughs and worked successfully on last year's Bill 22 that gives the Mayor of Montreal direct control of the borough of Ville Marie. One less level of government to pay for. Those who argue for "local democracy" as the raison d'être for the boroughs are not only ill-advised as to modern governance, but should realize that the logical extension of their thinking would have Stalinist-like block representatives controlling us all. In this case small is not beautiful. It is a prescription for bankruptcy.

Many of the needless rules and regulations that so burden us are enacted and enforced by the boroughs. Their elimination will also mean the elimination of the bureaucracies that perpetuate them. The functionaries and inspectors. Eliminating boroughs would make it easier for Montreal's Mayor to clean up the system. Tens of millions of additional savings could be passed on to Montrealers. As it stands now the Mayor's most powerful executive imperative is to veto funding to pay for the enforcement establishment of needless oversight in the boroughs. The Mayor cannot actually overturn borough by-laws.

We need efficient government, not a self-indulgent one. Montrealers are desperate for the tax savings that could be generated. The tax hikes over the past four years have meant that small businesses, that account for eighty percent of new jobs, are paying the equivalent of three months of their rent in taxes. They cannot survive. Relief has to be quick and direct. It is the most catastrophic situation since the last years of Mayor Jean Dore.

In public finance, we have witnessed the squandering of too much of public funds on pork

barrel vote grabbing schemes. Those inevitably lead to statements from elected officials that they have to fine and tax more just to keep up. Well, we did not need some \$13 million spent on skateboarding rinks in the west and east ends; \$10 million more on bike paths that destroyed commuter arteries and city streets; a Quartier de spectacles that meets no needs whatever and now a potential \$7 million on new recycling containers. These and other projects and initiatives should be shut down and the funds distributed back to the people in lowered taxes as well. A city that cannot get the core basics of municipal services right — public transit, roads, snow and garbage removal, water and sewage provision and treatment and public security —, should not have a budgetary line totaling some \$450 million on "arts, loisirs and urbanisme".

Our false piety on environmental issues must also be brought to a halt. We all agree that the internal combustion engine does damage to the environment. But that is not something municipal administrations can affect. It will take federal government initiatives to make hybrid cars more affordable. Municipal governments nationally control areas of jurisdiction that affect only 2% of greenhouse gas emissions. Instead of speaking these truths, Montreal has witnessed an anti-car mania among elected officials. They use a convenient lie to pander for votes from environmentalists who they think vote with greater frequency. But their measures perpetuate lies. Anti-car measures will further assault an already battered center city. And they will contribute nothing to the environment. As the Frontier Center for Public Policy has demonstrated, no amount of parking increases or other levies have reduced car use in major North American cities by more than 2%. A Mercer International study demonstrated Montreal was cleaner than most cities including Toronto. It is time for an administration at Montreal's city hall with the courage to end the pandering. With some eighteen percent of storefronts vacant in the city center, and many bars and restaurants suffering a 25-33% drop in revenues since the smoking ban, it is time to let downtown breathe and build again.

Finally, we need to get our development policies kick-started. We all agree that development must be responsible. But there is clearly a limit to

horizontal growth. Land is limited. Green spaces should be appropriately protected. But what we can do — and what has been done by environmentally conscious cities like Toronto and Vancouver — is encouraging air right development in the city's core. Heritage buildings can be preserved and respected and in many cases incorporated into new buildings. As much as we cut unnecessary social engineering programs and reduce government size, we will have to create new sources of tax revenues if we are to keep pace with passing savings from the former on to citizens. The best solution is air rights.

The problems outlined above are not limited to any party. There has been a general mindset that is adverse to limited governance. Mayor Tremblay seems to have realized many of the errors. Louise Harel would, I fear, perpetuate a prohibitionist, controlling, tax-and-fine agenda.

Les Montréalais méritent une administration municipale qui aura le courage de faire face aux dures vérités et qui en parlera avec clarté et candeur. Qui parlera de cette vérité que nous vivons dans une époque d'austérité. Que l'Hôtel de Ville ne peut pas, et ne doit pas, agréer aux désirs de tout le monde à la fois. Que nous devons remettre les choses à l'endroit et ensuite voir ce qui peut être fait de plus pour améliorer les choses. Que nous ne devons pas dépenser plus de \$100 millions par année pour des frais de consultants externes, tandis que la ville emploie déjà plus de 10 000 bureaucrates cols blancs. Qu'il nous faut diminuer les dépenses afin de réduire les taxes. Que le maire de Montréal doit être résolu à s'asseoir avec les leaders des cols bleus en leur assénant une nouvelle entente.

The truth that we must concentrate on cleaning up our debt and ending the debt-incurring tradition of bread and circus projects. That in a city with almost a third of our households below the poverty line, social housing and mass transit and food banks and libraries will have priority over "legacy" projects and "loisirs", "consultations" and "urbanisme". That we will create new sources of tax revenue by encouraging appropriate development instead of fining and penalizing the public for so many personal, human acts. That our social contract can be restored to produce a freer, fairer and richer Montreal for all our citizens.



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9 AVRIL 2009

# “Arrogants, vulgaires et disgracieux!”

## Downtown merchants fed up with green onions, parking rules

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Some downtown business-owners came out swinging on Wednesday, saying the Tremblay administration has lost control over its employees and is driving people out of the heart of the city with overbearing regulations.

Led by restaurateur Alain Creton, the coalition launched an internet petition and collected signatures from representatives of almost all major businesses between Bishop and Peel. Petitionparcometre.com invites Montrealers to join their call for a return to free parking on weekends, as well as on Monday to Wednesday evenings. They're also calling for a three-hour time limit, as opposed to the two hours now allowed in high-traffic areas.

“The city says it's always the same people who complain. So, I went to speak to downtown merchants one by one,” said Creton, owner of Chez Alexandre on Peel St. “We want to be heard. Downtown could become an area that

people won't want to visit anymore.”

En plus de commerçants importants, Creton affirme qu'il a reçu l'appui de plusieurs hauts responsables d'organismes tel Tourisme Montréal, Destination Centre-Ville et l'Association des restaurateurs du Centre-Ville. Durant la conférence de presse de mercredi dernier, il était aux côtés de Beryl Wajzman, directeur du Métropolitain, en tant que président de l'Institut d'Affaires Publiques de Montréal, celui-ci ayant participé à l'organisation de la première initiative citoyenne anti-parcomètres, qui a consisté en une pétition ayant rassemblé jusqu'à présent plus de 25 000 signatures.

