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# THE MÉTROPOLITAIN

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# HAITI



## Montrealers' Hallelujahs for Haiti

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Trois semaines après que la terre s'est soulevée sous leurs pieds, environ 200 000 personnes sont censées être mortes, écrasées sous des tonnes de béton émietté. Port-au-Prince est en ruines et les survivants fouillent les décombres pour de l'eau et un peu de nourriture. « Les damnés de la terre » de Frantz Fanon a pris une nouvelle signification alors que les images numériques de la catastrophe haïtienne commençaient à faire chemin à travers les médias. À son crédit, la planète a commencé à se rassembler et l'aide était en chemin.

Within days after the earthquake, the first of this city's several benefit concerts was held for the Médecins Sans Frontières who were already hard at work in a compound outside of the city's ruined

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## Dévastation

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La tragédie de l'Haïti continue à se déferler dans son ensemble. Les leçons qu'elle nous enseigne au quotidien vont au cœur de notre particularité. Si elle aura quelconque testament durable, ce sera de nous rappeler ce que signifie être humain.

A story in scripture tells of two men. One, cool and detached, always involved in his own affairs looking for ways to accumulate wealth and power. The other, emotional and engaged, constantly involved in the actions and passions of his time. They had known each other many years. Upon meeting after a long absence the former said to the latter, "Why are you so angry? Why do you care so much?" The latter replied, "Because I am

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## Adopt Haiti

Canada can lead trusteeship with France and the United States

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Washington, DC...Even before the seminal January 12 earthquake, Haiti was in trouble. It was the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere with per capita income of less than \$2 per day (\$660/year) where 1 percent of the citizens held half of Haiti's wealth. Even before the earthquake, statistics indicated that only a third of the population could access electricity and only 11 percent had piped water. No city had a sanitation system; life expectancy at 61 years was the hemisphere's lowest, and the UN Human Development Index placed it 149 of 182 countries with all below it being African states. The best and brightest of its citizens long ago escaped.

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## LETTRES • LETTERS

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## Profiling yes, but do it right

I actually do see the point of profiling. Although I was born in one of these countries listed for airport scrutiny and I might be profiled myself for having my place of birth flashing on my Canadian passport, I'd rather my fellow countrymen of origin to be profiled than being blown up by them in thin air.

My argument though since more than 80% of these incidents are carried out by 'Muslim' 'men' between '15-40 of age', I'd suggest to save us all some time at the airport and focus on or "profile" for these target groups. Seriously lets not pretend any longer that we will check all passengers from these countries (e.g. Christian Sudanese women!), when in fact we are not after a certain race here but after a certain behavior specific so far to Muslim young men.

I'd also add Morocco and Pakistan to the list of countries proposed bringing it to 16, as most of the terrorists convicted in Madrid and London attacks come from there and Al-Qaeda has a strong base in these countries. The reason they were not added is of course a political one. Neither the US wants to aggravate Pakistan at this point nor the EU will follow suite and single out their most feared Moroccan citizens.

The risk that I fear in focusing on certain target groups is that security officers might end up neglecting the other groups, leaving wide-open the space for recruiting them and surprising us all. The young Muslim black males of America, for instance, could be the new face of terrorism, among others of course.

But we can learn from the Israelis, this is what they do at their airports as I witnessed first-hand. They profile for citizens of origins with declared animosity towards the state of Israel. The first question they asked me when I arrived at the border check point and they saw my flashy 'born in Damascus' on my Canadian passport was: what is your religion? Because they know statistically Christian young females tend not to blow themselves up. This is of course dangerous since most passports don't include religion, a passenger might lie and pretend to be Buddhist just to avoid the long hours of questioning. So, the slippery slope here is to start demanding having not only the place of birth indicated on your passport but also your ancestors religious affiliations, as one might be born to a Jewish family but could be an atheist by the time he has a passport and then (s)he will be unnecessarily profiled. Or what do we do with the Syrian government which follows a secular tradition by not indicating a person's religious affiliation anywhere except the birth certificate? Does a passenger from now on needs to carry not only his numeric passport but also his birth certificate?

One thing is for sure, long gone are the days when we could say have a 'happy and 'safe' flight, as the two are becoming oxymoron!

Rouba al-Fattal, Paris

## Thanks for your courage

Thanks for your recent issue on Copenhagen in which you courageously give another side of the argument for global climate change. I say "courageously" because such dissenting views are either scoffed at or ignored. The Metropolitan, the National Post and the Sun newspapers seem to be few media outlets which provide thoughtful views on this subject. I could never understand why Canada had signed on to Kyoto when there was no plan of action or cost estimates. What were they signing up to?

