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# **Global Antisemitism: Assault on Human Rights**

Inter-parliamentary Coalition for Combating Antisemitism



# The London Confe

Keynote Address by the Honourable Irwin Cotler at the founding conference of the Inter-parliamentary Coalition for Combating Antisemitism (ICCA)

Professor Cotler is the co-founder of ICCA with UK MP John Mann.

He is the former Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada and is the Liberal MP for the Montreal riding of Mount Royal.

hat we are witnessing today – and which has been developing incrementally, sometimes imperceptibly, and even indulgently, for some thirty-five years now – is a new sophisticated, globalizing, virulent and even lethal antisemitism, reminiscent of the atmospherics of the 30s, and without parallel or precedent since the end of the Second World War.

The new anti-Jewishness overlaps with classical antisemitism but is distinguishable from it. It found early juridical, and even institutional, expression in the United Nations' 'Zionism is Racism' resolution – which the late US Senator Daniel Moynihan said "gave the abomination of antisemitism the appearance of international legal sanction" – but has gone dramatically beyond it. This new antisemitism almost needs a new vocabulary to define it; however, it can best be identified using a rightsbased juridical perspective.

In a word, classical or traditional antisemitism is the discrimination against, denial of, or assault upon, the rights of Jews to live as equal members of whatever host society they inhabit. The new antisemitism involves the discrimination against the right of the Jewish people to live as an equal member of the family of nations – the denial of, and assault upon, the Jewish people's right even to live – with Israel as the 'collective Jew among the nations'. As the closing "London Declaration" of the ICCA Conference affirms: "We are alarmed at the resurrection of the old language of

prejudice and its modern manifestations – in rhetoric and political action – against Jews, Jewish belief and practice and the State of Israel."

Observing the complex intersections between the old and the new antisemitism, and the impact of the new on the old, Per Ahlmark, former leader of the Swedish Liberal Party and Deputy Prime Minister of Sweden, pithily concluded:

Compared to most previous anti-Jewish outbreaks, this [new antisemitism] is often less directed against individual Jews. It attacks primarily the collective Jews, the State of Israel. And then such attacks start a chain reaction of assaults on individual Jews and Jewish institutions ... In the past, the most dangerous anti-Semites were those who wanted to make the world Judenrein, 'free of Jews'. Today, the most dangerous anti-Semites might be those who want to make the world Judenstaatrein, 'free of a Jewish state'.

Continued on page 14



## World Parliamentary Alliance against Anti-Semitism meets in London

ver 100 parliamentarians from 35 different countries gathered in in London from February 15-17th for the founding conference of the International Parliamentary Coalition to Combat Anti-Semitism (ICCA) hosted by the UK Inter-parliamentary Coalition for Combating Anti-Semitism and the Foreign & Commonwealth Office.

The Founding co-chair of the conference, Mount-Royal Liberal MP Irwin Cotler, said that this "would be the first ever international gathering of Parliamentarians to come together to share their experience, expertise and, in particular, to develop action plans for the combating of this oldest and most enduring of hatreds."

He added: "We are witnessing today a new, escalating, sophisticated, virulent, global and even lethal anti-Semitism. The time has come to not only sound the alarm about this resurgent threat – but to act. For as history has taught us only too well – while it may begin with Jews, it does not end with Jews."

The conference was attended by a dozen government Continued on page 10



# The Hon. Jason Kenney's address at Lancaster House

esdames et Messieurs, merci bien pour votre collaboration et j'aimerais commencer en félicitant John et ses collègues pour avoir organisé cet colloque historique et très important.

And I'd like to also commend my Canadian colleague, Irwin Cotler for his important role in organising this conference. I'd also like to note the presence of a substantial number of my Canadian parliamentary colleagues who are here, members of parliament Carolyn Bennet, Raymonde Folco, Hedy Fry, Randy Hoback, James Lunney, Joyce Murray, Anita Neville, Bob Rae and Scott Reid. And I'd also like to acknowledge of course my good friend Senator Jerry Grafstein.

I hope that this forum will be the beginning of an ongoing process of educating and mobilising parliamentarians throughout

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## LETTRES • LETTERS

## Merci pour "Deux râteliers valent mieux qu'un"

Un simple mot pour remercier Pierre Malouf pour l'article sur la "culture au Québec". Je partage avec lui une préoccupation sur le sujet et un malaise sur la confusion partagée quant au terme "culture" par certains artistes semblant mal politisés ou faisant dans la mauvaise foi. Harper n'a pas en effet "coupé dans la culture québécoise" comme certains l'ont laissé entendre ou carrément dit mais dans certains programmes culturels bien précis ! Rappelons-le oui même si je ne suis pas certain qu'il faille d'emblée réduire le tout à une "fibre nationaliste".

Malouf cite le Petit Robert pour la définition de culture. Si vous retraitez du sujet, je désirais simplement vous proposez d'aborder celle aussi de l'Anglais Tylor en 1871 : "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society".

S'il est normal que certaines mélangent culture artistique et culture nationale (tout le monde n'est pas allé à l'Univsersité non !), on doit tout de même rappeler la distinction. Si les Américains mélangent parfois eux aussi les deux grandes définitions (i.e. le film "National Treasure" comme exemple parmi d'autres), nous ne sommes pas obligés de les imiter non !

Non, on ne parlera jamais assez de culture... mais il est bon d'en parler avec le maximum de précision oui ! Merci encore pour l'article.

Au plaisir de vous relire. Sébastien Harvey UQAM, Montréal

## Social insurgency

Re "Echoes of darker evils", the danger is that we do not recognize this social insurgency for what it is. It is not evil, but ignorance. It is the extraction of terminology, the expertise of verbiage; it is the orgasm of excitement that lends itself to the misconception that the leaders of the groups are knowledgeable. In fact, the forces they hold in their power are the rallying calls, the vocal spears of hatred. What they lack is knowledge of history, but also the ability to think critically. It isn't only that they want to mislead. It is that they have already been misled. Ignorance is a powerful tool.

Sheila Mediena Montreal

## Mandatory reading

Just a short note to congratulate your paper and Professor Alain Ayache on the "Voices of a Generation" initiative. These succinct pieces should be mandatory reading for every provincial and federal politician! I was particularly taken by the paper "What does it take to be a Canadian". We have yet to answer that question, but driven by your work at The Metropolitan we as a society are getting closer. Well done.

Charles S. Coffey Toronto

## Powerful stimulus

I finally caught up to this piece in the latest issue. Powerful stuff.

I have shared it widely with friends in Canada and the US. I read a lot -- your analysis of how we got to where we are and why today is so much more different than the 1930s is compelling and I have not seen it put this way anywhere else.

Good edition !! Robert G. Hest New York



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Pierre K. Malouf «Brasse-camarade » malouf@themetropolitain.ca

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

## LA PATRIE

# Thérapie pour les traumatisés de 1759

**S** arkozy a traité de sectaires certains nationalistes québécois. Le mot était peut-être exagéré. « Bornés » aurait suffi. Ou peut-être « obscurantistes ». Falardeau, par exemple, est un obscurantiste. L'énergumène écrivait récemment que l'historien Marcel Trudel aurait « vanté les mérites de la défaite », chanté « les louanges du conquérant ». Trudel n'a rien fait de tel, mais ce qu'il écrit dans Les surprises du Régime militaire, 1759-1764 et dans La Conquête de 1760 a eu aussi ses avantages, est trop subtil, trop équilibré, trop vrai surtout pour les neurones d'un butor.

Les sectaires, les bornés, les obscurantistes, les butors viennent de remporter une grande victoire morale : la commémoration de la bataille des plaines d'Abraham n'aura pas lieu. Je ne m'en plaindrai pas, mais j'aurais quand même préféré que l'on adoptât pour sortir de la crise une meilleure solution : l'uchronie.

L'uchronie, dit le Larousse, c'est « une reconstruction fictive de l'histoire, relatant les faits tels qu'ils auraient pu se produire. » Où en serions-nous aujourd'hui si les Allemands avaient vaincu les Soviétiques à Stalingrad, si Napoléon avait remporté la bataille de Waterloo, si Montcalm avait battu Wolfe ? Pour ma part, j'ignore quels chemins l'histoire aurait suivi après Stalingrad ou Waterloo, mais dans le cas des Plaines d'Abraham, je n'ai aucun doute.

Si Montcalm avait été moins défaitiste (les quatre victoires qui avaient précédé le désastre des plaines d'Abraham ne l'avaient pas rendu plus optimiste quant à l'issue du conflit anglo-français sur le terrain nord-



américain), s'il n'avait pas commis tant d'erreurs tactiques le 8 septembre 1759, si Québec n'avait pas capitulé prématurément le 13 septembre de la même année (1), si, surtout, lors des négociation qui menèrent au Traité de Paris de 1763, la France avait voulu conserver le Canada plutôt que la Guadeloupe et la Martinique (la récolte de la canne à sucre assurée par une armée d'esclaves rapportait davantage de profits que nos arpents de neige - et les sucriers anglais, qui ne voulaient affronter leur concurrence, exerçaient des pressions sur le gouvernement anglais pour que les deux îles demeurent françaises), si, si, si... les pisse-vinaigre nationalistes nageraient aujourd'hui dans l'allégresse, Pierre Falardeau, Patrick Bourgeois et Gilles Rhéaume seraient toujours de bonne humeur, Mme Pauline Marois n'aurait pas tardivement rompu les ponts avec les nationalistes à visées totalitaires, le journal « Le Québécois » serait une revue de chasse et pêche ! L'histoire officielle n'ayant pas permis que nous atteignions ces mirifiques résultats, je soutiens que la pratique de l'uchronie eût été une excellente solution de rechange.

Ainsi, le président de la Commission des champs de bataille nationaux, M. André Juneau, aurait dû servir aux traumatisés de 1759 un traitement gratuit qui aurait mis fin, du moins le temps d'une cérémonie, à des tourments qui durent depuis 250 ans et menacent de durer encore mille ans. Plutôt que d'annuler simplement la commémoration, la CCBN aurait dû effectuer une volte-face historique en modifiant sur les plaines quelques détails de la bataille réelle. Il aurait suffi de peu pour que les Français fussent vainqueurs, que les Anglais fussent rejetés dans le fleuve, que le Québec devînt indépendant ! Les concepteurs et acteurs de la reconstitution n'auraient eu aucun mal à effectuer ces menus changements au scénario.

Il ne se serait agi que d'une victoire imaginaire, dites-vous ? L'objection ne tient pas. Car c'est précisément dans l'imaginaire que nage la pensée des traumatisés de 1759, qui en 2009 ont encore des bouffées d'indignation en pensant aux 1400 fermes incendiées par les Anglais. Les prochaines générations devront-elles endurer encore longtemps le spectacle navrant qui afflige la nôtre : les héritiers des Falardeau, des Rhéaume et des Bourgeois déchirant leur chemise sur la place publique comme si rien ne s'était passé entre 1759 et les temps présents ? Come on ! Make a life !

Une nouvelle bataille des plaines d'Abraham a quand même eu lieu. Les manoeuvres d'intimidation des traumatisés de 1759 ont atteint leur but. Le directeur du journal « Le Québécois » se plaint maintenant de recevoir à son tour des menaces de mort. Voilà qui est fort déplorable, mais d'aucuns diront qu'il s'agit d'un juste retour du balancier. Ces menaces, de quelque bord qu'elles viennent, sont de la pure bêtise.

...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?