Creton, qui est d'origine française, a également eu des mots très durs pour les membres du personnel chargés de la surveillance des parcomètres – les oignons verts – lesquels, selon lui, se montrent parfois « arrogants, vulgaires et disgracieux. Ils sont agressifs et frappent sans avertissement. Ils n'ont pas du tout les mêmes dispositions amicales que ceux qui m'ont accueilli lorsque je me suis établi au Québec. »

Il ajoute qu'il remarque régulièrement des oignons verts, sur la rue Peel, en train d'attendre que les parcomètres expirent, pour aussitôt infliger des amendes aux automobilistes. Une

brève marche sur cette rue très achalandée du Centre-Ville permet de constater d'une manière assez évidente que les amendes sont très répandues, avec plusieurs pare-brises arborant des contraventions. Creton et d'autres commerçants avaient également tenu une conférence de presse le mois dernier sur la même question. Deux jours plus tard, le restaurateur se vit infliger une amende de \$ 500 pour avoir enfreint un règlement sur les contenants à ordures.

« Ils m'ont envoyé un huissier dans le but évident de me faire taire », a déclaré Creton, selon lequel la hausse constante des tarifs de stationnement et les amendes agressivement imposées pour de prétendues atteintes à la propreté constituent des taxes déguisées. C'est du vol. »

“It's senseless for my clients to walk out to put money in the meter,” said Restaurant La Molisana owner Giovanna Giancaspro, who wants the double-dipping to stop (the city can charge for the same spot, at the same time as cars come and go). She said she doesn't even shop downtown anymore since there is plenty of free parking on the West Island. “I'm hurting. Everybody is feeling it,” she added. Her business hasn't seen drastic reductions, she said, because “three restaurants on my street (Fleury

St.) have closed down. I have parking next door; I'm doing this on principle.”

Luis Miranda, the Montreal executive committee member in charge of economic development and citizen services, said he was open to sitting down with opponents of the parking system two weeks ago, but the meeting has not taken place as of yet. Miranda said he recognized that “the difficult economic situation has had a negative impact on the bottom line of many [downtown businesses]. We also have to recognize that competition is more and more intense between Montreal and commercial zones in the suburbs.”

Councilor Marvin Rotrand, who also works on the parking dossier, questions whether the majority of downtown merchants support Creton's initiative.

“The bulk of the merchants accept the city's measures,” Rotrand told The Métropolitain. When rates were raised, “the city wanted to do two things: Have a better rotation of vehicles to help businesses...and to favour at least a partial transfer to public transit. And that has happened.”

“Montreal has some of the most generous parking policies of any major city,” added Rotrand. “It's not that the city is anti-car, just pro-public transit. We will not ban the car.”

## Résister au comparaisons

Suite de la page 13

of an unequalled progressive political tradition.

This history is what makes Quebec distinct. Not some perceived injustice to “native” francophones that was far less than that perpetrated on Quebec's aboriginal peoples by the imperial representatives of the King of France and then yet again against aboriginals and francophones by those of the King of England. Not on some misplaced fidelity to “sang et langue”. And certainly not out of the fear-mongering of extremists who see cabals of “ethnics” around every corner that they consider have no right to a say in Quebec's future.

En tant que Québécois, nous devons tous prendre garde contre tout relativisme moral

entre les expressions légitimes du pluralisme libéral et les préjugés de la démagogie parochiale. Ceci était l'objectif de PGL et des « révolutionnaires ».

Canada is not in John Porter's phrase “the vertical mosaic”. It is not an elegant integration of various cultures and colours. It is a good and gentle land where each new immigrant wave brings with it diversity and daring that offers the opportunity to every generation to achieve new levels of greatness. But each wave also faces the stubborn cynicism and peculiar prejudices of our founding cultures. The friction between the new and old has always existed and will continue to. Governing this land is difficult. The physical breadth and cultural diversity make consensus impossible

but alliances vital. In politics those who understand this propel us forward. Those who don't keep us stalled at harbour.

Nous sommes depuis une décennie dans une nouvelle ère chronologique et politique. Mais nous devons toujours être vigilants contre un retour dans un borbier parochial rempli de préjugés privés. C'est un moment où tous doivent devenir, dans les mots de Malraux, « ... les citoyens et citoyennes engagés... ». Nous avons une occasion et une responsabilité d'établir une nouvelle vision pour cette nouvelle ère basée sur une générosité d'esprit qui repose sur une connaissance incontestable que seulement par nos gestes et par l'audace nous serions capables de surmonter la division et la discorde des dernières décennies. PGL est

un exemple vivant de cette conviction.

The work of Marchand and Trudeau and Lesage and Gérin-Lajoie and Lapalme and Godbout and, yes, even Levesque, is not yet done. The ongoing fight against what Jean-Paul Sartre called “...the teaching of contempt...” is not yet over. But we have the collective will and the collective genius to do it. We must keep this rendezvous with our own destiny for if we fail we will be condemned to suffer the fate that Mazzini warned of so many years ago, “Si voi non fate, altri faranno, e senza voi e contro voi” (If you do not act, others will, without you and against you) and we will never emerge from the cauldron of our own making. We will not be able to withstand comparisons.

## To withstand comparisons



NOVEMBER 27, 2008

# To rouse the world from fear

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*"I hear it said that West Berlin is militarily untenable — and so was Bastogne, and so, in fact, was Stalingrad. Any danger spot is tenable if men — brave men — will make it so."*

~ President John F. Kennedy

Saturday was the 45th anniversary of the assassination of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy. That tragedy haunts us still. In many ways and at all times. The writer Mary McGrory said on that day that we shall never smile again. Daniel Patrick Moynihan answered no, we may smile again, but we'll never be young again. For many it was the day hope died.

But hope, like courage, rests not on the shoulders of any one man but lives on from the testament of that man in the hearts of all. All we need is the resolve to remember, and to carry on.

It is in that remembrance that we answer the question of many scholars as to what JFK's legacy really was. His Presidency too short to see the fulfillment of many of his boldest initiatives, how is it that he captures our imaginations still? The answer rests in his words as much as his deeds. For those words, those ideas, still make us see possibilities in ourselves that we thought unimaginable.

They held out the vision of a generosity of spirit that could realize the ancient dream of the brotherhood of man. They challenged us to vigorous service and sacrifice in our daily lives. And most of all, they dared us to be brave. They lit the flame of courage within each of us that made us all understand that the indomitable spirit of freedom inevitably

triumphs over the dark forces of tyranny.

Perhaps that is the greatest quality of leadership. To make people bolder, braver, better than they ever thought possible. And to give them hope...the greatest gift.

At no time since his murder has the world been in need of such hope and such courage. It is for that reason that his words resonate with us still. At no time since the Second World War have the free been so full of fear. At no time since that era, has appeasement of terror and villainy been so obsequious.

Kennedy understood these dangers well. In his 1940 best-selling book "Why England Slept" he wrote "It is an unfortunate fact that we can secure peace only by preparing for war." Today history repeats itself. Today continents rest, as Bruce Bawer has so eloquently phrased in *While Europe Slept*. New cloaks for the old tyrannies.

