

La patrie

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Putting the us in USA

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Nationalisme vs culture

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Ensemble et libres Together and free

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Le génocide: soixante ans, trois leçons



Scars of memory: un installation par l'artiste Ghanaian Kofi Setordji.

Jamais plus!

Cette année c'est la soixantième anniversaire de l'adoption de deux instruments cruciaux dans notre histoire, soit la *Convention pour la prévention et la répression du crime de génocide* (la « Convention sur le génocide »)—connue comme la *Convention « plus jamais »*—et la *Déclaration universelle des droits de la personne*—reconnue comme étant la « magna carta » de l'humanité.

À l'occasion de cet anniversaire, nous devons nous poser les questions suivantes, soit : *Qu'est-ce que nous avons appris? Qu'est-ce que nous devons faire?*

Je me permets ici de résumer les trois grandes leçons universelles des soixante dernières années—les leçons à tirer, et les choses à faire.

Car comme l'a dit le philosophe Kierkegaard, « pour vivre, il faut avancer, mais pour comprendre la vie, il faut revenir sur ses pas ».



L'HON. IRWIN COTLER

Génocide et nos responsabilités

Première leçon : L'incitation par l'État à la haine et au génocide
La première de ces leçons est le danger de l'incitation par l'État à la haine et au génocide.

De l'Holocauste au Rwanda, l'une des leçons durables à tirer des génocides est qu'ils ont été rendus possibles non seulement à cause de l'industrie de la mort, mais aussi à cause de l'idéologie—la pathologie—de la haine promue par l'État; l'État prêchant le mépris, la diabolisation de l'autre, voilà où tout a toujours commencé.

L'Holocauste n'a pas commencé dans les chambres à



JESSICA MURPHY

Mixed-message marginalization

Criminalizing the homeless

Despite recent steps by Montreal and the Ville Marie borough to alleviate problems surrounding homelessness downtown, ongoing policies continue to marginalize the very people they're trying to help.

“There’s some blah, blah, there’s some analysis, but at the same time they’re not looking at their laws,” said Pierre Gaudreau, coordinator at RAPSIM, an umbrella organization that advocates for the homeless. “Most of them help the homeless. But their actions in managing the occupation of public space leads to a worse situation for homeless people.

It’s almost always the case: there’s help, support, and repression—often by the same people.”

Gaudreau is referring to so-called incivilities by-laws—against, for example, loitering, public drinking, and ‘using urban equipment for uses other than those intended.’ More of these laws are added each year.

In 2006, Ville Marie passed a new by-law making it illegal to spend the night in the borough’s 15 public squares. In 2007, dogs were banned from Viger and Berri Square—known hangouts for street youth and their pets. This year, there’s a push to

Continued on page 8



P.A. SEVIGNY

Just when you thought...

Ticketing our trash

Last December, shortly before taking a taxi to the airport for an early-morning flight, Montreal writer Alan Hustak dropped a small bag of garbage into one of the city’s garbage cans in Old Montreal. Only a few days after he came back from his Christmas holiday, he received a letter from the Ville Marie borough authorities with included a \$187 ticket for having broken one of the borough’s new municipal garbage by-laws.

“I really didn’t get it,” Hustak commented. “It was garbage and I was

simply putting it into a garbage can.”

The borough’s letter informed Hustak that one of the borough’s inspectors saw him deposit the bag in the municipal container. The inspector later cut open the bag to more specifically determine its origins as well as its contents. The letter also informed Hustak as to how borough residents are no longer permitted to bring out their garbage outside the borough’s prescribed hours for garbage collection.

“This was nothing more than a bottle, two cans, an envelope and a

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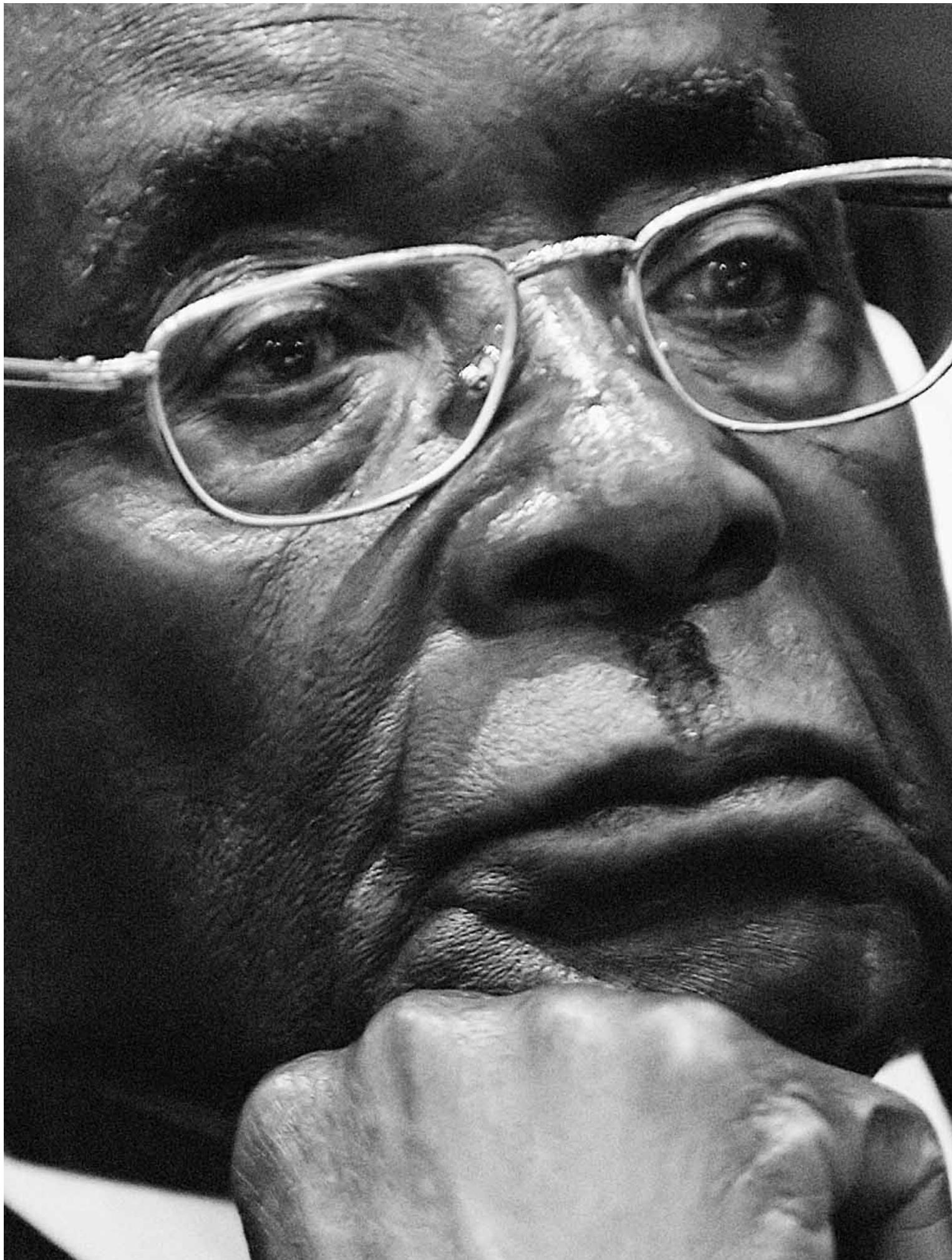
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LES MILLE MOTS

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Julius Grey

Avocat, professeur de Droit, Julius Grey est l'un des défenseurs des libertés civiles les plus reconnus au Canada.

LA PATRIE

L'HISTOIRE, COMME ELLE A ÉTÉ

Notre politique linguistique

Une vache sacrée, une bête noire

Manifestement injuste et exagérée lors de sa promulgation en 1977, la loi 101 a été modifiée et améliorée à tous les niveaux des cours de justice, y compris celles des Nations unies, ainsi que par le législateur. Devant la nécessité inébranlable de protéger et de promouvoir la langue française, et le besoin aussi impérieux de respecter les limites de la démocratie libérale et de préserver une place honorable pour la partie anglaise de notre héritage, cette loi, telle qu'amendée, constitue un compromis raisonnable, même si on peut continuer à discuter de certains détails et de son application.

Ce qui devrait nous assombrir n'est donc pas notre politique linguistique comme telle, mais l'aspect symbolique et même mythologique de la loi 101. En effet, les chevaliers de la langue des deux côtés semblent avoir réussi à transformer une loi relativement équilibrée en cheval de bataille: dans le cas des francophones, en vache sacrée, et dans le cas de leurs analogues anglophones, en bête noire. Ces deux fausses perceptions creusent un fossé entre les citoyens.

Prenons les francophones d'abord. Les chevaliers de la langue française ont fait preuve d'une facilité troublante à convaincre la majorité que la loi 101 constitue un grand sommet parmi les acquis de la Révolution tranquille. En semant un peu de confusion entre la loi de 1977 et celle d'aujourd'hui, ils ont propagé la légende du charcutage juridique de la loi au détriment de la majorité.

Le slogan « Ne touchez pas à la loi 101 » est donc devenu un outil puissant pour rallier les citoyens et pour substituer une loyauté collective à une analyse que chacun devrait entreprendre des dispositions actuellement en vigueur. Les chevaliers francophones refusent de commenter les motifs qui ont amené pratiquement tous ceux qui ont étudié la loi de 1977 de l'extérieur du Québec à la condamner. Ils se cachent derrière une autre idée fixe, celle de « la minorité la mieux traitée au monde », pour rejeter toutes les

revendications et plaintes des anglophones du revers de la main.

Finalement, plusieurs d'entre eux proposent un retour aux dispositions de 1977, ce qui serait à la fois une honte et un désastre puisque les injustices envers les francophones, qui pouvaient servir d'excuse sinon de justification en 1977, ont complètement disparu.

Moins efficaces, les chevaliers anglophones ont néanmoins eu beaucoup de succès également et, grâce à leurs efforts, la loi 101 a pris les allures d'un épouvantail pour une partie importante de la population. Pour eux, cette loi est un cauchemar et une explication de toutes les difficultés que les anglophones ont vécues depuis 1977, y compris la saignée qui leur a coûté le tiers de leur nombre.

Les chevaliers anglophones font abstraction de l'histoire du Québec d'avant la Révolution tranquille et des injustices économiques et sociales que la majorité se devait de corriger. Ils mettent l'accent sur les aspects coercitifs de la loi pour conclure qu'il s'agit d'un instrument fait dans le seul but d'opprimer la minorité, oubliant ainsi les buts avoués d'intégration et donc d'élimination des frontières et des barrières.

Finalement, ils font appel à un concept faux et trompeur d'égalité hors contexte qui rallie les troupes autour d'une vision dogmatique et formaliste et qui cache la complexité des défis linguistiques du Québec entouré par la culture nord-américaine. En d'autres termes, ils confondent la notion de traitement identique avec celle de traitement égal et ferment les yeux quant aux conséquences que ce type d'égalité aurait pour l'avenir du français.

Les succès des chevaliers masquent la réalité d'un consensus très général. Malgré l'appui massif pour la loi 101 en tant que symbole, les sondages, plus subtils, montrent que la grande majorité des francophones se range du côté de l'affichage bilingue, l'accès libre à l'école anglaise pour ceux qui se qualifient pour la clause Canada

ainsi que pour une attitude libérale et ouverte en matière de santé et de justice. Au même titre, la grande majorité des anglophones reconnaissent la nécessité de protéger le français et de réglementer l'accès à l'école anglaise malgré leur répugnance instinctive pour le symbolisme de la loi 101.

Il serait naïf de conclure que les deux groupes veulent exactement la même chose, mais le fossé entre eux n'est pas trop profond, les communautés sont loin d'être étanches et, n'eût été des chevaliers, une paix linguistique aurait dû être établie depuis longtemps.

Par ailleurs, les deux factions des chevaliers s'efforcent d'attribuer à la loi 101 les immenses effets sociaux qu'elle n'a pas pu avoir. D'une part, le rôle du français dans le secteur privé s'améliore constamment depuis 1960. Après 1970, il était de notoriété publique qu'il fallait parler français pour réussir au Québec. De plus, le gouvernement du Québec était déjà unilingue français bien avant 1977.

En 1974, la loi 22 avait stipulé que le français devenait désormais la langue officielle, et en beaucoup d'éléments, notamment en matière d'affichage, la protection du français, sous son régime, ressemblait beaucoup à l'état actuel des choses.

Il est donc faux de prétendre que l'égalité et la dignité des francophones sont le résultat direct de la loi 101. Au contraire, il s'agissait d'un processus historique de longue durée, dont la loi 101, telle que rédigée en 1977, était un épisode peu glorieux. C'est la Révolution tranquille qu'il faut fêter et non pas la loi 101.

Il est aussi faux d'attribuer à la loi 101 un effet dévastateur sur la minorité. L'exode avait commencé plusieurs années auparavant et il s'explique mieux par un autre phénomène. Partout au Canada, les années 60 et 70 étaient une époque d'expansion dans le secteur public, et plusieurs des meilleurs emplois pour les jeunes se trouvaient effectivement dans ce secteur. Or, le Québec

excluait systématiquement les membres de la minorité et cette politique était à son apogée sous le premier gouvernement de Robert Bourassa, entre 1970 et 1976. Peut-on blâmer surtout la loi 101 pour l'exode quand il existe une explication beaucoup plus convaincante?

Il est faux de prétendre que l'égalité et la dignité des francophones sont le résultat direct de la loi 101. Au contraire, il s'agissait d'un processus historique de longue durée, dont la loi 101, telle que rédigée en 1977, était un épisode peu glorieux. C'est la Révolution tranquille qu'il faut fêter et non pas la loi 101.

Il faut ajouter que la loi 101 n'était pas non plus responsable pour toutes les difficultés vécues par les anglophones depuis son entrée en vigueur. Faut-il rappeler encore les contestations juridiques qui ont réussi, l'adoption de la loi 86 et l'augmentation salutaire du taux de bilinguisme parmi les anglophones? L'adaptation à la loi 101 amendée est un fait accompli et la source de l'inquiétude des anglophones est ailleurs.

Aujourd'hui, les prétentions des deux groupes de chevaliers aggravent le fossé entre citoyens et nuisent à l'un des principaux buts de la loi 101—l'intégration et la création d'une solidarité sociale. Même si la loi 101 n'a pas besoin d'amendements majeurs, il est urgent de déclencher sans délai un processus majeur de démythification. ♦

...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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Rédacteur en chef et Éditeur

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PUBLIC MORALITY AND PERSONAL FREEDOM

Morgentaler: It's about liberty, not libertines

French social critic Hervé Juvin's book "L'avènement du corps" (The Elevation of the Body), argues that our ability to live longer has seen the birth of the hedonism of self-preservation replacing the hedonism of self-indulgence.

Some commentators have used Juvin's work to argue that individual rights advocates are on "the wrong

assisted suicide.