Bob Fowler, Ottawa

## Keep the articles coming

Your article "Of scans, profiles and freedoms" is very diplomatically worded, but it spells out the problem. Keep these articles coming, as Canadians have to be informed of what we are facing from threats emanating from Islamist extremists, both inside and outside our country. It does not take a rocket scientist to figure out who perpetrated most of the terrorist acts worldwide since 9/11.

We in the west have to understand that we are under attack, and are at war with an implacable enemy. Call it what you want, but we do have to park political correctness at the curb, if we are to have any success with airline security. There have been various articles about Israeli security procedures, that have been successful since the aborted attempt in 1968. That's a record of over 42 years. They use hands on observation and psychological standards to protect the public.

We should be demanding our government learn from other countries with successful security programs, and implementing those programs here, without delay. I am sure that you have seen some of the reports concerning what the Israeli's do to protect their flying citizens.

Gerald Kreaden, Montreal

Maison Joseph Battat

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## THE VOLUNTEER

*The riveting story of a Canadian who served as a senior officer in Israel's legendary Mossad.*

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

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



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

LA PATRIE

L'INACTION DU GOUVERNEMENT CHAREST EN 2010

# La poussière sous le tapis

J'ai failli intituler cet article Mes prédictions pour l'année 2010. Je me suis ravisé, car ma boule de cristal refuse de me révéler ce qui va se passer cette année. Tout au plus me laisse-t-elle entrevoir ce qui n'arrivera pas. J'ai dressé une liste de ces non-événements. Voici la prédiction dont je suis le plus sûr : le gouvernement libéral dirigé par Jean Charest ne prendra aucune décision douloureuse.

Attention : «douloureuse» n'est pas synonyme d'«impopulaire». La création d'une commission d'enquête sur la corruption dans l'industrie de la construction serait accueillie favorablement par la population, mais serait apparemment douloureuse pour M. Charest (je me demande pourquoi). L'escouade Marteau continuera d'enquêter — j'ai failli écrire «de gesticuler», mais j'aurais fait insulte aux policiers assurément compétents et honnêtes qui la composent. M. Charest est donc capable de ne pas prendre des décisions qui plairaient au peuple. Il mérite ainsi un blâme et des félicitations. Un blâme pour sa passivité dans ce cas précis, où il devrait agir, des félicitations pour son entêtement, qui démontre qu'il est capable de braver l'opinion publique. Cette attitude frondeuse, il devrait à mon avis la manifester plus souvent.

Je prédis donc (en espérant me tromper) que le gouvernement libéral de Jean Charest ne tiendra pas compte dans son prochain budget des recommandations du comité consultatif présidé par le ministre des Finances, Raymond Bachand. Les «sages» qui composent ce comité sont des sommités dans leur domaine, ce qui représente un lourd handicap quant à l'accueil qui les attend dans l'opinion publique — et par conséquent sur le sort qui sera fait à leurs travaux par le gouvernement qui les a engagés. Il s'agit de messieurs Robert Gagné, Pierre Fortin, Luc Godbout, et Claude Montmarquette, à qui j'offre d'ores et déjà mes plus sincères condoléances. Pour ma part, je trouve les deux premiers rapports de ces messieurs très convaincants. Ils ne seront assurément suivis d'aucune action sérieuse. Claudette Carbonneau, la présidente de la CSN, s'est d'ailleurs déjà prononcée : «Après des mois de suspens, les masques tombent. Jamais un comité consultatif n'aura été aussi loin dans ses propositions de privatisation du système de santé.» Que Mme



Carbonneau se rassure, M. Charest (et M. Bachand) n'auront jamais le courage de braver les anathèmes d'une présidente de centrale syndicale. Jamais dans cent ans!

Un troisième rapport proposera des solutions concrètes et chiffrées. Elles le seront sûrement, mais demeureront lettre

morte! Nos lourdes structures ne seront pas mises au régime minceur, Mme Carbonneau n'aimerait pas ça. La hausse des dépenses publiques se poursuivra au même rythme qu'auparavant; les frais de scolarité et les frais de garderie demeureront gelés; rien d'efficace ne sera fait pour résorber dans un avenir prévisible notre déficit budgétaire; la dette publique continuera de grimper; les Québécois continueront de dormir sur leurs deux oreilles sous la houlette d'un gouvernement dont la devise est «tout finira bien par s'arranger».

Vous me direz que je n'ai pas parlé de la hausse de la TVQ, déjà annoncée, si je ne m'abuse, par Mme Monique Jérôme-Forget. Je réponds à mes contradicteurs que mon article porte sur ce qui ne sera pas fait non sur ce qui sera fait. Cette hausse de la TVQ est éminemment nécessaire... et douloureuse pour les payeurs de taxe. Mais ce qui est nécessaire est souvent douloureux. Les Québécois sont très sensibles à la douleur, mais je crois qu'ils vont pouvoir supporter celle-là... à condition qu'on ne leur en inflige pas d'autre, ce que le gouvernement Charest se gardera bien de faire.