# La Mer et ses sirènes

Philippe Allard

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a raison la plus fréquemment invoquée par les nationalistes de toute tendance pour justifier leur nationalisme est le voisinage entre la majorité francophone du Québec et ce qu'ils appellent, dans un élan si poétique, « une mer d'anglophones ». D'un air entendu, nos patriarches, intellectuels et autres bien-pensants nationalistes ont l'habitude d'inaugurer quasi unanimement leurs discours de cette subtile métaphore. Tout juste si la « mer » ne fait pas partie des « attendus que » de la Loi 101.

Le sujet national est alors censé comprendre que découlent nécessairement de cette présence océanique menaçante les limitations aux libertés individuelles recelées par nos lois linguistiques, l'unilinguisme érigé en vertu politique, et aussi les politiques d'immigration où l'on préfère des travailleurs non qualifiés baragouinant le français à des médecins ou à des ingénieurs ne le parlant pas encore.

L'idée d'une mer anglophone est un puissant outil de pédagogie et de conditionnement nationaliste, et ce pour trois raisons.

D'une part, pour un peuple qui a été pendant des siècles défini par son élite nationaliste et religieuse comme étant constitué de défricheurs et de gens de la terre, la mer ne peut représenter qu'un environnement étranger, voire étrange. À peu près

absente de la littérature et de la musique québécoise, avec quelques exceptions, comme dans quelques chansons de Gilles Vigneault où elle est évoquée positivement, la mer est étrangère pour les Québécois, qu'ils viennent de la ville ou de la campagne. Seule une minorité de gens habitant les régions côtières peuvent s'en faire une représentation concrète et la côtoient au quotidien. Il est à parier que les Gaspésiens ou les résidants de la Côte-Nord sont ceux qui utilisent le moins la métaphore de la mer d'anglophones lorsqu'ils justifient leur nationalisme. Ne la connaissant en majorité que par ouï-dire ou comme un décor associé à leur dernier séjour à l'étranger (que

Multilinguisme, multiculturalisme, immigration, individualité, prospérité, collaboration, ouverture : autant de sirènes contre lesquelles les élites nationalistes mettent en garde les Québécois francophones.

cet étranger soit à Old Orchard, en Floride ou à Cuba), une majorité de Québécois, seront réceptifs à l'idée d'une mer qu'il n'est bon de côtoyer que comme touriste, toujours avec l'idée d'un retour.

Le deuxième intérêt que les nationalistes ont à représenter le voisinage du Québec comme une mer est qu'il est facile de franchir le pas par lequel la mer devient non seulement étrangère, mais carrément hostile. Si l'on ne prend pas toutes les mesures pour s'en protéger, la mer nous engloutira tous. La présence d'une mer hostile par son indifférence permet aux élites et à leurs endosseurs d'invoquer la légitime défense pour justifier leur nationalisme. Tout doit être mis en œuvre pour se protéger contre ses avancées sur nos terres. Le vocabulaire catastrophiste pour désigner l'assimilation appréhendée est d'ailleurs un vocabulaire marin : noyade, infiltration, inondation, naufrage, abîme. On nous raconte, pour légitimer nos lois et nos réflexes nationalistes, que nous vivons dans un environnement hostile. La mer est présentée comme un fait objectif, évident, inéluctable, qui s'étale à nos pieds. Il faudrait être fou, inconscient ou traître pour ne pas la voir et pour ne pas agir et se définir en fonction de sa réalité. La mer avance lentement mais sûrement, on écrit des rapports sur sa progression : quelque part dans l'est de Montréal, l'anglais progresse ; on a vu la mer et senti ses effluves. La mer n'a pas besoin de gronder pour faire peur aux enfants du peuple : c'est qu'elle est d'un naturel menaçant.

Mais la plus importante raison d'invoquer la mer est qu'elle un concept qui permet de simplifier à outrance cette réalité complexe qu'est l'Amérique du Nord. La mer permet de consolider et d'entretenir l'idée nationaliste que les sociétés, la québécoise comme les autres, sont des espaces homogènes, lisses et solidaires, peuplés non d'individus aux aspirations, intérêts et rêves uniques, mais d'unités d'une même essence, des gouttes d'eau interchangeables. L'idée d'une mer d'anglophones tronque toute diversité. Que cette « mer » recouvre deux pays aux lois et aux cultures politiques si différentes, qui sont d'ailleurs quadrillés par une soixantaine de territoires (provinces et états), traversés par d'innombrables courants artistiques et culturels, peuplés par des individus parlant toutes les langues du monde, et aussi pratiquant toutes les religions ou ne croyant à aucune, sont des réalités ignorées par nos nationalistes. Cette réalité qu'est la diversité nordaméricaine, les nationalistes doivent nous la présenter comme une mer englobante et envahissante, sans quoi c'est leur propre projet qui prendra l'eau.

Multilinguisme, multiculturalisme, immigration, individualité, prospérité, collaboration, ouverture : autant de sirènes contre lesquelles les élites nationalistes mettent en garde les Québécois francophones. L'entretien du mythe passe par l'injonction de ne pas construire de pont, de décourager à la fois le dialogue, l'ouverture et la connaissance de l'autre.

Les Québécois, quelles que soient leurs origines, doivent combattre cette fausse représentation qui sert surtout les intérêts d'une élite qui ne souhaite pas tant endiguer la mer qu'empêcher les Québécois d'y naviguer. Plus subtile et plus nocive qu'elle n'y paraît à première vue, cette tendance à invoquer cette mer menaçante inonde et corrode avant tout nos pensées et nos désirs intimes de déracinement et de liberté.



LA PATRIE

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# A 3.5 million dollar miracle on Hickmore St.

All of the pallets measure four by four by four feet high full of shrinkwrapped cases of macaroni and cheese, soup, pickles and jam. Rented cube vans wait patiently for their turn at the loading docks while lift trucks race around the warehouse piled high with crates full of broccoli, potatoes, onions and apples. In the back under the lights, at least two dozen volunteers are sorting through thousands of oranges as the bad ones are tossed into a loader at the end of the table. After she stopped to chat with some of the women who were working at the tables, Johanne Théroux,

food banks were meant to be a temporary initiative "at least until the recession is over." Twenty five years later, Théroux and others believe community food banks are now an indispensable part of the city's safety net.

"We have a social mission, a political mission, an economic mission and finally an ecological mission," said Théroux. "It's difficult to imagine how not too long ago, all of this used to go straight to the dump."

Located on the corner of Hickmore and the Ct. De Liesse Road in Ville Saint Laurent's building's slow decrepitude, Théroux began to think only a miracle could begin to solve the food bank's problems and over the past two years, that's exactly what happened on the corner of hickmore Street and the Côte de Liesse Road in Ville Saint Laurent.

As the manager and director of Montreal's CECD (Coalition Energie et Construction Durable), Linda Wilson was looking for a suitable pilot project to demonstrate how new construction methods could improve a commercial building's ecological footprint and help make it a lot of money by radically shrinking a ICI (Industrial, Commercial, Investment) building's assorted energy bills. While innovative 'green' protocols and building methods are all being incorporated into new construction projects, Wilson was eager to prove how new construction protocols combined with up-to-date heating and air conditioning technology could be used to properly renovate older buildings. During an exclusive interview, Wilson told The Métropolitain three conditions had to be met before the coalition would consider any kind of serious renovation project

"It had to be a non-profit Continued on page 7

Every year, the food bank sorts through and moves over 810 000 kilos of produce worth almost \$40 million dollars to over 200 community groups throughout the metropolitan area.

Moisson Montreal 's executive director, said volunteers were at the heart of the food bank's mission.

"If these people didn't show up every day," she said, "I don't think we could carry on like this."

Every year, the food bank sorts through and moves over 810 000 kilos of produce worth almost \$40 million dollars to over 200 community groups throughout the metropolitan area. Over 200 companies supply the food bank with enough produce to feed a minimum of 110 000 people every month of which at least 33 000 are children. The new Good Food Box program has over 120 000 new clients and the food bank supplies enough product to make another 540 000 meals for the city's various shelters.

"We're the biggest food bank in Canada and there's no end to the demand for food and everything else we do," said Théroux.

Created in 1984 to help build a bridge between the grim realities of a welfare check, hungry children and no food with days to go before the end of the month, Montreal's

industrial park, Moisson Montréal 's warehouse (107 000 square feet ) was built in 1954. For almost 30 years, it was used as a shipping and storage facility for one of Montreal's well known cement plants until it was sold to the newly incorporated Moisson Montreal. The food bank immediately began to use the space as a transit point between major food contributors and the smaller community groups who could distribute the product to the people who needed it. Twenty five years later, the food bank's main asset was in dire need of repair. Workers recall a freezing cold warehouse in the winter, sweltering heat during the summer and water pouring into the building through the roof every time it rained. While the food bank struggled to maintain its daily operations, tons of food were being ruined by adverse storage conditions and Théroux knew there was little she could do about it. As a non-profit organization, there was no money available to pay for new infrastructure projects. With no end to the problems caused by the



# A neighbourhood or a casino? The future of the Hippodrome

Monotreal housing groups scored a major victory last week when the provincial government announced that it has reversed its decision to fund a video lottery terminal and off-track betting centre on land around the Hippodrome de Montréal.

Earlier this month, the groups, which included Project Genesis, the Conseil communautaire Côte des Neiges and the Corporation de développement économique communautaire (CDEC), joined city councillor Marvin Rotrand in denouncing the plan. They argued that a golden opportunity to meet the social housing needs of the entire Côte des Neiges-NDG borough would have been ruined. Quebec Finance Minister Monique Jérôme-Forget said that it's time the government got out of the horse-racing business.

"Horse-racing activities are not part of the essential missions of the State," Jérôme-Forget said. "It is important, however, that the government offer transitional aid measures to workers and breeders in the industry."

Attraction Hippiques – owned by Liberal Senator Paul Massicotte – planned to build a Video Lottery Terminal (VLT) theatre with 300 machines on the land, which Rotrand said is roughly as large as the Old Port. It's close to autoroutes, Trudeau airport and the downtown core; in short, a priceless piece of real-estate, he said.

Four years ago, the Quebec government sold the race track formally known as Blue Bonnets and the other Quebec Hippodromes to Attractions Hippiques, who promised to revitalize the dying horse-racing industry and inject profits into government coffers. They have failed to do both. Massicotte, who has been unavailable for comment this week, is awaiting a March 9 hearing at Quebec Superior Court that will determine if its revitalization plan is accepted. The problem for his company is that the plan relied on a taxpayer-funded bailout plan worth between \$9 and \$25 million annually over as long as 25 years. Massicotte said that the aid package would have become less of a financial burden on the province, in theory, as the business became more profitable. The government was also prepared to waive a gambling or pari-mutuel tax worth \$10 to \$12-million per year. The offer is now off the table.

"I'm overjoyed," said an elated Rotrand, after The Métropolitain broke the news to him on Friday. "This is great news. It means the end of the Hippodrome, whether it's in six months or two years."

A mini-casino had been described by Project Genesis as literally the "worst-case scenario" for the area.

"From the point-of-view of this community, it's amazing news," said Denis Lévesque of Project Genesis. "We're not rejoicing at the loss of jobs, but the land there can respond to the needs of the community."

The only hope for Massicotte is for the Court to grant him another reprieve, giving him time to find an investor. That will be difficult, since Massicotte said earlier this month that horse-racing is essentially dead in



Montreal and VLTs have been subsidizing the industry for years. In that earlier interview with The Métropolitain, he conceded that having a Liberal Senator, albeit at the federal level, receiving provincial government grants could bring on conflict-of-interest allegations.

"I was very upset (by media reports)," he said. "It's wrong to suggest that it was for my personal benefit. I've never met (Premier Jean) Charest. I've never given a dime to the Quebec Liberal party."