If the state has no business in the bedrooms of the nation, it certainly has no business telling any of us what to do with our bodies. And it *particularly* has no business imposing moral codes on its citizens—that's simply not the state's job.

The reason why so-called 'blue

killing many.

Morgentaler's struggles not only re-affirmed the basic right of individual control over our own bodies, but protected so many women from trauma and death. This was a *real* public health issue.

Morgentaler was one of the few who walked the walk—he didn't just talk the talk. He went to jail for

We as a nation must commit to one over-riding principle: that neither the state nor society has a right to impose an external, collective morality on personal, self-centered conduct.

side of history" because people today are prepared to do anything and submit to anything for the sake of longevity. Their arguments imply that this trend is irreversible and that societal submission to state dictate on our behaviour is acceptable in order to accommodate a new wave of "sanctimonious puritanism" as one writer phrased it.

They miss the point. The debate is not about libertines. The debate is about liberty.

These thoughts come to mind as one observes the furor over the Order of Canada that will be bestowed on Dr. Henry Morgentaler. I will not touch on the moral issues of abortion. Nor will I touch on the status of the Order of Canada. What I will touch on is Henry Morgentaler's singular contribution to this country—the championing of personal liberty.

The "right side" of history has always been, and will continue to be, that side that defends and expands individual freedoms. Among the most important of which is the freedom to choose. That freedom is one of the most telling barometers of any society's progress. Former Justice Minister Irwin Cotler argued that very point in his case for considering the de-criminalization of

laws', whether against alcohol, smoking or abortion, so frequently raise their hydra-headed countenances is that too many people are afraid of liberty. That's why the nanny-state continues to grow. As Bernard Shaw wrote, "liberty demands responsibility, that's why so many dread it." Too many of us are ready to be complicit in the refusal or denial of our own rights so that we can continue to go along just to get along. Too many are ready to sacrifice permanent liberty for temporary security—in the end getting neither. Too many are ready to buy into Elmer Gantry dogmas because they have lost the ability to reason for themselves and would happily impose this tyranny of the mindless on us all.

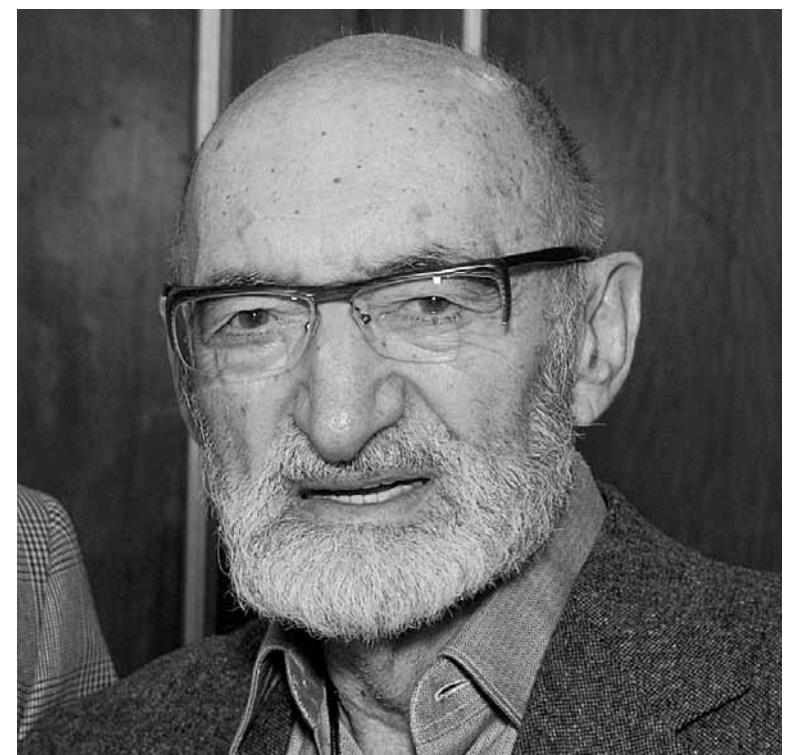
Laws have no legitimacy if they are used to curtail personal freedom—to protect us from ourselves. But they are important in protecting you from me. This is another great service Morgentaler rendered to this country. As much as people closed their eyes to it—and whether they were legal or not—abortions have always been a common practice. Sadly, however, many of these women had no access to doctors and back alley abortionists were doing permanent damage and

violating a law the Supreme Court later ruled unconstitutional. His actions were a main catalyst behind the current reality in which Canada is a country with no abortion law of any kind. And women are the better for it.

One of the common themes in the criticism of his appointment is that the awards should be given to people who unify the country, not who bring division. If that were true, you would have to question the giving of the award to a lot of recipients whose mere name sparks divisions in many parts of this country. Recipients that include a lot of politicians.

Based on the existing criteria, and on historical precedent, Morgentaler's award is entirely defensible. Any attempts to have it rescinded are misguided (based on Order of Canada guidelines) or are simply attempts to re-open the abortion debate.

We as a nation must commit to one over-riding principle: that neither the state nor society has a right to impose an external, collective morality on personal, self-centered conduct. We have to become sophisticated enough to accept that the full spectrum of human behaviour means that some people make bad choices, and that



Dr. Henry Morgentaler. In commending his entry into the Order of Canada, the national Abortion Federation noted that "Canadians owe him a tremendous debt of gratitude for standing up for women's lives and health at great personal sacrifice and risk."

no amount of opprobrium or even danger to self will prevent people from doing that. We have to understand, as constitutional attorney Julius Grey put it, that "legislating niceness is not very nice."

Before Morgentaler it was common for Canadian hospitals to have dedicated wards where women suffering sepsis or unstoppable hemorrhaging from botched abortions were treated and, sometimes, died. Even today the World Health Organization estimates that 68,000 women die annually from illegal abortions, while between two and seven million sustain long-term damage or disease.

Morgentaler's battles resulted in women being freed from submission to the will of the state or the clergy or simply the whim of a man for that matter. On a broader scale, he added building blocks to the edifice of individual liberty for all.

Many object to the fact that Morgentaler has profited, through his clinics, from his legal victories. What of it? We have to rid ourselves of childish notions born of false pieties. Virgins do not make redemptive change in society. The dubious can be champions of the good. And perhaps Morgentaler

himself did not even think about all these notions of personal freedom when he began. Maybe he was just sick and tired of the sham and hypocrisy and suffering he saw. That alone should be good enough for us and for those who assess candidates to the Order of Canada. Too few of us with anything to lose truly talk truth to power.

No one has a right to force a woman to bear a child. Whether she carries the child to term or not is a traumatic and life-altering decision that only she can make—for herself. It may well be far more responsible to decide not to bring another human being into the world than to do so when the pregnancy is not planned and the circumstances are wrong. If a person feels that abortion is morally wrong base on personal religious positions it doesn't give them the right to impose that opinion on the women being affected. At the end of the day this is what Morgentaler taught us.

The Order of Canada's motto is "Desiderantes meliorem patriam"—they desire a better country. By freeing so many women from fear, and making Canadians accept personal liberty and responsibility, Morgentaler made Canada a better place. ♦

David Jones is a former senior counselor at the American Embassy in Ottawa. He is a well-known columnist contributing frequently to many publications including The Hill Times. He writes from his home in Arlington, Virginia. This is his first appearance in The Métropolitain.

David T. Jones



KEEPING OUR OPTIONS OPEN

Why Harper got it right on McCain

Cynics are inclined to conclude that a government that makes the right decision is akin to the proverbial blind pig finding an acorn. But such pigs do find acorns and, in the instance of the decision by the Harper government to see Senator John McCain during his June 20 visit to Ottawa, the Tories got it right.

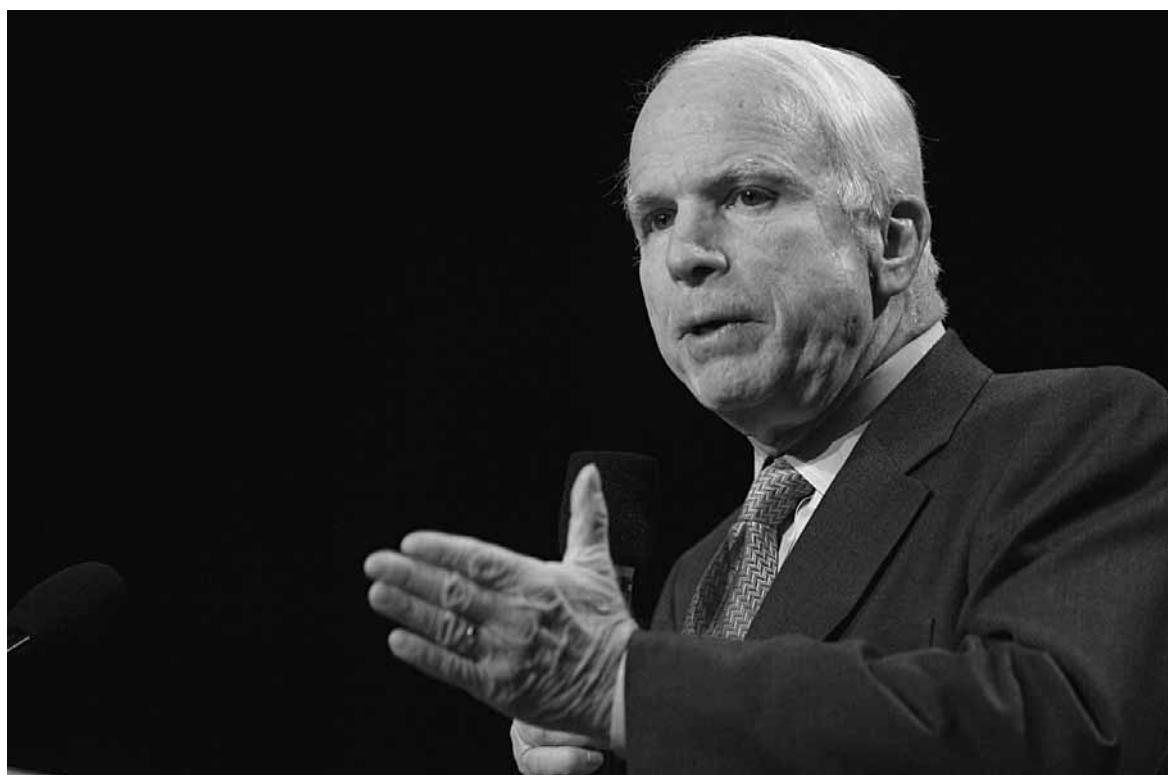
Besieged on the Left by those who wanted the Tories to treat McCain as if he were a SARS-afflicted pedophile and those on the Right who preferred granting him Canadian citizenship plus an Order of Canada, the Government played it straight. The Prime Minister was unavailable, having another commitment out of town. Hence the senator met with the Acting (now permanent) Foreign Minister David Emerson (who was then also minister for international trade and the NAFTA files) and with the out-going Chief of Defense Staff Rick Hillier. Perfectly appropriate; punctilious; correct; and mutually informative.

Think first of the logic on left. They take as a given that Senator Barack Obama will win the U.S. presidency in November, hence the Tories are supposed to curry favor with him by refusing to see Senator McCain. Supposedly, in a convoluted exercise earlier this year, a Tory official leaked a memo from the Chicago consulate reporting that an Obama senior economic advisor privately assured the Canadian official that Obama's campaign rhetoric against NAFTA was just that--campaign rhetoric. A formal investigation of the leak developed--nothing; oh yes, lotza finger pointing and intimations, but regarding specific facts--nothing. Nevertheless, not seeing McCain would be compensa-

tion (and implicit admission of guilt) to the Obama camp.

Even supposing this contretemps was a nefarious plot by Tory operatives to weaken Obama, ultimately (somehow) for Senator McCain's benefit, what was the theoretical consequence? Would "President Obama" tear up the NAFTA treaty to spite Ottawa and scorn "dirty oil" from Alberta? Require NAFTA re-negotiators to mutter "Green Shift" mantras before each session? Not permit Canadian negotiators bathroom breaks? Obviously not, and now, to no surprise, Obama has implied that his anti-NAFTA rhetoric was indeed rhetoric. Under any circumstance, "President Obama" (having no personal Canada experience) will employ a team of professional advisors to devise bilateral policy benefiting the United States on issues at hand, from NAFTA to softwood lumber to mad cows. And then the negotiating will begin.

But more essentially, there were ostensibly serious Canadians arguing that a country that constantly whines of being neglected/ignored by the United States should refuse to meet one of the two individuals with a serious chance of being the next president. Let us suppose the lightning strikes and much-discounted John McCain wins the election (remember he is not Ralph Nader). Would Canadians prefer to be in the position of being remembered as having gratuitously insulted him by refusing to meet? Did you want to be regarded as dumber than leaders in Israel, France, the UK, Mexico, and Colombia—to list just a few—who thought it useful to take the measure of the man?



Even if defeated in his presidential bid, Senator McCain will still be the leader of the Republican Party and therefore one of the most important political figures in the United States... And serious Canadians argued that members of the government shouldn't meet with him?

Even if defeated in his presidential bid, Senator McCain will still be the leader of the Republican Party and therefore one of the most important

political figures in the United States.

And serious Canadians argued that members of the government shouldn't meet with him? When they meet with foreign officials with whom many individuals would not wish to share a room? Why if Senator McCain arrived in Ottawa with hands dripping gore to the elbows, he would be less odious than some with whom Canadian government officials have met over the decades.

In a passing conversation with a senior member of the Liberal Party, I asked, "If the Liberals were the government, would you meet with McCain?" The answer was an instant positive along with a personal endorsement that Liberal leader Stephane Dion should attempt to see him. The global ground rule in diplomacy, politics, economics or whatever remains constant: you meet with those that you seek to influence. ♦

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ISLAMO-FASCISME : NE NOUS TROMPONS PAS DE CIBLE

La barbe des barbus

Richard Martineau, le 7 juin, sur le hidjab : « Comme on pouvait le prévoir, l'ineffable Françoise David, ex-féministe qui fait maintenant des courbettes devant les extrémistes religieux (du moins, ceux qui ne sont pas d'obédience catholique, « ouverture » envers les autres communautés oblige), Mme David, donc, applaudira la décision des augustes commissaires à quatre mains [sic]. »

Je suis rarement d'accord avec Mme David, mais aujourd'hui je me range de son bord. « Qui suis-je, moi, comme féministe, disait-elle le 26 mai, pour dire à mes soeurs : tu dois ou non porter le voile ? Est-ce que je vais aussi interdire à une religieuse de porter une croix ? Sous le voile, il y une femme. » Objection de Martineau : celles qui sont allées dire à la Commission qu'elles portent le hidjab de leur plein gré étaient téléguidées par des barbus fanatiques ; rien ne doit être retenu de leur témoignage. Sous-entendu : que vaut la parole d'une femme ? Surtout quand elle est musulmane.