Puisqu'on parle d'argent, je prédis qu'il n'y aura aucun règlement dans la négociation de l'État avec les employés du secteur public. Question de gagner du temps et de ne pas prendre de décision impopulaire, le gouvernement va laisser traîner les choses. Et non, il n'imposera pas de décret ! Du moins pas en 2010.

Je prédis également que le gouvernement ne prendra aucune mesure pour stopper ou même seulement ralentir le train-train de la réforme de l'éducation, qui va continuer d'entraîner à sa perte l'école québécoise.

Je prédis somme toute que le gouvernement va continuer de repousser la poussière sous le tapis, jusqu'à ce que nous nous réveillions, en 2011 j'espère, ou beaucoup plus tard je le crains, devant une pente impossible à remonter. Nous nous demanderons alors pourquoi le gouvernement n'a pas imposé dès 2010 les mesures nécessaires pour prévenir le désastre.

Je souhaite de tout coeur que mes prédictions soient fausses. Je coifferai le bonnet d'âne avec plaisir. Allez, M. Charest, rendez-vous impopulaire.

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

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

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DÉVASTATION, SUITE DE LA PAGE 1

## HAITI

human. That is what humans do.”

Plusieurs se sont émerveillés à l’effusion remarquable de bénévoles et aux collectes de fonds qui ont eu lieu. Est-ce bien qu’ils soient émerveillés? Nous devrions toujours être étonnés par les rencontres heureuses avec notre humanité quand elles surgissent.

In 1918, a young André Malraux was approached by a joyous friend of his father’s who invited him to come and celebrate the Armistice that ended the First World War. Malraux, the man who would pen the immortal “Man’s Fate” and “The Human Condition”, went with the family friend to the celebration. He wrote in his diary that night that as he looked around the merriment he felt strangely disconnected. While all around him were laughing and clinking glasses his thoughts turned ashen. They turned to the fields of war where the bodies of many of his friends lay. They turned to the loss of innocence. They turned to the loss of hope.

Malraux wrote that he felt his legs giving way under him as he saw the smiling faces that he described as looking like skeletons locked in final agony. He wrote that while others danced lithely around the floor, he felt as though “the earth had been ploughed from under him.”

What better epitaph for the month that was. The earth was ploughed out from under us. Physically for Haitians, spiritually for us all.

The hunt for reason and comfort began. People rushed to houses of faith, to at least test the bonds of friendship. They tried to suppress their fear, and eagerly sought fortitude. Some succeeded, some did not.

These are truly days of awe. They are beyond comprehension. If our faith is to have any meaning, it must be through a manifestation of action. When Martin Luther King, Jr., whose birthday we commemorated this week, spoke of unearned suffering being redemptive, it can only be redemptive through our sacrifice and service. This is a time to dare to care. This is a time to give.

Devant certaines crises, nous ne sommes pas toujours certains de la façon qu’il faut agir. Cette fois-ci c’est évident. Ceux parmi

## Devant certaines crises, nous ne sommes pas toujours certains de la façon qu’il faut agir. Cette fois-ci c’est évident.

nous qui sont venus à la maturité politique durant les années soixante et soixante-dix ont su instinctivement combattre les pharaons de la haine. Personne n’a jamais vraiment appris comment combattre les conséquences du destin. Nous le savons maintenant. Dare to care.

Plusieurs, même ici dans cette ville, ont perdu plus que peut être imaginé. Une jeune femme remarquable nommée Dominique Anglade a perdu ses parents et avec un courage et une élégance extraordinaires a dit qu’elle était sereine car « ils sont morts en faisant ce qu’ils croient. » Si nous croyons en nous-mêmes, nous devons nous tenir avec ceux qui ont perdu. =

That is the true faith. The commonality of our pain. What Aeschylus called the pain “that falls drop by drop upon the heart until through the awful grace of God we attain wisdom.” And we must understand that wisdom viscerally. Alone we are nothing. Together, in the brotherhood of man, we can tear down any walls of suffering and resistance.

Together we can cross over the mountaintop. We can realize the dream of Reverend King that we as a people...as the family of man...will get there.

We have been witness to the highest forms of charity. The kind given with not a possibility of reward nor recompense from those receiving. The kind where we give until it hurts. We are helping the damned of the earth. If we have met the test of charity, there awaits yet another challenge. The test of compassion.

Remembering that in helping a fellow soul one should not

calculate political or economic ramifications in the future. For with each rescued spirit, we have saved an entire world.