The greatest tribute to John F. Kennedy is that his words and vision during his "...one brief shining moment..." remain relevant as calls of conscience for us today. And if we do not answer those calls; if we do not respond to conscience; then years from now people will ask how it came to be that the family of the free was so willingly complicit in its own self-abnegation.

For on this sad anniversary, we witness too many leaders demonstrating ignominious surrender to political correctness. We see too much of voices of conscience hiding from threats or being intimidated in their expression. We see too marked a submission to those who would subvert individual liberty and subjugate liberal pluralism.

We seem to be surrounded with the message that if one wants to survive one must sublimate one's beliefs and one's courage. That indeed there is nothing worth believing in and certainly nothing worth fighting for. In short, that our culture should not stand for something and be prepared to fall for anything. The British writer Melanie Phillips, the author of

Londonistan, has called it "a dialogue of the demented." It is the mindset of the victimized and the demonized.

Despite the optimism surrounding a newly elected President, there could be no more poignant day to remind us all that submission to this bodyguard of lies is not a strategy against the existential threat of theocratic tyranny. A threat that has been driven as a stake into the hearts of almost every western capital over the past seven years.

During Kennedy's Presidency Europe faced a threat of similar magnitude, though of different origin. Kennedy went to Berlin to address that threat and to send a message to the enemies of freedom. On a glorious June day in 1963, some five months before his murder, he delivered his famous "Ich bin ein Berliner" address in Rudolph Wilde Platz facing the then

**Kennedy proclaimed "Two thousand years ago the proudest boast was 'civis Romanus sum'. Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is 'Ich bin ein Berliner'. Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in, to prevent them from leaving us.**

recently constructed Berlin Wall. There could be no more fitting tribute to Kennedy's legacy, and few more important lessons for our own national will, than reading his timeless words today. Among those words on that brilliant day were the following. "Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free." It is a message for the ages, and particularly for our time.

Kennedy proclaimed "Two thousand years ago the proudest boast was 'civis Romanus sum'. Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is 'Ich bin ein Berliner.'

Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in, to prevent them from leaving us.

"Let me ask you to lift your eyes beyond the dangers of today, to the hopes of tomorrow, beyond the freedom merely of this city of Berlin, or your country of Germany, to the advance of freedom everywhere, beyond the wall to the day of peace with justice, beyond yourselves and ourselves to all mankind.

"Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free. All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the

words "Ich bin ein Berliner."

Today, a different "ism" has replaced the Communist threat. It emanates from many capitols. It too enslaves millions through different walls. But its most noxious by-product on the free world has been fear. The legacy of John Fitzgerald Kennedy is the antidote to that fear.

JFK marshaled the nobler angels of our spirit. He put himself on the firing line of freedom. And through his words and deeds roused a stagnant world from its lethargy of fear. Let us remember. And let us begin anew.

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MARCH 19, 2009

# Broken promises

# The Ala Morales affair

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Before we take on an advocacy issue that revolves around a single individual, it must meet one important criteria. The story must have within it a multiplicity of elements that affect us all. It is in that context that you should understand the headline of the story of Ala Morales.

We can assume that the intentions of legislators and regulators have some socially redeeming intent. The problems occur when laws and regulations are passed and the details of implementation are left to bureaucrats. Those details

usually leave almost total power in the hands of functionaries, with little or no restraint from any compassionate authority. The result is that there is little room for any humanitarian consideration in straightjacket bureaucracy. A bureaucracy that in its rigour in enforcing the letter of the law, leaves no room for consideration of the spirit behind the law. And in so doing, puts the lie to basic assumptions of our society that we take for granted. We end up lying to the victims of the law, and to ourselves with regard to the quality of justice and mercy we believe exists in our programs and institutions.

Our governments in Quebec — regardless of party — have preached certain standards for years. We believe, they have told us, in a bilingual citizenry. We believe in the integration of immigrants. We

believe that funding French-language training is a responsibility in order to achieve both integration and employment success. We believe in encouraging homeware to seniors, not only to relieve the strain on the healthcare system but because it is better for the person. We believe in giving the benefit of the doubt to a citizen if they forget some minor piece of information when faced with the juggernaut of bureaucratic inquiries for almost any government help. And finally, and perhaps most importantly, we believe that a helping hand is not a handout. That it is the right thing to do because we are a compassionate people and because — in the end — a person who gets back on their feet is not a burden on society. They become productive, tax-paying contributors to that society. They become builders of it.

These have been the promises of our patrimony. Alicja Pawlus Morales believed these promises. But over the past year she has seen the dream held out by these promises become a nightmare. And the garden of hope they once reflected, become a parched and withered landscape. The landscape of a life brought low. The banality of what happened to her — and but for the grace of God could happen to any of us — should rouse us from our lethargic obsession of kidding ourselves, and others, as to what we are all about.

Alicja Pawlus arrived here from Poland in 1960 as a teenager with her parents. Just the kind of educated, multicultural, multilingual immigrant we still boast of and yearn for. After finishing school she had no problem finding a job. Life proceeded properly apace. Marriage to her husband, a Canadian of Mexican origin, produced a son, Emilio. The perfect Canadian cultural mosaic. Polish, Mexican and all-Canadian. Tragically, her husband died in the early 1980s. Alicja, now known as Ala, decided to move to sunnier climes and leave some of her pain behind. She obtained a green card and got a job in Florida. For the next dozen years she lived there and frequently came back to Montreal to see her mother.

In 1994 tragedy struck again. Ala's mother was diagnosed with Lou Gehrig's disease. Ala decided to give up her life in Florida and came back to Montreal to take care of her. Good French was a necessity since she last worked here, so she decided to apply for a government subsidy to take French courses. She was

approved and began learning at Cegep St-Laurent near her home. She did so well that the program's directors encouraged her to go to an advanced level at the Cégep de Vieux-Montréal. She graduated with flying colors. Overall, she received \$500 a month from the Ministry of Employment and Social Solidarity over a period of 18 months.

She quickly got a job with Rogers, and became a productive, contributing, tax-paying citizen. Given that she spared the health system chronic care for her mother, Ala was a great "return on investment". Sadly, her mother passed away in 2001. But further troubles awaited Ala.

In late 2007 the Ministry's Centre de recouvrement contacted her. They called her in for a series of meetings through 2008. The Ministry wanted money back. Its inspectors had obtained information, ostensibly from a family member upset at Ala and her mother who had taken a box of the latter's bank records and sent them to government agencies, that Ala had an account in Plattsburgh with \$2,500 in it at the time she was being subvented for French classes. The recovery centre wanted over \$8,000 from Ala. This amount was arrived at in a convoluted calculation that included capital, interest and of course penalties.

Apparently, because Ala's language subvention came from the same ministry that sends out welfare cheques, they were governed by the same rules. Those rules, originally meant to prevent people with means from getting public assistance — a proper goal — are encumbered with draconian regulations. In essence, before you get any assistance, you have to have spent your last dime. Not exactly a helping hand. Ala explained that she was not receiving welfare. She was subvented for language courses. She also tried to explain that no one had asked her about any bank accounts. And that account she had forgotten about entirely because she had used it as a convenience in her years traveling between Montreal and Florida. The money was her mother's and she had the power of attorney.

She pleaded that she had saved the system money by taking care of her mom for six years. That though she was working, she certainly didn't have savings. No one was listening. Though her legal aid lawyer Roger Landry convinced the ministry's recovery people to somewhat lower the amount demanded, and confirmed to them that

Ala was economically vulnerable despite her employment because, ironically, she had qualified for a Revenu Quebec housing credit. So while one Quebec ministry was chasing her for money, another had qualified her for aid!

Despite all these efforts, and the right to a review of the ministry's decision, its recovery agents seized her meager bank account last month. Ala had to give up her apartment in St. Laurent and now lives in several rooms near the factories of Chabanel. The government acted under the authority of secs.100 and 114 of the Individual and Family Assistance Act that allows it to seize even pending review. So a successful review, after a seizure, would be the equivalent of the old adage "the operation was a success but the patient died."

Ala turned to us as a last resort. We have contacted the minister's office and asked it to review the file once again. Our reception was cordial and we believe sincere. The minister has authority under sec. 104 of the Act to overturn decisions of the ministry's recovery agents in cases of "exceptional circumstances." We hope he uses it. If he does not, then we as a society have lied to Ala Morales and we have also lied to ourselves.

What should we do? What should be our way of response? At the beginning of this story much of the responsibility for human tragedies like this was put on the backs of unfeeling bureaucrats. But that's not a get-out-of-jail-free pass for our elected officials. Nor for that matter for ourselves. Our politicians see and hear cases like this every day in every ministry. They have to get themselves back into the legislatures and reform the suffocating rules and regulation that threaten us all. It is easily done. We as citizens have to be vigilant in seeing they do it. But more than that, every day and in every way whenever we see any representative of state power abuse that power, discard compassion and persist in denigrating the worth and consequence of a human being, we must fight. Right there and right on the spot. To the point of civil disobedience. We can no longer afford to say it's too much. We just have to get along. Our very lives depend on our courage. For if we continue in our obsequious complacency the fault, as Shakespeare wrote, "will not be in the stars but in ourselves."



This article was written a month before the concert. The pictures are from the concert. It was a resounding success. The first multi-artist, multi-charity concert ever in Montreal. Despite the fact it was held on the night of the Biden-Palin, debate in the US, and the Prime Ministerial debate in Canada, over 1200 people packed the Théâtre St-Denis and almost \$100,000 was raised for the charities.

SEPTEMBER 1, 2008

# "Cassandra's Lilacs"

The Garceau Foundation and the Institute for Public Affairs present the "Gentle the Condition" concert

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*"This story shall the good man teach his son;  
We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;  
This day shall gentle the condition;"*  
~ Henry V

The most satisfying thing for me about combining the social activism of the Institute for Public Affairs and the journalistic advocacy of media is the ability to help more people more effectively. It has also brought many more people together to do good and gentle the condition. Among the cases and causes we have been able to tackle, no issues are as poignant as those that deal with the 3h's of society's ills. Health, hunger and homelessness. As much as the Institute has done – particularly in expanding Moisson Montreal's capacities, sending paramedics to the SCLC's Delta Relief Project during Hurricane Katrina, assisting Toronto's "Lawyers feed the homeless" program, helping defray expenses for poor kids who needed surgery – there is always more to do. And when a plight is brought to your attention, you cannot remain idle.

Over the past year activist attorney Brigitte Garceau brought three organizations, and their needs, to my attention. I have been able to focus a spotlight on their urgent agendas in the press and, working in concert with our network of social activists, we have been able to provide needed moral and material support. Brigitte feels, and quite rightly in my view, that these groups not only excel in what they do but – taken together – are emblematic of the most vital concerns on the docket of social justice in our community.

Dr. Nicholas Steinmetz' and Dr. Gilles Julien's Fondation pour la promotion de la pédiatrie sociale tackles the health needs of poor children. Helping thousands in Montreal's poorest areas of Côte-des-Neiges and Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, the Fondation cares for the physical, psychological and educational needs of children who are products of underprivileged homes. It not only provides immediate help, but follows the children through years of schooling to ensure that the work is having an effect. It is a totally holistic approach to childhood development. (see "It does take a village" at : [www.themetropolitain.ca](http://www.themetropolitain.ca))

The Maison du partage d'Youville is a community kitchen and food bank that has served hundreds every week over the past twenty-five years in Pointe St-Charles, Verdun and Little Burgundy. It is straining for space and resources and is in desperate need of funds to move to larger, but cheaper, premises so that it can continue its critical work.

De la Rue...à la Réussite, takes homeless men and women and provides them with the necessary tools and employment opportunities to reintegrate into the workforce. This remarkable organization, founded by the indefatigable Sue McDougall and her late husband Jean-Pierre Chartrand, doesn't just get people on their feet, it gets them back into life. It understands that it's about more than just getting people a paycheque; it's about giving them back their purpose.

Brigitte Garceau wanted to give structure to the help she was bringing to these groups. She realized that many were missing the kind of professional skills she was able to organize and channel. She created The Garceau Foundation out of a desire to provide the highest level of financial, professional and organizational support to frontline community action and social service groups tackling these, our most daunting, challenges...health, hunger and homelessness. The need for the most effective intervention on behalf of these groups, already operating with strained resources, will become ever more acute.

Ours is a nation of wealth, but with only a thin veneer of affluence. Recently released government studies demonstrate that one-third of our urban households live below the poverty line and that the median household income in Canada has increased just slightly more than \$100 a year over the past twenty-five years. Government programs do not always meet local needs and more and more non-governmental organizations are filling the gaps with more and more Canadians turning to them for help.

Brigitte believes none of us can stay uninvolved. Building on the philosophy that to whom much is given, much is expected, she is bringing years of experience in political and community networking and fund-raising to bear on this mission. The Foundation's first major project, produced in co-operation with the Institute, is the "Cassandra's Lilacs" concert.

Inspired by a real-life Cassandra - Garceau's ten year old daughter - who wanted to do something to help the underprivileged, the



Foundation founder and president Brigitte Garceau



Beryl Wajzman and Dennis Trudeau

symbolism of the lilac is poignant and pithy. Like our children, the most vulnerable and fragile among us, each lilac flower alone is beautiful but fragile. But together in a bough, lilacs are not only fragrant, but strong. Each child alone is fragile. But if we look at them together, we are compelled by their needs and find the strength to accomplish the unimaginable. Together, we can gentle the condition.