Sans doute vais-je en scandaliser plusieurs en avouant que le port du foulard, je ne suis ni pour ni contre. Je considère que ça ne me regarde pas. Et il ne m'entre pas dans la tête qu'une prof de mathématique de Brossard qui porte le hidjab devant ses élèves est le bras armé de Ben Laden. Elle est soumise à des pressions de son milieu : père, frère, mari, imam ? Sans doute, mais il ne s'agit ni de burka, ni de mariage forcé, ni d'excision, sacrebleu ! À propos de contrôle vestimentaire, les filles qui dévoilent leurs charmes, au grand désarroi de certaines féministes, elles ne sont pas soumises elles aussi à des pressions

sociales ? Bien sûr, mais ces pressions n'étant pas religieuses, tout le monde s'en fout.

Il n'y a en fait que le Conseil du statut de la femme pour soutenir que l'égalité homme-femme est constamment menacée, que la femme est un être à ce point socio-dégradable qu'il faut à tout prix la barder de règles protectrices. Celles qui se couvrent la tête autant que celles qui découvrent les autres parties de leur corps sont des inconscientes et doivent être rééduquées ! L'État doit se donner comme nouvelle mission de codifier la manière de s'habiller ou de se déshabiller des personnes du beau sexe ! Évidemment, il sera plus facile d'interdire le port du foulard à une jeune musulmane que d'obliger une jeune « de souche » à cacher son G-String.

Ce qui me turlupine le plus dans toute cette histoire de voile, c'est la fixation exclusive sur le phénomène religieux. Qu'on me comprenne bien : personnellement, je ne crois ni à Dieu ni à Diable. Je ne nie pas les méfaits historiques des religions, mais il me paraît évident que le potentiel oppresseur des idéologies séculières est tout aussi réel. La perte d'influence des religions au XX^e siècle n'a pas empêché ce dernier d'être le plus meurtrier de l'Histoire.

Mao, Staline, Pol Pot et consorts massacreraient au nom d'une idéologie athée, le marxisme-léninisme. Hitler exterminait au nom d'une idéologie raciste à saveur mythologique qui est aux antipodes des fondements du christianisme. Comme dit si bien Marc Angenot, « l'idéologue ne perd jamais confiance en son idéologie, il se borne, si nécessaire, à cesser de croire à la réalité ». Ou à la transfor-



Il faut combattre l'islamo-fascisme. Ces gens-là nous les cassent. Mais plutôt que de nous attaquer à leurs victimes de sexe féminin, tirons la barbe des barbus.

mer au prix de millions de morts pour qu'elle se conforme à ses lubies.

Je me méfie des religions comme de la peste, mais tout autant du choléra, c'est-à-dire des idéologies. Réjouissons-nous : les féministes québécoises ne sont pas toutes des idéologues. Elles n'ont pas toutes cessé de croire à la réalité... et d'en

tenir compte dans leurs prises de position. Moins obsédée de contrôle social que le CSF, la Fédération des Femmes du Québec appuie quant à elle les recommandations très mesurées de nos « commissaires à quatre mains » en ce qui touche le port du voile dans les institutions publiques. Martineau dira qu'il s'agit

là d'ex-féministes.

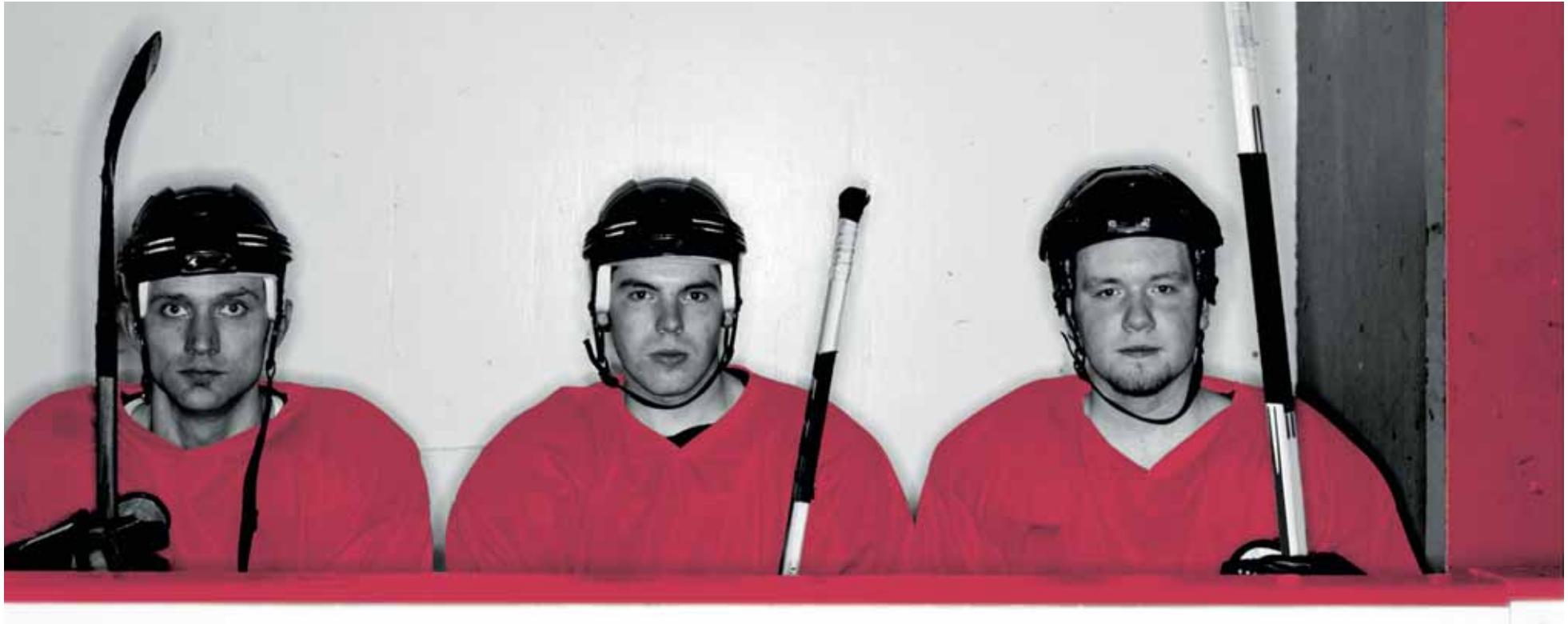
Dans ma jeunesse, le Québec était peuplé de catholiques plus catholiques que le pape. Les temps ont bien changé. Oui, il faut combattre l'islamo-fascisme. Ces gens-là nous les cassent. Mais plutôt que de nous attaquer à leurs victimes de sexe féminin, tirons la barbe des barbus. ♦

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Jessica Murphy

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15,000 TICKETS TO THE CITY'S HOMELESS OVER 2 YEARS—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

ban walking more than two dogs at once—seen as another move to criminalize the homeless.

“(The laws) are discriminatory,” said Aki Tchitacov, executive director at Dans la Rue. “You see ticketing for offenses most average citizens would never be ticketed for. It’s a very self-serving policy. Do anything to clean up the parks, clean up the streets.” Almost all the youth who use their day center have been ticketed, he added.

“In many situations, it’s discriminatory,” said Gaudreau. “In many situations, it’s by-laws written for homeless people.”

According to a study by researchers at the Université de Montréal, over 15,000 tickets were given out to the homeless in just over two years—and that’s a low estimate.

They also found that 72 per cent

of the homeless and street youth who had been ticketed end up in jail for unpaid fines.

“For many years, it was the principle way police were managing the issue of (the homeless) in public spaces,” said Gaudreau.

Police defend their use of ticketing while acknowledging it’s not a perfect solution.

“The act of giving tickets helps us stop certain homeless people who are participating in certain behaviours (that bother the population),” said Inspector Pierre Cadieux, in charge of the homelessness file for the Montreal police. “We are conscious that criminalization is not the solution, but (ticketing) is necessary to our work. We need to intervene.”

It’s not the first tool police use, Cadieux added, and estimated 80 per cent of police interventions with the

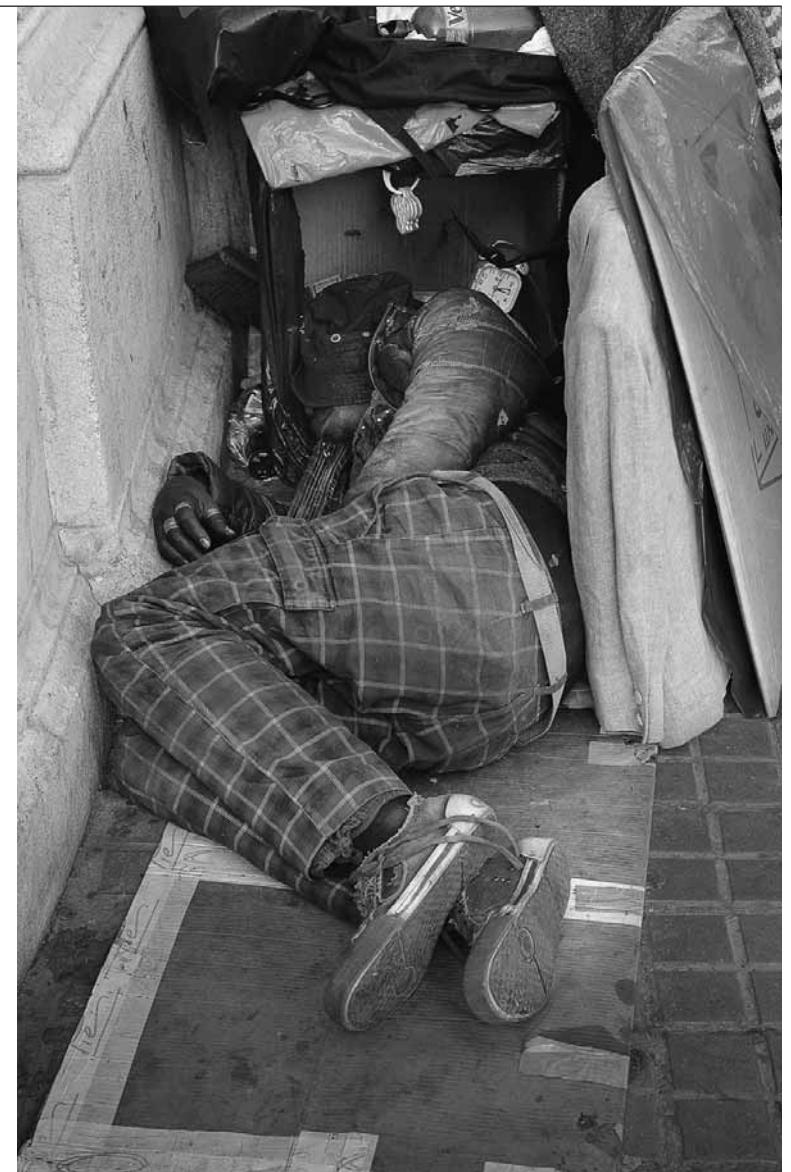
homeless don’t end in ticketing.

“We’re conscious that judiciarisation isn’t best,” he said. “Our first interventions are more humane.” Nonetheless, police have a job to do, Cadieux said. “Our mandate is to harmonize the use of public space.”

Gaudreau doesn’t lay the blame solely on the police. “There’s police action, political action, and then there’s citizen action,” he said, calling on Montrealers to show more tolerance.

The consequences of jailing can be serious.

“Anything would be better than having these people end up in jail,” said Tchitacov. In many cases people who are in the process of reforming their lives—first jobs and apartments, getting the psychiatric care they need—are imprisoned for ticketing debt. “Often, just as they’re



“Let’s give amnesty, let’s look at the laws,” said Gaudreau. “In many situations, the tickets are given on a discriminatory basis. So let’s look at the way we act towards the homeless in the public space.”

getting somewhere, this situation comes back to harm them,” he said.

There’s also the concern that locking up already marginalized people with hardened criminals could push them towards criminal behaviour.

There have, however, been steps in the right direction.

The Quebec Human Rights Commission is reviewing the laws. In May, Montreal’s municipal court designated a special prosecutor to work solely with homeless people facing ticketing debt. A mediation project—Projet EMU—was launched to help resolve disputes between the homeless and Montreal residents.

But none of these solve the

problem itself.

“Let’s give amnesty, let’s look at the laws,” said Gaudreau. “In many situations, the tickets are given on a discriminatory basis. So let’s look at the way we act towards the homeless in the public space. (Ticketing) costs a fortune to society and it doesn’t help anyone.”

Clay Peters, a volunteer with the St. Michael’s Mission, spoke more plainly. “A fucking crying shame,” he called the situation. “It’s pointless. *A*—they don’t have any money. *B*—when they have money they’re not going to use it to pay a ticket. And the thing is, they’ll just find another place to sleep.” ♦

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TICKETING TRASH—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

few little bits of paper in a little plastic grocery bag," said Hustak. "We're talking about a tiny little bag of garbage...not a truckload!"

During a recent press conference, Ville Marie Borough Mayor Benoit

'beautification' fund. Business people continue to be outraged by the borough's severe financial penalties for what many consider to be minor, if not spurious offenses.

Even as 1800 new ashtrays have

residents, Hustak is still not impressed. If he decides to fight the city, the fine, accumulated interest and assorted court fees may end up costing him hundreds of dollars. As matters stand, the city is still waiting

Some 2700 ticketed offences have produced over \$1 million in fines and assorted court fees

Labonté continued to boast about his fight against the borough's litterbugs and promised to carry on with his struggle to clean up the city's downtown core. In the single year since he set up the borough's new anti-garbage programs, some 2700 ticketed offences have produced over \$1 million in fines and assorted court fees which are supposed to provide the revenue for the borough's new

been installed throughout the borough, the borough is also beefing up its anti-litter campaign with a series of ads to be placed on the streets near the borough's metro stations and in its bus shelters. If that doesn't work, police can now give smokers a ticket worth \$125 if they see someone toss a butt on the street.

As one of the borough's tax-paying

for its money because Hustak still wonders why he has to pay \$187 for having put a small bag of garbage into the city's own trash can.

"What kind of person goes around cutting into garbage bags and looking at someone's garbage for a living?" he asked.

Others might wonder as to why the city would want to pay people to do it. ♦



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Isaac Olson



MONTREAL-BASED YOUTH EMPLOYMENT SERVICES (YES) PROGRAM

Funding cuts will behead entrepreneur program

Government funding for a local program dedicated to young entrepreneurs will be cut at the end of August—a move that, according to program officials, will have an economic ripple effect on the region.

"It's going to have a huge impact on the economy of Quebec and I don't say that lightly," said Iris Unger, executive director of the Montreal-based nonprofit called Youth Employment Services (YES). "Right now we have a support system in place—a network—we know what the community's needs are. To arbitrarily make a decision on a political level (to cut funding) doesn't make any sense to me."

In this year alone, the program, which helps give young entrepreneurs the tools they need to jumpstart and maintain a business has helped over 2,000 people, Unger said, and it

has an annual average of 2,800 clients. Through workshops, networking, counseling, mentorship programs, legal advice, financing tips and a gamut of other services, the program is designed to help people cut through Quebec's red tape while at the same time allowing them to see the whole picture of running a business.