In facing that challenge we were gratified to hear of the decision by the Quebec government to broaden the definition of “family” for the purpose of rescue and reunification. We were also glad to hear that the paper trail of process would be speeded up in both Ottawa and Quebec.

There had been some talk that the definition of family would be narrow and linear. Grandparents, parents, children. But family means more than that. Family means who cares about you. Excluding uncles and aunts, cousins, brothers and sisters in law would not meet the challenge of compassion. We are a large enough and rich enough society to accommodate more.

C’est également encourageant de voir que le débat continu sur la démographie sociale au Québec a été apaisé pour l’instant. Nous ne regardons pas les rescapés en termes d’anglophone ou de francophone, de noir ou de blanc. Simplement comme des personnes. C’est à peu près temps.

The question of the smallest victims also arose recently. There was some talk that adoptions would be halted so as not to encourage child trafficking. That seemed to be a pretty far reach. Haiti already had the highest percentage of orphans in the Western Hemisphere. Fully five per cent of its population. The orphanages have been mostly destroyed and there is little or no room to accommodate the new orphans to add to the 500,000 that were there.

Le Québec a annoncé qu’il, en fin de compte, ne restreindrait pas les adoptions mais plutôt accélérerait le processus. Cela aussi est bien.

Perhaps we as a society can look at ourselves through the prism of Haiti’s tragedy. Perhaps we will finally be grateful for what we have built and put aside petty squabbles. Perhaps we can treat each other with understanding, forgiveness and forbearance. That will be the true test of meeting the challenge of compassion. It will be the greatest living legacy and the greatest tribute to the suffering of the victims we are helping.

Maybe, just maybe, we are becoming more human.

“You will find *true*  
**SUCCESS** in those *efforts*  
that captivate your  
*heart and soul.*  
Belief fuels **PASSION**  
and *passion rarely* fails.”



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**MONTREALERS' HALLELUJAHS FOR HAITI, CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1**

# HAITI

hospital. Québec rock star Arianne Moffatt opened the concert with a cover of Leonard Cohen's Hallelujah - a masterpiece which many believe could become the anthem of our times. Two thousand years into modern history and people still have to deal with Dies Irae - the wrath of God. Cohen knows it may be difficult to put our trust in the hands of a loving God but there's still a choice because we can still believe in each other.

Et c'est ce que les habitants de Montréal font pour les gens à Port-au-Prince.

« L'ultime fléau qui peut encore s'abattre sur l'Haïti », a indiqué la comédienne Guylaine Tremblay, « c'est l'indifférence, notre propre indifférence. »

And while the wrath of God took less than a minute to shake an entire city into the ground, it took less than a week for this city to prove it could do something about the pain and hunger that defines life on the streets of Haiti's Port-Au-Prince. During one concert held in the Gésu Theatre on Bleury Street, Québec's favorite songwriter Michel Rivard's a capella cover of Haiti superstar Mano Charlemagne's Le Mal du Pays put a spike through the heart of every man and woman who ever left his home and his family for a better life on the cold streets of this city. "Toi tu traines ta vie avec le mal de ton pays!" has a lot to say for anybody who drives a cab or works a lift-truck in a frozen warehouse in some industrial park located north of the Metropolitan Blvd.

Québec torch singer Florence 'K' accompanied herself on the piano as she sang a subdued cover of Jean-Paul Ferland's La Musique, Mon Amour after Papa Groove's brass nearly blew the roof off the rafters of the old church basement with its ferocious energy. After Dorian Fabreg and Carole Facal, the original members of Montreal's famous Dobracaracol, performed their duet, the crowd was on its feet because it was the first time the girls had performed together in years. Facal's own number, a driving gospel tune, brought in the new Nomadic Massive, a club sensation out of Montreal North who proceeded to stake out their own place among the evening's stellar line-up.

"If the politicians in Montreal North bothered to listen to these guys," said political science student Robert Hudon, "...they could have done something to avoid the riots after Freddy Villanueva was killed."

A lot of people thought the Telus party was nothing less than one big party. For an event that billed itself as the

'L'Union fait la Force' party, few could argue the point as the money rolled in to pay for what many described as '...one of the best parties in town'. While it's difficult to keep track of all the city's benefit concerts being held for Haiti, the Telus benefit was special because it was organized by the city's arts & entertainment people - specifically its new, young and vibrant Haitian arts community. The Telus Theatre benefit's instant shake 'n bake party atmosphere took off as soon as the theatre's doors were opened for business. While hundreds of people packed the theatre's main dance floor, north-end Montreal MP Denis Coderre was sitting with friends and supporters near the bar as far away from the club's floor level speakers as possible.

« C'est important » a-t-il dit au The Métropolitain. « