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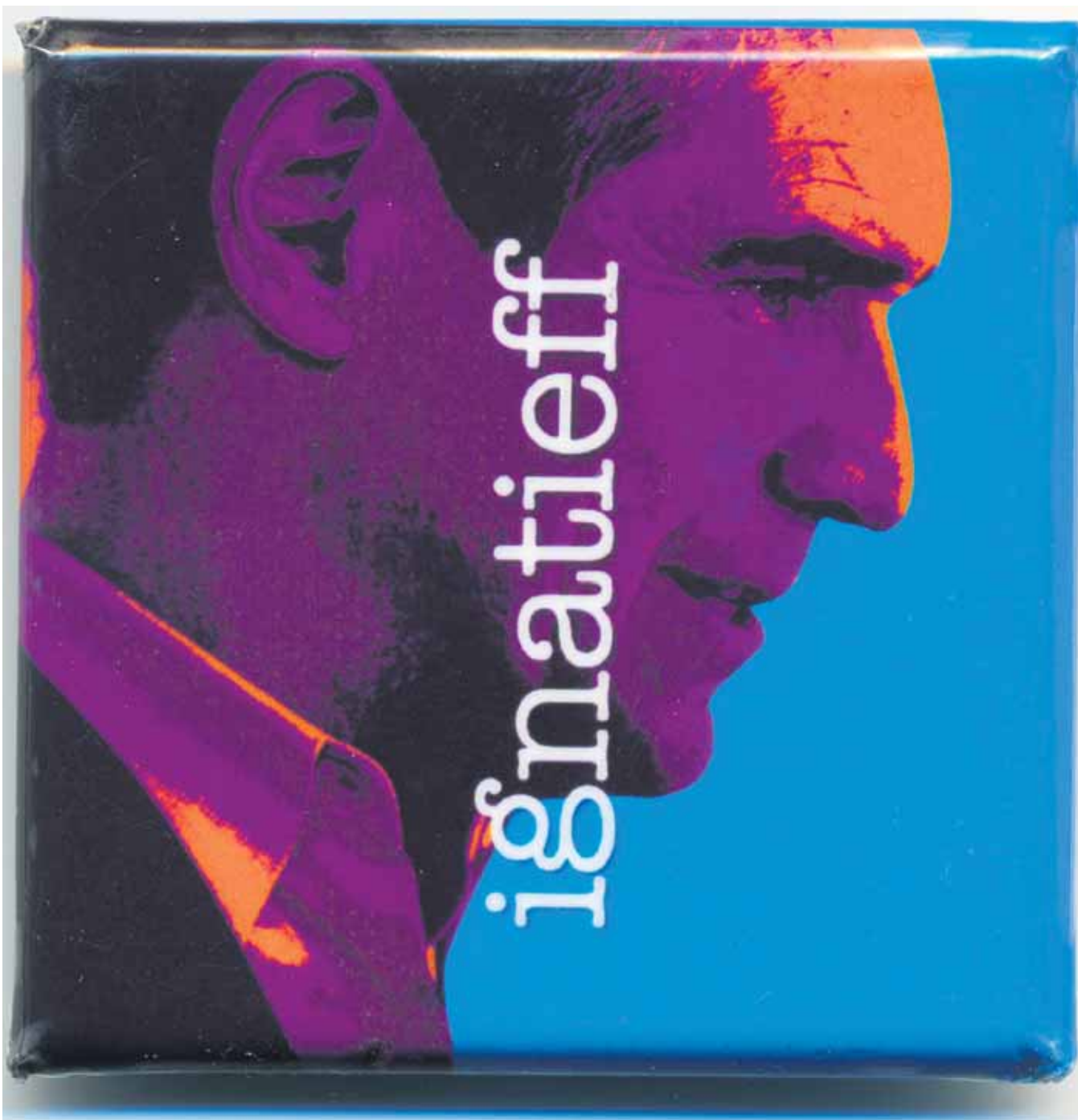
Ensemble et libres Together and free

# THE METROPOLITAIN

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## Who staged Mumbai?

First, a matter of terminology. Although the Mumbai terrorist attacks began late evening of November 26, 2008, the siege lasted three days, and hence it would be more accurate to take 11/27 (the midpoint) to indicate the attack. On December 1, www.upiasia.com carried an analysis by this writer on the attacks, pointing out that they were seemingly masterminded by regular elements within the Pakistan army. This was based on information from within the South Asian region that was credible and at levels senior enough to know the facts. While the December 1 report is necessarily an abbreviated one, keeping in view editorial requirements for the site, a more complete account of why the Mumbai attacks may have taken place is presented here. The sources within South Asia who are the basis for this assessment are emphatic as to its authenticity and accuracy. Reports subsequent to the publication of the December 1 analysis have only confirmed the truthfulness of these extremely well-informed sources in elucidating the origin of the attacks.

Just as the assault on Kargil was planned in 1999 by Pervez Musharraf, then Pakistan's Chief of the Army Staff, the Mumbai attacks appear to have been carried out on the instructions of the present COAS, Ashfaq Kiyani, who transmitted his operational orders via a senior Corps Commander to the chief of the Inter-Services Intelligence, who in turn passed them along to the Lashkar-e-Toiba, an organisation ancillary to the Pakistan army, which has technically been banned but in actuality operates without hindrance throughout that country. A few days ago, a window-dressing designed to once again deceive the Bush administration, a few Lashkar operatives were "arrested" (they even have mobile telephones available to them in the special "cells" in which they are temporarily lodged) and one of the numerous front offices of the Lashkar shut down, again on a temporary basis. The "arrested" terrorists will soon be free to join others of the tribe enjoying the protection of the Pakistan army, while the office closed down will be opening next month under a new name. Of course, such cosmetic measures have proved enough to satisfy the US for decades.

The Mumbai attacks were specifically intended to kill several hundred of the Indian economic elite, together with a substantial number of foreigners, which is why the Taj Mahal and Oberoi Trident hotels were chosen as targets. The other major structure attacked, Chhatrapati Shivaji (railway) Terminus, was included solely as a diversionary measure, to dilute the attention of the security services. The orders for the

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## The Ignatieff ascendancy

Hope for "unique acts of the imagination"



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Many have speculated what a Michael Ignatieff Liberal Party will look like. With his ascendancy we will soon find out. After the turbulent events of the past few weeks this country needs what Harry Truman once called some "plain

speaking". Not just for the sake of Michael Ignatieff's party but for the sake of conscience and for the sake of this country. Without fidelity to conscience, public men are of little use.

Ignatieff has written that he is driven by two convictions that propelled him into the public arena. The first is that liberalism, the liberalism of principle not of partisanship, is the last great hope of mankind. The second is that the modern Canadian experience, whose foundational organizing principle was the liberal spirit, is a

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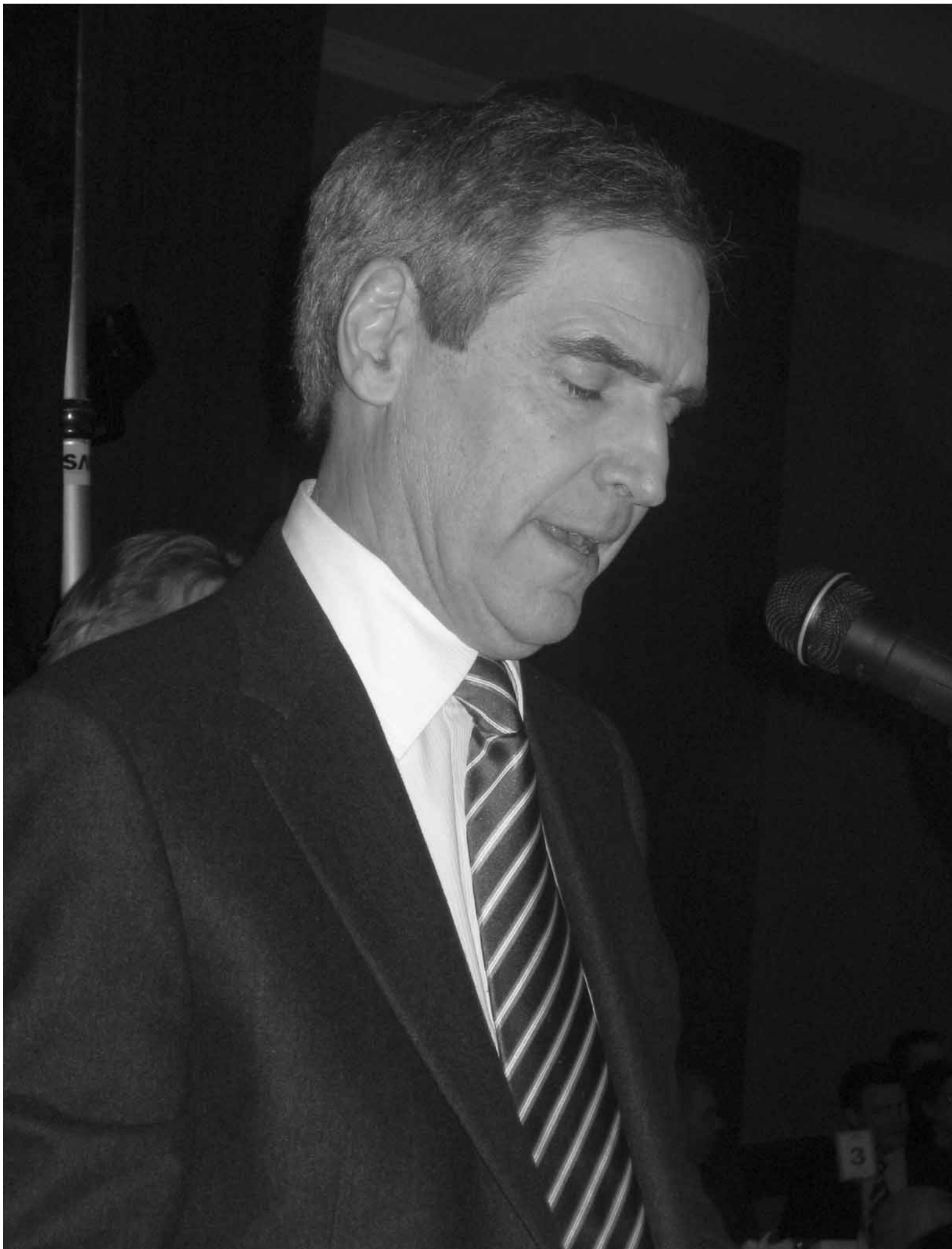
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## LES MILLES MOTS

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Michael Ignatieff addresses Liberals on December 10.

PHOTO COURTESY OF A. AUCOIN

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

LA PATRIE

LA CULTURE AU QUÉBEC

# Deux râteliers valent mieux qu'un

La culture, dit le Petit Robert, c'est l'« ensemble des aspects intellectuels propres à une civilisation, une nation ». Définissent et distinguent la culture d'un groupe ou d'une société, précise le Petit Larousse, ses usages, ses coutumes, ses manifestations artistiques, religieuses, intellectuelles. Au Québec, du moins dans le monde politique (ailleurs, je ne sais pas), ces définitions ne sont que partiellement vraies. Au Québec, on n'a que faire de la civilisation, seule compte la nation. Au Québec, point de culture en dehors des arts et des traditions. La culture scientifique, on n'en a rien à foutre. Au Québec, on préfère se distinguer que se définir, car nous définissant nous risquerions de constater que nous ne sommes pas si distincts. Avez-vous remarqué comme nos politiciens sont fêrus de culture pendant les campagnes électorales ? Parfois, ils ont de bonnes idées. Abolir la TVQ sur les produits culturels, tout le monde est d'accord avec ça. Bravo, monsieur Charest !

Lysianne Gagnon le souligne avec justesse dans La Presse du 25 novembre : en inscrivant ce qu'il est coutume d'appeler la « souveraineté culturelle » au programme du PQ, Pauline Marois suit les traces de Jean Charest, qui lui-même fait renaître de ses cendres un vieux cheval de bataille enfourché dans les années 70 par Robert Bourassa. « Pendant la campagne fédérale, écrit Mme

Gagnon, lui aussi [Jean Charest] avait réclamé de but en blanc la souveraineté culturelle [...] ».

Évidemment, Mme Marois, qui dirige un parti prudemment indépendantiste (bannissons le mot souverainiste, qui n'est qu'un triste euphémisme), va beaucoup plus loin en la matière que le chef du Parti libéral. L'article 6.4 du programme péquiste débute en effet comme suit : « Rapatrier d'Ottawa les compétences, les budgets et les fonctionnaires associés à la culture et à la communication. Les lois et institutions fédérales sont insensibles à l'identité culturelle spécifique québécoise et il revient au Québec d'administrer pleinement ce domaine vital pour la nation québécoise ». C'est Ionesco qui écrivait en 1972 : « La culture à l'air, de nos jours, d'être un instrument manié par des fonctionnaires pour fabriquer des fonctionnaires. »

Il s'avère qu'à défaut de s'entendre sur les rites et sur la liturgie, les trois chefs adhèrent pieusement à la vérité révélée énoncée dans le Livre Saint... je veux dire dans Québec gagnant avec Pauline. Ce « rapatriement », M. Charest prétend atteindre son but petit à petit par des ententes administratives, M. Dumont par des amendements à la constitution canadienne, Mme Marois par voie de référendum (pendant le débat, elle parlait de rapports de force). On m'accusera de sacrilège, mais tant pis ! Cette prétendue insensibilité des « lois et

institutions fédérales » à notre « identité culturelle spécifique », je n'y crois pas. La bouchée est aussi grosse que le mythe de la création du monde en six jours, ça ne passe pas !

On tentera de me convertir à la foi commune en m'apportant comme exemple de la vilénie fédérale les récentes coupures de 45 millions du

nationaliste souffre d'élancements chroniques. N'importe quel chiquenaude venant d'Ottawa exacerbe le syndrome et fait pousser de hauts cris.

Les artistes québécois, la culture québécoise, le public consommateur de culture, seraient-ils vraiment mieux servis si le « subventionneur » fédéral s'éclip-

plupart des écrivains québécois (tel est mon cas) pour qui le plus gros montant en droits d'auteur perçu annuellement provient du Département de Prêt Public (DPP) administré par le Conseil des Art du Canada (il s'agit le plus souvent de sommes fort modestes), continueront de vivoter de leur art grâce à un programme... fédéral.

Évidemment, Mme Marois, qui dirige un parti prudemment indépendantiste (bannissons le mot souverainiste, qui n'est qu'un triste euphémisme), va beaucoup plus loin en la matière que le chef du Parti libéral.

gouvernement Harper. Je rétorquerai que ces coupures déplorables touchaient l'ensemble du Canada. Que la gent artistique ait réagi avec plus de hargne au Québec que dans le ROC, il n'y a rien là d'étonnant. Chez la plupart des artistes québécois la fibre

sait au profit du « subventionneur » provincial ? Qu'on me permette d'en douter. Il est rassurant de constater qu'il n'y aura ni référendum ni réouverture du dossier constitutionnel. Nous emprunterons la voie lente et prudente des ententes administratives. Ainsi, la

Ainsi, quand un auteur ou un éditeur fera le dépôt légal et à Québec et à Ottawa d'une œuvre nouvelle (ce que je fis il y a deux ans pour un livre d'art), il recevra toujours un chèque... du fédéral, tout en continuant d'enrichir gratuitement la culture québécoise.

...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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# No moral high ground for Canada's political parties

All federal political parties should have been working toward a democratic compromise over the Conservative minority government's economic and political finance proposals, instead of continuing their poorly timed games.

While the Conservative's self-interested surprise proposal to cut the public per-vote funding of parties funding entirely went too far, the opposition parties overreacted. Given that the funding was set by

then-Liberal Prime Minister Jean Chrétien at an arbitrarily high level in 2003 to help his party, the funding should be cut in half. This will give all the parties, especially smaller ones, a solid base of funding, while encouraging them to win more funding by winning the support of more voters.

Secondly, Prime Minister Harper must realize he does not have majority support, and that though the Liberals may be weak it doesn't mean he can shove the

Conservatives' agenda down everyone's throat. The opposition parties want at least some steps taken now to boost the sagging economy, and so the Conservatives' should take their views into account.

Third, the opposition parties must realize that even though the Prime Minister broke his word and at least the spirit of his fixed-election date law in September by advising the Governor General to call an election, it is no better for them to have gone into the Governor General and ask



her to make the then sort-of Liberal leader Stéphane Dion the Prime Minister based on a very likely short-term, shaky alliance with the NDP and Bloc Québécois.

In other words, none of the parties really have a strong moral hand to play, and so they shouldn't be betting that they will come out of this situation a winner.

And while they're making these democratic compromises in the

public's (not their own) interest, maybe they could try to avoid future similar messes by all acting more honestly, ethically, openly, representatively and efficiently. Doing this will very likely impress more voters than their current party games, and may even have the positive benefit for all of attracting the support (and donations) of some of the more than 40 percent of voters who didn't vote in the last election.

"... the opposition parties overreacted. Given that the funding was set by then-Liberal Prime Minister Jean Chrétien at an arbitrarily high level in 2003 to help his party, the funding should be cut in half."

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# A very Canadian coup

*Remember remember the fifth of November  
Gunpowder, treason and plot.*

*I see no reason why gunpowder, treason  
Should ever be forgot...*

*- poem commemorating Guy Fawkes and the  
Gunpowder Plot, 1605*

No, we don't do things with gunpowder and treason in Canada. Right? But we had a helluva first of December.

Let us make no mistake about what happened in our land this month. The political posturing, particularly of the NDP and the Bloc, created a crisis far more acute and far-reaching than any economic challenges we may face. These parties seek to undo the will of the people and reduce the sovereignty of our suffrage to ashes. Remember the words. And the tones. The smug sophistry of Deputy NDP leader Thomas Mulcair saying to Canadians on national television that our national government is empowered only by the will of the House and implying that the votes of our citizens are meaningless. The sycophantish jocularity of Mr. Layton caught on tape salivating at the possibility of Jack and Gilles going up the hill in a devil's deal done weeks before the Tories ill-considered proposals reached the floor.

As badly as the Prime Minister handled the proposals of Finance Minister Flaherty, and made worse by his own submissive backtracking, the hypocrisy of the opposition was unconscionable. At the same time that the opposition leaders argue that it is about winning the majority of the House, the Dion-led Troika justified their actions by pointing out that they won the majority of the popular vote. Yet these are the same men who constantly justify Canada's first past the post system and condemn any Stephen Harper reform suggestion as "Americanizing" the Canadian

system. Two of these men ridiculed Stéphane Dion, who could have become a back-door Prime Minister, for obtaining less votes than any Liberal leader in history. Just 26%. Does this mean that there is now a precedent that anytime oppositions don't agree with the choice of the people it will overturn the duly-elected government within weeks of its election? Are we in for an era of very legal, very Canadian coup d'états?

Well, if the opposition can utilize legal but unpalatable tactics then so can the government. As arrogant, according to some commentators, as the Prime Minister may have been, it was the time to add audacity to arrogance and the proroguing of Parliament was fully appropriate. Not very nice, but perfectly legal. Government in the new Canadian style.

It was reported that some in the Liberal party were uncomfortable with this coalition. Well they should have been. A coalition of socialists and separatists will lurch this nation to the left, and lead to a further undoing of national sovereignty. A senior aide to Michael Ignatieff has quoted him as saying that such a deal may be a "poisoned chalice". With the Bloc having an 18 month de facto veto over decisions by the government, it was poisoned indeed. Those Liberals who have called themselves "Trudeau Liberals" should be shamed by these events. Pierre Elliott Trudeau would never have countenanced being propped up by separatist votes. Stéphane Dion's insatiable desire to avoid being only the second Liberal leader never to become Prime Minister has his political legacy in total jeopardy.

To those who drew comparisons with the Union government of Robert Borden during the Great War and downplayed the attempted political mugging we witnessed, I would suggest a retreat to the history books. Borden's coalition was meant to rouse national resolve at a time of existential threat, and to mirror the most inclusive aspects and affects of this great land.

The current brinkmanship takes its tactics and treachery from the exclusivist playbooks of statist and separatists who seek to centralize power and narrow the limitations of popular will.

Neither was this situation comparable to the King-Byng affair in 1926. Liberal Prime Minister Mackenzie King had been returned to office after the election with 99 seats. Seventeen less than Arthur Meighan's Conservatives. But he continued to govern as a "minority" with the support of the 24 Progressive MPs. When King asked Governor-General Byng to dissolve Parliament for a new election, Byng refused and gave Meighan a chance to govern.

It may well be that Parliamentary democracy is unworkable in Canada. This nation has been called a "controlled democracy". There might not be a better argument for republicanism than the sideshow we see before us today. Herbert Spencer wrote that "Republicanism is the highest form of government, but as such requires the highest form of human nature." It is perhaps in the nature of a new leader that Canada may yet find a saving grace in the midst of this debacle.

Leadership is not defined by playing the angles and leveraging for votes. Leadership is defined by the courage to proclaim "Follow me to the other shore. It is better over there." And it is in the quality of the voyage, and the integrity of the charted course that success or failure is pre-ordained. It has been decades since this nation was inspired by an authentic course. It has sat at harbour for too long anchored by pompous platitudes of questionable legitimacy.

Whether politicians and parties survive the current crisis in their present form is of little consequence. What is vital is that government of the people survives whether in a Parliamentary or Republican form. The assurance of that in the Canada of today is by no means clear.

# The Charest legacy

Jean Charest won an historic third consecutive election victory. And he won it with a majority. We will not be among those indulging in over analysis of the numbers.

Charest ran a professional and polished campaign. It stayed on message and was organized by a superb political and communications team. As nice as it would have been for the Liberals to capture more than 70 seats, the reality is that some 60% of the former ADQ vote went to them and they will probably be able to entice some of the now-leaderless ADQ deputies to the Liberal benches.

Jean Charest will not, in all likelihood, go against tradition and lead his party into a fourth election. So this is his legacy term. And he has all the tools in place to leave an important one. We would like to suggest his starts his planning by looking at a map.

That map would be the Island of Montreal. This island is responsible for two-thirds of



Quebec's economic engine. It is also the bedrock that has been the foundation of Liberal rule. The map is colored Liberal red from east to west. Except for a small crop of

PQ ridings in the center-east, it has remained loyal.

That loyalty is not merely to a party. But to the ideas of liberalism. The ideas of freedom. Economic and political. Some six years ago this island's population finally tipped to be more than fifty percent non-francophone. This island has suffered through decades of neglect. Part of Mr. Charest's legacy is to give it needed attention and set it free.

Free from the statist rights-constricting

rules and regulations on language that have made civil liberties the message and metaphor of the Quebec struggle. Free from the needless bureaucracy supporting unnecessary control society programs of social intervention. And free from unconscionable taxation that has stifled Montreal's, and thereby Quebec's, growth.

Three freedoms! What a legacy that would be to take with him, and perhaps propel him back to the national scene.

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A REVIEW OF RIDINGS SERVED BY THE MÉTROPOLITAIN

# Decision Quebec: Winners and losers

After an election where the story was not so much who voted for whom, but who did not vote at all, Premier Jean Charest may find himself taking on a familiar role; that of Captain Canada, ready to fight a resurgent sovereignist movement.

Voter turnout was catastrophic: A mere 57 per cent of Quebecers bothered to head down to the polls. The most accessible election in Quebec history gave the worst possible turnout, said Denis Dion, a spokesperson for the chief electoral officer.

The result was predictable: A slim majority government for Charest after the collapse of the Action Démocratique du Québec (with leader Mario Dumont resigning) and the rise of Part Québécois from the political waste bin. There were small surprises along the way, most notably in the Mercier riding, where voters shunned the big three. It is there that The Métropolitain begins a breakdown of our local results.

### Mercier

The rise of a fourth party in the province (a second sovereignist party) is largely due to voter fatigue and a lack of motivation. The PQ's Daniel Turp failed to get his supporters out to the polls and, as a result, the incumbent finished a close second to Amir Khadir, the co-spokesperson (a more politically correct term for party leader) of Québec Solidaire.

He'll be a solitary MNA in the National Assembly; the only to not be a member of the Liberal party, the PQ or the ADQ. Khadir is a microbiologist and a peace activist who ran for the Bloc Québécois federally in 2000.

Turp, an old-guard separatist, had been Mercier's MNA since 2003. He previously spent one term as an MP for the Bloc. He ironically signed a document called the Manifeste pour un Québec solidaire in 2005 and called for a constitution for the province.

### Raw Numbers

Total votes (2007)	Total votes (2008)
Khadir: 8,303	Khadir: 8,861 (+558)
Turp: 9,426	Turp: 7,989 (-1,437)

### Notre-Dame-de-Grâce

New Liberal MNA Kathleen Weil was given an expectedly strong show of support in on Monday night, but could not get as many voters out as her predecessor.

Weil won NDG, previously held by Russell Copeman, with 68 per cent of the vote, followed by the Green Party's Peter McQueen at 14 per cent. Both parties saw substantial declines in voter turnout over the 2007 election. All parties finished the night with fewer votes in NDG, except for the Marxist-Leninists' Linda Sullivan.

Weil is a former staffer and legal counsel with the now-defunct Anglo rights party Alliance Quebec and more recently was the head of the Greater Montreal Foundation, which administers an endowment fund supporting local healthcare, social service, educational and cultural organizations.

### Raw Numbers

Total votes (2007)	Total votes (2008)
Copeman: 14,825	Weil: 11,485 (-3,340)
McQueen: 3,839	McQueen: 2,430 (-1,409)
Sullivan: 70	Sullivan: 124 (+54)
Ballots cast: 24,044	Ballots cast: 16,891 (-7,153)

### Outremont

Residents of Outremont said oui to the economy by re-electing Economic Development Minister Raymond Bachand.

He's held the riding since a 2005 by-election, taking over from Yves Séguin. Bachand is the former CEO of the Fonds de solidarité des travailleurs du Québec (FTQ) and has sat on the executives of many Quebec corporations and charitable organizations.

Bachand won the riding with 54 per cent of the vote over the PQ's Sophie Fréchette with 25 per cent. The low voter turnout seen province-wide was also evident in Outremont; he was down 1,290 votes over last year. The ADQ's Christian Collard plummeted and couldn't break the 1,000 vote mark.

### Raw Numbers

Total votes (2007)	Total votes (2008)
Bachand: 11,861	Bachand: 10,571 (-1,290)
Laaroussi (PQ): 5,928	Fréchette: 4,919 (-1,009)
Harvey (ADQ): 2,236	Collard (ADQ): 577 (-1,659)
Ballots cast: 25,220	Ballots cast: 19,499 (-5,721)

### Saint-Henri-Sainte-Anne

A former local community worker who actually lives in the riding she represents, Liberal Marguerite Blais was re-elected, edging out her PQ rival.

Blais, the minister responsible for Seniors, finished with 46 per cent of the vote to Frédéric Isaya's 37 per cent, in what was a two-way race. The ADQ, QS and Green Party candidates obtained less than 1,500 votes each.

### Raw Numbers

Total votes (2007)	Total votes (2008)
Blais: 11,915	Blais: 10,552 (-1,363)
Philpot (PQ): 9,172	Isaya: 8,535 (-637)
Beauregard (ADQ): 5,422	Mbany (ADQ): 1,326 (-4,096)

### Sainte-Marie-Saint-Jacques

Voters in this riding have elected the PQ for 30 years, and the legacy continues as MNA Martin Lemay beat his Liberal opponent by 18 percentage points.

This is Lemay's second term representing Sainte-Marie-Saint-Jacques. He made the jump from municipal politics over one year ago, after resigning as the Mayor of Montreal's Ville Marie borough.

Feminist/activist Manon Massé of QS finished in third. All candidates saw their vote totals drop over last year's election, except Serge Lachapelle, a Marxist-Leninist.

### Raw Numbers

Total votes (2007)	Total votes (2008)
Lemay: 10,501	Lemay: 9,135 (-1,366)
Dussault (PLQ): 6,021	Prud'Homme (PLQ): 5,536 (-485)
Massé: 3,596	Massé: 3,009 (-587)
Lachapelle: 92	Lachapelle: 207 (+115)

### Verdun

Liberal veteran Henri-François Gauthrin returns for his sixth mandate representing Verdun after defeating his PQ rival by 12 percentage points.

## One party had some candidates that actually increased their vote totals: The Marxist-Leninists.

Gauthrin, a native of France, topped Richard Langlais for the second straight election – both saw slight reductions in their total vote counts. The rejection of the ADQ is particularly obvious in this riding; the third party received just over a quarter of the votes it had last year.

The incumbent is a backbencher who briefly held the Government Services portfolio, from 2006 to 2007. Earlier in his career, he was the leader of the Nouveau Parti démocratique du Québec, from 1973 to 1979.

### Raw Numbers

Total votes (2007)	Total votes (2008)
Gauthrin: 12,204	Gauthrin: 11,223 (-981)
Langlais: 8,688	Langlais: 8,314 (-374)
Tremblay (ADQ): 5,239	Côté (ADQ): 1,411 (-3,828)

### Westmount-Saint-Louis

Jacques Chagnon considers himself a lucky man after winning his seventh straight election, making him the fourth most senior member in the National Assembly.

He won nearly 75 per cent of the vote, beating the Parti Québécois' Daniella Johnson-Meneghini, who finished with 10 per cent; the Green Party slipped from second to third place. It represents a higher percentage than his 66 per cent result after last year's vote, but over 2,000 fewer ballots were cast for the incumbent Liberal.

"I'm sorry about that," Chagnon said, reacting to the low voter turnout, "but there's nothing I can do. I'm powerless."

A former Public Security Minister, he was the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly during the last session and said he awaits Premier Jean Charest's decision on cabinet posts, but noted that his dream job would be a promotion to Speaker.

### Raw Numbers

Total votes (2007)	Total votes (2008)
Chagnon: 13,311	Chagnon: 11,041 (-2,270)
Daoust (PVQ): 2,517	Johnson-Meneghini (PQ): 1,525 (-154)
Laroche (PQ): 1,679	Daoust (PVQ): 1,090 (-1,427)

With files from Jessica Murphy and the Canadian Press.



# No charges to be laid against Mtl. North police

Following a two-month investigation and the intensive SQ (Sûreté du Québec) inquiry into the shooting death of 18 year-old Montreal North teenager Freddy Villanueva, Québec Justice Official Louis Drouin recently confirmed no

charges would be laid against SPVM constables Jean-Loup Lapointe and his partner, Stéphanie Pilote. Even so, Public Security Minister Jacques Dupuis insists a public inquiry must be held after the fact so as to “inform all the citizens as to the relevant

facts” as to what really happened in Montreal North last summer.

“The minister isn’t serious,” said former municipal councilor Marcel Sévigny. “He knows nothing will come out of that inquiry because he knows it won’t affect the police

inquiry’s conclusion.”

Speaking for the province’s department of public security, France Duguay agreed with Sévigny because Québec’s Justice Department considers the results of such police inquiries to be “final.”

“A public inquiry can only offer its recommendations,” she said, “...but it will have no effect upon a police department’s investigation and its own official inquiry.”

In the Villanueva case, Québec’s

*Continued on page 9*



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## Beryl Wajzman

Editor & Publisher

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# The Ignatieff ascendancy

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

light to the nations of the world. That Canadians are a people greater than the sum of our parts, and that at its best our public discourse can succeed without a descent to the lowest common denominator.

The public manifestation of that will be for Ignatieff to lead not merely to oppose but to propose. To propose policies that spring from the noblest principles of his liberal spirit. But for those policies to succeed, no matter how just, the means of their propagation must be as legitimate and authentic as the ends they seek to achieve. And when those means are compromised - when those very principles are perverted - merely to satisfy an avarice for power, the time comes for conscience to oppose.

A first step, if Ignatieff will be true to his words, must be a break with the coalition of connivance. However legitimate are the political underpinnings of the NDP, they are not liberal. And common cause would be submission to the stiffest of ideological constraints. The chasm is too wide. The cost to the liberal conscience far too dear.

The implication of the Bloc Quebecois in this coalition is more troubling still. Though they may not be formal members, they will have a defacto veto over the governance of this land for eighteen months. It is a prescription for chaos. But more than that, the principles of the Bloc are those which Ignatieff has rejected from the depth of his being. They are the politics of, in Ignatieff's own words, "blood and belonging". For his party, the party of Laurier and Trudeau, and now Ignatieff -to be dependent on the support of those who seek the dismemberment of this nation is a perversion of all that Liberals and liberalism held to be true and right.

Michael Ignatieff will do this land a great service by having the courage to disavow the coalition and to boldly begin anew.

But in examining the aspirations and expectations of Michael Ignatieff there is room for optimism. In what he has written of his concept of a social contract, he may very well raise, to use his words, "the better angels of our nature."

It is a notable coincidence that Ignatieff was confirmed by the Liberal caucus as leader on Dec. 10th. That day marked the 60th anniversary of the UN Declaration of Human Rights. Ignatieff moved into elective politics from Harvard's Carr Center for Human Rights. Indeed, he has been privileged to have engaged



Beryl Wajzman with Liberal leader Michael Ignatieff in Ottawa the day of his caucus confirmation.

PHOTO COURTESY OF A. AUGOIN

the world from a unique perspective. He has studied those philosophical and political forces which have forged good, and those which have caused harm. He has witnessed those national experiments that have elevated and gentled the human condition, and has seen those which have wrought nothing more than division, discord and death. He has walked with the victims of the latter, and has advised the leaders of the former.

But I would suggest that for Ignatieff, human rights are not merely lofty theories penned by international legal scholars and diplomats. The "Rights Revolution", as he termed it in his 2000 Massey Lectures, is not just an agenda for emerging democracies abroad to emulate, but a goal for mature democracies at home to perfect. To "get it right" as he would say. To perfect the balance between rights and responsibilities. To understand what comprises the modern social contract between governors and governed.

To comprehend Michael Ignatieff's position on the world's existential struggle between

pluralistic liberty and theocratic tyranny it is critical to examine "The Lesser Evil". And much attention has appropriately been focused on it. But the year after that book was published, Ignatieff authored a lengthy piece in The New York Times Magazine called "The Broken Contract". Its words could hold the key to Robert Fulford's challenge that, "If Ignatieff chooses to deploy his talent he will be the most articulate Canadian public figure of his era."

On its face, "The Broken Contract" was a critique of the American government's response to the needs of the victims of Hurricane Katrina. He criticized slow moving bureaucracy, unfeeling officials and outdated institutions. But the heart of "The Broken Contract" evidences what Ignatieff feels are a nation's responsibilities to its people. And when taken with his words from "The Rights Revolution", proposes as compelling an approach to our current social ills as "The Lesser Evil" and "Blood and Belonging" did in analyzing our modern international challenges.

In "The Broken Contract" Ignatieff crystallized the minimal duties owed by government. And he did it in a personal and poignant manner. In the centerpiece of his argument he quoted the plaintive cry of a displaced black woman. "We are Americans!" she shouted. Americans are not supposed to be treated this way. No one is. We must do better. More is expected.

Ignatieff goes on to write some of the most stirring words I have read in a long time. "That single sentence was a lesson in political obligation. Citizenship ties are not humanitarian, abstract or discretionary. They are not ties of charity. ... a citizen has a claim of right on the resources of government when she cannot - simply cannot - help herself."

That woman's cry was message and metaphor for many facing abuse and neglect. What is important in the attention Ignatieff gave it was that it demonstrated his capacity to viscerally identify with victims. To understand that the disenfranchised are no less human and the unempowered no less worthy of our compassion.

In Canada one can easily echo it. "We are Canadians!". The message is that in a mature, wealthy democracy better is expected. Better rule and regulation that do not compromise individual consequence. Better protection of minorities' civil rights. Better health care where the wait for treatment will not be as fatal as the malady. Better attention to the political and distributive problems we still face in a rich land with only a thin veneer of affluence.

In examining the response to Katrina, Ignatieff demonstrates his understanding that our political systems fail our most vulnerable too often and too spectacularly. Not from want of resources or logistics, but from what he terms "lack of will." Ignatieff argued against the sentimentality that leads too many to look at things through rose-colored glasses. "Let us not be sentimental," he wrote, "the poor and dispossessed... cannot afford to be sentimental. They know they live in an unjust and unfair society. There are inequalities that people endure, and there are inequalities that enrage. When government failed so dismally... it was no longer possible to believe in the contract that binds..."

"The contract that binds". How long has it been in Canadian political discourse that someone recognized that social contracts are not static and must be renewed time and again.

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It has been a long time since this country has had an exponent of liberalism as a two-way street instead of a one-way dictat.

Ignatieff summed it up succinctly, “The failures were not just failures of performance or anticipation. They were failures of political imagination.”

In his use of the word “imagination”, Ignatieff harkens back to his idea of the pursuit of justice being based on “unique acts of the imagination” that he set out in “The Rights Revolution”. He wrote, “The precondition for order in a liberal society is an act of the imagination: not a moral consensus or shared values, but the capacity to understand moral worlds different from our own. We may be different, but we can imagine what it would be like to be each other. How do we generate a world in common? We take actual human individuals ...and we imagine them as equal bearers of rights...a moral fiction. Yet it is this fiction, and our devotion to it, that enables us to be just. The entire legitimacy of public institutions depends on our being attentive to difference while treating all as

“How do we generate a world in common? We take actual human individuals ...and we imagine them as equal bearers of rights...a moral fiction. Yet it is this fiction, and our devotion to it, that enables us to be just.”

equal. This is the gamble, the unique act of the imagination on which our society rests. “The gamble of empathy.

It may be argued that this “gamble” - the courage to take it and the passion to convince citizens of its worth - is the authentic conscience of the liberal ideal. Empathy, to Ignatieff, is the spark for bold political imagination to rise above brittle political will. For it is always opposed by those who would leave inequities to be resolved by private benevolence. In “The Broken Contract” Ignatieff

answered that argument in words that are testament to our common humanity. “Private benevolence”, he wrote, “cannot heal the wounds of humiliation and abandonment caused by government failure. All lives are worth protecting ...worth protecting at the highest standard.”

What strikes one about Ignatieff’s social vision is that it compels us to be mindful that the just society which people of goodwill seek to build is predicated on a recognition of a claim of equal opportunity on the stock of welfare of the land by all, and that this recognition has not

yet found full expression in the social contract between our government and our people. Ignatieff frames his arguments on rights and responsibilities in both “The Broken Contract” and “The Rights Revolution” in a refreshing restatement of classic industrial liberalism.

A liberalism, that first and foremost, holds to the proposition that the political governance of society must be done in a manner allowing for the fullest expression of individual possibility. A liberalism that strives for the broadest equality of opportunity to enable

the fullest flowering of that possibility. A liberalism that understands that there can be little opportunity unless we raise people from poverty, but not at the expense of their liberty. A liberalism that accepts that there can be little equality if we do not reward individual enterprise, but not with untrammelled privilege and preference. And finally, a liberalism that comprehends that there can be little possibility if we constrict the breadth of personal rights, certainly not with politically correct pandering to collectivist chaos.

Canada needs this vision. Perhaps now more than ever. The irony is that to champion this liberalism, Ignatieff must free himself to be himself. To lead Liberals, while at the same time expounding liberalism. That is no mean feat. Liberals and liberalism are not always synonymous. But, if he succeeds, he may become, in Harold Laski’s words, “...the warm gentle breeze of compassion that is prelude to the renewal of a bright spring... rather than the cold stinging frost of complacency that signals entry into a long night of winter...”

## No charges to be laid against Mtl. North police

Continued from page 7

SQ handled the two month long investigation because the incident affected the SPVM (Service de la Police de la Ville de Montréal) which is a different police force. Its conclusion reports Freddy Villanueva was shot and killed when he and two other men attacked and overwhelmed SPVM constable Stéphanie Pilote after both she and Constable Jean-Loup Lapointe were swarmed and surrounded by at least 20 known and suspected street gang members. Lapointe, fearing Pilote’s weapon might be lost in the fray and used against the both of them, pulled his weapon and fired in what the

“He knows nothing will come out of that inquiry because he knows it won’t affect the police inquiry’s conclusion.”

inquiry considered to be a legitimate act of self-defense.

During a recent demonstration at last month’s regular city council meeting, Sévigny was among the handful of people who questioned the validity of the SQ’s investigation.

As a nine year city police veteran, Sévigny also questioned the police inquiry’s conclusions because he knows better than most why the public has to maintain its guard against police brutality.

“Why do the police investigate the

police,” he asked. “Who really knows what happened to Freddy Villanueva? Who knows what happened to Mohamad Anas Bennis? What really happened to Jean-Pierre Lizotte, Martin Suazo, and (most recently) Quillem

Régistre?”

While Sévigny, a well known activist and senior citizen was dressed for the weather, others protesters were masked and shouting slogans while trying to get through the locked and chained doors leading to the city hall’s council chambers. As there were hardly more than 30 people at the demonstration, police outnumbered the protestors by a ratio of at least a three to one. After the protestors unfolded their banner on the front steps of city hall for the media’s photo opportunity, the police moved in and dispersed the crowd after which they all went home.

## GLOBAL VILLAGE



## Madhav Das Nalapat

SPECIAL TO THE METROPOLITAIN

M.D. Nalapat is Vice-Chair of Manipal Advanced Research Group, UNESCO Peace Chair & Professor of Geopolitics at Manipal University. He is the father of the US-India, and the US-India-Israel nuclear agreements. He is often called "India's Kissinger"

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WHO STAGED MUMBAI? CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

duo sent there were to kill large numbers of commuters and create a citywide panic, while in the case of the Taj and the Trident, the orders were to kill (in that order of priority) wealthy Indians, Jews (hence the attack on the Jewish Community Center), Americans, British and other foreigners. Killing the nationals of Israel, the US and the UK would, it was expected, ensure that Washington shifted the focus of its interaction with Kiyani's men from Afghanistan to the Indian border. Hence the deliberate targeting of foreign nationals, for the first time in India outside Kashmir.

What could have been the strategic objectives for the Mumbai terror attacks? The short-term motivation was to secure an excuse to withdraw completely from the Afghan border. The Pakistan army has never sundered its links with the Taliban, and the decline in its influence in that country - and the increase in the Indian presence - have fuelled the thrust within the Pakistan army to get the Taliban back into office in Afghanistan. Highly placed elements in the Pakistani security-military complex wanted to:

(a) Lower the military pressure on the Taliban by shifting troops to the eastern border, so that the terrorist militia could recuperate and succeed in winning back those parts of Afghanistan from where they were dislodged by US bombing strikes and the advance of the Northern Alliance in 2001;

(b) Choke off the supply route through Pakistan to NATO forces in Afghanistan by denuding the area of Pakistani army soldiers and thereafter claiming that it was no longer possible to secure supply convoys meant to reinforce NATO troops, and that such traffic should therefore be discontinued. This would severely impact

## Once the Taliban retook Afghanistan, it would become easier to pry Kashmir loose from India, and thereafter focus on creating terminal chaos in what is even "normally" a somewhat unsettled country. This was the strategic goal of Operation Vision Mumbai.

NATO's capabilities in the region;

(c) Ensure that NATO be made to engage in a dialogue with the Taliban, of course under the "neutral" mediation of Kiyani, that would lead to a pause in coalition operations and hence allow the militia to replenish its strength. General David Petraeus, the much-hyped hero of Iraq, is believed to be in favour of Kiyani's suggestion that NATO disengage from combat and engage the Taliban only verbally;

(d) Reinforce the capabilities of the Taliban by stealth, so that the militia displace the Hamid Karzai administration by 2012 and once again establish Wahabbi rule over the country, naturally under the leadership of Mullah Omar, who has for decades been linked to the Pakistan army, since 9/11 covertly so.

To ensure that the Taliban be enabled to retake Afghanistan, it was essential to shift the focus of US attention from the Afghan border to Kashmir. The groundwork for this was being prepared by friends of the Pakistan army in the US, such as Shirin Taher-Kheli, Stephen Cohen and Teresita Shaffer, all of whom have been advising the incoming Obama administration to make "resolution of the Kashmir issue" the primary focus

of US diplomacy in South Asia. According to them, Susan Rice, one of President-elect Obama's key advisors, has signed on to such a "Kashmir First" strategy

As Ms Rice does not know Urdu, she may be excused for not being aware that for the jihadis in Pakistan that are being nurtured by the Pakistan army, Kashmir is but the appetizer. The main course is the rest of India. Once Kashmir is converted into a Talibanized state under the effective control of the Pakistan army, it would be simpler to facilitate terror attacks across what remains of India, so that the country may finally dissolve into the violent chaos so desired - and openly so, in spoken and written words - by the generals in Pakistan.

The Taliban takeover of Afghanistan would be followed by the Talibanization of Kashmir and the steady descent of India into societal and economic meltdown. Apart from the Pakistan army, such a development would also be welcome to the Chinese Communist Party and the Peoples Liberation Army, both of whom regard India as an even bigger threat to the Peoples Republic of China's domination of Asia than Japan. Sadly for Stephen Cohen or Teresita Shaffer,

both seem to believe that this modern-day version of the Nazis can be satiated by throwing at them the Sudetenland of Kashmir. Taher-Kheli is from a different school. Her father was a member of the Razakars, a religious militia that had as its central focus the permanent servitude of the Hindu majority in the state of Hyderabad. Once the Indian army disbanded the militia, Ms Taher-Kheli's parents left the country, but their daughter has not forgiven India for defeating the Razakars, and has for decades been an apologist for the generals in Pakistan.

Once the Taliban retook Afghanistan, it would become easier to pry Kashmir loose from India, and thereafter focus on creating terminal chaos in what is even "normally" a somewhat unsettled country. This was the strategic goal of Operation Vision Mumbai.

The tactical purpose of the Mumbai attacks was to ensure that India's government react to it in the same way as Manmohan Singh's predecessor Atal Behari Vajpayee did in 2002 (after Pakistan-trained terrorists almost succeeded in killing numerous Members of Parliament inside the premises of that institution. Although

he had zero intention of going to war, Vajpayee decided to try and bluff the Pakistan army into believing that war was imminent, by mobilizing nearly 300,000 extra troops on the border with Pakistan. This gave the generals in Islamabad the reason they needed to hold off the full-scale assault on the Taliban that they had promised to NATO, and led them to withdraw troops from there to face the (substantively inexistent) threat from India.

Unfortunately (at least this time around) for Pakistan, India's Prime Minister is a pacifist who would not respond with force even in the event of a nuclear attack. Manmohan Singh refused to jump to the bait offered to him by the attackers, and instead made clear that India would not go to war, but would instead rely on the US to apply sufficient pressure on the Pakistan army to get them to desist from further terrorist attacks on India.

What exactly is the chemistry of this army that is so beloved of the Pentagon, the State Department, the CIA and (not coincidentally) the Saudi Royal Family? It is an awowedly Wahabbi force, explicit in its identity

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## WHO STAGED MUMBAI? CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

as a "religious" rather than a professional army, designed to protect and spread the Wahabbi faith.

The Mumbai attacks were conducted by Wahabbis from Pakistan trained by the regular army. But who are these people and what is their ideology? There can be no doubt that the Wahabbis are the successors to the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP), or Nazis, as the world knows them. Wahabbists and their Khomeinist twins have the same racial and geopolitical outlook as the Nazis did. They consider themselves superior by far to the rest of humanity, which they are prepared and indeed eager to enslave and eliminate. The same psychosis that infected Germany during the inter-war years (1919-1939) has now spread across huge blotches of the populations of numerous countries, forming an Archipelago of Terror across the globe. Unfortunately, as during that period, most international statespersons are following a policy of appeasement rather than confrontation with this killer virus, none more assiduously than those within the US.