With over 700 volunteers, the \$250,000 in government funding is easily matched by unpaid hours, said Unger, noting the wide-range of experts who volunteer their time to help young people learn the ins and outs of business free of charge.

The Canada Economic Development (CED) Agency for the Regions of Quebec, headed by Minister Jean-Pierre Blackburn, has been footing the bill thus far but, come August 31, the government

will be rerouting the money directly to the entrepreneurs in a strategy that has yet to fully materialize, according to Unger, who said YES officials are still waiting to see exactly how CED is planning to use the money effectively. Giving the money directly to the entrepreneurs without proper business tools, she said, is not necessarily going to help anybody.

With the government funding on the chopping block, Unger said the economic effects will be felt throughout the region as young entrepreneurs are left to fend for themselves in the tough world of business—a world where one in 10 new businesses shutdown in the first year of operation.

With a strong network of volunteers and mentors, the program has developed over the years into a superior gateway for new entrepreneurs by providing them not only the counseling and education they need, but also priceless contacts within the community, said Unger. It's a program that has solidified and grown with age, providing not only a launch pad for potential businesses, but also a backbone for growing companies.

people find employment and start businesses, is hosting a petition against the potential cut in funding. The petition, which can be found on the nonprofit's website, has drawn a strong response from the community, according to Unger, who said over 1,400 people have electronically sent their support to Minister Blackburn's office.

"We are the only service of this type in Quebec," said Professor Harold Simpkins, volunteer president of the YES board and senior lecturer of marketing at Concordia's John Molson School of Business. "We provide free English language services to anybody. Nobody is turned away."

According to Simpkins, starting a new business is not easy and people, even with a business degree, often don't take into account the whole picture like market value, competition or demographics. The entrepreneurship program works to change that through things like educational workshops, mentoring and one-on-one counseling. It's a program that, both Simpkins and Unger agree, gives the local economy a helping hand. Virtually all of Canada's employment increases come from small businesses, said Simpkins.

"It's impossible to quantify what would happen if all of sudden these people don't have access to the services we provide," said Simpkins. "But we can be sure that a lot of new businesses would not get started or businesses would get launched and fail because they didn't have the support they need."

YES, a 15-year-old downtown-based program that helps young

businesses fail is people get into them without any idea what business is all about," said Simpkins. "Often, people have a great idea and they start a business up without any assessment of the market. Thomas Edison said 'genius is one per cent inspiration and 99 per cent perspiration.' A lot of budding entrepreneurs really think it's the other way around. They have a big idea and they think it will just take off. It's always the opposite."

YES gives people the tools they need to successfully face the tough world of business, said Unger. They learn how to clear legal hurdles, draw in clients and raise funding. They build networks, learn tricks of the trade and much more. It's a service that is particularly important to the English-speaking clientele that face a language barrier when trying to get a business off the ground in French-speaking Quebec, she said.

"The entrepreneurship program lives or dies with that funding," said Simpkins. "If the CED funding were cut, we would not be able to support these thousands of people every year."

Minister Blackburn's spokesperson was unavailable for comment as of press time. ♦



18-year-olds Melissa McCracken (left) and Jasmyne Ford take advantage of job search tools at Youth Employment Services (YES).

Shedding light on the truth

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GLOBAL VILLAGE



I'Hon. Irwin Cotler

Député fédéral de Mont-Royal et ancien ministre de la Justice, Irwin Cotler est un spécialiste en droits humains

LE GÉNOCIDE—SUITE DE LA PAGE 1

gaz, mais par des mots. Même si on voulait arguer de l'inconstitutionnalité de la législation contre les propos haineux—ce qui serait un argument raisonnable, et il y a eu de fortes opinions dans ce sens—même si on arguait que la réglementation des propos haineux de nature raciste est inacceptable dans une société libre et démocratique, il est crucial de distinguer le cas des propos haineux dans une démocratie du cas de l'incitation à la haine promue par l'État, qui a suscité les génocides de l'Holocauste, des Balkans, et du Rwanda, et dont il est question dans les principes et précédents établis dans la jurisprudence du procès de Nuremberg, au Tribunal pénal international pour l'ex-Yougoslavie au Tribunal international pour le Rwanda, et à la décision de la Cour suprême Canadien dans le cas Mugasera.

Les principes et les précédents établis aux tribunaux internationaux et à la Cour suprême du Canada nous démontrent, que l'incitation au génocide peut nous mener sur la voie du génocide, et que cette incitation constitue une violation des principes et des dispositions de la Convention sur le génocide et du traité pour une Cour pénale internationale interdisant l'incitation directe et publique au génocide.

En ce moment même, nous sommes encore une fois témoins d'une incitation à la haine et au génocide émanant de l'État, dont l'Iran d'Ahamadinejad est l'épicentre. Je vous parle de l'Iran d'Ahamadinejad parce que j'en exclus la population iranienne, qui est elle-même soumise à une répression massive. L'Iran d'Ahamadinejad est devenu le centre nerveux de la convergence toxique de la promotion des crimes les plus odieux, c'est-à-dire le génocide, enchaîné dans la haine la plus virulente, soit l'antisémitisme, symbolisé par l'exhibition, lors d'un défilé dans les rues de Téhéran présidé par Ahamadinejad, d'un missile Shahab-3 de l'armée sur lequel on pouvait lire « Rayons Israël de la carte », avertissant les musulmans qui reconnaissent la

validité de l'existence d'Israël qu'ils vont brûler dans l'*oumma* de l'Islam, et où le président Ahmadinejad nie la réalité de l'Holocauste alors qu'il lance un appel à un *nouvel holocauste* au Moyen-Orient.

Tout cela constitue une « incitation directe et publique au génocide » et contrevient donc aux provisions de la Convention sur le génocide; c'est même, en fait, une attaque contre la charte de l'ONU elle-même, qui prohibe de telles menaces et incitations à la haine.

Mais il ne nous suffit pas de déplorer ces événements dramatiques, ni même d'en tirer des leçons. Il faut passer à la prévention afin de rétablir le respect de la Charte de l'ONU et de lutter contre l'impunité.

Les États parties à la Convention sur le génocide (les « États parties »), comme le Canada, n'ont pas seulement *le droit* mais *le devoir* de la faire respecter, surtout en ce qui concerne la prévention du génocide.

Il faut donc au plus vite procéder comme suit :

Les États-parties doivent saisir les agences des Nations Unies compétentes des incitations criminelles au génocide proférées par le président Ahmadinejad et d'autres dirigeants iraniens. Il est d'ailleurs surprenant que ces incitations n'aient pas encore été portées devant le Conseil de sécurité, l'Assemblée générale de l'ONU, ou tout autre organe ou agence des Nations Unies—bien que ces dernières aient jugé bon de donner au président iranien une tribune.

Les États parties devraient déposer à la Cour internationale de justice une plainte inter-états contre l'Iran pour « incitation directe et publique à commettre le génocide », en violation de la Convention sur les génocides, à laquelle l'Iran est partie.

Le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU devrait saisir le procureur spécial de la CPI des crimes du président Ahmadinejad et d'autres dirigeants iraniens, pour instruction et poursuites judiciaires.

Les États parties devraient dresser des mises en accusation criminelle



Ahamadinejad lance un appel à un nouvel holocauste au Moyen-Orient.

Les principes et les précédents établis aux tribunaux internationaux et à la Cour suprême du Canada nous démontrent que l'incitation au génocide peut nous mener sur la voie du génocide.

du président Ahmadinejad, de l'ancien président Rafsanjani, et

d'autres dirigeants iraniens, en invoquant la « compétence universelle » prévue dans la Convention sur le génocide.

Le Secrétaire général de l'ONU devrait renvoyer le président Ahmadinejad et d'autres dirigeants iraniens devant le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU, pour menaces à la paix et à la sécurité internationales, conformément à l'article 99 de la *Charte des Nations Unies*.

De plus, le président Ahmadinejad et d'autres dirigeants iraniens devraient être inscrits sur la liste de surveillance des pays concernés, pour qu'ils ne puissent pénétrer sur leur territoire. Il est actuellement question de tenir l'Iran responsable de son mépris des résolutions du Conseil de sécurité demandant la suspension de ses activités d'enrichissement de l'uranium. Les moyens de procéder sont multiples.

Il est temps de prendre ces mesures juridiques, ce qui pourrait faire se ressaisir les forces progressistes au sein de la population iranienne, tout en demandant aux individus responsables de rendre des comptes.

Voici l'occasion pour les pays comme les États-Unis et le Canada d'exercer un leadership à l'égard de l'une des plus importantes menaces auxquelles la communauté internationale doit faire face aujourd'hui.

Deuxième leçon :
Le danger des conspirations
du silence et des crimes d'indifférence
La deuxième leçon est le danger des conspirations du silence et des crimes d'indifférence.

En somme, les massacres

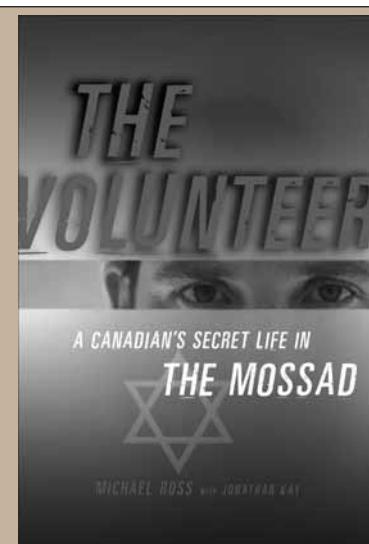
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Many of the operations Ross describes have never before been revealed to the public.

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I'Hon. Irwin Cotler

LE GÉNOCIDE—SUITE DE LA PAGE 13

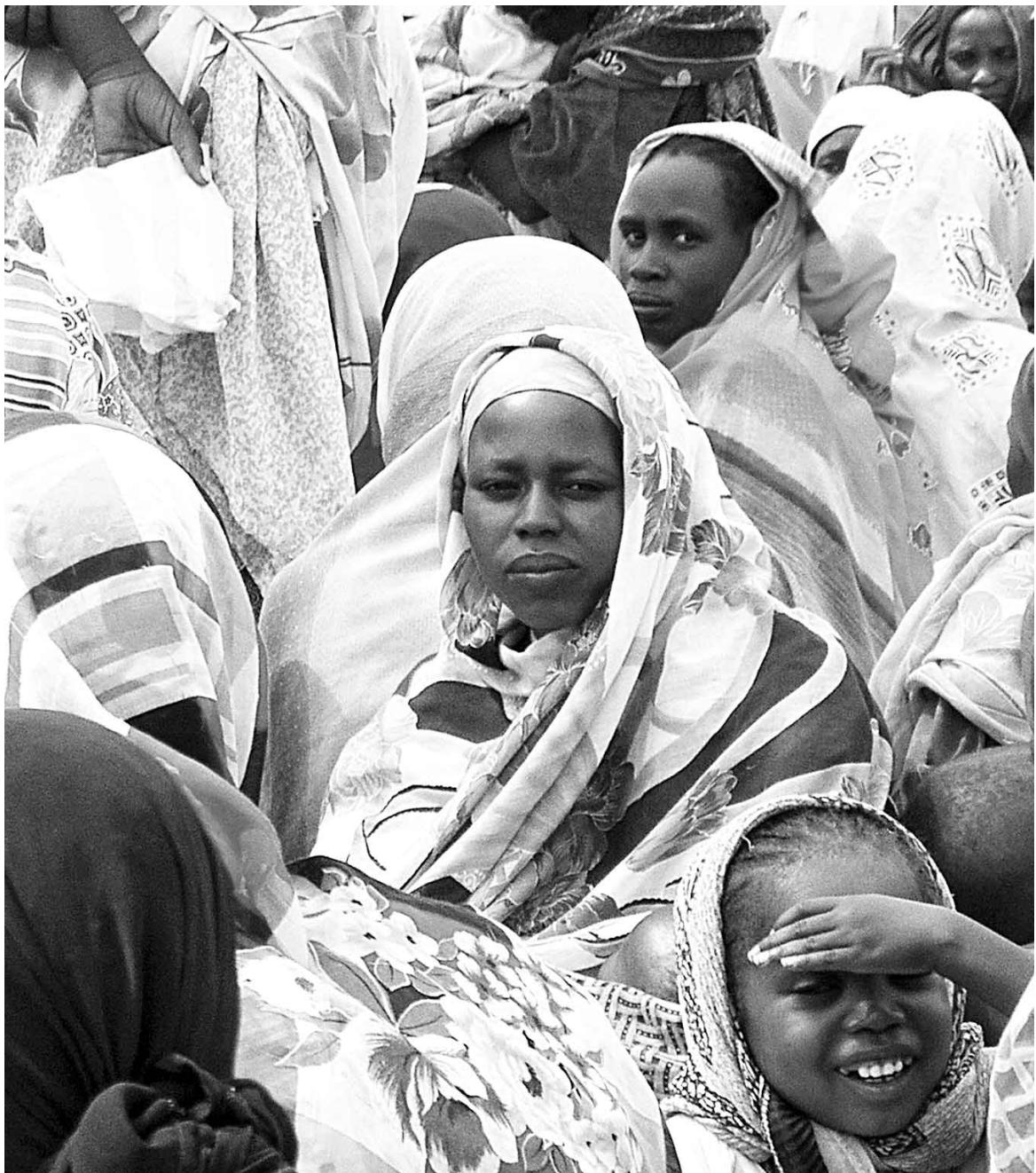
traduits en justice. Il aura fallu l'indignation du monde entier devant les immenses champs de morts des années 1990, l'horreur de la Bosnie, l'agonie du Rwanda, la tragédie des femmes et enfants brutalisés au Sierra Leone et au Soudan, pour insuffler à la Cour pénal international (CPI) l'obligation morale et le sens d'urgence dont elle avait besoin. L'établissement de cette Cour a été l'événement le plus important dans le domaine du droit pénal international depuis Nuremberg. C'est un avertissement à tous les tyrans. Il n'y aura plus de refuge, plus de sanctuaires, pour les ennemis de l'humanité.

Le Canada a joué un rôle de premier plan dans l'établissement de la CPI, et son premier président,

justice les criminels de guerre—mais aussi que nous cherchions à empêcher que ces atrocités se produisent. En fait, c'est tout autant une lapalissade qu'une profonde pensée que de dire que la protection contre les massacres est la prévention des massacres.

Tel est le principe de la responsabilité de prévenir, comme dans le cas d'Ahmadinejad et de l'incitation au génocide promue par l'État d'Iran.

Mais, comme nous l'avons vu, aucun des recours juridiques disponibles n'a encore été invoqué, ce qui conforte l'Iran d'Ahmadinejad dans sa criminalité et favorise une culture de l'impunité. De même, en ce qui concerne le Darfour, nous sommes témoins d'une culture de



De même, en ce qui concerne le Darfour, nous sommes témoins d'une culture de l'impunité scandaleuse.