In hindsight, he said, he would not have bought the horse-racing business; a successful real-estate executive, he doesn't need the money. He said he's lost \$25-million so far, but pointed out that there was nothing "immoral or illegal about responding to a call for proposals."

"Assuming there are no surprises, the government will take the land back into its possession and do what it wants with it," Lévesque said, hoping it would be given to the city of Montreal to, essentially, build a whole new neighbourhood. Rotrand said the borough will have to begin work on a mini-urban plan for the area and eventually present the results during public consultations.

"We have families that are paying too much for apartments that are too small," said Denyse Lacelle, coordinator of the Community Council. "We would like to see 4,000 to 5,000 housing units, including 2,500 social housing units built.

That would effectively meet the low-income housing needs for the entire borough in one shot, since roughly 2,400 people in Côte des Neiges-NDG are presently on the waiting list for Habitations à loyer modique (HLM) buildings. That's not including the economic benefits that would arise from the creation of several small businesses in the area; pharmacies, dépanneurs, daycare centres and others. With the possible extension of the nearby Cavendish Blvd., the potential to create a new neighbourhood to attract and keep young families in Montreal is extraor-

#### dinary, Rotrand said.

"We will work with centre-city to ensure there is funding for infrastructure; water, roads, sidewalks, etc. At this point, there's not even a cost estimate," he added. "But I'm really pleased. The media coverage was enormous and the population really responded."

There are 200 VLTs currently at the Hippodrome; Massicotte's plan would add 100 more, each bringing in roughly \$25,000 in annual income and boosting the horse-racing industry. According to Attractions Hippiques statistics, 3,000 jobs in the province depend on the ponies; 685 of which are in Montreal. Having the province inject cash into Attractions Hippiques is a wise investment, he said, because it prevents those people from needing unemployment insurance.

The probable loss of the mini-casino and the jobs that go with it is a small sacrifice to save Snowdon from what gambling addiction specialist and CJAD talk-show host Sol Boxenbaum describes as a "cancer" that destroys families and communities.

"They would have to do an impact study to see if it would increase health issues, which it would," Boxenbaum said. "VLTs have always been the crack-cocaine of gambling. They kill people. The longer you play, the quicker you get addicted and put everything you have into them. This project could harm everything because no goods or services are being exchanged...it is not good for anyone but Massicotte."



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The Parliamentary Group assists with regulatory, governmental and legislative advocacy issues. Our pan-Canadian government relations and lobbying firm helps clients navigate the often confusing corridors of government with a comprehensive range of services. organization, the organization had to own its own building and the building had to be in bad shape....really bad shape," she said. "The Moisson Montréal warehouse was a perfect candidate for this project....especially insofar as the building itself was concerned."

While Théroux is grateful for everything Wilson has done for the food bank, the Hickmore Street miracle occurred when Wilson began to rally the support she required to properly fix the building. After just a few phone calls, the city's construction industry immediately began to rally behind Wilson's project.

"The response was incredible," said Wilson. "If the CECD had not taken the time to look at this project and the food bank decided to comply with a regular renovation project, the food bank would have been hit with a massive energy bill for both their heating and their cooling facilities. Now we're going to decrease their energy use by at least 40% which will add up to huge savings and provide a showcase for us to show clients what can be done when they finally decide to renovate their industrial space."

While work is still being done on the building, a new floor configuration will help improve loading facilities and floor traffic while new insulation along the walls will do a lot to preserve heat within the building. Due to all the work and time being done to renovate the building, the food bank could apply for all the government subsidies it required to buy new machinery which they otherwise could not afford to install. Construction industry executives are especially interested to see how the plant's new 'slush' system will transfer energy from the food bank's refrigerators into the building's own air conditioning and heating systems thus creating a single integrated channel for all the heating and cooling energy throughout the building.

"We have to help the people who need it the most," said Rhéal Thériault. As a mechanical engineer, he is one of the renovation project's early supporters and both Wilson and Théroux said nothing could have been done without Thériault's help. Once he decided to help Wilson out with her project, he managed to convince fellow professionals and assorted plumbing contractors to contribute over \$650 000 worth of time and equipment to repair the Moisson Montréal warehouse. As of last week, Theroux said over a hundred construction companies, contractors and other professionals have given or donated over \$3.5 million worth of product and services to the ongoing renovation project

"We did everything we could think of to reduce energy consumption," said Thériault. "As matters stand, we're sure the food bank will save a minimum of \$75 000 every year just in heating costs never mind what it costs to run the freezers and the air conditioning units.."

Apart from a government subsidy required to pay for the new refrigeration equipment, all of the work done to renovate the warehouse has been offered pro bono because everybody involved knew there is no such thing as a tax receipt for services rendered.

"They did it because they wanted to help out," said Théroux. "It's as simple as that."

LA PATRIE



# **On Quebec and identity**

Voices have been heard again in Montreal's English Community calling for action if the Quebec government tries to overturn a successful Bill 104 challenge through use of the "notwithstanding clause". At the same time, criticism has been leveled against Quebec Ministers Kathleen Weil and Yolande James for not insisting more on the protection of English identity. A new round of English complaints is unjustified, whatever happens to Bill 104, and the two ministers are clearly right in rejecting an exclusive English identity.

Julius H. Grey

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In the late 1970s, I reacted against the excesses of the original version of Bill 101 and along with many others took the law to court, for the most part successfully. We ardently assumed an English Quebec identity and complained about discrimination and alienation from the mainstream because of the dominant nationalism.

In those days, this position could be defended. Several provisions of Bill 101 were manifestly excessive. There was a certain exclusionary atmosphere in which those not of purely "quebecois" descent were excluded from the public sector and their views and interests were given less weight.

In retrospect, we must realize that Quebec's laws and attitudes often constituted the only resistance to a perceived threat to the survival of French and to a society in which most business was conducted in English and anglophones earned on the average substantially more than francophones. However, in the 1970s and 1980s there were also genuine injustices against English speakers. In addition, the pettiness of governments brought about a real threat to civil liberties and freedom of expression which necessitated a successful appeal to the United Nations against the use of the "notwithstanding" clause.

However one views the conflicts of the past, it is clear that they have little relevance today.

Most young anglophones are bilingual. The incomes of the two language groups are roughly equal. There is no perceptible linguistic tension in Montreal. Quebec is surely not perfect, but anti-English attitudes are not part of the problem. Despite widespread fears of injustice which emanate from both sides, it is simply not true that an upbringing in French or English seriously affects a person's chances in life, so long as he can work in both languages.

Unfortunately, since about 1990, a portion of the English community has reacted to the successes of the early, moderate protests by becoming more radical. This has discredited English organizations such as Alliance Quebec. It has also led many of us to question the wisdom of retaining a single-minded English identity. I, for one, no longer see myself as an English Quebecer, but simply as a Quebecer who is at home everywhere in the province.

We live in both French and English in a world of considerable integration, easy inter-marriage, and room for shades of identity or for identities that evolve with time. Politics based on identity is inappropriate in a welcoming society.

It would be in the interest of both francophones and anglophones to integrate most of their schools and other institutions and to cease to be preoccupied by their origins. Perhaps in the past Quebec appeared to be "them" and "we" were English. Today, Quebec is "us".

Certain issues concern all of us. French is still in some danger, and all Quebecers have an interest in protecting it. The language laws, as amended by the Courts are not only acceptable – they are in some respects necessary. Quebec does have a special role with respect to culture, and it should continue to assume it. This role is not limited to French culture. It must be admitted that Quebec has maintained bilingual institutions and English culture at a very high level. The necessary counterpart is to accept the primacy of French and to stop dividing citizens into rigid linguistic categories. All Quebecers have an interest in opposing linguistic pettiness from either side.

I believe this is the path chosen by Kathleen Weil and Yolande James. Integration and solidarity with our fellow citizens is indeed vastly preferable to confrontation and discord.

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# Who controls the Internet in Canada?

et neutrality hasn't yet made an imprint in Canada's national dialogue, but the controvery addresses nothing less than who acts as the gatekeeper to the most powerful communication tool we have.

Net throttling – also called traffic shaping – can be defined as the control of computer network traffic in order to optimize performance, or the alteration of traffic on a particular connection to increase efficiency throughout the network.

Canadian Internet service providers like Bell and Rogers use traffic shaping as a network management tool, arguing it's necessary to limit download speeds for peer-to-peer (P2P) programs that can hog up to half their network's capacity and slow connections across the board.

P2P applications are freely chosen and completely legal applications and are used by open source independent companies, by schools, independent media productions, and many other public and private agencies, including the likes of major Canadian universities and the CBC to distribute media content.

Bell openly admits it shapes traffic by slowing down transfer rates of P2P filesharing applications during peak hours, claiming it's the most practical approach to managing its network. The company began limiting speeds for its own Sympatico customers in November 2007 and extended the practice to its wholesalers last March.

Then last year, the Canadian Association of Internet Providers brought the telecommunications giant in front of the CRTC, charging its traffic shaping policies –implemented without prior notice- stifled competition and made it impossible for CAIP members to manage their own services.

Members claimed that download rates were slowed by as much as 90 per cent while Bell was reallocating bandwidth to its ultra-high-speed Internet access and other value-added services.

CAIP – a group of 55 independent ISPs who rent a portion of Bell's network - charged Bell with contravening Canada's Telecommunications Act through alleged unjust discrimination, undue preference or advantage, and the control of content or influencing the meaning or purpose of telecommunications by a carrier.

CAIP, supported by the Public Interest Advocacy Centre, the Canadian Internet Policy and Public Interest Clinic, and Google among others, argued that better methods of regulating traffic congestion included setting bandwidth limits, creating excess bandwidth usage charges, customerspecific throttling or simply upgrading network capacity.

In November, the federal regulator sided with Bell within the specific

context of CAIP's case, arguing that the company hadn't discriminated between wholesale and retails customers, that there was no editorial control of the filtered content, and noting that the booming popularity of online video and other Internet trends could, in fact, congest Bell's network.

But the ruling came with two concessions: that Bell give its wholesale customers at least 30 days notice before changing usage guidelines and that the CRTC would hold public hearings on net neutrality this July.

CAIP chair Tom Copeland said he's pleased the federal regulator is taking the complaint a step further because the real concern - that of traffic manipulation - had yet to be addressed.

"Ultimately, we get into philosophical and political arguments, censoring at the worst level," he said.

"Who's to stop (the company) from eventually deciding Bell clients will get a slower trip to the Toronto Star, for example?"

Unilaterally throttling one type of traffic is the wrong tool to fix network congestion, he said, suggesting the company work on a client-to-client basis instead.

"That's the way most of us treat this type of situation. We look at the root cause," said Copeland.

Google. who is also lobbying for net neutratlity in the United States, supported CAIP by criticizing Bell for failing to expand its network and accusing the company of breaking CRTC regulations that state the net should be technologically and competitively neutral.

"From consumer, competition and innovation perspectives, throttling applications that consumers choose is inconsistent with a content and application-neutral internet, and a violation of Canadian telecommunications law," the company wrote in a submission to the federal regulator.

"Protecting end user choice is the central issue in this proceeding, but also a much larger issue. It goes to the heart of the internet and how it acts as an extraordinary platform for innovation and fair competition."

Google also announced a new initiative in January that would allow users to examine the state of their broadband connection.

In the United States, a net neutrality bill will soon be introduced to the senate that would enshrine net neutrality into law, preventing the ISPs from shaping traffic on their networks.

Michael Geist, the Canadian Research Chair of Internet and Ecommerce Law at the University of Ottawa, has been following the issue closely and says Canadians have been asleep at the wheel.

"In Canada, our CRTC has not been as publically engaged," he said.

"But what they do make clear is that

there's wide-spread use of traffic shaping, and the marketing materials tell one story but the realities are different."