This concert seeks to raise money for, and awareness of, the three unique organizations in the Montreal community that I have outlined above.

This event will take place under the patronage of a very special Presidente d'honneur - Andrée Ruffo. For decades Ruffo has been the outstanding voice in Québec, and perhaps unparalleled in the country, in defense of our most vulnerable and disenfranchised. Her particular passion was young people. As a youth court judge she not only showed compassion from the bench but commitment in the public arena. Few were as brave as she in demonstrating that when the system fails we as citizens must step in. Her book, "Parce que je crois aux enfants" is not only an indictment of apathy but an eloquent appeal for action.

This concert will be held Thursday, October 2nd, 2008 at 7.30 pm at Théâtre St-Denis. Among the entertainers will be Chantal Chamandy, Stephanie Biddle from New York, Lorraine Klaasen, Ashley King, Sandy Brandone, Carolina, the Imani Family and Full Gospel Church's Children's Choir and international human rights activist and former Miss World Canada Nazanin Afshin-Jam will be coming in from Vancouver to be with us. Other stars will be announced shortly. There will also be

an after-party at the popular night club, Lamouche.

We are proud to help The Garceau Foundation make this special evening a great success. I am reaching out to all of you to buy as many tickets to this great event as you can. All contributions are deductible and tax receipts will be sent out. The \$250 VIP ticket entitles you to attend the after party at LaMouche, just one block south of the theater on St-Denis and St-Catherine. General admission tickets are \$150.

The concert will not only be about entertainment. You will meet the people behind these groups and you will meet the people they help. We hope you will be touched as you meet the most humble among us who cannot secure the preferences of the privileged for themselves. We hope you will be touched enough to give of your time and talent as well as your treasure.

This is what well known designer Kevin Allwood has done. Despite his busy schedule in Montreal and L.A. working with the likes of Charlize Theron and Katherine Heigl, Kevin is dedicating himself as artistic director for this concert. He is also bringing some of his incredibly talented team from the States to help co-ordinate the evening.

I assure you that the music, the words and the images of this concert will pierce your heart. We want you to take away from it a greater ability to see the world through the eyes of its victims. And to understand intuitively, that the less educated are not less intelligent and that the less affluent are not any less human. That is what Cassandra's Lilacs "Gentle the Condition" concert is all about, and what the Garceau Foundation seeks to achieve.





Speaking at Parliamentary press gallery prior to rally with (l-r) Mount Royal MP and former Justice Minister Irwin Cotler, international human rights activist Nazanin Afshin-Jam and former Secretary of State for Asia/Pacific David Kilgour.

AUGUST 21, 2008

# "Human Dignity Rally"

## Ottawa rally for rights in China

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The Ottawa rally for rights in China, that we have encouraged Montrealers to support over the past few weeks, was held last Thursday and was a resounding success. Finally dubbed the "Human Dignity Rally", it saw hundreds of demonstrators from Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto gather in front of the Chinese Embassy, a hulking grey-stone monolith on St. Patrick St., and demand an end to Chinese tyranny, oppression, expansionist ambitions and human rights violations. The rally was timed for the day before the official opening of the Beijing Games.

More than a dozen cultural communities—representing per-secuted regions, religions, ethnicities and individuals—came together in a veritable rainbow coalition. Flags of the Vietnamese, Tibetan, Uyghur and Taiwanese communities were prominent. In addition, delegations of Falun Dafa, Burmese, Sudanese, Darfuris, Nepalese and even Byelorussians participated, among others.

Some 19 speakers brought the message to the door of the Chinese ambassador. The breadth of the coalition was exemplified by Mount Royal MP Irwin Cotler, Canada's former Justice Minister, when he shouted "the whole world is watching! Le monde entier regard!" toward the end of his remarks. It seemed as if the whole world was represented under the brilliant sunshine of that Ottawa day.

Two busloads of Montrealers were part of the demonstration. Organized by the Canada-Tibet Committee and the Institute for Public Affairs of

Montreal, the whole city was represented from the east end to the West Island. The demonstrators stretched the length of a block the size of Place Ville Marie. Ranging from five to eight deep in many places, and standing behind metal barriers erected by the city, the protesters looked like a military firing line. A firing line for freedom.

The day started with a press conference in the Parliamentary press gallery organized by Prof. Cotler. He presented an 11-part index of China's human rights abuses together with suggested remedies that could be implemented at the national and international levels. Former Secretary of State for Asia/Pacific David Kilgour, international human rights activist Nazanin Afshin-Jam and I, in my capacity as President of the Institute for Public Affairs, also spoke. The four of us had helped organize the rally working in concert with national, cultural and advocacy groups, in particular the CTC and Reporters sans frontières. The CTC's Dermod Travis and RSF's Katherine Borlongan were instrumental to the rally's success.

In his remarks Cotler sharply criticized China's human rights record and called the awarding of the Games to Beijing a betrayal of the Olympic Charter. "What we are witnessing today ... is a persistent and pervasive assault on human rights in China," he said. "A betrayal of the Olympic Charter, the Olympic Games and China's pledge to respect both."

Among the concerns outlined in his report are the treatment of Tibetans, limits on freedom of expression and inaction in dealing with the humanitarian crisis in Darfur, where 400,000 people have died since 2003. Despite promises from the country's Communist regime to improve its human rights record when the Games were awarded to China in 2001, abuses of human rights



have escalated, said Cotler.

"China undertook, in their words, to respect human rights, to respect media freedom, and then they added, 'we will translate these words into deeds,'" Prof. Cotler said at an interview following the press conference. "Yet seven years later, the deeds mock the words." He urged foreign governments to "speak up and speak out" and in particular asked world leaders attending the Beijing Olympics to call publicly for the release of political prisoners.

David Kilgour was just as emphatic. He stated that, "unless the (Chinese) government moves

quickly in a host of areas, the Beijing Games, for good reason, will be compared mostly with those of the 1936 games in Berlin. Democracies turn and twist, but totalitarian governments are like a billiard ball, solid as a rock, but then, one day, they just shatter and disappear. I think that will eventually happen to the government in China."

Kilgour said he was "pleased" that Prime Minister Stephen Harper is not attending the Games. "That does send a message, regardless of the reason given." The prime minister has blamed a scheduling conflict and has sent Foreign Affairs Minister David Emerson in his place.

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

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

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# A Healthy Corrective to Self-Censorship

## Barbara Kay in The National Post on "The Metropolitan"

As we all are being told, newspapers - the kind that leave your fingers a bit inky, that is - are in decline. Readers and advertisers are shifting online at a rate traditionalists such as myself find alarming.

I'm no Luddite. The Internet is pure gold for work and social communication; but online news and blogs don't cut it for me as my primary source of daily reading pleasure. Sharing my morning coffee with a tiny, rigid iPhone is a glum prospect. And while it's nice to be archived in perpetuity on the Web, for me there's no satisfaction to compare with seeing my column on a soft, rustling, clippable, eventually yellowing page.

Thankfully, it's not all bad news for print newspapers. According to Beryl Wajzman - journalist, talk-show host, social activist, iconoclast, and now founding editor and publisher of The Metropolitan, a new bilingual Montreal print venture - it's mostly subscription newspapers that are facing some hurdles. Free newspapers supported by advertising targeted to a specific demographic, he claims, are doing well.

To prove it, Wajzman and his talented team, including managing editor Anthony Philbin,

senior editor Daniel Laprès and contributing editor Brigitte Garceau, are investing their energies (and his backers' serious money) into the expectation that a tabloid of ideas and public affairs commentary aimed at Montreal's most bicultural and politically sophisticated readers can swim upstream.

Since May 1, *The Metropolitan* - biweekly to start, weekly in prospect - has been available in print (30,000 copies targeted at high-income and-influence Montrealers) and online at <http://www.themetropolitain.ca/>. It's starting on a solid footing - according to Wajzman, at least. He claims he has eight months publication assured through advertising commitments from 25 clients.

As a contributor, I'm not disinterested. I'd like this feisty, outspoken newspaper to succeed as a healthy corrective to a Quebec media landscape that too often censors itself on sensitive issues. Contributor partisanship amongst *The Metropolitan's* writers spans the political spectrum from socialist to libertarian. What all have in common is something in generally short supply in Quebec - a devotion to individual rights and the free exchange of ideas, however offensive

to thin-skinned cultural-grievance collectors. It therefore stands to reason that Quebec political and cultural elites are a frequent target of *The Metropolitan* contributors' writerly pique.

A rousing editorial by Wajzman set the tone of the first issue on May 1: "For too long, this island has been the champ-de-mars of the culture wars ... based on ... the lie that some unique injustice was done to a native people in its native land. And that one of those peoples has a superior moral claim on its sovereignty. Nothing, of course, could be further from the truth."

What's especially wonderful about *The Metropolitan* is its bilingualism (each article, whether in French or English, is unique; none are translated). This represents a "union montréalaise," in Wajzman's words, which emphasizes the bilingualism of most Montrealers, and neutralizes the persisting image of whining "angryphones" one sees so often in the French media. It is richly symbolic to see, alongside the anglo writers and contributors like David Solway and Duff Conacher, civil libertarian and multilingual commentator Julius Grey, principled francophone writers - senior editor

Daniel Laprès, historian Esther Delisle, academic Alain-Michel Ayache, economist Germain Belzile, dramatist Pierre Malouf and up and coming talents like David Simard and Vincent Geloso - whose brains and savvy are scandalously under-utilized in Quebec because they hold the "wrong" views about identity politics.

But Beryl Wajzman is the driving force of the venture. This happy warrior is a familiar name to politically engaged Montrealers. A 24/7 political animal with a taste for revolutionary tropes, Wajzman's Sunday Corus radio talk show on 940 AM is called *The Last Angry Man* for good reason: He trades in unflagging indignation on issues of social justice. His tenacity on and off air often delivers results on otherwise orphaned issues. A fearless gadfly, Wajzman accepts personal threats and - he tells me - the vandalism of his car and hacking of his website as a small price to pay for the pleasure of rousing a too-often lethargic public.

Bonne chance, *The Metropolitan*. May you long be the source for many thousands of happily inky fingers.

15 mai 2009

# Québec and Israel. Contre la doctrine du mépris



Yesterday, the 14th of May, was the 60th anniversary of the independence of the State of Israel. Last week, some 15,000 Montrealers marched downtown to celebrate that event on its date on the Jewish calendar. They were not all Jews. They were from many different religious, creeds and races. What brought them together was a fidelity to the struggle of a small, lone democracy surrounded by a sea of tyranny to remain free. The frontline nation in the family of free nations facing an existential threat from Islamist fundamentalism as dangerous as any other western civilization has faced in the past one hundred years. This event should have a special resonance for all Quebecers. Because the best of our institutional memory makes us understand the price of liberty better than many.

Notre mémoire et notre vécu ont fait de nous la société la plus progressiste et la plus humaniste du continent. Et peut-être pour ça, les liens entre les peuples juif et québécois, entre Israël et le Québec,

restent toujours durables et profonds. C'est ici que Louis-Joseph Papineau aida aux combats politiques pour une plus grande liberté pour tous, ce qui a permis l'émancipation totale des citoyens juifs dès 1832, huit ans plus tôt qu'en Grande-Bretagne. C'est au Québec que Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine a réussi de haute lutte à lancer une première expérience de gouvernement responsable. C'est cette culture québécoise qui a inspiré à Sir Wilfrid Laurier sa vision mondialiste et inclusive pour le 20<sup>e</sup> siècle.

C'est ici que des leaders syndicaux québécois, appuyés par des syndicalistes d'origine italienne et juive, ont créé à travers les années 1930, 1940 et 1950 l'État qui peut se vanter d'avoir, avec l'Italie et Israël, le plus important pourcentage de travailleurs syndiqués de l'Occident. Le Québec est le creuset qui a formé des héros de la trempe de Jean Marchand et Pierre Elliot-Trudeau, ceux-là même qui ont renversé le pouvoir d'une droite revancharde et d'un clergé rétrograde. Le Québec a aussi donné naissance à la « révolution tranquille » de Jean Lesage qui a accordé à tous ses citoyens la pleine expression de leurs aspirations.

La recherche d'une société distincte aurait pu sombrer dans l'esprit de clocher, mais nos penseurs

ont plutôt cherché à construire leur modèle dans ce que l'expérience humaine avait de mieux à offrir. À preuve, le document-phare de Marcel Chaput, Guide des Patriotes, qui utilise plusieurs institutions israéliennes pour refléter la réalité du Québec. Et même aujourd'hui, les modèles québécois et israélien d'intervention de l'État pour la justice sociale et pour une égalité dans la distribution des richesses sont parmi les plus inclusifs et compatissants au monde. Le Québec a aussi emprunté la voix de René Lévesque pour exprimer vigoureusement son identité dans le respect absolu des principes démocratiques et du pluralisme.

La liberté est fragile et elle requiert une constante vigilance. Une vigilance qui, dans un monde de communications et de destruction instantanées, doit nous inciter à serrer les rangs autour de ceux qui, dans le monde entier, repoussent le crépuscule de la terreur. Les nations libres sont des îlots épars dans une turbulente mer de tyrannie et le combat de l'une



d'elles est le combat de toutes. Elle est un défi constant à notre force de caractère et au courage de nos convictions.