Since Zbigniew Breznesinski formulated the strategy of assisting Wahabbis to defeat the Soviet armies in Afghanistan, the US has broadly followed the same policy towards this modern variant of Nazism as the UK and France did towards Nazi-controlled Germany till 1 September 1939. In 1979, especially in view of the overt manifestation of Wahabbist-Khomeinist virulence in Iran (again, a result caused in large part by the Carter administration's tolerance towards Khomeini and the withdrawal of security backing for the Shah of Iran), caution ought to have been exercised in arming, funding and training Wahabbis.

Breznesinski, coming as he did from Poland, ought to have been more sensitive to the dangers of undiluted fanaticism, for the country of his birth was riddled with islands of anti-semitism that led to collaboration on a significant scale with the Germans in annihilating the Jewish community in the country. Instead, he took the advice of the Patron Saint (if such a term can be used for a set of individuals known to be among the most hedonistic in the world) of Wahabbism, the Saudi Royal Family, and permit the Pakistan army (which openly advertises Jihad as its official motto) to funnel billions of dollars in assistance to themselves and



to fanatics of the most degraded kind. Had Pashtun nationalists been backed against the Soviet Union instead of Pashtun and other religious fanatics, we would not today be fighting the War on Terror.

Forty years later, little has changed. The day when 9/11 took place, this writer was in New York, some blocks from the felled World Trade Center. Several times that day and in subsequent days, he warned policymakers in the US not to rely on the openly jihadist army of Pakistan to fight Osama bin Laden. He pointed out that it was this army that was the single most significant prop of Al Qaeda, and that its echelons were honeycombed with sympathisers of the Yemeni. In the days ahead, he watched in horror as the US administration allowed the escape of senior Al Qaeda commanders from Kunduz, and continued to refuse for weeks after 9/11 to buttress the Northern Alliance against the Taliban. Finally, Masood's men moved in on Kabul, but were halted at the boundaries of Southern Afghanistan by a warning from the US, a warning inspired by the Saudi protectors of Wahabbism. Not accidentally, it is this region - left out of the reach of the Northern Alliance - that subsequently became the breeding grounds for a regenerated Taliban. Helped, naturally, by the Pakistan military, that "stalwart ally" of the US. It would be interesting to investigate as to exactly what after-shave is used by the jihadi commanders of the Pakistan military that have so charmed their US counterparts. Needless to say, the Taliban has made a comeback in Afghanistan, while Mullah Omar and Osama bin Laden

continue to seek to demolish the civilised world, secure in the protection given by elements of the Pakistan military. Had such support been withdrawn, the Yemeni and his organisation would by now have become history. The decision of George W Bush to once again place all the responsibility for Afghanistan on the Pakistan army - despite the experience of the fallout of the Afghan war - is inexplicable.

Amazingly, this irrational view of the region has permeated even the media. Just after Mumbai, the *New York Times* ran an editorial in which the newspaper seemed to fault India for its work in Afghanistan (building roads and schools), and sought "transparency" even in the intelligence operations conducted by Delhi. In that country - where India is one of the few regional players to have sent treasure and men to help them rebuild - to follow such advice would be to ensure the death of

several individuals. Not simply a few intelligence operatives, but workers engaged in projects. The NYT's advice is straight out of the playbook of the Pakistan army and the Taliban, who would like nothing better than "transparency" in the numerous efforts being made by the US, India and other countries to improve conditions on the ground. Even today, after the reluctance of the Pakistan army to seriously fight the Taliban has been made manifest, opinion makers in the US continue to pin their hopes on this institution.

Why is the US playing the monkey to the Pakistan military's organ-grinder? Only experts in group psychology can give a reply to this question. What is clear is that this myopia is leading towards a series of terrorist attacks in the US on "soft" targets such as shopping malls. The tactics used by the Mumbai terrorists can easily be replicated in the US, where even assault weapons can

be easily procured. Once David Petraeus gets his wish, and consents to the detente with the Taliban urged on him by Kiyani, the generals in Rawalpindi expect that within three to four years, the Taliban would get installed in Kabul. Should that happen, the country would once again join Pakistan in being a launch pad for terrorist attacks across the world. There can be little doubt that such operations would be high on Omar's agenda, marinated as he is in hatred of the West.

What is the path to victory? This is a World War, and needs to be battled globally. The major democracies need to pry the generals in Pakistan loose from their death-grip over the country and return them to the barracks, which is where a professional force belongs. The first precondition for stability and security in South Asia is the de-jihadization of the Pakistan army and the return of full control to civilian authority. Simultaneously, the authorities in Pakistan need to be prodded into breaking up the numerous terrorist nests in that country that have been set up by the army. Unless this is done, Pakistan will itself go down the tube well before it succeeds in pushing India in.

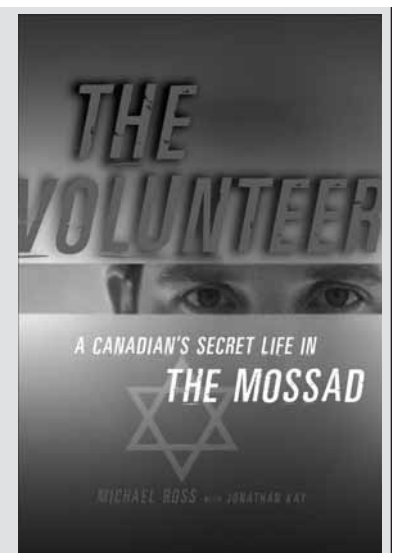
Will the monkey finally free itself of the chains of the organ-grinder? On the answer to that question rests the future of the War on Terror. Should we see more of the same Saudi-inspired policy of cosetting the Pakistan army - and by extension its numerous terrorist affiliates - the world is going to witness many more terrorist acts than even the many that have been seen since Breznesinski first unleashed the poisonous genie from the bottle in 1979.

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





## David T. Jones

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

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# Problems for a "Team of Rivals"

Washington DC - Washington media has much bruited about the concept of a "team of rivals" for the Obama administration. The label derives from the Doris Kearns Goodwin book of the same name regarding Abraham Lincoln's assembly of a Civil War cabinet incorporating his political rivals, who individually and corporately believed themselves far better qualified than he to lead the country under any circumstances, let alone during a civil war.

That said, applying the term to the emerging Obama administration is facile at best, feckless at worst. To begin, the political/economic circumstances today confronting the United States are nowhere equivalent to the Great Depression of the 1930s or World War II, let alone the Civil War. The current recession is and will continue to be economically and socially troubling, but its dimensions do not equate with the Depression realities of comprehensive banking failures, bread lines, and 25 percent unemployment. Nor do the challenges from international/Islamic terrorism reach the existential levels of fascist aggression or communist nuclear threat that dominated global security for 50 years from 1939-89.

Thus, troubling as they are, the current challenge set does not stimulate "cooperate or die" impulses that may have prompted Benjamin Franklin's observation that "we must all hang together or assuredly we shall all hang separately." And nowhere is that lack of an overweening impetus to cooperate more true than in Obama's collage of "Secretaries of State" which, depending on the count, may number six or seven. The assembly is designed for disagreement on a personality level, likely to be reinforced by bureaucratic turf struggles, and replete with substantive differences.

These differences will be all the more bitter as the competitors vie to influence President Obama's world view, which is virtually devoid of foreign policy experience, and to bend his reaction to inevitable international events which may (or not) qualify as "crises."

At the top of the bureaucratic pile is Vice President Joseph Biden who landed on the Democratic ticket at least partly to provide it with foreign policy credentials. Biden has a generation of Washington experience, much of it connected with the Senate Foreign

Relations Committee. However, experience does not mean wisdom. For example, as senator, Biden opposed adopting the UN resolution to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi aggression in 1991, endorsed the U.S. attack on Iraq in 2002, and opposed the Surge in 2007. This is a trifecta of error that even Sarah Palin would have strained to match. Nevertheless, VP Biden will demand a hearing on any foreign policy issue and offer opinions that may frequently be jarringly unscripted.

National Security Advisor General James Jones is a four-star Marine with senior Pentagon and Middle East negotiating experience. Traditionally, the NSA has enormously influenced U.S. foreign policy by combining access to the president for briefings and orchestrating how issues are addressed by the interagency community.

Frequently, the NSA has overshadowed the Secretary of State (recall Kissinger dominating William Rogers and Brzezinski competing with Vance and Muskie). At a minimum, when advising a president with no military experience and who may never even have fired a weapon, Jones will have the last word on military-related elements of foreign policy.

Secretary of Defense Robert Gates has long experience in Washington, heading the CIA and now with two years leading the Department of Defense. Through massive funding and personnel, DOD is the 800 pound gorilla that de facto can make foreign policy whenever/wherever it has boots on the ground. Gates has been credited with pushing for increased State Department funding and staffing; however, the reality remains that in its absence, DOD has a global presence that effectively matches State Department influence.

Secretary of Commerce Bill Richardson was a "wan-ta-be" Secretary of State who may well have believed that his early endorsement of Obama and his Clinton administration credentials as UN ambassador and Energy Secretary qualified him for State. In any event, Commerce controls the Foreign Commercial Service and has a vital role in trade negotiations. For Clinton he is the definition of "ingrate" costing her Hispanic support by his defection to Obama after benefiting from President Clinton's appointments. There will be no lost love between State and Commerce senior leadership.

UN Ambassador Susan Rice will also presumably have Cabinet rank—and Obama's ear. Another defector from the Clinton camp, having been an assistant secretary for African Affairs under the Clinton presidency, Rice advised Obama on foreign policy throughout the campaign. Here also the degree of Rice's independence as UN ambassador is likely to be ulcer-inducing at State.

Added to the mix will be the Director of National Intelligence and the CIA director; both while ostensibly not

engaged in foreign affairs are principal actors and sometime clandestine competitors with formal diplomacy and intergovernmental relations.

Unfortunately, it is the one with the "name" that has the weakest substantive foreign policy "game" credentials. Senator Clinton has traveled extensively, but her expertise is globally wide and an inch deep. Actually, former President Bill Clinton, with his massive experience in Middle East negotiations and a sweeping global network, would have been a more

qualified choice! All recent Secstates (Rice, Powell, Albright, Christopher, Baker, and Shultz) have had better foreign policy and/or executive-administrative credentials.

Thus the likelihood of these powerful personalities playing nice is zero. It would be interesting to make book on who will be first defenestrated (and respond with a "tell all" text flagellating his/her colleagues). President Obama may indeed assemble a "team of rivals" but it will never be a "band of brothers" (or sisters for that matter.)

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# To Michael: A Love Letter

Some years ago I was asked to audition for a stage play called *Extremities*. It was hot on Broadway with Susan Sarandon in the lead, and Elite Productions was mounting it here in Montreal.

The play, by William Mastrosimone, is about a construction worker who goes into a house and attacks a young woman. She overcomes him by spraying a can of bug spray into his eyes, knocking him out, and dragging him to an empty fireplace where she ties him up.

I worked on the audition with an actor selected for me by Elite. The piece that had been chosen for us was the most violent part of the play, an attempted rape. Later that evening, I received a call from the actor saying he had to pull out of the audition. Why? - Because he couldn't cope with being so violent all day, every day for the three weeks of rehearsals and for another three weeks during the evenings of performance.

The actor's name was Michael Rudder.

Michael was shot in Mumbai a couple of weeks ago - and those shots resounded with horror

throughout the acting community here in Montreal. For those who might think this trip was a fleeting moment with Michael, it wasn't - he has always been a gentle soul, searching out that which is spiritually enlightening. It's what guides him through the ups and downs of being a performer here in Montreal. It is his way of life.

I saw Michael just before he left for Mumbai. He was enthusiastically looking forward to the trip and meeting some friends there, one of them a father and daughter. When questioned on the sanity of being in a somewhat unstable area of the world, he insisted that it was 'safe' and that he wasn't worried because he would be staying in a good hotel. Certainly others in the acting

community have made this same trip and have had little cause to worry.

When a reporter contacted me on the morning following the attacks and asked if I knew the Michael Rudder in Mumbai who had been shot the night before, an actor and a student of yoga, I was stunned beyond measure. This just doesn't happen to people like our Michael -

it couldn't be him, could it? But the likelihood of there being another actor in Montreal, that studied yoga, that had the same name was ... well, lets face it...no way!