Geist explained that the Internet allows people not only to communicate but to network and participate as well, creating essentially, a massive international public square. But Canadians have vested an enormous amount of power in a small number of companies and aren't safeguarding our digital democracy, he said.

"Most of us appreciate how important (the Internet) is to culture and commerce," said Geist. "The notion that this is just about downloads is incorrect."

If Canadians don't safeguard net neutrality, said Copeland, we'll all still be able to go online - but it will be slower for some of us.

"We'll start seeing, basically, Internet for hire," he said.

"The carriers will say: 'If you want your traffic to come through out network, it will cost you this much.' And that's not what the Internet is based on. If they're allowed to do this, we'll see a different model that will impede the growth of the Internet and innovation, and Canadians, will lose out. It's not about kids in the basement downloading music. It's about Canadians being able to to do what they want and when they want on the Internet."



GLOBAL VILLAGE

### World Parliamentary Alliance against Anti-Semitism meets in London, continued from page 1

ministers from around the world, as well as the President of the Austrian Parliament, members of the U.S. Congress, the Vice-President of the Bundestag, the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, and leaders of the UK government, and leading international scholars and experts on anti-Semitism, such as Professor Robert Wistrich, one of the world's leading authorities on both European and Islamic anti-Semitism.

The largest Parliamentary delegation of any country in the world came from Canada and included Jason Kenney, Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism and seven members of the Liberal Party including, in addition to Prof. Cotler, former Ontario Premier and Foreign Affairs critic Bob Rae, former government ministers Carolyn Bennet and Hedy Fry, and MPs Raymonde Folco, Joyce Murray, Anita Neville and Senator Jerry Grafstein.

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The conference was addressed by leading scholars and dignitaries, such as Nobel Peace Laureate Elie Wiesel, former head of the Global Forum on Anti-Semitism Natan Sharansky, Italian Foreign Minister Franco Frattini, and Attorney-General of Argentina Alberto Nisman.

The conference was organized around five major working groups. They were: State-Sanctioned Anti-Semitism and Anti-Semitism in the International Arena chaired by Prof. Cotler; The New Anti-Semitism chaired by Fiamma Nirenstein, Member of the Italian Parliament; Anti-Semitism and the Media chaired by Professor Gurt Weisskirchen, Member of the German Bundestag; Policing & Prosecution chaired by Representative Chris Smith, Member of the US Congress; and Internet Hate chaired by Isaac Herzog, Israeli Minister of Social Welfare & Diaspora Affairs.

The London Conference took place in the aftermath of a dramatic increase in global anti-Semitism involving, in particular, the delegitimization and demonization of Israel and the Jewish people as well as anti-Semitic attacks accompanying the incitement in different parts of the world. A call to action – entitled The London Declaration – was issued at the conclusion of the conference.

# The London Declaration on Combating Antisemitism

#### Preamble

We, Representatives of our respective Parliaments from across the world, convening in London for the founding Conference and Summit of the Inter-parliamentary Coalition for Combating Antisemitism, draw the democratic world's attention to the resurgence of antisemitism as a potent force in politics, international affairs and society.

We note the dramatic increase in recorded antisemitic hate crimes and attacks targeting Jewish persons and property, and Jewish religious, educational and communal institutions.

We are alarmed at the resurrection of the old language of prejudice and its modern manifestations - in rhetoric and political action against Jews, Jewish belief and practice and the State of Israel.

We are alarmed by Governmentbacked antisemitism in general, and state-backed genocidal antisemitism, in particular.

We, as Parliamentarians, affirm our commitment to a comprehensive programme of action to meet this challenge.

We call upon national governments, parliaments, international institutions, political and civic leaders, NGOs, and civil society to affirm democratic and human values, build societies based on respect and citizenship and combat any manifestations of antisemitism and discrimination.

#### •••

We today in London resolve that; Challenging Antisemitism 1. Parliamentarians shall expose, challenge, and isolate political actors who engage in hate against Jews and target the State of Israel as a Jewish collectivity;

 Parliamentarians should speak out against antisemitism and discrimination directed against any minority, and guard against equivocation, hesitation and justification in the face of expressions of hatred;
 Governments must challenge any foreign leader, politician or public figure who denies, denigrates or trivialises the Holocaust and must encourage civil society to be vigilant to this phenomenon and to openly condemn it;

4. Parliamentarians should campaign for their Government to uphold international commitments on combating antisemitism - including the OSCE Berlin Declaration and its eight main principles;

5. The UN should reaffirm its call for every member state to commit itself to the principles laid out in the Holocaust Remembrance initiative including specific and targeted policies to eradicate Holocaust denial and trivialisation:

6. Governments and the UN should resolve that never again will the institutions of the international community and the dialogue of nation states be abused to try to establish any legitimacy for antisemitism, including the singling out of Israel for discriminatory treatment in the international arena, and we will never witness - or be party to - another gathering like Durban in 2001; 7. The OSCE should encourage its member states to fulfil their commitments under the 2004 Berlin Declaration and to fully utilise programmes to combat antisemitism including the Law Enforcement programme LEOP;

8. The European Union, inter-state institutions and multilateral fora and religious communities must make a concerted effort to combat antisemitism and lead their member states to adopt proven and best practice methods of countering antisemitism;

9. Leaders of all religious faiths should be called upon to use all the means possible to combat antisemitism and all types of discriminatory hostilities among believers and society at large;

10. The EU Council of Ministers should convene a session on combating antisemitism relying on the outcomes of the London Conference on Combating Antisemitism and using the London Declaration as a basis.

#### Prohibitions

11. Governments should take appropriate and necessary action to prevent the broadcast of explicitly antisemitic programmes on satellite television channels, and to apply pressure on the host broadcast nation to take action to prevent the transmission of explicitly antisemitic programmes;

12. Governments should fully reaffirm and actively uphold the Genocide Convention,

recognising that where there is incitement to genocide signatories

automatically have an obligation to act. This may include sanctions against countries involved in or threatening to commit genocide or referral of the matter to the UN Security Council or initiate an interstate complaint at the International Court of Justice;

13. Parliamentarians should legislate effective Hate Crime legislation recognising "hate aggravated crimes" and, where consistent with local legal standards, "incitement to hatred" offences and empower law enforcement agencies to convict;

14. Governments that are signatories to the Hate Speech Protocol of the Council of Europe 'Convention on Cybercrime' (and the 'Additional Protocol to the Convention on cybercrime, concerning the criminalisation of acts of a racist and xenophobic nature committed through computer systems') should enact domestic enabling legislation; **Identifying the threat** 

15. Parliamentarians should return to their legislature, Parliament or Assembly and establish inquiry scrutiny panels that are tasked with determining the existing nature and state of antisemitism in their countries and developing recommendations for government and civil society action;

16. Parliamentarians should engage with their governments in order to measure the effectiveness of existing policies and mechanisms in place and to recommend proven and best practice methods of countering antisemitism; 17. Governments should ensure they have publicly accessible incident reporting systems, and that statistics collected on antisemitism should be the subject of regular review and action by government and state prosecutors and that an adequate legislative framework is in place to tackle hate crime.

18. Governments must expand the use of the EUMC 'working definition' of antisemitism to inform policy of national and international organisations and as a basis for training material for use by Criminal Justice Agencies;

19. Police services should record allegations of hate crimes and incidents - including

antisemitism - as routine part of reporting crimes;

20. The OSCE should work with member states to seek consistent data collection systems for antisemitism and hate crime.

## Education, awareness and training

21. Governments should train Police, prosecutors and judges comprehensively. The training is essential if perpetrators of antisemitic hate crime are to be successfully apprehended, prosecuted, convicted and sentenced. The OSCE's Law enforcement Programme LEOP is a model initiative consisting of an international cadre of expert police officers training police in several countries;

22. Governments should develop teaching materials on the subjects

GLOBAL VILLAGE 11

Hon. Jason Kenney Jason Kenney is Minister of Citizenship, Immigration and Multiculturalism



### The Hon. Jason Kenney's address at Lancaster House, continued from page 1

the world, and through them political formations across the spectrum, and indeed national governments to combat the scourge of anti-Semitism. I also hope that this will be the beginning, not the end, of this important work. And to that end I know that my Canadian colleagues and I would be delighted to host the next conference of the inter-parliamentary commission in Canada.

In November during a trip to Kiev I paid my respects at the Babi Yar Holocaust site where more than 33,000 Ukrainian Jews were slaugh-tered by the Nazis over a two day period in 1941.

For me this brought to mind a new dimension of the unfathomable evil of the Holocaust. Babi Yar was not about the mechanised and perversely discreet killing of the gas chambers. Here men in uniform lined up and shot 33,000 individual human beings one by one non-stop over a period of two days. Even for those who were just following orders there had to be some deep blackness in their hearts, some hatred that allowed them to dehumanise the innocent individual human beings who they shot down one by one.

A few weeks ago I was in Mumbai, India, where I went to visit Chabad's Nariman House. I was literally sickened walking through the debris, seeing the blood-splattered walls; to stand in the place where Rabbi Gavriel Holzberg and his wife Rivkah were tortured and slaughtered. As I later looked out on Mumbai from the rooftop of Chabad House I marveled to think that in this huge, teeming city of 20 million the killers had meticulously, deliberately sought out to target this one rather obscure, peaceful place, and this particular man and his family.

Why did they do so? Because and only because they were Jews, and as such because they represented all the Jews. 68 years and thousands of miles separate the ravine of Babi Yar from the debris of Nariman House, but these places are connected by the same uniquely durable and pernicious evil of anti-Semitism. Even peaceful and pluralistic Canada sees signs that this evil is newly resurgent. The 2007 audit of anti-Semitic incidents by B'nai Brith, Canada's league for human rights, recorded over 1,000 reported anti-Semitic incidents, up by 11% from the previous year and also reflecting a doubling of the number of reported incidents over the past five years.

Just a day, Friday, as I was boarding the flight for London, as a simple concrete example of this new environ-



ment, one page of one of our national newspapers, two articles. One about Jewish university students at one of our major universities being attacked by a mob shouting anti-Jewish slogans at them. And another article, man sentenced for firebombing Jewish institutions.

We in Canada are beginning to experience the same. Of course we've always had the old-school anti-Semitism, and it's still present. The manifestations from the extreme right and their presence on the internet. In my assessment, it's marginal, small and a shrinking form of anti-Semitism, but one which we can never forget. We do have robust hate crimes laws to deal with those manifestations of anti-Semitism, but we do see the growth of a new anti-Semitism, the anti-Semitism predicated on the notion that the Jews alone have no right to a homeland, the anti-Zionist version of anti-Semitism.

Now, let me say... je suis totalement d'accord avec mon collègue du Maroc et avec le Rabin en chef de la Royaume-Uni : On ne doit pas être d'accord avec les politiques particulières de l'Israël sur n'importe quelle question, on peut critiquer les politiques des gouvernements de l'Israël sans être antisémite. But the argument is not about criticising the politics of the Israeli government. Lord knows there's enough of that in the Knesset. The argument is with those whose premise is that Israel itself is an abomination, and that the Jews alone have no right to a homeland. And in that sense anti-Zionism is anti-Semitism. Our government clearly understands this. Last year at our national Holocaust commemoration ceremony Prime Minister Stephen Harper said, speaking of the Holocaust that, "this genocide was so premeditated and grotesque in design, so monstrous and barbaric in scale and so systematic and efficient in execution

that is stands alone in the annals of human evil."

"Unfortunately in some countries," he went on, "hatred of the Jews is still preached from religious pulpits and still proclaimed from political podiums. There are still people who would perpetrate another Holocaust if they could."