Le peuple d'Israël a acquis ces mêmes valeurs mais de façon beaucoup plus douloureuse. Son



# AWARD WINNING ADVOCACY STORIES



## The Teaching of Contempt Gemma Raeburn and the Montreal Police

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Dollard des Ormeaux resident Gemma Raeburn and two friends, Peter Charles and Frederick Peters, were moving items from her garage into her home. Following a call from a neighbor, six armed Montreal police officers showed up, accusing the three of robbing the house. The only crime they had committed was that they were black.

The neighbor who had called the police was a 17-year-old who said that people with “black things” on their faces were committing a robbery. What happened after the police arrived turned from farce to tragedy. When Raeburn asked one of the officers if they would have pulled their guns on white people, the officer responded that “...bullets don’t see color...”. When Peters told one of the other officers that police in his native Grenada did not behave in a similar fashion the officer snapped back “If you don’t like it here, why don’t you go back to your country?”

Raeburn and her friends brought complaints to the Police Ethics Committee. The Committee suspended the two officers. The officers took their case to Quebec Court and their appeal was successful. The Court ordered the suspension of the first officer

wiped off his record and the second had the suspension converted into a reprimand. Gemma Raeburn’s reaction said it all. “If we can’t even recognize racism, how are we ever going to cure it?”

We won’t go through the litany of racial incidents and attitudes in Quebec in this editorial. From the firebombing of a Jewish school, to the intolerance exhibited during the accommodation hearings, to the Police Brotherhood’s move to stop a coroner-ordered inquiry into Mohammed Bennis’ death, they are all too fresh in our minds. What we would like to consider here is why it seems so easy to demonize and marginalize minorities – “les autres” – in this Province. So easy that even courts can be caught up in the sad, twisted mindset of trivialization.

An answer was provided by comments on the provincial campaign trail this past week. Pauline Marois proposed toughening Bill 101 by applying it to currently exempted small businesses and hiring more inspectors. Jean Charest wants Ottawa to turn over all cultural and communications matters to Quebec and proposed protecting “Quebec-made” cultural products through preferential and discriminatory taxes.

We are not suggesting that Marois and Charest are in any way racist. Yet perhaps in some manner they have failed in an even greater responsibility of trust. A racist sometimes simply does not know better. But

our politicians in Quebec know very well how to play the pandering card. The same old fear-mongering that has been going on for 40 years - and before that in the Duplessis era - grabs votes. It grabs votes in the narrowest way possible. By appealing to the lowest common denominator of our society. Proposals such as these re-enforce the message - and a not too subtle message at that - that it is acceptable to marginalize the “other.” That there are two classes of citizens and that there will be no level playing field. This is a propagation of the teachings of contempt.

And from the time these teachings leave the mouths of politicians to the time they filter down and are disseminated in the media and enter the minds of all - from judges to juveniles - the damage is done. It is time for Quebec to do better.

It is time for leaders of Quebec civil society to appeal to the better angels of our nature. We have examples from an unparalleled progressive political patrimony to draw on. Lawyers and legislators, judges and jurists, pundits and politicians should end the perpetuation of insecurity and interposition. Let them draw lessons from Papineau who led the fight that emancipated all minorities 20 years before England; from Lafontaine who structured the first responsible government in the British Empire; from Laurier who proclaimed that it was the proudest boast of his public life to have been denounced by



Roman priests and condemned by Protestant parsons and from Trudeau who institutionalized the supremacy of the individual over the whims of the state.

All leaders have a responsibility to make us better, more inclusive, more tolerant. Let no one be fooled. The poison that led to officers drawing guns on three middle-aged black citizens was not produced in a vacuum. It was concocted in the corridors of power where we so often search for justice and not merely law. There is one sad lesson all honest Quebecers must recognize. That lesson is that any society where public policy is proposed and propagated on the basis of personal prejudices giving privilege and preference to one group over another based on parochial particularities - be they of race, color, creed, faith or tongue - will inevitably produce hallmarks of intolerance.

We write this on the very morning that the Sûreté du Québec arrested the first suspects in a series of anti-Semitic incidents in the Laurentians this past summer. It is time to acknowledge that “sang et langue” doesn’t cut it anymore. It never really did. It was always the big lie. Civil society should recognize that there are more votes to be gained from the heirs of Quebec’s patrimoine politique progressiste nonpareil than from the heirs of la grande noirceur.

## The Arrogance of Authority

### The Bela Kosoian Affair

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We have written passionately and often about the demonization of Montreal’s citizens by city authorities. The usual subjects concern nanny-state rule and regulation that seek to change our personal behaviour and taxes it through fines if we misbehave. The rules pummel us into infantilism and self-abnegation to the point where some of us actually think we are guilty of something even when we are not.

Some Montrealers even support these back-door tax grabs, arguing it is for our own good. But some weeks bring stories of such abuse of process that even the most hardcore social engineers are given pause. Such was the case of Bela Kosoian last week. A woman handcuffed and detained for having the temerity to refuse to hold a Metro escalator handrail and — horror of horrors — talking back to police!

But each week seems to bring a new tale of abuse and arrogance. This week’s has nothing to do with social engineering. It has to do quite simply

with perversion of law. It has to do with the affect of arrogance that seems to inform Montreal politicians and, in this case, the police.

The story of taxi drivers being ticketed hundreds, and in one case thousands, of dollars for seemingly breaking the letter of the law speaks more to the callousness of police than the culpability of their victims.

A driver parking in a regular parking spot is ticketed while he is putting money into the parking meter. When he explains to the officer that he has to use a toilet and that was why he pulled over, he is ticketed again for obstruction. Another taxi driver is ticketed for stopping on the passenger side of the bus terminal where taxis are not permitted.

When he explains to the officer that he is not waiting for a fare but merely picking up his sister — proof of which he presents — he is still given a fine. He tells the officer that he has no heart. The officer tells the driver to tell it to the judge. And there are more such stories. (Please see our website for more details on this story.)

Three matters are troubling in this affair. First, it is the same officer who is issuing these inane contraventions. Secondly, all the victims seem to be taxi drivers who are visible minorities. Third, when



our reporter called the officer’s commander he basically said that this officer was acting within the law and unless a judge says something else he is not reprimanding him. Within the law. There is the rub.

Laws without justice and equity are not worth very much. They are merely two-edged swords of craft and oppression. Two-edged swords for tax collection at best. Law must be the shield of the innocent and the staff of the honest. When even traffic regulations can be used for abuse — regulations that are for public order — then what is our civic administration really worth?

And when commanders stand behind the letter

of laws rather than their spirit to protect subordinates, then where are citizens to turn to seek compassionate authority? Are we, particularly our brothers and sisters of colour, to be constantly at the mercy of uniformed bullies?