Michael is so entrenched in the study of meditation and yoga that it would have been futile to try and stop him from going - Anymore than the violence in Ireland would have stopped me from visiting the

country that has always brought me to that peaceful place within myself - Anymore than the extended violence that broke out in London would have prevented me from studying acting there in the early 80s - What is one expected to do? Hide, crawl inside oneself and let the entire world fight it out? Some do, of course, thinking that's where

they'll find peace - and many wither away doing just that, with no understanding of the world about them, other cultures, religions, social priorities - no acceptance of other worldly 'reasonings' that appear so different from ours.

No! It is far better to continue with life - search out the good in mankind and, in some cases, go where you think you can find or

share a bit of peace with people.

That is our Michael - and how typical of him to stand up and walk towards the noise of gun fire to search out the problem, unwittingly opening himself up to attack!

All of the above makes Michael the extremely talented and insightful actor that he is. He was nominated for a Genie for his work in *Buying Time* in 1989, has been in numerous television shows and has graced the stage in both professional theatres in Montreal and those across Canada - and has directed and dubbed many cartoon voices!

I was recently asked by a reporter what effect this traumatic experience would have on Michael. I am willing to bet that, although there will always be a psychological scar, overtime he will continue his search for a better understanding of himself and his place in the scheme of better things to come.

Michael will live his life exactly the way he did before. Peacefully, intuitively, giving of himself to his friends and to the profession he so proudly serves. And we will be here for him.

Come home quickly, Michael. We can hardly wait.

It is far better to continue with life - search out the good in mankind and, in some cases, go where you think you can find or share a bit of peace with people.

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

- George F. Lengvari, Sr.





# La relance économique ne passe pas par l'État

**L**e modèle québécois donne depuis un certain temps déjà des signes d'essoufflement. Ces problèmes sont aujourd'hui comme hier : un État trop interventionniste, une fiscalité trop lourde et une législation du travail qui fait obstacle à l'embauche de travailleurs jeunes et talentueux.

L'économie québécoise ne réalise pas son potentiel. Le Produit Intérieur Brut réel par habitant était en 2007 de 5 360 dollars plus bas que la moyenne canadienne et de 19 985 dollars plus bas que l'Alberta, la province la plus riche. Pour la période 2003-2007, le Québec se classe au 56e rang sur 60 parmi l'ensemble des provinces canadiennes et des États américains pour son taux de chômage moyen.

Les partis politiques nous proposent des mesures économiques destinées à nous convaincre qu'ils seront les meilleurs gestionnaires de l'État, mais aucun ne propose de projet de société pour le Québec. Or, ce dont nous avons besoin, c'est d'une vision, d'un agenda de la prospérité qui s'appuierait sur des réformes structurelles ayant pour objectif de substituer le dynamisme de l'économie de marché à la sclérose de l'interventionnisme étatique.

La bonne nouvelle est qu'il existe une alternative possible qui consiste à créer un climat favorable pour les individus, les entreprises et les investisseurs, en augmentant le niveau de liberté économique au Québec, qui est actuellement en avant dernière position en Amérique du Nord. Voilà pourquoi, alors que nous connaissons une période d'incertitude économique, les grandes priorités des partis qui aspirent à gérer l'État québécois devraient être de :

1. Réduire les dépenses gouvernementales et le fardeau fiscal des Québécois. Notre objectif devrait être de devenir compétitif avec nos principaux concurrents en Amérique du Nord. Cela permettrait de créer une économie plus dynamique, en plus de contribuer à accroître les recettes fiscales du gouvernement.

2. Réformer notre régime fiscal, afin d'avoir recours à une forme d'imposition plus efficace comme les taxes à la consommation, et

moins à des impôts qui ont une incidence sur la compétitivité de l'économie comme les taxes sur le capital des entreprises.

3. Rendre le marché du travail plus flexible. Nous avons un taux de chômage élevé, un important chômage de longue durée ainsi que l'un des plus mauvais résultats en matière de productivité du travail comparativement aux autres provinces ou États d'Amérique du Nord. Nous devrions réexaminer la législation du travail afin de corriger le déséquilibre entre le pouvoir des syndicats et celui des employeurs.

Un tel agenda nous permettrait de libérer les forces de la libre entreprise et du marché afin que la créativité et la capacité d'innovation des Québécois puissent s'épanouir complètement.

Mais, dans un contexte de crise économique, la tentation sera grande pour les partis politiques d'adopter

des mesures qui seraient largement contre-productives à long terme. Nous pouvons citer à titre d'exemple :

1. Une augmentation de l'interventionnisme étatique dans l'économie. Ainsi, le Parti Québécois et l'ADQ souhaitent que la Caisse de dépôt et

placement du Québec s'implique davantage dans l'économie québécoise. Le Parti Québécois propose de confier à la Caisse un fonds d'investissement stratégique de 10 milliards pour prévenir de nouvelles acquisitions d'entreprises québécoises par des intérêts étrangers. De son côté, l'ADQ considère qu'à rentabilité égale, la Caisse doit donner la préférence aux

investissements québécois par rapport à des investissements étrangers.

2. Le piège, en cas de récession prolongée, des déficits temporaires qui deviennent vite des déficits permanents. Ces derniers ne manqueront pas d'alourdir une dette

publique qu'il faudra bien rembourser un jour.

3. Prendre des mesures qui entravent la création d'emplois. Ainsi le Parti Libéral du Québec propose-t-il d'augmenter le salaire minimum. Le Québec a déjà l'un des salaires minimums les plus élevés parmi l'ensemble des provinces canadiennes et des États américains. Ce type de mesure aura pour effet de

rendre le marché du travail plus rigide, ce qui découragera la création d'emploi surtout pour les jeunes et les travailleurs sans qualification.

Pour résumer, nous avons trop tendance à oublier que ce sont les entrepreneurs, et non l'État, qui sont les créateurs des richesses indispens-

## La bonne nouvelle est qu'il existe une alternative possible qui consiste à créer un climat favorable

ables à notre prospérité. Ceci est non seulement important pour les individus, mais également pour l'ensemble de la société, dans la mesure où l'identité québécoise ne sera préservée que par une économie dynamique et compétitive, qui aussi ne craint pas la mondialisation mais l'embrasse pour saisir toutes les opportunités qu'elle offre.



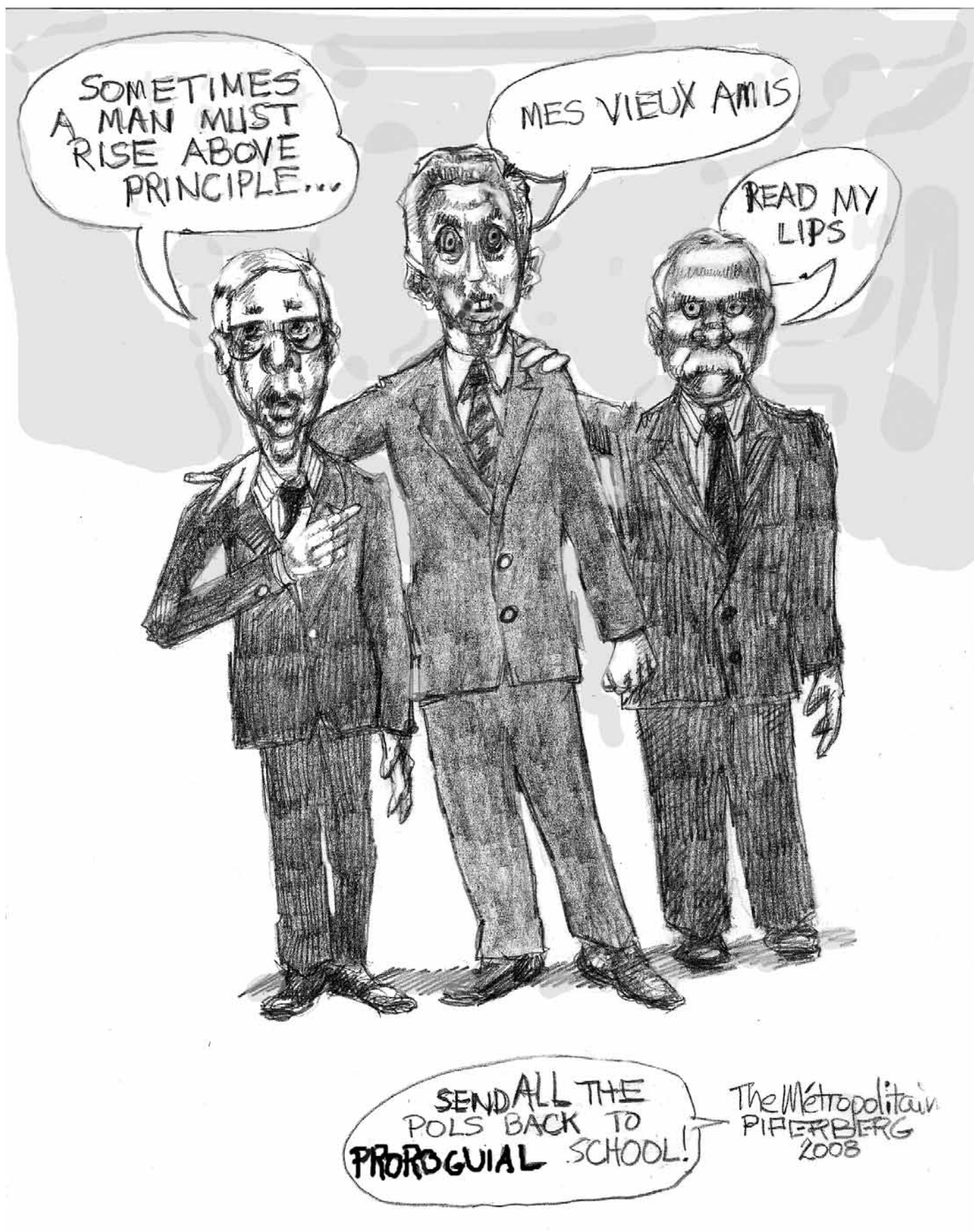
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Instead of working to bring about positive change, Canadian aid allows these dysfunctional and sometimes tyrannical regimes to remain intact while we apply band-aids to the symptoms.

Canada consistently fails to support democracies around the world such as India, Taiwan, America and Israel. In many cases, we actively work against them. And with the exception of Ukraine, Canada refuses to take measurable action to support the billions of people aspiring for democracy, freedom and accountable governments around the world.

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# Caregivers or victims?

**P**inay, The Filipino women's organization in Quebec, have opposed aspects of Canada's Live-In Caregivers Program for over a decade.

In November, the McGill school of social work released a report that supports what they've been saying for years: the women coming to Canada as domestic workers are often victims of exploitation. "We've observed that dialoguing with the government agencies that we needed a concrete basis so they look at us like we know what we're talking about," said Pinay president Evelyn Calugay. Her organization

helped the researchers contact the domestic workers and hope they can leverage the findings into real modifications to the program. "I'm hearing through word of mouth that the government is talking about changes," she said. "And we want a positive change."

The federal government set up the program in 1992 to address the shortage for affordable domestic care for the elderly and children. Applicants are brought to Canada to work in the homes of federally approved employers. Once they complete 24 months of work within three years, they can apply for

permanent residency, which is often automatically approved.

The eligibility requirements are stringent: the women need post-secondary education, formal training and work experience in domestic care. Many who apply are qualified nurses and 81 per cent of them have a university education.

Once in Canada they work for minimum wage, earning an average of \$250 to \$300 a week. Due to the nature of the work - the women work alone in a private residence - it's difficult to enforce the labour code. So while Pinay ran a successful campaign in 2001 to get domestic

workers protected by Canada's labour laws, ensuring they're enforced has proven more challenging.

The report suggests that for many of the domestic workers, their basic labour rights are continually being violated in small ways. "Some of the responses - about conditions, overtime pay - were not a surprise," said Calugay.

The report highlighted problems with pay - pay wasn't increased along with the minimum wage, the women were not paid for overtime, and pay wasn't received on time. The hours were long and a lot

peripheral work, like housework, taking care of pets, grocery shopping, and cooking, went unpaid. There was also wear and tear on their bodies from the physical aspects of their work: burns, back pain, and adverse reactions to chemicals in cleaning products.