"That's why we must resist the error of viewing the Holocaust as a strictly historical event. It's not good enough for politicians to stand before you and say they remember and mourn what happened over six decades ago. They must stand up to those who advocate the destruction of Israel and its people today. And they must be unequivocal in their condemnation of anti-Semitic despots, terrorists and fanatics. That is the only way to honour the memory of those who were consumed by the Holocaust."

Our government takes a zero tolerance approach to expressions of anti-Semitism in the public square. There are organisations in Canada, as in Britain, that receive their share of media attention and public notoriety, but who at the same time as expressing hateful sentiments expect to be treated as respectable interlocutors in the public discourse. I think, for example, of the president of an organisation called the Canadian Islamic Congress, Mohamed Elmasry, who notoriously said three years ago on live television that all Israelis over the age of 18 can legitimately be killed. They are combatants, and therefore legitimate targets for elimination.

I think as well of the leader of the Canadian Arab Federation, who notoriously circulated an e-mail when my colleague, our shadow Foreign Minister, Bob Rae, was running for the leadership of his party, calling on people to vote against Mr. Rae because of Arlene Perly Rae's involvement in Canada's Jewish community. The same individual, the same organisation, the Canadian Arab Federation, just last week circulated - including to all parliamentarians - videos which include propaganda, including the inculcation to hatred, of children by organisations such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

These and other organisations are free within the confines of our law and consistent with our traditions of freedom of expression, to speak their mind, but they should not expect to receive resources from the state, support from taxpayers or any other form of official respect from the government or the organs of our State. And I would encourage all other governments to take a similar approach to organisations that either excuse violence against Jews or express essentially anti-Semitic sentiments.

I would encourage international organisations to be vigilant in this respect as well. I was disturbed to see at the OSCE high-level conference in Bucharest a representative of one of these organisations brought in by the OSCE to be an expert panelist. Let me conclude by telling you what Canada is doing on the international stage, talking about anti-Semitism. Mentioning Bucharest, I was there to express on behalf of our government a change of policy to call for the maintenance of a personal representative and a specific process to focus on anti-Semitism, not to the exclusion of other forms of hatred, racism and xenophobia, but to recognise the uniquely durable and pernicious form of hatred that is anti-Semitism.

As you know, the government of Canada has consistently voted against resolutions singling out Israel as a scapegoat at international forums such as the Francophonie and the United Nations Human Rights Council. Just two, three weeks ago we were unfortunately typically the only country of the 40 some member states of the United Nations Human Rights Council to oppose in this instance a resolution scapegoating Israel in an unbalanced way as being responsible for the violence in Gaza.

And finally, my proudest moment as minister was a year ago this month when I announced on behalf of our government that Canada would withdraw, and has withdrawn, from the Durban 2 process. We did so deliberately. We did so after having participated in the initial preparatory meetings. We did so being fully conscious of Canada's tradition as an international champion of tolerance, pluralism and mutual respect. And that's precisely why we withdrew from the Durban process.

We withdrew from a process that sees Iran sitting on the organising committee, a country whose president has repeatedly engaged in inciting genocide against the Jewish nation, a conference in which Libya plays a central role on the organising committee, a conference where many of the key organising meetings were set, no doubt coincidentally, on Jewish high holidays to diminish the participation of Israeli and Jewish delegates, a process which re-invited to participate all of the NGOs that turned the original Durban conference into the notorious hate-fest, including those responsible for circulating copies of the Chronicles of the Elders of Zion and organisations which outside the conference venue held up portraits of Adolf Hitler, and a conference which as well re-invited those NGOs made it difficult or impossible for Jewish NGOs to come as observers, including the Canadian Council on Israeli and Jewish Affairs.

In conclusion, let me close by quoting again the Prime Minster, Stephen Harper, following his visit last summer to the Nazi death camp at Auschwitz. He said, "I was moved beyond words by what I saw to revulsion, anger and most of all a deep, aching sadness for the millions of innocents who perished. But I also felt hope, hope because of the indomitable spirit and strength of the Jewish people, hope that left behind the horror of the Holocaust and moved forward to build the thriving, modern democratic state of Israel, and also hope because today most people in most civilised countries recognise anti-Semitism for what it is, a pernicious evil that must be exposed, confronted and repudiated whenever and where ever it appears, an evil so profound that it is ultimately a threat to us all." Thank you very much.

### The London Declaration on Combating Antisemitism, continued from page 10

of the Holocaust, racism, antisemitism and discrimination which are incorporated into the national school curriculum. All teaching materials ought to be based on values of comprehensiveness, inclusiveness, acceptance and respect and should be designed to assist students to recognise and counter antisemitism and all forms of hate speech;

23. The OSCE should encourage their member states to fulfill their commitments under the 2004 Berlin Declaration and to fully utilise programmes to combat antisemitism including the Law Enforcement programme LEOP;

24. Governments should include a comprehensive training programme across the Criminal Justice System using programmes such as the LEOP programme;

25. Education Authorities should ensure that freedom of speech is upheld within the law and to protect students and staff from illegal antisemitic discourse and a hostile environment in whatever form it takes including calls for boycotts;

#### **Community Support**

26. The Criminal Justice System should publicly notify local communities when antisemitic hate crimes are prosecuted by the courts to build community confidence in reporting and pursuing convictions through the Criminal Justice system;

27. Parliamentarians should engage with civil society institutions and leading NGOs to create partnerships that bring about change locally, domestically and globally, and support efforts that encourage Holocaust education, inter-religious dialogue and cultural exchange;

### Media and the Internet

28. Governments should acknowledge the challenge and opportunity of the growing new forms of communication;

29. Media Regulatory Bodies should utilise the EUMC 'Working Definition of antisemitism' to inform media standards;

30. Governments should take appropriate and necessary action to prevent the broadcast of antisemitic programmes on satellite television channels, and to apply pressure on the host broadcast nation to take action to prevent the transmission of antisemitic programmes;

31. The OSCE should seek ways to coordinate the response of member states to combat the use of the internet to promote incitement to hatred;

32. Law enforcement authorities should use domestic "hate crime", "incitement to hatred" and other legislation as well as other means to mitigate and, where permissible, to prosecute "Hate on the Internet" where racist and antisemitic content is hosted, published and written; 33. An international task force of Internet specialists comprised of parliamentarians and



### Prime Minister Gordon Brown said, on signing the London Declaration:

"I am pleased that the British Foreign Office hosted the founding Summit of the Inter-parliamentary Coalition for Combating Antisemitism. The event brought together 125 MPs from 40 different counties and led to this important/powerful? Declaration that I'm honoured to sign today. So many of the principles it enshrines are already things we are doing here in Britain and while I'm proud of the bold action Britain has taken to combat anti-Semitism such as improved reporting, prosecutions for antisemitic internet hate and the funding of Holocaust Education in schools, there is no room for complacency. Within a month the DCLG are organising for an away day event at Beth Shalom, the Holocaust Centre, to look in detail at how the Government can implement the London Declaration. I encourage other Heads of Government to become signatories to this historic agreement - together our renewed efforts can rid the world of this ancient virus."

John Mann MP, Chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group against Antisemitism and founder of the Inter-Parliamentary Coalition on Combating Antisemitism said:

"It is excellent to see the British Government taking the London Declaration so seriously. Prime Minister Gordon Brown is the first world leader to sign the declaration. Having the Foreign Secretary, Home Secretary and Communities Secretary join the Prime Minister, demonstrates the comprehensive government support that I know will lead to cross departmental action. Following this, I know meetings are taking place to implement the recommendations in the declaration. "The UK to date has taken a leading role in the fight against antisemitism - today proves the UK sees no room for complacency and will continue to find new and innovative solutions to tackle the world's oldest hatred."

experts should be established to create common metrics to measure antisemitism and other manifestations of hate online and to develop policy recommendations and practical instruments for Governments and international frameworks to tackle these problems.

#### Inter-parliamentary Coalition for Combating Antisemitism

34. Participants will endeavour to maintain contact with fellow delegates through working group framework; communicating successes or requesting further support where required; 35. Delegates should reconvene for the next ICCA Conference in Canada in 2010, become an active member of the Inter-parliamentary Coalition and promote and prioritise the London Declaration on Combating Antisemitism.

Lancaster House, 17 February 2009

### **David T. Jones**

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



# The curious Canadian care for Khadr

T must be tedious and frustrating to be a "concerned Canadian." So many errors to be corrected; so many problems to be resolved; so many wrong directions to be set straight.

Not in Canada of course, but in the United States. And Uncle Sam persistently fails to appreciate how he should be a better Canadian. Still, if President Obama has listened carefully to your extended albeit unsolicited advice on February 19, dreams may come true.

But in the mean time, we have had Senator Romeo Dallaire, former general and poster child for post-traumatic stress disorder, taking up the cudgels to provide guidance for how the United States should handle Omar Khadr. Why not just return the tormented young man to Canada. But for what, pray tell? Senator Dallaire suggests "rehabilitation and reintegration." Nary a mention of punishment. Somehow, punishment seems un-Canadian when associated with any consequences for Mr Khadr's activity.

Earlier, the good Senator harrumphed that Mr Khadr has been "traumatized," and that his treatment was "outright unfair and unacceptable." Others have contended that no trial should be permitted because all evidence against him is tainted by the circumstances under which he has been held and interrogated. But Senator Dallaire and other Canadian pontificators conspicuously ignore the results of Mr Khadr's actions: the widow of Sgt 1st Class Christopher J Speer and her two fatherless children, Mrs Tabitha Speer and her now 9 year old daughter and 7 year old son. It is almost six and a half years since their husband and father was killed in Afghanistan. These

In truth, Mr Khadr was the luckiest teenager in the world. How many enemy combatants fatally wound a military unit's medic and survive to tell the tale? Indeed, it is only the consequence of unprecedented U.S. medical and humanitarian action that Mr Khadr survived to whine about his fate--or for the Senator Dallaires of the world to claim his

## How many enemy combatants fatally wound a military unit's medic and survive to tell the tale?

are three Americans who go unmentioned in the chattering stories agonizing over the "tortures" suffered by Mr Khadr. These are three individuals whose lives are immeasurably more harmed and damaged than that of Mr Khadr.

Even less mentioned is Sgt Layne Morris, who lost an eye to the same grenade that killed Sgt Speer. His military career ended due to the injury--but perhaps Canadians and Senator Dallaire would be more sympathetic if he claimed PTSD. treatment is unjust.

Khadr's proponents contend that he was a "child soldier" because he was 15 when captured in Afghanistan. Leaving aside the fact that he was not a "soldier" since he was not in any uniform or regular military formation, he was certainly doing his level best to kill those who called upon him and his companions to surrender. He was no more a soldier than your local Toronto gang-banger gunning down rivals over drug turf is a soldier. Do Canadians somehow conclude that they can wander the world trying to kill Americans and get a free pass to do so as long as they are under age 18? Sorry; but we unreconstructed Americans believe that if you are old enough to try to kill us, you are old enough to pay the consequences.

But, to be sure, we have Mr Khadr's defense lawyers attempting to argue that "friendly fire" killed Sgt Speer and that Khadr's contradictory testimony is tainted. Next I expect to hear them claim Mr Khadr was being held against his will by rude Taliban companions after attempting to return to Koranic studies in Toronto--at worst a victim of the "Stockholm syndrome" generating artificial sympathy with one's captors.

Let's leave it at that. Mr Khadr currently suspended trial is scheduled to resume; if his lawyers are sufficiently persuasive, he will be released--a free Canadian. If convicted, that is the time for the Canadian government to propose his return to Canada to serve his sentence in a "Club Fed" akin to that nurturing Paul Bernardo.