We say this must stop!

It is telling that this story of abuse should come to light in the very week that Gemma Raeburn-Baynes, the subject of our editorial on “The teaching of contempt”, is still going through court process to get justice against the officers who set upon her with guns on her own property because a neighbour thought she was a thief. Gemma is black.

How many more incidents do we have to live through before the police do some self-policing?

When will we put an end to abuse of process? Do we have to take things into our own hands and stop the arrogance of authority?

The incidents mentioned above are but several of dozens every year. Each one of us, each and every citizen of whatever station in life, has inalienable rights which must not be abused. We are — each and every one — somebody! And the day is coming soon when the “somebodies” will rally together and demand the respect that is rightfully theirs.

## Québec and Israel. Contre la doctrine du mépris

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expérience peut servir de guide au peuple du Québec. Nous sommes tous deux minoritaires. Nous combattons tous deux pour la justice sociale. Nous avons tous deux souffert les humiliations du dénigrement et de la discorde. Nos deux peuples ne sont ni meilleurs, ni choisis, ni détenteurs privilégiés de la vérité. Nous sommes simplement moins nombreux, différents et tenaces. Nous ne réclamons qu'un droit inhérent à tout peuple libre, celui d'être nous-mêmes.

Nous ne pouvons toutefois prendre ce droit pour acquis. Nous ne pouvons présumer de la bienveillance des peuples qui nous entourent. La liberté est toujours une denrée rare et le monde doit constamment se mesurer à l'aune du précepte offert par Thomas Jefferson selon lequel « le succès d'une société juste se mesure par le respect et la retenue dont fait preuve la majorité face à ses minorités. »

Les Québécois ont toujours défendu ces valeurs. Au cours du siècle dernier, notre peuple a sacrifié à la défense de la liberté un plus grand nombre de ses fils et filles – toutes proportions gardées – que les États-Unis eux-mêmes. Même lorsque nous ne pouvions offrir plus que notre sang, notre sueur et nos larmes, nous avons toujours défendu les valeurs de la civilisation occidentale parce que nous voulions être des hommes et des femmes libres. Nous savions, en notre âme et conscience, que cet idéal méritait les plus grands sacrifices. Nous savions aussi que « ... ça pourrait nous arriver... » et que la lutte pour la justice sociale ne s'arrête pas à

nos frontières. Nous avons honoré et célébré tous ceux et celles qui ont lutté à nos côtés pour le maintien de nos valeurs démocratiques et de notre liberté. Nous avons protégé la flamme lorsque la grande noirceur de la terreur nous menaçait.

Aujourd'hui, un autre Mal a déferlé sur le monde. Le professeur Daniel Pipes le décrit ainsi : « ... le militantisme islamique est le seul mouvement totalitaire de toute première importance... » Des extrémistes tentent de remplacer la liberté d'expression par l'intimidation et la coopération par la confrontation. Ils prônent la dénonciation au détriment de la délibération et la destruction plutôt que la discussion. C'est un virus que nous connaissons déjà mais qui, aujourd'hui, s'est répandu partout dans le monde. C'est une semence qui ne peut croître dans notre terroir culturel.

Le monde occidental est confronté depuis deux générations aux mythes imposés par le relativisme moral. Cette caricature d'égalitarisme a maintes fois été jugée trompeuse et ridicule. Elle a produit des intellectuels lâches, dénués de sens moral et de conscience, qui se vautrent dans un monde de débauche intellectuelle cautionnée par une structure qui ne demande de rendre aucun compte. Il est temps de sonner le réveil.

Quand des États démocratiques comme Israël sont attaqués et pénalisés par une objectivité factice fondée sur le concept du « deux poids, deux mesures », nous devons réaliser que ces attaques ne sont pas lancées pour redresser des torts mais pour détruire des réussites. Les attaques contre Israël ne sont pas uniquement motivées par le conflit avec les

Palestiniens. Elles sont une agression plus vaste contre l'occident libéral, lancée par des Musulmans extrémistes qui s'appuient sur le relativisme moral de leurs amis universitaires, des médias et des régimes dictatoriaux qui asservissent les tribunes mondiales objectives telles que les Nations-Unies, et ne peuvent accepter la discussion libre ni se soumettre aux règles de délibération propres au monde libre.

Le XX<sup>e</sup> siècle nous a appris que l'absence de réaction et, pire encore, les tentatives d'apaisement face à la barbarie du terrorisme entraînent inévitablement un maelström meurtrier jusque-là inimaginable. a ouvert la voie à Auschwitz.

Les Québécois ont toujours considéré le courage comme la plus grande vertu et nous avons toujours condamné l'hypocrisie déguisée en civilité comme le dernier refuge des scélérats. La véritable nature de nos mœurs politiques et éthiques exige que nous nous rangions dans les rangs du petit nombre auquel le grand nombre vouera éventuellement sa reconnaissance. Notre tradition nous commande d'appuyer la seule démocratie qui soit dans cette partie du monde – depuis l'océan Indien jusqu'à l'Atlantique – qui ne connaît pas la liberté. Notre orgueil et notre détermination ne peuvent pas plus être compromis par les barils de pétrole qu'ils ne le furent par des montagnes de munitions. Nous devons comprendre qu'Israël est l'avant-poste de la grande famille des nations démocratiques occidentales au Moyen-Orient et que l'issue de sa lutte au terrorisme nous concerne tous.

If the Jewish people are the canary in the

mineshaft of civilized history, Israel is the litmus test of the ability of western civilization to survive. It may very well be that as Israel goes so goes the west.

It is folly to think that if only we are accommodating today's enemies of freedom will leave us alone. The evidence of that is long and bloody. London, Madrid, Beslan, Bali, the list goes on and on. To the Jihadists Israel is the "little satan" and America is the "big satan", and all the other liberal pluralist western nations are vary sizes of "satans" in between.

Those who insist on denigrating the Israeli experience by comparing its policies to apartheid, and worse, commit monstrous blasphemies. And here is another lesson for us to learn about why Israel matters.

The distortions of history which have been visited upon Israel are now being visited on the west. Moral relativism and historical revisionism poison young minds. They destroy the moral compass of our civilization and make us fear to tell right from wrong. It is a sad and cowardly spectacle.

Israel's emergence is the greatest collective event in the post-war history of free peoples' struggles against tyranny. The greatest pride and dignity in our policy in the world will be found in giving aid and sustenance to a sister democracy in the time of her greatest resurgence and greatest challenge.

Nous devons envoyer un message de vérité aux dictateurs et despotes qui nous menacent, leur faire savoir que nous serons toujours vigilants ; leur dire que nous nous opposerons avec véhémence et vouerons une haine acharnée à ce que Jean-Paul Sartre appelait « la doctrine du mépris »

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