Sixteen per cent of the women reported being victims of physical and emotional abuse.

"Their priority is to survive," said Calugay. "Certain abuses they accept. They're used to living a difficult life, for them, it's normal. But coming to the first world, some ideas should change, especially about violence. They consider violence getting seriously hurt."

Other problems are institutional. New arrivals are not covered by medicare in the first three months in Canada and the women aren't entitled to compensation under the Quebec Workplace Health and Safety Commission, commonly known as CSST.

And even while many of the women enjoy healthy, safe and caring work environments, Calugay argues that their nursing training are being wasted.

"It's cheap labour and they lose their skills," she said.

Calugay came to Canada in 1975 as a nurse, when the professional order of nurses in this country had an agreement with its counterpart in the Philippines.

"During that period, many of the English hospitals were manned by Filipino nurses," she said.

Sometime in the 1980s, that changed, recalled Calugay. "That was the period when the vision of the world changed - globalization, free trade agreements. In our country, cheap labour is the supply. It was the political economy that changed things."

Canada fills the demand for affordable live-in care and the Philippines gets the money the women send back to their families without having to address its own socio-economic problems, she said. "It's mutually beneficial for both governments, but not the workers."

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# Liberating charities in their fight against AIDS

December 1st marked World AIDS Day, a day created to honour those who have courageously fought against HIV/AIDS in Canada and throughout the world. To commemorate the occasion, McGill students, local Professors and community activists gathered in the Lev Bukhman room on the McGill University campus to discuss public policy options that would help those fighting HIV/AIDS.

McGill student and former Fraser Institute intern for charitable and voluntary sector issues Tim Mak pointed out that one of the major challenges

in the fight against HIV/AIDS is the need to further support charities focused on researching a cure and supporting those who are living with this condition. What is most notable about Mr. Mak's approach was that he proposed a unique alternative to the current norm, which usually revolves around lobbying for increased government funding for social spending programs.

Instead, Tim Mak argued that private charitable organizations were preferable for four reasons. First, competition between charities for donations creates real incentives for more efficient performance. Second, charities generally have specific goals and are closer to the problems they are

trying to fix than government bureaucrats. As a result, they are more adaptable to changing circumstances on the ground. Third, charities are crucial to the creation of a sense of community. Finally, charities allow for personal freedom in that no one is ever forced to give to a cause they do not support.

Tim is right in supporting charities over government programs. Studies have shown that government funding for charities can undermine personal voluntary initiatives and reduce private



charitable giving because potential volunteers and donors think the government is taking care of the problem.

This crowding out effect has been estimated to cost as much as 53 cents in lost private contributions for every dollar in public funding received.

To address the ongoing HIV/AIDS situation in Canada, Mr. Mak suggested that the best solution was to bring personal initiative to the forefront through greater tax incentives for charities. In order to increase charitable

giving, he argued that the government should drastically increase the amount of tax credits given to those who donate to charities. This would have the secondary effect of increasing individual autonomy over our taxes. As Tim mentioned at the event, "we will all still have to pay taxes, but now we get to personally direct our tax dollars to where we think it matters most - supporting causes like HIV/AIDS."

In addition, Mak suggested that charities need to be objectively evaluated for efficiency and effectiveness in their program outcomes. Fortunately, there is already a system in place to allow for this. The Donner Canadian Foundation currently maintains a program that analyzes data submitted by charities at no cost and provides suggestions for better adherence to practices that have been identified as the best in the Canadian charitable sector.

Some might argue that Mr. Mak's approach was an unnecessary adherence to dogmatic free-market policies and didn't include any suggestions as to how the government could get more directly involved in the battle against HIV/AIDS. What the policies proposed do achieve, however, is a clear and accountable alternative to what is often inefficient and wasteful government spending.

Mak suggested that the best solution was to bring personal initiative to the forefront through greater tax incentives for charities. In order to increase charitable giving, he argued that the government should drastically increase the amount of tax credits given to those who donate to charities.

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# La main tranchée d'Adam Smith

« Le jour où Wall Street est devenu socialiste » est le titre révélateur d'un article de Frédéric Lordon paru dans *le Monde diplomatique* en octobre dernier. Pour sauver les banques du chaos, l'État, qui avait été évincé de toute la « nature économique », c'est-à-dire chassé par le mythe selon lequel le marché se régulerait de manière autonome, est devenu la seule bouée de sauvetage possible pour un désastre duquel on ne voit

pointre que la pointe de l'iceberg. Ici, rien de nouveau. Dans le même ordre d'idée, la revue *The Economist* du même mois s'inquiétait d'un retour massif des nationalisations dans la sphère bancaire. Cette angoisse esquisse parfaitement la lutte animant les intellectuels à l'égard de la défense ou de l'opposition vis-à-vis le libéralisme économique. Ainsi, on revisite du coup les grands théoriciens de la

pensée économique comme Smith, Ricardo, Keynes et surtout Marx.

Peut-on refonder la doctrine néolibérale ?

La réponse est claire: Non ! Pas plus que l'on ne peut freiner la mondialisation. Pendant des décennies, toutes les idées d'altération, de changement ou de réforme de la doctrine libérale ont semblé être impossibles puisqu'elles se sont heurtées violemment aux principes, si « naturels » soient-ils, de l'autorégulation des marchés et de la création de la valeur par la consommation. Les tares étant maintenant dévoilées, on doit penser le monde qui vient en fonction d'une dégénérescence du système. La libéralisation des échanges (et l'événement historique que nous vivons aujourd'hui parle de lui-même) a intrinsèquement nuit aux salaires et protections sociales (cf. retraites) puisque la doctrine, allant de soit, amenait des millions de gens à s'endetter pour préserver ce qu'il ne détenait pas réellement : leur pouvoir d'achat.

Le Krach de 2008, pour parler de concert avec Serge Halimi, a de profondes différences avec les turbulences financières antérieures, car elle implique la question de l'idéologie. Ce séisme financier révèle une question morale, non pas celle du renouvellement du partenariat étroit avec l'État, mais plutôt du rôle péremptoire du consommateur. La « Main invisible », qui agençait la dynamique économique pour la rendre harmonieuse, a décidément été profondément entaillée. La science économique a toujours été

pensée sous l'angle de l'économisme, en affirmant qu'elle était exacte dans son inexactitude et truffée de subtilités de sorte qu'on a écarté la possibilité de faire l'épistémologie de la science économique. Autrement dit, de se poser la question de manière réflexive sur ce qu'est l'économie en tant que tel.

Comment l'économie peut-elle servir le bien public ? Certes, les alertes pullulent depuis des années, mais la sourde oreille a eu raison de la rénovation du système. Dès lors, on sait que toutes les sciences étant filles de leurs temps, elles croient incarner la vérité alors qu'on sait fort bien que l'histoire en fera le

étatsunienne, sont venus quérir au Congrès un prêt-relais et leurs dirigeants se sont manifestement embourbés en déployant leur aisance financière personnelle. La démesure est retournée à Detroit les poches vides.

La principale faute du libéralisme économique est qu'il se croit lui-même. En d'autres termes, le libéralisme économique entend le libre-marché comme facteur d'harmonisation de toute économie, et renvoie directement au principe de richesse. Nul besoin de citer l'ouvrage d'Adam Smith à cet égard. Il s'agit donc d'une harmonisation produite par la production des

## Comment l'économie peut-elle servir le bien public ?

démenti. Et devant l'urgence qui s'éveille, on se demande aujourd'hui où est donc la gauche.

Une gauche spectrale

Alors qu'elle a longtemps affirmé qu'être libéral et socialiste demeure totalement incompatible, la gauche se questionne et est tout aussi en crise que le marché. Autrement dit, sans vouloir réveiller les fantômes trotskistes, maoïstes et marxistes, on se demande où se situe le contre-poids de l'idéologie dominante. Alors que l'évolution idéologique historique du XXe siècle était binaire, elle semble aujourd'hui presque unitaire et décousue. Où est donc la gauche, celle qui, non pas utopiste, était la titulaire des bonnes consciences sociales ? La gauche n'est plus le marxisme, c'est évident. Or, le côté social de la médaille semble être complètement oublié. Elle est soit pervertie par la radicalité idéologique, ou soit inexistante.

Il faut pourtant un contre-pouvoir pour réorienter clairement la trajectoire économique. Après la raison d'État, c'est la raison libérale qui s'est diffusée indépendamment de toute instance nationale pour tisser des liens économiques et non sociaux. Cela dit, les trois monstres de l'automobile américaine, ces piliers culturels de la société

richesses par les consommateurs. Or, s'est crue en tant que loi. La vraie question du libéralisme économique, tant dans sa connotation « néo » ou traditionnelle, se retrouve dans la paupérisation, une condition qu'elle a entretenue. Par quoi une régression des conditions de vie, prescrite par sa propre philosophie où le pouvoir d'achat prévaut sur l'endettement, a sérieusement érodé la cohésion sociale. Grossièrement dit, « la prospérité s'est paupérisée ». Les conséquences de ce laisser-aller sont donc aussi visibles par l'éclatement boursier que par les faillites multiples des particuliers. C'est le cas américain, c'est le cas symbolique.

On ne demande pas de lire le Capital. Aujourd'hui, encore quelques-uns croient en l'appropriation des moyens de production, de sorte à conduire par la révolution le peuple vers le bonheur de l'égalité ; c'est là le vocable marxiste par excellence. Plutôt, il faut peut-être penser le libéralisme sous l'égide du social, c'est-à-dire rendre au libéralisme l'essence même de sa philosophie : le social et le citoyen. La joute intellectuelle est commencée, et c'est maintenant le moment d'ouvrir le siècle.

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# The swollen envy of pygmy minds

This past Monday, civil rights champion Brent Tyler told the Supreme Court of Canada that the Quebec government is violating the constitutional rights of immigrant parents by denying their children access to English-language public schools. Tyler added, and we concur wholeheartedly, that the policy could threaten the long-term viability of the English school system by eroding its student base. The issue this time is the constitutionality of Quebec's Bill 104.

When Bill 104 was passed in 2002, the stated objective of the Quebec Government was to prevent an Allophone or Francophone child from attending a non-subsidized English-language elementary school for a year or less receiving, a certificate of eligibility and then transferring to the English language public school system. The Government used a sledgehammer to solve a relatively small problem. Very few students acquire this possibility through an "achat d'un droit" as lawyers for the Quebec government claim.

In August, 2007, Tyler won an important victory affecting dozens of students when the Quebec Court of Appeal declared a section of Bill 104 unconstitutional. At issue in *Hong Ha Nguyen et al. v. Quebec* is

a constitutional challenge to the first sentence of the penultimate paragraph of section 73 of the Charter of the French Language ("CFL").

The Court of Appeal for Quebec declared that this part of section 73 of the CFL is inconsistent with the right to instruction in the minority language guaranteed by subsection 23(2) of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. It further concluded that the inconsistency does not constitute a reasonable limit prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society.

Quebec's appeal to the Supreme Court was expected. But what was stunning and disappointing was that the Attorney General of Canada decided to oppose the Quebec Court of Appeal's decision in favour of Quebec's Anglophone minority and intervened on behalf of Quebec. One can only speculate on the political calculus involved in that decision.

The Quebec Association of Independent Schools (QAIS), an organization comprising 25 English language private schools and one of the most compelling advocates for minority language rights, has accused the Attorney General of acting contrary to the best interests of the English-speaking minority of



Civil liberties attorney Brent Tyler on the steps of the Supreme Court of Canada this past Monday where he argued against the constitutionality of Quebec's Bill 104.

Quebec and of being in contravention of the Official Languages Act. It has written the Attorney General insisting that he withdraw his factum before the case was heard on Monday and has also lodged an official complaint with the Commissioner of Official Languages. The QAIS actions should be applauded by all fair-minded Quebecers.