But if Canadians would like a bit of perspective to their normal media reading, they might access the "Honor the Fallen" site for Sgt Speer at www.fallenheroesmemorial.com/oef/ profiles/speerchristopherj.html.

Scrolling down the page, you will find a tribute by his wife Tabitha. And perhaps reflect on who truly deserves your sympathy.

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

- George F. Lengvari, Sr.

### Global Antisemitism: Assault on Human Right, continued from page 1

### Genocidal Antisemitism

The first modality of the new antisemitism – and the most lethal type – is what I would call genocidal antisemitism. This is not a term that I use lightly or easily. In particular, I am referring to the Genocide Convention's prohibition against the 'direct and public incitement to genocide'. If antisemitism is the most enduring of hatreds and genocide is the most horrific of crimes, then the convergence of this genocidal intent embedded in antisemitic ideology is the most toxic of combinations.

There are three manifestations of this genocidal antisemitism. The first is the state-sanctioned – indeed, state-orchestrated - genocidal antisemitism of Ahmadinejad's Iran, dramatized by the parading in the streets of Teheran of a Shihab-3 missile draped in the emblem 'Wipe Israel off the Map,' while demonizing both the State of Israel as a 'cancerous tumour to be excised' and the Jewish people as 'evil incarnate'.

A second manifestation of this genocidal Antisemitism is in the covenants and charters, platforms and policies of such terrorist movements and militias as Hamas, Islamic Jihad, Hezbollah and Al-Qaeda, which not only call for the destruction of Israel and the killing of Jews wherever they may be, but also for the perpetration of acts of terror in furtherance of that objective.

The third manifestation of this genocidal antisemitism are the religious fatwas or execution writs, where these genocidal calls in mosques and media are held out as religious obligations – where Jews and Judaism are characterized as the perfidious enemy of Islam – and Israel becomes the Salmon Rushdie of the nations.

In a word, Israel is the only state in the world today – and the Jews the only people in the world today – that are the object of a standing set of threats by governmental, religious and terrorist bodies seeking their destruction. The London Declaration – again in a significant clarion call – recognizes that "where there is incitement to genocide signatories [to the Genocide Convention] automatically have an obligation to act." This promise must now be acted upon.

#### Ideological Antisemitism

Ideological antisemitism is a much more sophisticated and arguably a more pernicious expression of the new antisemitism. It finds expression not in any genocidal incitement against Jews and Israel, or overt racist denial of the Jewish people and Israel's right to be; rather, ideological antisemitism disguises itself as part of the struggle against racism.

The first manifestation of this ideological antisemitism was its institutional and juridical anchorage in the 'Zionism is Racism' resolution at the UN. Notwithstanding the fact that the there was a formal repeal of this resolution, 'Zionism as Racism' remains alive and well in the global arena, particularly in the campus cultures of North America and Europe, as confirmed by the recent British All-Party Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism.

The second manifestation is the indictment of Israel as an apartheid state. This involves more than the simple indictment of Israel as an apartheid state. It also involves the call for the dismantling of Israel as an apartheid state as evidenced by the events at the 2001 UN World Conference against Racism in Durban.

The third manifestation of ideological antisemitism involves the characterization of Israel not only as an apartheid state – and one that must be dismantled as part of the struggle against racism – but as a Nazi one.

And so it is then that Israel is delegitimized - if not demonized by the ascription to it of the two most scurrilous indictments of twentiethcentury racism - Nazism and apartheid - the embodiment of all evil. These very labels of Zionism and Israel as 'racist, apartheid, and Nazi' supply the criminal indictment. No further debate is required. The conviction that this 'triple racism' warrants the dismantling of Israel as a moral obligation has been secured. For who would deny that a 'racist, apartheid, Nazi' state should not have any right to exist today? What is more, this characterization allows for terrorist 'resistance' to be deemed justifiable - after all, such a situation is portrayed as nothing other than occupation et résistance, where 'resistance' against a racist, apartheid, Nazi occupying state is legitimate, if not mandatory.

#### Legalized Antisemitism

If ideological antisemitism seeks to mask itself under the banner of antiracism, legalized antisemitism is even more sophisticated and insidi-Here, antisemitism ous. simultaneously seeks to mask itself under the banner of human rights, to invoke the authority of international law, and to operate under the protective cover of the UN. In a word - and in an inversion of human rights, language and law – the singling-out of Israel and the Jewish people for differential and discriminatory treatment in the international arena is 'legalized'.

But one example of legalized antisemitism occurred annually for over 35 years at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. This influential body consistently began its annual session with Israel being the only country singled-out for country-specific indictment – even before the deliberations started - the whole in breach of the UN's own procedures and principles. In this 'Alice in Wonderland' situation, the conviction and sentence were pronounced even before the hearings commenced. Some 30% of all the resolutions passed at the Commission were indictments of Israel.

After the Commission was replaced in June 2006 by the UN Human Rights Council, the new body proceeded to condemn one member state – Israel – in 80% of its twenty-five country-specific resolutions, while the major human rights violators of our time enjoyed exculpatory immunity. Indeed, five special sessions, two fact-finding missions, and a high level commission of inquiry have been devoted to a single purpose: the singling-out of Israel.

This week's ICCA Conference and London Declaration unequivocally condemn this 'legalized' antisemitism, calling out that "Governments and the UN should resolve that never again will the institutions of the international community and the dialogue of nations states be abused to try to establish any legitimacy for antisemitism, including the singling out of Israel for discriminatory treatment in the international arena, and we will never witness - or be party to - another gathering like Durban in 2001."

#### The Resurgence of Global Antisemitism: Evidentiary Data

The data unsurprisingly confirm that antisemitic incidents are very much on the rise. Still, the available figures only show half the picture they demonstrate an increase in this old/new antisemitism by concentrating on the traditional antisemitic paradigm targeting individual Jews and Jewish institutions, while failing to consider the new antisemitic paradigm targeting Israel as the Jew among nations and the fall-out from it for traditional antisemitism. But the rise in traditional antisemitism is bound up with the rise in the new antisemitism, insidiously buoyed by a climate receptive to attacks on Jews because of the attacks on the Jewish state. Indeed, reports illustrate both an upsurge in violence and related antisemitic crimes corresponding with the 2006 Israel-Hezbollah War, and the recent 2009 Israel-Hamas war, which delegates to the ICCA Conference characterized as a "pandemic".

### Conclusion

It is this global escalation and intensification of antisemitism that underpins – indeed, necessitates – the establishment of this Inter-parliamentary Coalition to confront and combat this oldest and most enduring of hatreds. Silence is not an option. The time has come not only to sound the alarm – but to act. For as history has taught us only too well: while it may begin with Jews, it does not end with Jews, it does not end with Jews. Antisemitism is the canary in the mineshaft of evil, and it threatens us all.



For seven-and-a-half years, Ross worked as an undercover agent — a classic spy. In The Volunteer, he describes his role in missions to foil attempts by Syria, Libya, and Iran to acquire advanced weapons technology. He tells of his part in the capture of three senior al Qaeda operatives who masterminded the 1998 attacks on American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania; a joint Mossad-FBI operation that uncovered a senior Hezbollah terrorist based in the United States; and a mission to South Africa in which he intercepted Iranian agents seeking to expand their country's military arsenal; and two-and-a-half years as Mossad's Counterterrorism Liaison Officer to the CIA and FBI.

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



A CANADIAN'S SECRET LIFE IN THE MOSSAD THE MÉTROPOLITAIN • 26 FÉVRIER 2009 • VOL. 2, NO 6

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## PIPERBERG'S WORLD



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ÉCONOMIE

**Robert Presser** presser@themetropolitain.ca

# Surfing the Kondratieff Economic Long Wave How to understand the winter of our discontent

s the world collectively suffers the hangover of economic excesses propagated by excessive debt, greed and deregulation, many wonder if all or any of this could have been avoided. Fans of Nikolai Kondratieff will tell you that this era of falling prices, deleveraging of excessive debt and increased unemployment was both predictable and unavoidable. We are suffering through the Winter, or final season of an economic long wave that lasts from forty to sixty years, and that we can expect that it will last for years to come.

Kondratieff was an early Soviet-era economist who studied inflation rates, economic growth and commodity prices from the early 20th century back to 1789 and was able to distinguish a long wave of economic activity that could be divided into four phases he called seasons. The cycle begins with Spring, which is characterized by rising wealth and prices, which corresponds with the post-WWII boom from 1949 to 1966 in the current cycle. In the second phase, Summer, economic growth cannot sustain the desire for further increases in consumption and political and economic crises erupt –such as the period from 1966 to 1982, which included the Vietnam War and the oil crisis of 1973, which brought on stagflation (low growth and high inflation). The Autumn season is characterized by a desire to maintain consumption, but when faced with dwindling resources, great increases in debt result in an effort to sustain the system – witness the explosion in financial debt during the period of 1982-2000. Finally, the debt is unsustainable and an era of falling prices and deleveraging results, until costs become affordable enough to launch a new cycle and expansion begins again. We are currently living in the Winter of the year 2000 onwards, which could last until 2014 if we end up with an exceptionally long wave this time around. The theory deserves greater explanation than what is contained here – the internet offers many sites that provide detailed explanations of the

favorite would be www.kwaves.com. Kondratieff's lessons for our political leaders

If the Winter of the wave is unavoidable, then at least something positive should emerge from all the economic pain and suffering to be inflicted on the world's economies. Joseph Schumpeter, the conservative Austrian economist, studied Kondratieff's work and coined the term "creative destruction", which affirms that during times of economic turmoil, assets must be liberated from inefficient investments or means of production in order to be re-deployed in more promising sectors or firms so that they can create new wealth. Kondratieff was executed by Stalin before he could comment on Schumpeter's work, but he would certainly have agreed; if the Winter of the cycle does not liberate both human, financial and resource capital to be redeployed for more promising endeavors then the resulting inefficiencies will only prolong the Winter period and/or weaken the Spring of the next cycle.

Our politicians are missing the opportunity to make serious structural changes during this difficult period and instead are perpetuating the old market models and industries with trillions in new debt, a mortgage on future generations. In Quebec, Premier Charest has yet to dust of his 2003 mantle of re-making the Quebec economy and is embarking instead on minor initiatives to sustain traditional industries like home construction with a subsidy for renovation projects. In Canada, political pressures on the minority Conservative government have resulted in a planned \$60-billion stimulus package to appease the opposition parties. As a conservative-minded economist, one can only imagine how difficult it was for Prime Minister Harper to turn his back on his small-government principles to propose this package in the House.

In the United States, trillions will be spent to support the cul-de-sac of attempting to maintain an over-

cycles since the late 18th century, a heated consumer-driven economy that was perpetuated by a heaving mountain of sub-par mortgage debt. These trillions in new governmentissued debt are unlikely to find ready buyers around the world, eventually leading to one arm of the US government lending to the other, which is less-polite circles we call printing money. One can recall the pictures from Weimar Germany with a shopper pushing a wheelbarrow of paper bills on his way to buy a loaf of bread; the potential for massive US inflation and the debasement of the US currency is real and possibly imminent. The really bad part about this policy is that the US economy is still 25% of the world's economic output, and the existing US federal debt is increasingly held outside its borders. The internationalization of USdollar obligations means that any debasement of the US-currency also destroys wealth worldwide, wealth that is needed to begin a new wave cycle of economic expansion.

> Where are the managers of tomorrow? One of the greatest disappointments emerging from the recent crisis is the lack of change-over in human capital at the head of our largest corporations. From the US auto manufacturers to the banks and even our home-grown Nortel, all the management that was in place for the onset of the crisis is still firmly in charge. Shareholders (or creditors, in the case of Nortel) seem powerless or unwilling to unseat the current range of management and seek out new talent from within or outside to provide these institutions with a new vision of management. Since the days of Kondratieff's analysis, human capital has emerged as an important asset class, just as important as the raw materials prices he tracked for over two centuries of history. The concept of creative destruction applies to human capital as well – the old must move on so that the new can take hold and create new management models for future value creation.

> So far, all we have heard from the current management crop as

they appeared before Congress is that no one could have seen it coming and there was nothing that they could have done differently to mitigate the severity of the impact on their own industries. Stale auto product offerings and dangerous mortgage lending practices had been discussed for years, but yet, no one is to blame. Only in select Japanese companies have we seen executives stand up and resign for the poor performance of their corporations. We have not has a single "mea culpa" from a US auto or banking executive, though there have been many comments by laidoff middle managers that they could have seen this coming. Readers should view the interview on 60 Minutes with Paul Bishop, a former mortgage broker with Californiabased World Savings, detailing how his warnings were ignored. The interview is available from the 60 Minutes website on CBS news.

Doomed to ride the Winter wave a while longer

The bailouts, handouts and support for outmoded business models will not save those that are past their best-before date. GM is set to present the US Congress with a stark report this week; either billions more in bailout money or bankruptcy. Commentators who reviewed GM's problems correctly predicted that this would be the case, but the initial insufficient rescue package was handed out in any case. The industrialized world will not emerge from this crisis via a line-up of piecemeal packages to special interests and outmoded industries – we will only emerge when we embrace the crisis and use it to tackle the old statist models of economic management that created the inefficiencies we struggle with to this day. If we fail to find a new class of politician and business leader who are up to the task, then Kondratieff's Winter wave will be longer and colder than first imagined - and we will only have ourselves to blame.



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1958-2008

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ECONOMIE



19

# Quel avenir pour l'agriculture québécoise ?

'agriculture québécoise est étouffée par un certain nombre de politiques publiques mal conçues qui ne servent en définitive ni les intérêts des agriculteurs, ni celui des consommateurs, ni celui des contribuables.

Le premier pilier de la politique agricole du Québec est le système de gestion de l'offre dans la production de produits laitiers, de volaille et d'œufs. Quarante-six pourcent du revenu des exploitations agricoles québécoises est produit dans le cadre de ce système complexe qui tente de trouver un équilibre entre l'offre et la demande en réglementant les prix. Et, bien évidemment, cela donne des prix artificiellement élevés. Dans le but de limiter l'offre, un organisme fédéral impose des quotas de production et limite la concurrence de produits étrangers au moyen de tarifs douaniers élevés (par exemple, 299% pour le beurre et 246% pour le fromage).

Le second pilier de la politique agricole du Québec est l'ensemble des subventions gouvernementales qui soutiennent les exploitations agricoles non couvertes par le système de la gestion de l'offre. En 2006, les agriculteurs québécois ont reçu 838 millions de dollars en paiements directs et le Rapport Pronovost estime que le soutien gouvernemental (fédéral et provincial) à l'agriculture a augmenté de 248% lors des 25 dernières années. Pourtant la situation financière des agriculteurs québécois est souvent précaire. En effet, même avec les subventions gouvernementales, les revenus agricoles sont souvent inférieurs aux coûts d'exploitation et 30% de l'ensemble des exploitations agricoles au Québec ont été incapables de couvrir leurs dépenses en 2004.

Quoique plus rentables à première vue, les secteurs sujets à la gestion de l'offre présentent une réalité différente lorsque la valeur des quotas est ajoutée aux coûts de production. Ces quotas furent octroyés gratuitement aux producteurs lorsque les systèmes de gestion de l'offre furent mis en place. Mais, avec le temps, les agriculteurs commencèrent à vendre et à acheter des quotas, qui prirent de plus en plus de valeur en raison de leur quantité fixe. En raison de cette inflation dans le prix des quotas de production, la valeur marchande des entreprises agricoles a augmenté de façon spectaculaire. Ainsi, la valeur d'une ferme laitière de taille moyenne est évaluée à environ 2,5 millions, somme à laquelle il faut déduire près d'exploitation dépassent leur revenu. Ils doivent souvent s'endetter pour acheter des quotas et dépendent donc de plus en plus de prix de soutien élevés. D'autre part, lorsque les agriculteurs veulent augmenter leur production en raison d'une meilleure productivité, ils doivent obtenir de deuxièmement à l'épicerie où ils paient davantage pour une partie de leur nourriture que ce qu'ils paieraient en l'absence de la gestion de l'offre. Par exemple, selon le Rapport Pronovost, le prix du lait à la ferme est deux fois plus élevé au Québec qu'aux États-Unis. Ce coût

## En raison de cette inflation dans le prix des quotas de production, la valeur marchande des entreprises agricoles a augmenté de façon spectaculaire.

de 1,5 millions pour les quotas. Cela explique pourquoi il est maintenant pratiquement impossible pour les jeunes agriculteurs qui doivent acheter des quotas à leur valeur marchande de rentabiliser une ferme sous gestion de l'offre dans la mesure où le coût du quota et les dépenses nouveaux quotas très dispendieux

En résumé, les Québécois, comme les autres Canadiens, soutiennent financièrement les agriculteurs de deux manières différentes, à savoir : premièrement, par l'entremise de leurs impôts pour les paiements directs aux producteurs agricoles et supplémentaire est régressif et impose un fardeau particulièrement lourd aux ménages à faibles revenus, qui dépensent une plus grande partie de leur budget sur la nourriture.

Par conséquent, le secteur agricole québécois est très coûteux à la fois pour les contribuables, les consommateurs et les agriculteurs euxmêmes et la facture continue d'augmenter. Nous pourrions toujours injecter d'autres milliards dans le système mais ce serait peu judicieux. En définitive, ce secteur a besoin d'un environnement plus concurrentiel dans lequel les consommateurs paieraient moins cher et auraient plus de choix et où les agriculteurs seraient incités à être plus créatifs, productifs et novateurs.

La seule alternative viable consiste à démanteler le système de gestion de l'offre et à travailler à une élimination des subventions agricoles. Cela permettra à l'agriculture québécoise de sortir de la dépendance envers les subventions gouvernementales, des prix artificiellement élevés et des barrières douanières prohibitives et enfin - et surtout - un endettement inquiétant auprès des banques pour les détenteurs de quotas.



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# Madoff's Montreal effect

Madoff's alleged Ponzi scheme were a number of prominent Canadians, including former Westmount resident Phil Robinson.

Jessica Murphy

murphy@themetropolitain.ca

Robinson, part-owner of the Gray Rocks and Mont Blanc ski resorts, lost about \$4 million to the accused Wall Street swindler, according to a report by The Globe and Mail newspaper. His extended family lost upwards of \$13 million.

"I lost all the liquid assets I had - I would say 95 per cent of all the liquid assets," he told *The Métropolitain*.

"I've got very mixed feelings. I feel sorry for all the people who lost money. But I'm 83-year-old and I'll survive it."

His name was among thousands made public last week after a list of Madoff's potential clients surfaced in a filing in a U.S. Bankruptcy Court in Manhattan.

The New York money manager and former chairman of the NASDAQ stock exchange was found to have allegedly run the asset management arm of his investment firm as the largest Ponzi scheme in history, with losses topping a staggering \$50 billion.



Robinson said he began investing with Madoff 20 years ago and said he's simply going to make do with a lowered standard of living.

Clients - from banks, investment firms, Hollywood and sports celebrities to individuals and charities - flocked to Madoff's investment firm as he regularly brought them steady returns of almost 12 per cent annually.

Other prominent Quebecers named on the list included Gerbro Inc, a Montreal investment firm .

The list also names A. Segal Holdings, owned by Alvin Segal of Peerless Clothing fame, the largest domestic producer of high-end clothing in North America that produces under the names Ralph Lauren, Calvin Klein and Michael Kors, among others.

However, Peerless Clothing's vicechairman Elliot Lifson, denied any money had been invested with Madoff. "It's wrong, an error, a mistake," he said. "It's a definite no." Not all the names on the list were necessarily clients. Some may have

been on Madoff's mailing list. Robinson said he began investing with Madoff 20 years ago and said he's simply going to make do with a lowered standard of living.

"I feel very sorry for the people who were hurt and all the charities who were involved. My empathy is with them," he said.

And while he may have recently lost his life savings and one of his resorts - in an unrelated matter, Gray Rocks will close close its doors this spring after 102 years of operation he has kept his sense of humour. He may just take a job as a ski instructor, he laughed.

As for how he feels about Madoff? "Really nothing. He's just another crook."



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# « Plus le mensonge est gros, plus il passe »

S. Ambler, B. Babin, Richard Bastien, Pierre Balloffet, Germain Belzile, Marcel F. Blais, Claude-Marc Bourget, Jean-Charles Chebat, Maurice G. Dantec, Jean-Marie Gélinas, Patrick Imbert, Michael Laughery, Michèle Monette, Jacques Picard, Jean Renaud.

es signataires du présent article veulent faire savoir aux dirigeants de Radio-Canada leur indignation. Celle des citoyens trompés et à qui est dénié le droit vital à l'information mise dans son contexte. Les reportages de Radio-Canada sur les représailles contre les tirs de mortier, de roquettes Kassam et Grad, qui ont terrorisé jusqu'à un demi-million de civils israéliens pendant huit ans nuit et jour à raison de trois alertes quotidiennes, sont indignes d'une société d'État dans un pays libre et démocratique.

Radio-Canada nous a menti et trompé.

#### Mensonges

Menti. D'abord sur le nombre de victimes palestiniennes : 1300. Ce chiffre a été répété à l'envi, comme une évidence, comme une réalité. Sans vérification. Un journaliste italien, Lorenzo Cremonesi du grand quotidien italien Corriere della sera (23-01-2009), a fait un rapport basé sur des visites dans les hôpitaux de Gaza et sur des interviews avec des familles de blessés. Le nombre de morts ne dépasse pas cinq à six cent, grand hôpital de Gaza.

Le journaliste italien rapporte que « beaucoup de lits sont libres à l'hôpital européen de Rafah, celui qui devrait être le plus impliqué dans la prise en charge des victimes de la "guerre des tunnels" israélienne. On peut dire la même chose dans le cas de l'hôpital Nasser de Khan Yunis. Quant à l'hôpital privé Al-Amal, seulement 5 lits sur les 150 disponibles sont occupés. » Ces chiffres sont confirmés par les journalistes locaux. « Pourquoi gonfler les chiffres? », disent-ils. Le mensonge pourrait exploser dans la face du Hamas, comme les chiffres aberrants qui ont circulé après l'opération à Djénine : 1500 morts selon la propagande palestinienne contre 54, dont 45 terroristes, selon une enquête indépendante.

À la lumière de ces faits, pourquoi Radio-Canada se fait-il l'écho de faux bilans? Pourquoi Radio-Canada accorde-t-il autant d'importance à des sources si douteuses?

France 2 avait menti au début janvier en diffusant des images datant de 2005, soit celles d'un camion de munitions du Hamas qui explose dans le camp de Jabalya. France 2 l'a reconnu. CBC a menti aussi en prétendant qu'Israël avait empêché les vivres d'arriver à Gaza le 21 janvier. Le 23 janvier Peter Mansbridge, l'annonceur de CBC, se rétractait en admettant que pas moins de 2000 camions de vivres avaient passé la

selon un médecin palestinien du plus frontière vers Gaza (en vérité les entrepôts de Gaza étaient si pleins que l'ONU a demandé d'arrêter la livraison faute d'espace!). Quand Radio-Canada s'est-elle jamais excusée d'avoir diffusé ses faussetés ?

> Radio-Canada nous a menti au sujet de cette école de Gaza supposément bombardée par Israël le 6 janvier dernier, et dans laquelle 43 civils auraient péri. Or il appert, selon une enquête du Globe and Mail, que l'école en question n'a pas été bombardée du tout . Radio-Canada avait donc accordé une confiance aveugle à un activiste de l'UNRWA. On sait que l'UNRWA a 24 000 employés palestiniens, dont le tiers est vraisemblablement constitué de membres ou de sympathisants du Hamas . Se pourrait-il que Radio-Canada ne le sût pas et attachât donc autant de crédibilité à l'UNRWA qu'à une Académie des Sciences? Comment se fait-il que Radio-Canada accepte si facilement des sources nonisraéliennes, mais se montre si circonspecte face à des sources israéliennes?

> Ensuite, il y a les informations que dissimulées par Radio-Canada.

#### Ce que Radio-Canada ne dit pas

Radio-Canada n'a jamais pris le temps de nous parler de cette monstruosité que sont les boucliers humains du Hamas. Nous invitons les lecteurs à en vérifier par eux-mêmes la réalité concrète. Le député du Hamas Fathi

Radio-Canada nous a menti au sujet de l'école de Gaza supposément bombardée par Israël le 6 janvier dernier, et dans laquelle 43 civils auraient péri.

Hammad, dans un discours sur Al-Aqsa TV, s'en en fait une gloire littéralement divine : « Pour les Palestiniens, la mort est devenue une industrie dans laquelle nos femmes excellent, tout comme nos vieux et nos enfants. C'est pourquoi nous avons formé des boucliers humains avec nos femmes et nos enfants. Nous disons aux ennemis sionistes : nous désirons la mort comme vous désirez la vie ! »

Sur le même canal Al-Aqsa, contrôlé par le Hamas, on peut voir en direct des « combattants » du Hamas amenant des civils pour former un bouclier humain autour de la maison d'un haut responsable du Hamas, Abou Hatai. Sur le Channel 4 britannique, une entrevue-choc (parmi d'autres): un père palestinien dit (en anglais) qu'il espère que son fils (un ado d'une quinzaine d'années selon le vidéo) mourra en « shaheed » (martyr). Un chef du Hamas s'était protégé derrière ses propres quatre épouses et ses enfants, montés sur le toit de la maison. Radio-Canada nous a-t-elle aussi informé des enfantssoldats, formés dès la maternelle ? Regardez France 2 pour faire contrepoids. Ou Al-Aqsa TV . Vous découvrirez ainsi tout ce que Radio-Canada ne nous a pas dit.

Radio-Canada nous a-t-elle informé des combats entre factions palestiniennes rivales ? Lisez par exemple le New York Times : le Hamas a torturé et assassiné des centaines de partisans du Fatah, dans des conditions que la décence interdit de décrire ici mais que l'on peut pleinement connaître. Pourquoi le silence radio-canadien làdessus?

Israël en a trop fait à Gaza ? Ce n'est pas l'opinion de... Abou Mazen, chef de l'Autorité Palestinienne, qui regrette que son rival, le Hamas, n'ait pas été totalement éliminé. Il avait déjà déclaré, en 2007 sur Al-Jazzeera : « Il ne peut y avoir de dialogue avec ces conspirateurs et ces assassins » Le saviez-vous? Si oui, ce n'est sûrement pas grâce à Radio-Canada.

Sommes-nous juste des baudruches faites pour que Radio-Canada puisse nous gonfler à loisir de ses informations non vérifiées, incomplètes, biaisées et mensongères ? C'est Goebbels, chef de la propagande des nazis, qui disait : « Plus le mensonge est gros, plus il passe. »

Il est donc plus que temps que les Canadiens s'insurgent contre une institution publique qui, à même nos impôts, se dévalue en vulgaire officine de désinformation et de propagande.

## 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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**ARTS & STYLE** 

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# **Buried Child was best of Segal series so far**

he National Art Centre's production of Sam Shepard's loopy nightmare, Buried Child at the Leanor and Alvin Segal Theatre was a thriller that walked a tightrope between the real and the surreal.

It's a black comedy about an Illinois farm family in a state of ruin because of a skeleton in the closet. The play is a metaphor for home and family, and touches the mystic bond of family ties. But it is rooted in the notion that we live and grow with parents and siblings we often never really know. Or as Dodge, (David Fox) the bellicose patriarch of this monster family puts it: "Just because people propagate, doesn't mean they have to love their offspring."

His wife, Halie, (Claire Coulter), a decrepit matriarch with secrets of her own, begins the play with an offstage conversation that suggests that while this is a couple who speak the same language, they really aren't listening to one another.

Their eldest son, Tilden (Randy

Hughson) is a dim-witted simpleton who tosses corn and carrots around to great effect. He's back in the nest with his parents because of something bad that happened to him in New Mexico.

His younger brother, Bradley (Alex Ivanovici) is a sinister bully who hobbles around on a prostheses because his leg has been ripped off by a chain saw. It goes without saying, there is no lost love between the two siblings.

Add to the mix Dodge's prodigal grandson, -Tilden's son - Vince (Christie Watson) who hasn't been around the farm for seven years. He unexpectedly drops in hoping to introduce his wholesome redheaded girlfriend, Shelly (Adrienne Gould), to the family.

But no one in the family seems to know who Vince is, and much of the second act is pre-occupied with his search for acceptance and identity.

The cast is as close to perfect as you can get, and Peter Hinton's direction is hypnotically flawless. David Fox was down and dirty

> as the cantankerous Dodge, Claire Coulter comically shrill and stunning as his wife, and Randy Hughson and Alex Ivanovici hypnotically spellbinding as their spooky sons.

> Christie Watson was especially good as the befuddled Vince in the second act, and Adrienne Gould very convincing as the unsuspecting, level-headed girlfriend who would be better off not knowing anything.

> John Koensgen made the most of a small but telling role as Father Dewes, a visiting clergyman.

> a living room with steps to an offstage upstairs bedroom was bright and antiseptic when it should have been claustrophobic.

> The sinister atmosphere wa, however, underscored by the punctuation of Robert Thomson's lighting and Troy Slocum's sound.

> Like most avante garde theatre, Buried Child isn't always easily accessible. Shepard's willfully

obscure, 1979 Pulitzer Prize winning script, fashion's weird poetry out of dysfunctional families and human relationships.

The brilliant dialogue means pretty much what you want it to mean. Vince's telling speech about seeing his face dissolve into those of his father and grandfather is about as close as you can get to the meaning of the play: "Like a mummy's face I saw him dead and alive at the same time. His father's face changed to his grandfather's face, and it went on like that, changing, clear on back to faces Ed Sharpe's simple slatted set of I'd never seen before. Then everything dissolved." In the final scene, as Vince claims his inheritance, his grandfather's dilapidated farmhouse, his red cap, and couch, the cycle is about to repeat itself. Or is it?

> Buried Child was the third in the Segal Centre's happily themed season of plays about unhappy families - and so far, by far, the best.

David Fox as the patriarch in buried child.





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ARTS & STYLE



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# **Oscars – The First Reality Show**

rom a dark eyed boy scrounging off the streets of India and a baby born an old man, to a shamed American president, a martyr of the gays rights movement, and, finally, a young man's love affair with an SS concentration camp guard. Now that's pretty eclectic!

That's the Oscars - from the gushy interviewers on the red carpet, to the personalities dressed to the hilt - and all that cleavage - the Oscars has it all. Come on, admit it, you were watching. And those one hundred thousand Swarovski Crystals for a curtain! That's downsizing Hollywood style? Bling-bling rules!

Hugh Jackman proved himself, once again, to be as tremendous a talent at hosting as he is an actor. His opening scene was creative and entertaining. And he is oh, so smooth. Wonderful, Mr Jackman! That standing ovation was so well deserved.

For 81 years, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences has held it's yearly love fest with itself, allowing us to zoom in on the lives of the 'stars'. While the show has come under fire the past number of years, it should be remembered that the Oscars is for and about the people in the film community and not a show with the primary focus of 'wowing' the public. Eighty-one years is quite a feat, with a topic that many feel is plastic, superficial and trite - especially when the world is in such dire financial straits.

But isn't it great to get away from all that? Isn't it perhaps exactly what we need in these dull, grey times? Perhaps some Lawrence of Arabia theme music a la swing, or an all out musical sequence in black tie and top hat.

It all started in 1927, pre-recession, around a dinner table at Louis B. Mayer's Hollywood home. He, along with actor Conrad Nagel, director Fred Niblo and producer Fred Beetson, began talking about creating "an organized group to benefit the entire film industry". The word spread. The idea caught fire.

Shortly after, there was an official meeting with some of the most influential men and women in the motion picture industry of the day:

Louis B. Mayer, Mary Pickford, Sid Grauman, Jesse Lasky, George Cohen, Cecil B. DeMille, Douglas Fairbanks, Cedric Gibbons and Irving Thalberg. Douglas Fairbanks was chosen as the Academy's first president. It was through his involvement with the Academy that he also developed the first university-level film studies curriculum, personally delivering the first lecture in film appreciation at USC. There were a lot of 'firsts' for Fairbanks. He was co-founder of United Artists, and he and his wife Mary Pickford were the first to be immortalized in the Grauman's Chinese Theatre footprint ceremony.

In May of that year, there was a gathering at The Biltmore Hotel where Thomas Edison, inventor of the kinescope, was granted an Honorary Membership. The Academy had just been granted it's charter as a non-profit organization and 230 of the 300 guests present signed up as members, each paying 100 dollars for the privilege.

The very first awards ceremony, as we know it today, was held in 1929 at the Hotel Roosevelt, in Hollywood, to honour outstanding film achievements of 1927 and 1928. It was hosted by Douglas Fairbanks and director William C. DeMille. It was the first time that The Academy Award of Merit was handed out.

Don't recognize the name? He's the little man we call 'Oscar' whose common moniker derivation has spiked many a tale. Was the Oscar named after Bette Davis' husband, Harmon Oscar Nelson?(Davis was president of the Academy in 1941 but resigned after two months in.) Or was it suggested by the Academy's Executive Secretary, Margaret Herrick, who, when she first saw the award in 1931, commented on how much he looked like her Uncle Oscar? We do know that the term 'Oscar' was alluded to very early on. Walt Disney referred to it in his acceptance speech in 1932. Wherever it came from, Oscar is one man everyone in the film business covets. Anyone who earns it does, indeed, benefit from receiving such recognition - the professional



fees demanded after being a recipient of the award can mount into the millions.

This year, Oscar presented a plethora of wonderful movies and brilliant performances. But the Best Picture win of Slumdog Millionaire was a given. It had already won the BAFTA and The Golden Globe and

walked off with eight Oscars. The heartrending story of a little boy trying to survive on the streets of Mumbai won the hearts of the public and the respect of the Academy -And how wonderful to see such a film can conquer America!

Oscar winners from the past came out on stage to directly honour each of the main Oscar nominees. It was personal and satisfying. The audience responded warmly.

Still much too long, the Academy should cut the technical awards and hand them out at one of the pre-Oscar events. That didn't stop Canadians from watching. At its peak, 5.5 million Canadians tuned in to watch Heath Ledger's family pick up his award for Best Actor in a Supporting Role. Overall, 4.5 million Canadians tuned in making it the most watched show on television this year.

The Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences delivered an Oscar award ceremony that was utterly professional, highly polished and thoroughly entertaining thanks to Hugh Jackman.

The Oscars may be trite. They may be superficial and considered nothing more than escapism from the world's daily travails but for a few hours, at least, the world is united and that ain't bad.

And yes, Mr Jackman, the musical is back!