Philippe Kirsch, est un Canadien. Il revient maintenant au Canada —qui s'est doté de sa propre *Loi sur les crimes de guerre et les crimes contre l'humanité* dans le cadre de l'application du Traité de Rome visant la CPI—de traduire en justice les criminels de guerre, autant au Canada qu'à l'étranger, et de faire de notre loi le pivot de l'édification d'un système de justice international au XXI^e siècle.

Mais la lutte contre l'impunité demande non seulement que nous punissions les auteurs de crimes contre l'humanité—en traduisant en

l'impunité scandaleuse.

Il y a trois ans, la résolution 1593 du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU a renvoyé les atrocités commises à grande échelle au Darfour à la CPI pour fins d'enquêtes et de poursuites.

Il y a un an, la CPI a émis des mandats d'arrestation visant le ministre du gouvernement soudanais Ahmad Haroun et le chef milicien janjawid Ali Kushayb, accusés d'avoir planifié et perpétré des crimes de guerre et des crimes contre l'humanité au Darfour.

Le Soudan a refusé de remettre les accusés et a promu ces deux génoci-

daires à des postes importants du gouvernement, manquant ainsi scandaleusement à ses obligations humanitaires et internationales.

La communauté internationale doit mettre un terme à cette ahurissante culture de l'impunité en rendant plus sévères les sanctions ciblées, les interdictions de voyager, les saisies de biens, les embargos visant les armes, les mesures de désinvestissement, et autres sanctions. La communauté doit également exercer des pressions sur la Chine pour que ce pays mette fin à sa complicité dans des crimes contre l'humanité.

Par conséquent, c'est notre responsabilité de faire tomber ces murs d'indifférence, de déjouer cette conspiration du silence et de l'inaction, de prendre position et de ne pas se dérober, de ne pas regarder autour de nous pour voir si quelqu'un d'autre fait quelque chose avant de décider nous-mêmes d'intervenir; parce que dans le monde dans lequel nous vivons, ils sont plutôt rares ceux qui sont prêts à prendre position, sans même parler d'intervenir, ce qui nous rappelle les paroles d'Edmund Burke : « Le plus sûr moyen de garantir le triomphe du mal dans le monde, c'est de faire en sorte qu'un nombre suffisant de braves gens ne fassent rien ».

Conclusion

Chacun d'entre nous peut jouer un rôle essentiel dans la lutte pour la justice. Chacun de nous peut faire une différence. Chacun de nous a, chaque jour, la capacité de faire quelque chose au nom d'une personne défavorisée ou victime de discrimination. Certains pourraient demander : Quelle différence puis-je faire? Quelle différence est ce qu'une seule personne peut faire?

En réponse, je voudrais vous rappeler l'héritage de deux de nos citoyens honoraux, soit Raoul Wallenberg et Nelson Mandela. Raoul Wallenberg, diplomate suédois qui a sauvé davantage de Juifs durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale que tout gouvernement et qui a indubitablement démontré qu'une seule personne peut faire une différence. Il a fait à lui seul la preuve qu'il est possible de confronter le mal, d'y résister, de le vaincre, et de changer l'histoire. Quant à Nelson Mandela, qui a passé 28 ans dans une prison sud-africaine, il en est sorti pour présider au démantèlement du gouvernement de l'Apartheid et devenir président d'une Afrique du Sud démocratique.

Nous pouvons arrêter, empêcher les tragédies qui ont défini et définissent notre époque. Comme nous le savons tous bien, il ne peut y avoir de paix sans justice, pas de liberté sans droits de la personne, pas de développement durable sans primauté du droit. ♦

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Prof. Thomas Velk is Chair of the North American Studies Program at McGill University. Publius is an unnamed American public official.

Thomas Velk and 'Publius'



US Special Focus

THE CASE FOR COOPERATION AND THE EXTENSION OF CANADIAN NATIONAL INTEREST

Global Conflict and North American Integration

Cooperation with the United States earns Canada economic gains and gives it a discrete national identity. Meaningful cooperation is always possible, but international conflicts that shift the U.S. balance of power toward the executive branch represent unique opportunities for Canada to extend her national interest.

While a particular circumstance may dictate otherwise, a general policy of negative neutrality instead of an active and enthusiastic joining of force with the United States during critical times is based on a fundamental misunderstanding of Canadian history. The familiar story of an inconsistency between American influence and Canadian nationalism profoundly grips our collective political imagination. But the tale is an ideological self-indulgence, not accurate enough to be paid for with the likely sacrifice of national interest consequent upon its being extended to geopolitical conflict.

When we have fought alongside the United States against a common enemy, or when we have simply been a part of a watershed moment in the evolution of our neighbor, the effect upon Canada has been an improvement in our standing in the international community. Each step in our progress from colony to dominion to autonomous nation, and finally to G7 status has been intimately combined with momentous developments in American history. These sudden shifts in our destiny do not take place automatically: they require Canadian leadership capable of grasping the opportunities so suddenly and unexpectedly on offer, so as to awaken our too peaceable and excessively orderly nation from its constitutional sleep, and hurry it along a newly opened path toward

old goals, or even to shift national attention in favor of a changed national destination.

From the 18th Century to the 1930's, European powers typically acted behind the scene, to manipulate Canadian foreign policy in ways to frustrate, confuse and sometimes defeat North American union: the result was the creation and survival of the Canadian nation, although possibly at the price of lowered Canadian income and a slightly more irregular American foreign policy. Nonetheless, we argue that the complex interplay of American crisis and the response of policy makers acting as agents for Canada has a profound importance for Canadian welfare: from our point of view, the cross-border symbiosis is the most important factor in Canadian history.

The present conflict may offer another opportunity for Canadian evolution, but if we fail to act with the urgency required we may sacrifice the purely Canadian gains earned by venturesome acceptance of necessary North American convergence: the costs may include a step backward in Canada's march toward global influence. A direct, unimpeded, immediate and effective decision-making axis running between Ottawa and Washington is decidedly not the norm. In times of peace the many fountains of power, legitimacy, interest, often in conflict with one another, almost always without a common purpose and almost never having a common constituency, dilute or circumvent the focussed national influence Ottawa wishes it could impose on the everyday business of trade and investment.. By blurring the boundaries of command, special-interest directed, multiple-focussed competitive and conflicting

diplomatic voices, all claiming and many possessing a local legitimacy, all demanding significant influence over any proposed change in the established manner in which business is done, suspends Canada in her "normal" peacetime state: inaction. And so it is not merely the asymmetric distribution of economic power within North America that currently keeps Canada frozen as a capital absorber and commodity exporter: Canada's own multiplicity of interested and powerful decision makers could not easily agree upon a strategy to change things, even if they could agree that their local worlds needed the changes that would be subsequent to any shift in national goals.

Only in emergency situations does Ottawa gain the capacity to break out of its blissful suspension. War is one

consolidated military effort. Furthermore, the ever-diminishing economic importance of national boundaries and the insignificance of the costs needed to surmount mere geographic distance make proper diplomatic handling of bilateral relationships imperative if Canada hopes to conserve her preferential American trading status vis à vis potential rivals. Canada, no stranger to commercial diplomatic opportunism (think of our free trade overtures to distant Chile during the time the American President did not have fast-track authority), should recognize the need for a united North American purpose in times when American attention is not distracted, but rather is raised to wartime intensity.

The "peace-maker" nation came of age on the battlefield, and many phases of Canada's maturation as a

At the time, the NAFTA debate consumed Washington and Ottawa and the media was full of dire predictions. In the end, its success has been a model for other attempts to diminish protectionism. Easier access and even price concessions for costly commodities offered by Canada during the current period of instability will pay long term dividends. George W. Bush may suffer from low poll numbers right now, but as an end of term president, he has options unavailable to a President concerned with re-election. He has become the archetypal "energetic executive" who is described by Alexander Hamilton as the unitary actor the US Constitution wisely provides in times of national conflict. Canada will not encounter an American executive more ready to undertake innovative action for

The present conflict may offer another opportunity for Canadian evolution, but if we fail to act with the urgency required we may sacrifice the purely Canadian gains earned by venturesome acceptance of necessary North American convergence

such emergency. But since September 11, Ottawa has neither consolidated its economic influence nor asserted its political power. Instead, Canada's familiar but inconsistent understanding of the proper nature of the North American bilateral relationship has grown increasingly confusing. Neither the bureaucracy nor the cabinet has communicated a coherent interpretation of the Government's view of the proper relationship between Canada's national interest and the international struggle against Terror. This disarray is dangerous and counterproductive.

An opportunity is being lost. Historians have not encountered a Canadian federal government that has grown less powerful in times of

sovereign state are linked to international conflict. The compression of executive power and unitary national action associated with war, particularly global war, enabled Canada to advance from colony to dominion to middle-power. Today's conflict, the first war of the twenty-first century, presents new opportunities for the evolution of Canadian power. Specifically, the War on Terrorism and its attendant diplomacy provides the necessary political cover for Ottawa to circumvent provincial entanglements (in all senses of the term) and maximize the national self-interest years to come.

The geopolitical and economic ambitions of America's enemies can be cut short by North American energy policies that diminish US reliance on OPEC oil. An energy self-sufficient North America (or more realistically, the 'hemispherization' of US petroleum imports) may be an effective long-term strategy to counter the strategies of Mr. Bin Laden. Diminishing the role played by American oil requirements in the equations describing the Middle East's problems may advance the peace process there.

Canada will always have reason to welcome the gratitude of America. We have a chance to earn that gratitude now. Let's not allow the opportunity to pass. ♦

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DEMOCRACY'S DIRTY SECRETS

Third parties, first ideas

As we approach the 2008 U.S. Election, we see many familiar signs. Now that Republican John McCain and Democrat Barack Obama have just about clinched the nomination of their parties, they will be looking to sure up their core supporters, as well as try and appeal to the independent voters who will ultimately decide who the next president of the United

the next president's agenda!

In the United States, there is no mention of political parties in the Constitution. Indeed, when America was founded there were no political parties. In his farewell address in 1796, President George Washington argued that Americans should never organize political parties because he believed they would be too divisive

fact that the media is usually more focused on the two major parties, may hinder the election of third party candidates, but it does not prevent their ideas from becoming popular with the American electorate. The most successful third party in the United States, and to date the only one that has ever elected a president, was the Republican Party. The

The most successful third party in the United States, and to date the only one that has ever elected a president, was the Republican Party. The Republican Party was founded in the 1850s as an anti-slavery third party when the two biggest parties at the time were the Whig Party and the Democratic Party. By 1860, Republican Abraham Lincoln would be elected president.

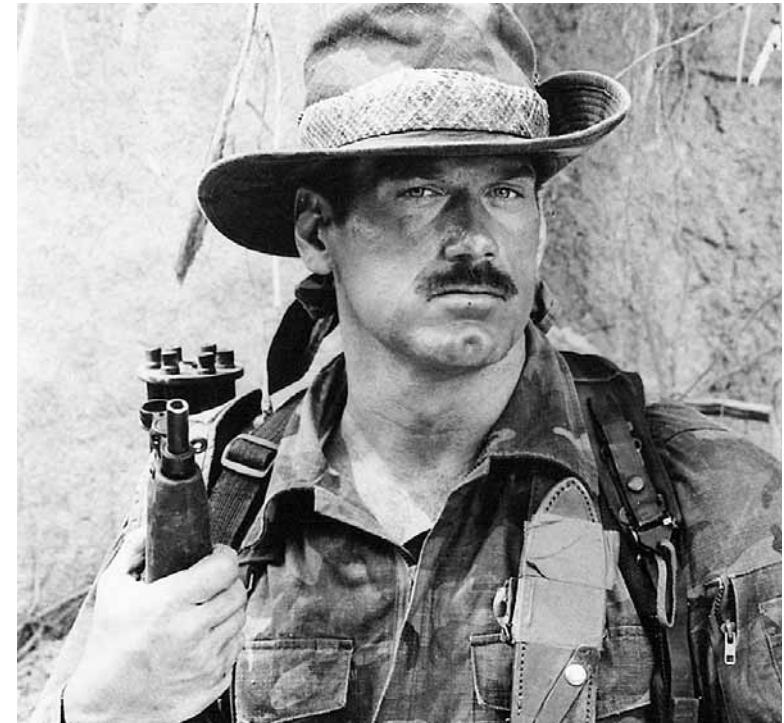
States will be. Yet, the election is about more than just right-wing vs. left-wing and Republican vs. Democrat. Many third party candidates will also contest the election and, if ideas from their platforms are popular with enough voters, they might just make it onto

for the nation, which was still in its experimental stages of democracy. Yet, by the early 1800s parties were beginning to form as a result of the divergent interests that existed naturally in American society.

America's "winner take all" system and various state laws, as well as the

Republican Party was founded in the 1850s as an anti-slavery third party when the two biggest parties at the time were the Whig Party and the Democratic Party. By 1860, Republican Abraham Lincoln would be elected president.

In terms of money and partisan-



Actor and wrestler Jesse Ventura (seen here in a still from the film 'Predator') was elected Governor of Minnesota and was perhaps the most famous and successful third party candidate in recent US history.

ship, it would be harder for this to happen today. Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans would have much to gain by allowing any kind of third party to seriously challenge their control on power. A potential third party candidate would need to have a great deal of money and be running on an issue that could capture the emotions of millions of Americans. However, this does not mean that America is not a vibrant liberal democracy. Rather, while many third party candidates realize they cannot win power, they do realize their platforms can greatly influence the American electoral process. Third party candidate Ross Perot received 20 million votes in the 1992 presidential election. Not only did this prevent the winner of the election, Democrat Bill Clinton, from receiving a majority of the vote, it also ensured that both parties would pay attention to the ideas that Perot brought to the table, such as deficit reduction, which became popular during Clinton's term. Both congressional Democrats in 1993 and later Congressional Republicans in 1997 worked with President Clinton on deficit reduction and spending cuts, which was popular with much of the American public.

Additionally, third party candidates can play a spoiler role. This was most recently seen in the 2000 election between Republican George W. Bush and Democrat Al Gore. Green Party candidate Ralph Nader drained enough support from Gore, especially in key states like Florida, to swing the election for Bush.

Disaffected Republicans and Democrats defend their decision to vote for third parties because while they probably would not ultimately want the other party in power, they are at least temporarily happy with punishing their party for not paying attention to the issues that matter most to them.

The most successful example of a third party candidate in recent history would be former wrestler and Minnesota Governor Jesse Ventura. Ventura was the Reform Party candidate in 1998 and defeated both Republican candidate Norm Coleman and Democratic candidate Hubert Humphrey III. Ventura went on to be one of the most popular governors in the state's history. This shows that third party candidates, who put a great deal of money and effort into their campaigns, even in ones that are not expected to win, can be successful.