"Prior to the deadline for submitting its factum we, as did other organizations representing our community, reached out to the Attorney General's office at the highest level and were given the

bureaucratic run-around," explained Jonathan Goldbloom, Chair of the QAIS Bill 104 Committee. "The bottom line is that officials refused to consult with us, and the government has failed to meet its obligations as defined in Part VII of the Official Languages Act. This section obliges the federal government, including Heritage Canada and Justice Canada, to take positive measures in order to protect and promote Quebec's Anglophone minority".

One cannot help but wonder again as to why so much time and money is still being wasted on the chimera

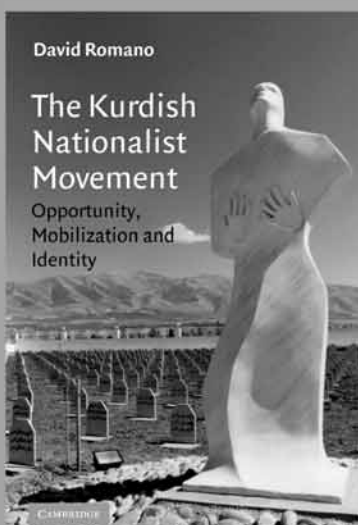
of the "endangered" French fact. But as always there is little that is reasonable or sensible when it comes to language in Quebec.

The Quebec government's position is prejudicial to a fault. As Brent Tyler pointed out, if all immigrants are directed to French public schools, the only source of new students for the English system will be interprovincial migration since statistics show there is actually a net out-migration of anglophones from Quebec. "If you accept the argument of the Quebec government, you are cutting to zero, for all practical purposes, any source or replenishment," Tyler told the high court.

An interesting fact in this court challenge is that the 26 families represented by Tyler involve about 100 children. Estimates of the total number of transfers before the law was passed range up to about 8,000. And many of those were Francophones who understood the importance of bilingualism.

French is not endangered in Quebec by English education. Francophones, Anglophones and allophones are endangered by the venality of the swollen envy of pygmy minds in the Quebec statocracy who spend millions on marginalizing a hundred kids. It's time for some fair play in education.

## Cambridge Middle East Studies



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

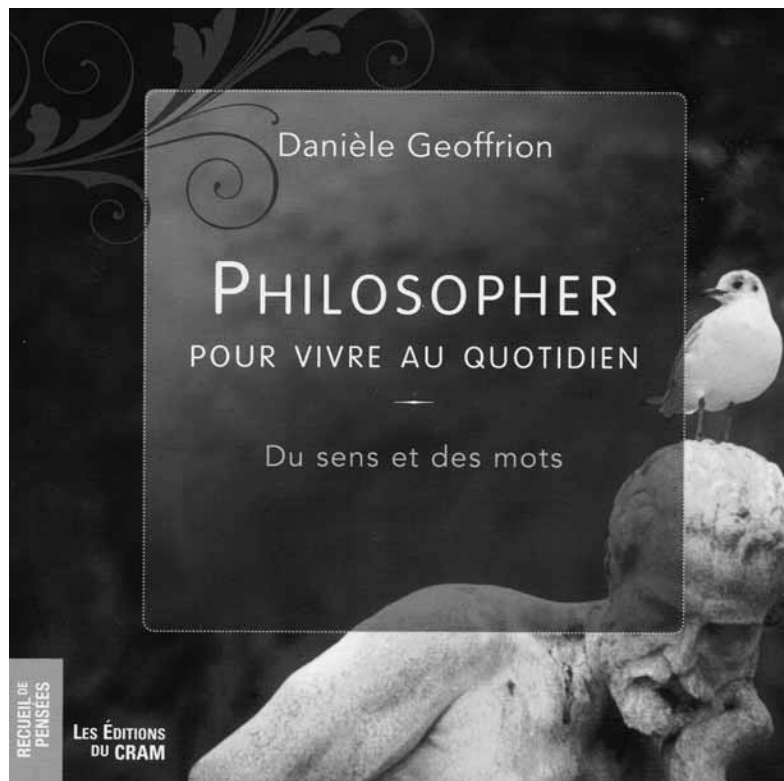
Throughout the author analyzes these questions through the lens of social movement theory, considering in particular politico-social structures, resource mobilization strategies and cultural identity. His conclusions offer some thought-provoking insights into Kurdish nationalism, as well as into the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

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# Un exil à la fois intérieur et extérieur



*Danièle Geoffrion, Philosophe pour vivre au quotidien : du sens et des mots, Montréal, Les Éditions du CRAM, 2008.*

Un exilé, c'est quelqu'un qui a des souvenirs différents. Et qui revient de loin. En littérature, il est facile de les reconnaître, ceux-là qui bâtissent sur l'expérience passée afin de recréer la vie présente, riche et sensible. Souvent, leur grande sagesse inspire un choix de vie, un changement de position, un peu comme le fait de changer de lunettes, ou de coiffer ses cheveux la raie sur l'autre côté.

La lecture du livre-bijou de Danièle Geoffrion « Philosophe pour vivre au quotidien », marque un passage, et rassemble, sur 162 pages, des aphorismes qui se situent toujours à la fine pointe de la sagesse. L'auteure ne revendique

rien. Le monde est ainsi. Aucun pourquoi qui absorberait tous les autres. Nous retrouvons simplement l'essentiel, là, sous nos yeux. Le livre, disons-le, se lit agréablement, il respire, « souffle » en nous presque un lapsus, car j'allais dire « souffre », pour porter plus loin notre réflexion personnelle.

C'est que l'auteure a bien, comme nous tous, souffert, plus ou moins, et elle livre en transparence ses citations, sans caricature, sans effet tragique, sans méchanceté. On se laisse dévorer par cette compilation d'aphorismes et de pensées, si joliment présentées, non pas en vrac, mais par thèmes, chacun illustrant une sorte de virtuosité de l'ensemble. Cette lecture déploie un rythme, presque une musicalité, dans une série de tableaux d'où émerge presque toujours la lumière, par la mise en abîme des moments

difficiles, soulevés par quelques notes graves, noires, et pourtant quelquefois humoristiques, mais sans jamais verser dans l'argot ou la plaisanterie, sans jamais verser dans le pathétique ou l'angélisme.

Ce recueil de pensées nous oblige à essayer de comprendre la vie, à en tirer des leçons raisonnables, à assumer le réel en acceptant d'entrer plus loin et plus profondément en nous-mêmes, à ressentir la singularité, et cela en acceptant de se faire chatouiller un peu, non pas tant d'un point de vue moralisateur, car c'est essentiellement d'une intention humaniste dont il s'agit, l'auteure évoquant sa longue suite d'aphorismes obligeant à réfléchir, à méditer et à aller plus profond en soi.

C'est qu'il y a eu le pire comme le meilleur, et ce qui en reste est là, entre nos mains. Ainsi, pour chasser un cafard, la neutralité de ces courtes phrases invite à la méditation, au lâcher-prise, de même qu'à la contemplation, pour une réelle recherche d'harmonie et d'équilibre dans nos vies. Aucun lyrisme ici, seulement la réalité, presque affligeante de banalité et pourtant crue, sans détour et sans jamais fleurir le snobisme intellectuel ou un univers terriblement fermé.

L'auteure, qui est philosophe de formation, ne traite pas avec des personnages. Aucune interdépendance donc entre la vie et l'imaginaire, et on comprend vite qu'elle ne vit pas que pour écrire ou pour se regarder écrire. Son monde n'est pas littéraire, littéralement, et cela fait drôle d'écrire cela, mais le fait est : ce sont des aphorismes, des morceaux de vie réelle, des flux et reflux, des passions. Ce petit recueil est un livre de « table à café », un livre qu'il fait bon ouvrir, à toutes heures, pour la lumière qu'il dévoile, avec ses vérités personnelles et ses secrets. Un livre à aimer comme une sœur, qui demande que nous le saisissons dans l'acte d'exister et d'agir. Un livre qui est un grouillement de vie, d'incidents, de réflexions, de désirs, et de gestes manqués. C'est écrit au « Je », comme un narrateur qui cherche à comprendre, qui raconte comme on parle à ses amis. Comment ne pas se sentir concerné ?

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# Habs 100th

The Habs observe their 100th birthday, next year, but the centennial celebrations got off to a head start earlier this month.

No team in the National Hockey League is as decorated as the Montreal Canadiens, Le Bleu-Blanc-et-Rouge, and their formidable marketing machine is determined to create a phony frenzy and stretch the centennial party by several months.

The Canadiens were founded on Dec. 4, 1909 and since 1916 have won 24 Stanley Cups, and seen 44 of its players inducted into the Hockey Hall of Fame. So far this season the club is off to a respectable 16-8-5 start, trailing Boston, but still a respectable showing, if you don't count their humiliating 3-1 defeat last week to the 3-1 to the lowly Tampa Bay Lightning.

To kick off the centennial, four players, Howie Morenz, Jean Beliveau, Maurice (Rocket) Richard and Guy Lafleur, have been immortalized in bronze on a new plaza outside the bell centre that was dedicated on Dec. 4. The mint has struck 10 million one-dollar coins with the CH logos, and Canada Post will issue four million Habs stamps.

Players medallions have been struck, replica jerseys produced, and

several books about the team have hit the bookstores in time for Christmas, none of them better than *The Montreal Canadiens, 100 years of Glory*, by veteran Toronto journalist D'Arcy Jenish. (Doubleday, 336 pp. \$35.00) Its a history you might have thought veteran Montreal sports columnist Red Fisher would have written. The irony, of course, is that it took Jenish, a Maple Leaf's fan, to tell this compelling, dispassionate, story of Canada's most revered hockey club.

"So much has been written by so many that there is a tendency to wonder: What's missing? What more can be said?" he writes, "The history of the Canadiens is like an old house that has seen too many coats of paint. In the telling and the retelling, much of the story's original sparkle and freshness have been lost." Jenish sets out to write about the thrill of the game, and succeeds. His compact, anecdotal, account, is the result not only to four years of painstaking research, but also because of the author's longstanding friendship with the club's general manager, Bob Gainey. The two played together on the Peterborough Junior B Lions Club that won gold at the 1971 Canada Games.

"Bob and I were team-mates, we spent two winters playing hockey together," Jenish said in an interview when he was in Montreal earlier this month to speak to the Womens' Canadian Club. "Our lives only intersected in the arena. But when I was rolling ideas around in my head for my next book and realized the Habs centennial was approaching, my friendship with him opened doors for me. He introduced me to the club's owner, George Gillett and its president, Pierre Boivin, to coaches, players and to the team historian." Jenish claims the team was late getting off the ground because French Canadians at the turn of the 20th century preferred to "dine, dance and fraternize," instead of play hockey. The truth is a bit more nuanced. In the late 19th and early 20th century, French Canadians weren't allowed to play on Montreal's storied English-speaking hockey teams like the Winged Wheelers and the Victorias, because those teams were exclusively for Protestants, and Roman Catholics were not welcome. If French Canadians wanted to play, they had to join the Shamrocks, which was dominated by Irish Roman Catholics. The book chronicles the team from its first game, to



how George Kennedy came up with the distinctive 'C' and 'H' logo and made the team profitable. It touches on all the highlights and all the heroes, Georges Vézina (The Chicoutimi Cucumber) Aurele Joliat, Howie (The Stratford Streak) Morenz, Maurice (Rocket) Richard, and the celebrated, 1955 riot, Jean Beliveau, Guy (The Flower) Lafleur, Ken Dryden, Patrick Roy, right up to Carey Price and the Flying K's on the present team: Saku Koivu, Alexei Kovalev, and the Kostotsyn brothers, Andrei and Sergie, Mike Komisarek and Tom Kostopoulos. For all of the hype building up around the centennial, all the blogs, quick hits and glossy coffee table books, 100 Years of Glory is the definitive Habs story

inside out in terms of what has been written to date about the club.

Bob Gainey endorses the book, which is an unofficial, independent effort, saying Jenish "has resisted the fluffy, romantic versions (of Habs history) which have become common, and delivered the nitty-gritty, real-deal story." Even those with a marginal interest in hockey will be rewarded, and no die-hard Habs fan should be without it. The French-language version is expected in January.

An ideal companion volume *Honoured Canadiens*, by Andrew Podnieks (Fenn, 240 pages, \$45) profiles all of the Habs who have been inducted into the Hockey Hall of Fame.

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