Thus, third parties and their candidates can be very influential in shaping American public policy even if they do not actually elect candidates. If enough Americans are enamored by issues that these candidates endorse and they begin to drain enough support away from the two major parties, Republicans and Democrats will take notice. While it is unlikely that we will see a massive shift away from the Republicans and the Democrats in the future, it is important that we take note of the issues that third parties focus on and see how voters react to them. If enough voters respond to these ideas, you can bet Republicans and Democrats will take notice. ♦

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Hubert Villeneuve

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UN APPEL AU RÉALISME

Antiaméricanisme et élections présidentielles

Affirmer que l'hostilité internationale face aux États-Unis fut forte au cours des dernières années relèverait de l'euphémisme. Ce phénomène multiforme a connu depuis la venue au pouvoir de pouvoir de l'administration Bush et, surtout, de l'invasion malheureuse de l'Irak, une immanquable virulence.

Dans certains cas, et particulièrement dans les milieux de la gauche altermondialiste et anticapitaliste, cette opposition ne se contenta pas de critiquer les décisions du gouvernement des États-Unis—chose parfaitement légitime—mais s'attaqua ouvertement à ces nombreux traits constitutifs de la société américaine (présence de la religion, individualisme, attachement au

tives et simplistes sur les États-Unis, interpréter le phénomène Obama comme étant subitement une preuve que « la démocratie américaine n'est pas vouée à être confisquée par une classe politique étroite, financée par des lobbies ». L'activiste bien connue Jane Fonda, qui affirmait en 2003 que les USA n'étaient pas un pays libre en raison de l'ignorance des ses citoyens, compte néanmoins participer au système démocratique « non libre » de son pays pour y appuyer le sénateur de l'Illinois. Même les socialistes latino-américains Daniel Ortega et Hugo Chavez, ce dernier ayant déjà affirmé en 2005 que « l'empire Nord-Américain est la plus grande menace à la vie sur la planète », ont récemment fait des

déclarations qui indiquaient leur appui au candidat démocrate.

Partout dans le monde l'on voit ainsi des gens manifester leur support à un candidat dont le but sera pourtant d'être le premier dirigeant d'une société qu'ils honnissent ouvertement en temps normal. Si le phénomène avait déjà été observé lors de l'élection de Bill Clinton en 1992, son ampleur est ici sans précédent. Non seulement l'afro-américanité de Barack Obama fait de ce dernier l'expiateur des péchés passés de Amérique (esclavage, racisme), mais le candidat démocrate se voit incarner une multitude d'espoirs divers : changement radical dans la politique étrangère américaine, fin de l'influence des

lobbies à Washington, retrait unilatéral d'Irak, mise sur pied d'un État-Providence américain sur les modèles européens, réduction du budget militaire américain...

Le problème est ici que ces espoirs risquent d'être rapidement déçus. Même advenant une victoire convaincante d'Obama accompagnée d'une augmentation de la majorité démocrate au Congrès en novembre, la réalité reprendra rapidement ses droits. Cette réalité est qu'un retrait trop précipité des troupes américaines d'Irak pourrait rapidement causer beaucoup plus de chaos qu'il n'en éliminera, chose dont Obama lui-même est probablement fort conscient en dépit de ses promesses; que la politique étrangère

américaine ne connaîtra probablement pas de bouleversement majeur, hormis bien sûr un certain retour vers le multilateralisme (que même McCain endosse); qu'il sera virtuellement impossible d'éliminer l'influence des lobbies de la culture de Washington; et que l'extension de l'État-Providence américain, notamment l'universalité des soins de santé, sera une tâche difficile qui risque de prendre beaucoup de temps, et de ressources financières.

Ce désenchantement est déjà en branle, telle que l'illustre la récente chronique de Gil Courtemanche dans *Le Devoir* où l'auteur, avec sa condescendance antiaméricaine habituelle, critiquait le candidat démocrate pour son soutien à Israël et les compromis qu'il devra faire afin d'aller rejoindre ces « Blancs, ouvriers, sans éducation » de ces États—Ohio, Virginie ou Kentucky—où l'*« on est sexiste, mais on l'est moins que racistes »*. En somme, il est prévisible que ceux-là même qui investissent présentement Barack Obama de leurs fantasmes malveillants à l'égard d'une Amérique qu'ils ne détestent pas pour ce qu'elle fait, mais bien pour ce qu'elle *est*, se retournent rapidement contre leur présent héros en constatant que celui-ci, si élu, ne changera pas les dynamiques culturelles, politiques et économiques constitutives des États-Unis. ♦

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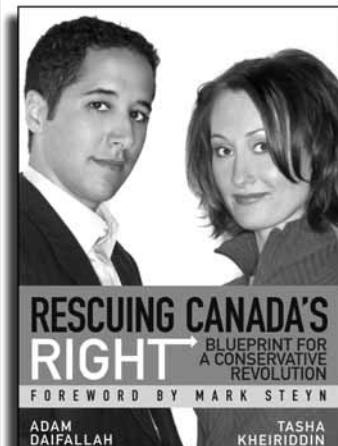
système capitaliste, nationalisme...) que la droite américaine semble particulièrement incarner.

Au Québec comme ailleurs, cette dernière posture s'est manifestée avec une telle régularité dans l'espace public ces dernières années qu'il serait futile autant d'en démontrer la preuve qu'en effectuer le recensement. Que Gil Courtemanche, chroniqueur d'un journal pourtant réputé tel *Le Devoir*, ait déjà pu écrire dans l'indifférence générale que la «société américaine est politiquement inculte et monolithique» est assez révélateur du phénomène.

Il n'est donc pas étonnant que parmi les nombreux effets suscités par les chances désormais très bonnes d'une victoire de Barack Obama en novembre prochain et, plus fondamentalement, de la fin possible de plus de quatre décennies de quasi-domination républicaine, notons ce qui semble être un enthousiasme peu commun pour l'actualité politique américaine venant de milieux et de gens ayant pourtant longtemps proclamé leur hostilité pour l'Amérique et le système politique la régissant.

On voit ainsi le journal français *Le Monde*, dont la ligne éditoriale et les reportages multiplient depuis longtemps les représentations péjora-

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Jean Ouellette

Jean Ouellette est co-éditeur de MERIA, édition française (Middle East Review of International Affairs)

VOIR LES CHOSES POUR CE QU'ELLES SONT

Les réalités propres à Israël

À vingt-quatre heures d'intervalle, au son lugubre des mêmes sirènes qui annoncent la chute probable d'un missile ennemi, les Israéliens, à onze heures du matin, et dans tout le pays, se mettent au garde-à-vous et observent deux minutes de silence. La première alarme marque le souvenir des soldats tombés au combat. La seconde alarme sonne la fin du deuil et le début des réjouissances qui accompagneront, cette année, le soixantième anniversaire d'Israël. Sans transition, comme pour souligner comment la mort et la vie se succèdent d'une génération à l'autre. Une semaine plus tôt, la même sirène avait annoncé le rappel de la Shoah. L'âme de toute une nation s'exprime dans ce rituel qui interrompt, l'espace d'un moment, le bourdonnement de la vie au quotidien.

La fréquentation quotidienne et systématique de certaines analyses que nous offrent nos médias a un prix et l'effet est cumulatif, toxique même. L'arsenal des clichés, des demi-

s'avéraient fondées, justifieraient le processus de délégitimation auxquels s'adonnent volontiers les adversaires de l'État juif.

Mais n'exagérons rien. Des analystes israéliens ont souligné récemment, et avec raison, le ton plus positif que la presse européenne réserve depuis quelques mois au traitement des réalités propres à Israël. Il s'agit là d'un retournement qui tarde, on en conviendra, à se manifester au Québec. Mais les théories et les préjugés les plus tenaces résistent fort bien à l'examen des faits. Les esprits les plus endurcis dans leur rejet d'Israël rétorqueront, quant à eux, que la seule considération objective des faits suffit à saper les bases chancelantes de la propagande mise de l'avant par les défenseurs d'Israël.

Les Israéliens, plutôt que de propagande, préfèrent parler de « hasbarah », un terme à connotation intellectuelle et que l'on pourrait traduire, de façon réductrice et

chef la langue parlée et écrite de la très grande majorité de ses citoyens. Par quel groupe national autre que les Juifs la langue hébraïque fait-elle l'objet d'une revendication? On pourra réclamer des territoires à Israël dans le cadre d'un accord de paix, mais on ne pourra pas exiger des Israéliens qu'ils restituent leur langue en échange de quelque bénéfice que ce soit.

Le caractère juif de l'État d'Israël n'est pas un obstacle à son caractère démocratique et ses habitants ne sentent pas l'obligation de choisir entre ces traits marquants de l'identité israélienne. La réponse des Israéliens, habitués à la controverse, demeure toujours la même : « Nous sommes réels, nous habitons ici et nous resterons ici ». Ni arrogance ni outrecuidance dans cette réplique de l'un des meilleurs analystes de l'actualité moyen-orientale que compte Israël. Il faut plutôt y voir un témoignage de la résilience d'un peuple conscient, certes, de la

mais aussi en connaissance de cause. Cette critique, les Israéliens l'accueilleront volontiers.

Et la puissance attribuée dans nos medias aux lobbys pro-israéliens? Loin de constituer une censure du discours démocratique dans nos pays, ces organisations témoignent précisément des valeurs communes qui unissent Israël aux sociétés qui sont les nôtres. C'est de ce partage de valeurs que les groupes de pression tirent leur efficacité.

La luminescence des paysages de cette terre plusieurs fois millénaire n'apparaît-elle pas comme le reflet annonciateur des avancées technologiques et de la production scientifique, littéraire et artistique d'une société qui a misé sur son capital humain pour se moderniser? Il est permis de rêver à ce que sera demain si la paix, encore à l'état de mirage dans les conférences internationales, devient enfin réalité. On ne trouvera pour ainsi dire pas d'Israéliens qui n'aspirent pas à la

du terme bien avant 1948.

Contrairement au mythe illusoire que continuent de caresser beaucoup d'analystes, le conflit israélo-arabe, dans son noyau le plus dur, n'apparaît pas le résultat de deux nationalismes qui rivalisent pour le contrôle d'une terre, ce qu'il est en partie. On le doit le définir plutôt comme la résultante d'un antagonisme fondamental entre deux conceptions de la vie en société.

Selon l'une de ces deux visions, les Juifs apparaissent comme des usurpateurs infidèles surgis de nulle part pour occuper une terre à vocation essentiellement arabo-musulmane. Dans cette perspective, l'arme du suicide terroriste utilisée contre Israël, même si elle doit mener à la chute d'un régime islamiste en place, est largement sous-estimée dans la presse occidentale. Et vu sous cet angle, le combat que poursuit Israël le propulse au premier rang des puissances engagées dans une lutte à finir contre l'islam radical d'inspira-

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vérités, des insinuations et des accusations ouvertes ou voilées projette l'image d'un pays aux contours flous, irréels, dénaturés par la réprobation universelle des bien-pensants de ce monde. Ghetto juif avec des visées expansionnistes, régime politique s'apparentant à une théocratie, société d'apartheid retranchée derrière une barrière de sécurité que l'on qualifie erronément de « mur de la honte », effets délétères des lobbys pro-israéliens sur la qualité de la vie démocratique des nations où ils exercent leur influence, voilà autant d'accusations qui, si elles

banale, par « explication ». Que faut-il donc expliquer aux esprits réceptifs et soucieux de passer outre aux clichés dont se nourrit une certaine presse moralisante qui ne pardonne pas la faute originelle de l'État juif, sans qu'on la définisse jamais et qui aurait entaché toutes les réalisations à venir de ce jeune État imaginé et reconstruit par un peuple dont les origines remontent à la nuit des temps? Mais à quoi tient donc le caractère juif de l'État d'Israël?

Au risque de choquer ceux qui entretiennent une vision trop théologique d'Israël, il faut citer au premier

fragilité de son existence dans un environnement géopolitique hostile mais confiant aussi dans la force qu'il puise dans son attachement aux valeurs de liberté. Valeurs communes, peut-on dire, « shared values » voilà la découverte qui attend le visiteur québécois qui acceptera, comme tant d'autres, de se mettre en mode de découverte de l'image de l'autre moi que peut lui renvoyer l'interlocuteur israélien. Il pourra alors rabaisser le doigt accusateur qui étouffe et rend caduque la critique honnête, celle qui est faite non seulement de bonne foi,

paix .Mais on en découvrira peu pour qui les négociations en cours changeront quoi que ce soit à la réalité *on the ground* et dans un avenir rapproché. Conviction que partagent aussi des représentants de la gauche, comme en témoigne le récent ouvrage de Benny Morris sur la guerre de 1948. Cet historien qualifié de révisionniste, mais partisan des politiques de gauche, affiche son pessimisme quant à la résolution prochaine du conflit israélo-palestinien. Pour lui, comme pour d'autres avant lui, le conflit s'est islamisé au sens jihadiste

tion jihadiste. En vertu des accords d'Oslo, l'Autorité palestinienne, en reconnaissant *de jure* l'existence de l'État d'Israël, semblait avoir pris ses distances par rapport à cette logique de violence suicidaire. Aujourd'hui, la seule présence à Gaza d'un gouvernement contrôlé par le Hamas et soutenu par l'Iran fragilise, pour employer un euphémisme, la direction de l'Autorité palestinienne et compromet l'avènement d'un État palestinien .De là à regretter le peu d'enthousiasme démontré par Israël au moment où l'option jordanienne envisagée par le roi Hussein aurait pu être viable, il n'y a qu'un pas et il a été franchi lors des fêtes de l'Indépendance de l'État hébreu par le Président Shimon Peres lui-même. Dans une entrevue accordée au Jerusalem Post, il se surprit à évoquer non sans nostalgie l'option jordanienne dont on peut affirmer qu'elle représente une occasion sans doute ratée à jamais.

À cette vision pessimiste, on peut et on doit quand même opposer la réalité concrète et palpable des accords de paix (froide) qui unissent Israël à l'Égypte et à la Jordanie et l'émergence, dans la presse arabe, de courants de pensée qui ne sont pas étrangers aux valeurs communes défendues en Israël et dans nos sociétés. Mais l'Iran continuera de se situer du côté sombre du tableau, pour les uns et pour les autres. ♦

FATAL GREED

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On January 29th in the North Waziristan region of Pakistan, the commander of Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda terror network in Afghanistan, Abu Laith al-Libi, was killed by a US missile strike launched from what was believed to be an MQ-1 Predator, an Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV).

Libi, who was No 5 on the Central Intelligence Agencies' most wanted

missiles at the target.

The MQ-1 Predator is a long-endurance, remotely piloted aircraft with the primary mission of conducting surveillance operations and armed reconnaissance against targets.

The reality of modern warfare is not much different from that of the days of old. That is, to kill and not be killed. The attitude is the same, it's the

UAVs: Changing the face of modern warfare

attack. Most importantly, there is no risk of death or capture to a human crew, which are necessary to pilot, navigate and target in a conventional manned aircraft. Also, at a price tag of \$4.5 million each, the 27-foot-long Predator, powered by a 101 horsepower engine, is much cheaper and smaller than manned aircraft, some costing hundreds of millions of dollars.

Ever since Predators were first deployed for reconnaissance and surveillance operations by the US military during the 1995 civil war in Bosnia, they have become an integral piece of military hardware not only for the US military and the CIA; they are also used by the Italian Air Force, the Royal Air Force, the Pakistan Air Force and others. Presently, there are

thousands in use. Their importance can be realized by the fact that in the 2008 fiscal year, the US Defence Department has a \$15 billion budget just for unmanned systems.

Drones are not only being used in combat situations, but will soon be in use along the 8,890 kilometre US-Canada borders. The US Customs and Border Protection agency will use

The increased use of Predators and other types of UAV's (or drones as they are also referred to) are the creation of modern warfare and are presently in use by the CIA and the United States military in both Iraq and Afghanistan.

list, (which has bin Laden at its top) was in a compound with 12 other al-Qaeda militants when the Predator's laser-guided, Hellfire missile struck.

According to Pakistani intelligence officials, al-Libi, and his acquaintances, were using satellite phones and a computer when the missile was launched at the compound in which they died. It was allegedly the signals from these electronic devices that the Predator honed in on to aim its

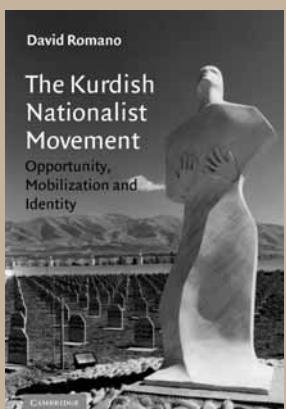
means of reaching that goal that is changing. The increased use of Predators and other types of UAV's (or drones as they are also referred to) are the creation of modern warfare and are presently in use by the CIA and the United States military in both Iraq and Afghanistan.

Given that a Predator is very unobtrusive and the Hellfire missiles that it carries are supersonic, such a combination gives little warning of



Drone Country. Members of the Afghan Border Patrol Quick Reaction Force patrol along the uninhabited Afghanistan-Pakistan border. Patrolling this border region is extremely difficult for vehicles and men because of the mountainous terrain, where the enemy frequently waits in ambush. Drones are needed in this area to give patrolmen an eye in the sky. The Pakistan border, where the brunt of the enemy comes into Afghanistan, is just 1.5 kilometres in the distance (photo by Robert J. Galbraith).

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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them to prevent acts of terrorism arising from unlawful movement of people and to track illegal drugs and other contraband moving toward or crossing the borders. Canada has initiated a research and acquisition program into its own drone patrols which will also soon be flying along the border.

The new era in aerial warfare and surveillance is here to stay, and it is advancing by technological leaps and bounds. UAV's are aircraft that can fly continuously for 30 hours without refuelling, in the worst weather, over the harshest terrain found on the earth, while keeping an eye on all that goes on below. Welcome to the future—where the eye in the sky never sleeps. ♦

L'ÉCONOMIE

Robert Presser

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MONTREAL'S NEW TRANSIT PLAN

We'll get what we vote for

Compared to many North American cities, Montreal is an easy place to own a car. Insurance rates are relatively low, our traffic congestion problems, although growing, are not at the levels of New York, Los Angeles, Atlanta or Toronto. The baby boomer generation can remember driving downtown and finding street parking with ease; today, the parking is still available, though we are paying for it at expensive rates.

Montreal is also a great city for mass transit, provided that you live in the core of the city with nearby access to the Metro system and its complementary array of bus routes. If you live in the outlying suburbs or off island, the services are more sparse and not as well integrated as they should be, but still better than conditions in many suburban sprawls across the continent where there is no service beyond the occasional commuter rail line.

So what are we getting out of this 20-year, 8 billion dollar plan? The truth is that we are playing catch-up after years of thin municipal and provincial budgets which had no money for infrastructure investment and not enough for transportation system maintenance. Not only are we seeking to get long delayed projects off the ground (Highway 30, the train to Mascouche, Notre Dame, Cavendish) but also to undertake critical repair projects like the replacement of the Turcot interchange.

My interest in this plan is political; how you fare under this plan depends on where you live on and off the island of Montreal, and whether or not your municipality voted for demerger or not. The priorities that have been set reflect electoral realities of the Montreal region and the importance of swing ridings at the provincial and federal levels off the island. Let's look at several regions around Montreal and analyze the current plan and how people are likely to be impacted once the construction work gets underway.

The West Island: relative losers

One has to pity the demerged West Island suburbs. They pay high taxes on their homes, given the large plots of land relative to more urban dwellers. Planners continue to add to traffic congestion by authorizing more subdivisions with each passing year, increasing the strain on the feeder north-south arteries and highway 40.

So what are West Islanders getting out of this deal? Answer: very little. For road traffic, there will be some expansion of highway 40's service

road between St-Charles and the western tip of the island. The Cote de Liesse/highway 20 interchange is being redesigned, but the primary objective of this work was to facilitate access to the airport, not improve the lives of commuters. Upgrades on the 40 between highways 13 and 15 will ultimately not improve traffic flow because of the bottlenecks at the junction with the Decarie Expressway and the overloading of the elevated section of the Metropolitan between the two highway 15s. Unless Montreal is planning an elevated or subterranean link between the Decarie and the 15 north of the Met, the crawling traffic along the 40 will continue indefinitely. No such link is detailed in the Transportation Plan.

There are some arterial improvements for West Islanders, including the extension of Jacques-Bizard Boulevard south to the 40 and the replacement of the tiny bridge serving Ile-Bizard. The effect of this improvement will allow Ile-Bizard commuters to join the congestion on the 40 a few minutes more quickly than the current arrangement. Pierrefonds Boulevard will be extended west, and a new north-south boulevard will be created between it and the 40. Along with the connection of the two Morgan Boulevards further west, this will open up lots more potential land for residential expansion; developers will love it! However, if I was a current West Island commuter, or a potential buyer in these emerging subdivisions, I would hope for new salvation.

So where is the mass transit relief for the West Island? The dream of the Doney Spur is nowhere to be found in the Transportation Plan. For those unfamiliar with the Doney Spur, it is a run of abandoned CN industrial rail that branches off the Montreal-Deux Montagnes commuter train line in St-Laurent and runs west between the 40 and Hymus Boulevard all the way out to Pointe Claire. According to a January 10th article in the Gazette, there is a committee composed of three level of governments and the airport authority to find a way to combine this spur with a rapid rail link to the airport, resulting in a dedicated commuter line out towards Ste-Anne de Bellevue. This project would provide badly needed relief for West Island motorists heading downtown. The part about the rail link to the airport made it into the Transportation Plan; the discussion of the Doney Spur did not. Buy why? One can only conclude that West Islanders themselves are not a priority.

The West Island ridings typically vote Liberal, both provincially and



The Mayor of Montreal came back from Paris impressed with tram service, so that's what we're going to get all across central Montreal. There is good and bad in this plan: the circuit comprising Old Montreal, Downtown and a revitalized Griffintown makes sense, since the streets are wide enough to accommodate a bi-directional tram track system without snarling the surrounding traffic with which the system must share the road surface. No surprise that the City of Montreal gets the showcase project of the transportation plan.

federally. The last time the Tories won elections in the area was 1988. There is little enticement for the provincial Liberals to shower money over people who are currently voting for them in great numbers. Municipally, these people are on their own, having liberated themselves from Montreal with the exception of Saint-Laurent (you

know, where the AIRPORT is). So, getting to the airport is important for all; fixing the 40 as far west as the 13 is important for all; going past the 13 for mass transit? Not so much. The bus depot at Fairview will have to do for now, along with the 7 commuter trains that run in the morning to downtown (yes, count'em, seven!). The greatest upheaval for West

Islanders is still in the future; the extension of the 440 across Ile-Bizard in the form of a highway or an "urban boulevard", otherwise known as something that can be converted into a highway at a later date. Readers may recall that there were great protests a few years back when this plan was floated; however, the seeds are sown in the current

Transportation Plan. The un-named boulevard running north from the 40 to Pierrefonds Boulevard, coupled with the mini-bridge between Ille-Bizard and Laval (for pedestrians and emergency vehicles only, for now) are the foundations for this future project. West Islanders, you have been warned!

Central suburbs:

Short term losers, eventual winners

Much has been said about the extension of Cavendish Boulevard for the past 40 years; the longstanding opposition of Cote St-Luc to any direct link made this project a non-starter for over three decades. The flooding of the Cavendish rail underpass a few years ago demonstrated the dangers of having a community of 20,000 people with only two viable connections to the rest of Montreal, one being via Cavendish south and the other via a minuscule underpass at Westminster.

When the suburbs of Cote St. Luc, Hampstead, Montreal West, Saint Laurent and Town of Mount Royal became boroughs of the City of Montreal, there was cooperation on this file and an indirect link was proposed that would combine Cavendish north with Royalmount Avenue in the TMR industrial sector, Cavendish South in Cote St. Luc and offshoots to Jean Talon and a redeveloped Hippodrome de Montreal site. Smiles all around, an engineering office was opened, and the link was planned to be complete by 2012.

Now we are told that only a truncated section will go ahead for now; the link between Cavendish north and Royalmount Ave. The demerged suburbs of Hampstead, Cote St. Luc and Montreal West will not get access to highway 40 and the resulting emergency escape route. We have been informed that completing the entire project would be too expensive, at \$140 million. But extending the Blue Line Metro further east for \$700 million is a real bargain, relative to the number of users and the impact on the overall transportation efficiency of Montreal? Can you see the problem here?

When western borough votes were going to have an impact on City of Montreal politics, their transportation needs were a priority. Recall that the original Cavendish link would also have benefitted West Island commuters seeking to avoid the Decarie Circle. So now, diverting funding away from Cavendish inconveniences the demerged central and western suburbs at the same time. As for their political representation at the provincial and federal

levels, these central Montreal Liberal ridings have little clout when compared with the swing ridings of Laval and the north shore (more on that later).

The short-term connection of Cavendish to Royalmount will result in complete gridlock in the TMR industrial park as drivers seek to avoid the congestion on the 40. If Royalmount is destined to become a boulevard like Thimens in Saint Laurent, then land will have to be expropriated on both sides of the road to create extra lanes. I do not believe that anyone has told the real estate owners along Royalmount about this eventuality, nor is TMR likely to be pleased that their new project to turn the industrial park into a home design center is going to have a mini-highway running through it.

Why are these municipalities winners in the long run? Mismanagement of another transportation megaproject will deliver them salvation. I am expecting the disastrous replacement of the Turcot interchange to create commuting havoc on the Island of Montreal. Business leaders will demand that Montreal relieve pressures on the Decarie and the 20 while the work is going on. An obvious solution would be to open up Cavendish with a direct link, the configuration that had been opposed by Cote St. Luc since the beginning. The opening of a direct link will start innocently enough, with emergency commuter bus service leaving from Fairview or Place Cote Vertu, running through temporary rights of way across the CN yards all the way down Cavendish into Lasalle to the Agrignon Metro Station. This temporary service will work so well, and the Turcot work will be so seriously delayed, that an expedited construction schedule will be authorized via emergency funding to get Cavendish built as quickly as possible. Watch for this scenario to emerge somewhere between 2011 and 2013.

In the end, Cote St. Luc, Hampstead and Montreal West will have quick access to the 40 to the north and bus service to the metro line in the south. Ironically, if the Cavendish extension is built with a direct link, then this boulevard is wide enough to accommodate a tram line starting in the West Island on the Doney Spur, connecting to a transportation hub in St. Laurent and then running down Cavendish to the Metro. If only these municipalities had the political clout to make it happen!

The City of Montreal: big tram winner!

The Mayor of Montreal came back from Paris impressed with tram service, so that's what we're going to get all across central Montreal. There is good and bad in this plan; the circuit comprising Old Montreal, Downtown and a revitalized Griffintown makes sense, since the streets are wide enough to accommodate a bidirectional tram track system without snarling the surrounding traffic with which the system must share the road surface. No surprise that the City of Montreal gets the showcase project of the transportation plan.

The tram on Park Avenue makes less sense; there is simply not enough width along Park in order to accommodate a bidirectional track set and leave room for meaningful car traffic. There would be less than one lane left on each side, which means either no parking at all or reducing the sidewalk width to a sliver to accommodate one lane of traffic plus parking in each direction. The merchants of Park Avenue must be aware of this imminent danger to their livelihoods and should begin protesting now. Imagine what would happen to St. Urbain and Saint Laurent if those streets were forced to absorb all the traffic pushed off of Park Avenue; all three streets would be overwhelmed with traffic and the Plateau would suffer greatly as a result.

There is a compromise, through the route could be electrified and electric buses could be run on Park, sharing the road with cars as they do now. If a decision was made later on to lay track, then the electrification would already be in place. This is a reasonably-priced, environmentally attractive alternative, but not one that is politically sexy to the mayor's office, so don't expect it to get much traction at city hall.

Other expensive goodies doled out to the City of Montreal include the extension of the Blue Line of the Metro to Pie-IX, since, as Montreal's Chamber of Commerce points out, 70% of Montreal's workers come from the east. This is a very expensive undertaking that is estimated to cost \$700 million; can we trust that estimate after the cost over-runs that befell the Orange Line extension to Laval?

That was a political gift to the swing ridings of Laval in the same fashion that this eastward Metro expansion is an offering to the voters of east-end Montreal.

The Metro line not being enough, east-enders are also getting the long-promised Train de l'Est, 51 kilometers of rail line extension that

will go all the way across the northeastern sector of the island, reaching Repentigny and then Mascouche. All three levels of government are in favor of this link, not only because it is necessary but because it also serves swing ridings and districts along the way. No politician at any level of government would oppose this segment of the project. My question is; was there a way to use this new train line in conjunction with improved surface transport to avoid the Metro Blue Line extension? The answer is probably yes; but we are only likely to ask the question once the price tag for the Metro line extension hits \$1.2 billion at completion (more or less).

The City of Montreal also gets the lion's share of the expensive projects planning for imminent undertaking, like the redesign of Notre Dame street, conversion of the Bonaventure into an urban boulevard, and notably, the creation of Rodolphe-Forget Boulevard between Henri-Bourassa and Sherbrooke st., a present to east-end developers and commuters alike. Of course, the extension of Highway 25 across the back river will go ahead, since Laval voters want it badly.

Conclusion: you get what you can vote for
Western Montrealers should console themselves with fact that at least the extension of Highway 30 will get

some of the heavy truck traffic off of the 40 and make travelling along that route, the Decarie Expressway and the Metropolitan more tolerable. They still, however, are not getting the Doney Spur and the full Cavendish projects in the current plan as announced, which would really make a difference in their lives.

I have a feeling that Montreal area politicians believe that the wealthier residents of the West Island are a lot less likely to be enticed out of their cars by improved mass transit, so why spend the money on them? If the Montreal Transportation Plan, so favorable to the City of Montreal and those to the north, is successful then indeed there will be more room on the road for those from western Montreal.

As the project moves forward over the next 20 years, there are bound to be cost over-runs, engineering problems, and funding shortfalls. If western Montrealers are going to hold on to the segments of the plan that have already been offered to them when these challenges arise, then they had better increase their political activity to lobby all levels of government to pay attention to their needs. Otherwise, the western transportation map of Montreal may evolve little, and disappoint many, in the decades to come. ♦



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SOCIETY



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CONTRE LES REPLIS IDENTITAIRES : LA CULTURE

Nationalisme et sclérose culturelle

En cette terre d'Amérique, être francophone d'expression revient à être dans la minorité et cela représente un euphémisme. De descendance majoritairement catholique, nous sommes un peu moins minoritaire en Amérique du Nord mais nous demeurons tout de même minoritaire. Face à la culture anglo-saxonne, nous sommes définitivement un îlot de différence dans une mer de soi-disant conformité.

Cette situation a permis l'émergence d'une attitude défensive et le réflexe de la minorité, le tout ayant été accentué par la libéralisation des échanges, de la mobilité de la main d'œuvre et du capital. Face à Madonna, on tend à croire que nos œuvres folkloriques vont disparaître. Face à McDonalds, on s'imagine un monde où tout le monde ne mange que des BigMacs. Face à Hollywood, on entrevoit la fin du cinéma Québécois. Face aux médias de masse, on discerne la relégation aux oubliettes d'œuvres comme les *Fous de Bassan* d'Anne Hébert. Les oiseaux de malheur affirment pressentir la damnation de ce qui nous distingue de cet océan anglo-saxon qui nous entoure.

Faut-il les prendre au sérieux?

Absolument pas!

Premièrement, définissons une culture comme l'esprit d'une société qui découle des relations entre individus. Le discours apocalyptique des oiseaux de malheur ne repose sur rien de plus que de la peur et d'une vision statique d'une culture et donc de la société en quelque sorte. Dans un ton apologiste et nostalgique, ils évoquent l'idée d'une société idyllique sortie sans ambages de nos livres d'histoire. Ils s'imaginent une société qui conserve au travers du temps les mêmes caractéristiques et qui évoluent en vase clos. Tout ce qui viendrait perturber cette culture est vu comme dérangeant voire dangereux. Il faut donc, dans l'esprit de nos oiseaux de malheur, protéger notre identité au moyen d'interventions protectionnistes, limiter les choix culturels à l'identité nationale, de restreindre l'immigration pour éviter l'émasculation culturelle. Mais ces moyens que proposent nos oiseaux de malheur vont mener à une société intolérante, fermée d'esprit, sclérosée, moribonde voire xénophobe. Sans dire qu'il est impossible d'affirmer son identité à une société donnée ou à une communauté quelconque, il faut

comprendre que l'étatisation, ou même la nationalisation, d'une culture est une menace à l'établissement d'une société libre et ouverte.

Une société n'est pas une image figée dans le temps, c'est le résultat d'une évolution qui continuera d'évoluer au travers des relations avec d'autres sociétés aux traits culturels différents. Il est vrai que certaines cultures locales disparaissent, mais globalement l'individu est confronté à de plus en plus de choix culturels au travers de la mondialisation qui permet à des cultures différentes de coexister. Qui aurait pu parler de syncrétisme religieux il y a 100 ans? Qui aurait pu imaginer que le marché Jean-Talon contiendrait des produits de partout à travers le monde? Qui aurait pu imaginer que les candidats au doctorat aux États-Unis seraient originaires d'Asie à plus de 50%? Qui aurait pu imaginer que la musique deviendrait la passion de la classe moyenne chinoise émergente? Qui aurait cru que Bollywood et Hollywood passeraient des contrats ensemble un jour? Qui aurait pu croire qu'un individu pourrait avoir pour amis des juifs, des musulmans, des protestants et des catholiques et

prendre un verre avec tous en même temps? Qui aurait cru que les œuvres d'arts africaines deviendraient une denrée prisée par tous les philanthropistes du monde? Maintenant, un individu peut, grâce à la multiplication des relations culturelles permises par la mondialisation, choisir parmi une gamme infinie de différences. Ses choix n'impliquent pas l'adoption complète d'une autre culture. Après tout, on n'a pas besoin d'être russe ou de devenir russe parce qu'on apprécie la pensée derrière des œuvres aussi monumentales que le Docteur Zhivago, Une journée dans la vie d'Ivan Denisovich, Guerre et Paix, la Vénitienne et Casse-Noisettes. C'est face à cette palette de choix immense qu'il peut se découvrir plus en profondeur et chercher par lui-même les points de repères qu'il veut se dessiner.

En opposition à cette société ouverte, on retrouve la société de nos apologistes nostalgiques d'une identité révolue. Dans leur besoin de se défendre et d'affirmer leur identité nationale, ils veulent protéger leur culture (et non pas encourager la culture en général) au travers de l'intervention de l'État.

Au travers de celui-ci, une culture se rigidifie, perd sa liberté et devient un tout très subjectif qu'on prend tel quel et donc il est impossible de rejeter ne serait-ce qu'une mince partie. Les apologistes de cette société deviendront très agressifs à l'égard de tout ce qui menace leur idée très répugnante de la société. Les individus qui ne se reconnaissent pas dans cette culture ne peuvent affirmer librement leur différence et se verront contraints de se taire ou de s'exiler. Avec le temps, cette culture perdra de sa splendeur relativement aux autres cultures et les quelques aventuriers qui se seront exilés n'auront été que le début d'une vague.

Ce que les apologistes de la tradition, de l'identité traditionnelles ou même les habitués au réflexe défensif doivent comprendre qu'une société n'a pas besoin de bureaucraties, de police ou d'agents de douane pour la protéger. Elle a besoin d'individus libres de faire des choix culturels, elle a besoin d'échange avec les autres cultures. Au travers des choix des individus, cette société sera sans cesse en mouvement et jamais ne cessera de se redéfinir. ♫

ARTS & STYLE

Alidor Aucoin

RICKY BLUE: QUEBEC'S HOTTEST PLAYWRIGHT IN EITHER LANGUAGE

Hot Blues

With two of his stage plays opening on the straw hat circuit one week apart this month, Ricky Blue is suddenly Quebec's hottest playwright in either language.

Best known for 30 years as half of the Bowser and Blue comedy duo, Blue's first original comedy, *Campbell's Sutra*, opened Thursday (July 10) at the Hudson Village Playhouse.

His musical, *Let's Be Frank*, about a Frank Sinatra impersonator, begins its run at Théâtre Lac Brome in Knowlton July 17.

"I could become the Michel Tremblay of English-speaking Quebec, who knows?" Blue says

with a chuckle referring to the only other Quebec playwright to have had two shows running simultaneously. "You can't plan anything like this." Blue, who will be 62 in September

was the son of a G.I. born in Liverpool after the end of the Second World War. He was 3 when he came to America and bounced around the United States and Canada until he settled in Montreal with his mother when he was 13. After graduating from Concordia University with a master's degree in creative literature. He had hoped to be a novelist, and to support himself as a writer, started singing in an Irish pub in 1978 with Bowser. Blue, who writes a column

for The Suburban, didn't start thinking about writing plays until Centaur's artistic director Gordon McCall invited him to write The Paris of America as a theatre fundraiser five years ago.

Blue wrote the script based on his MA thesis of the same name for the Centaur.

"Because of that experience I became fascinated with storytelling, especially telling stories on stage within a single setting," he said. "It's an interesting discipline. That was kind of a new thing for me." Blue then penned *Campbell's Sutra*, which he describes as "a juicy Scottish-Canadian sex comedy." It

was work shopped as a reading last year, and was so well received the Hudson Village Theatre agreed to produce it as part of its summer season this year.

"It could be played as a farce. I like farce and see it as a farce, but I think Hudson is going to do it fairly straight. The jokes are still there, and sometimes dead pan is the best delivery." Blue's other show was especially written for pianist Nicholas Pynes, Théâtre Lac Brome's producer, who wanted an opportunity to do some Sinatra classics.

"My mother was a huge Sinatra fan, so I grew up with the music," says Blue.

"I didn't want to do Sinatra the life story, so I came up with this quirky little story about a Frank Sinatra imitator who through some mystical weirdness starts to think he's Sinatra."

"The songs start to take over his life. There's a classy romance to the whole thing, an elegance, a kind of world that no longer exists." In addition to the two original plays, Blue is also performing with his sidekick Bowser as well as the Gazette's cartoonist, Terry Aslin Mosher and columnist Josh Freed in a satirical revue, *The 25th Century Belongs to Canada*. It's a sequel to their last year's successful political cabaret, *Four Anglos of the Apocalypse*. ♫

Openings

Alidor Aucoin

YVES SAINT LAURENT RETROSPECTIVE AT THE MONTREAL MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Couture as art

Death can sometimes be a good career move for an artist. Yves Saint Laurent is a case in point. Before he died on June 1, Saint Laurent was considered a brilliant, influential designer whose career in recent years stood still as he wasted his enormous talent on cocaine and alcohol.

But after his death, attendance at the retrospective of 145 of his outfits at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts picked up. To date, more than 30,000 have visited the exhibition in the Michael and Renata Hornstein Pavilion.

Saint Laurent, who produced his first collection in 1957 when he was 17, took the reins of the House of Dior at 21, and opened his own house in 1962 brought haute couture out of a rut.

He once defined a dress as "a scenario, a story," and, as this show demonstrates, his clothing was not only technical, but sexual.

An art gallery seems an odd place for a retrospective of a fashion designer's work, but the MMFA makes a persuasive case that Yves Saint Laurent was an artist who

found raw material for his imagination in works by Braque, Mondrian, Picasso, Bonnard or Matisse.

His sense of colour seems to derive more from painting than fashion.

"He was one of the 20th century's great couturiers, and his creations are things of great beauty," explained MMFA director, Nathalie Bodil. "He appropriated masculine codes of dress, creating a wardrobe for modern women who were stepping out of traditional roles. This was in stark contrast to the notion of dressing women as Barbie dolls. His inspiration was nurtured by a beautiful soul." Saint Laurent was homosexual, but he adored women and his garments were conceived directly on a woman's body resulting in stunning fashion that made them even more attractive to men.

It's a remarkable and timely show, the first since the Costume Institute of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art staged a retrospective of his work in 1983.

Everything is there: the phallic wedding dress, the designer's favourite smocks in their infinite

lengths, his elegant evening gowns, marinière blazer pant, trenchcoat, shawl, ruffled blouses, poncho cloaks and gypsy skirts and white jerseys with Mondrian bands of colour.

The exhibition space is divided into four categories: The Stroke of a Pencil, a collection of the designer's sketches; The YSL Revolution, which shows how he used men's fashion as an influence in his designs for women; The Palette, which highlights his use of fabric and colour; and Lyrical Sources, a showcase of his artistic influences.

Saint Laurent often said there are three kinds of fashion designers in the world: those who work honestly at their metier, but who are dull; those who turn out Mickey Mouse fashion, and Les grands, those who produce and influence fashion. Clearly, he considered himself, along with Chanel and Balenciaga, as one of Les Grands.

The glowing exhibition of his work at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts leaves no doubt in anyone's mind that he was.



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Louise Labrecque Lu

Omaha Beach
(un oratorio)
Catherine Mavrikakis
Ed. Héliotope 2008
124 pages

6 juin 1944. Omaha Beach, Omaha « la sanglante », est l'une des cinq plages du débarquement de Normandie, lors de la Seconde guerre mondiale. Le jour J, *Bloody Omaha* sera le lieu des plus lourdes pertes américaines.

C'est dans le cimetière américain d'une petite ville de Normandie appelée « Colle-sur-mer » que débute ce grand roman de Catherine

Mavrikakis, *Omaha Beach*. Plusieurs années après le débarquement allié, une famille venue d'Amérique se rend pour la première fois sur la tombe de deux des siens, morts à vingt ans, avant même d'avoir foulé le sable d'Omaha Beach. Ici, dans ce lieu de mémoire, les morts ne reposent pas en paix. Ce cimetière, surplombant la mer, fascine le lecteur, dès les premières

phrases du récit. Assurément, un roman différent des autres. Ici, la mort aura le dernier mot.

Une autre des raisons pour lesquelles ce roman est original est qu'il se situe littéralement dans l'autre tombe ! Tout cela a un vague relent de drame lyrique, à juste titre : un oratorio. En effet, le livre situe l'action dans une journée. Une seule journée, mais quelle journée ! C'est

un livre déconcertant. C'est ce tête-à-tête de l'homme avec la mort, avec sa mort, dans le dépouillement de sa propre vie, qui ressemble, chez Mavrikakis, à une épée de Damoclès. On se sent tous concernés, sans aucun préchi-prêcha.

Ainsi, une famille, soixante ans après le débarquement de Normandie, revient sur les lieux, en pèlerinage, à la recherche de Victor et Paul, frères jumeaux, morts loin de chez eux. Le lecteur accompagne cette famille parmi les croix blanches, sans se douter que, la nuit venue, tous ces fantômes sortent de terre, pour vivre leur vie de jeunesse ! On assiste donc à des scènes qu'il vaut mieux ne pas raconter à maman. Bref, on revient à peine de sa surprise quand surgissent naturellement des questionnements existentiels sur le deuil. La famille, venue là pour se donner bonne conscience, devra se livrer à un jeu de la vérité. Plus rien n'est maintenant anonyme, et c'est avec franchise que le désespoir et la mort conjurent, par

l'extravagance des scènes, ce fantastique sujet. La mort, pour cette jeunesse, c'est pire qu'une vie sans amour. 9 387 tombes ! Cela pourrait presque paraître absurde si seulement ce n'était pas vrai. En un sens, à l'heure où nos soldats canadiens répondent encore à l'appel de la guerre et meurent au loin, il est vrai d'affirmer que les plages de la Normandie continuent à nous hanter.

En tout cas, on ne pourra pas reprocher à l'auteure, qui a su faire la preuve de grands talents, de faire dans la dentelle. On a affaire ici à une imagination débridée. Sur 124 pages, tout est écrit comme une pièce de théâtre. Après quelques pages denses, les conversations s'engagent, et les mots servent aussi bien à masquer qu'à dire la vérité. Cette histoire est poignante, car elle est vraie, mais également romancée, un plaisir d'expression prend donc souvent la place principale, malgré la nécessité de dire, de décrire, cette réalité désastreuse, ce

6 juin 1944. ♫



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A full-page photograph of a man and a woman in formal wear. The man, on the left, has dark, wavy hair and a beard. He is wearing a dark grey pinstripe suit jacket over a white shirt and a red patterned tie. His right arm is around the woman's shoulder, and his left hand is in his pocket. The woman, on the right, has long, wavy brown hair. She is wearing a bright red, strapless, ruched gown. She is leaning against the man, with her left arm around his neck and her right hand resting on her hip. They are both looking directly at the camera with neutral expressions.

le château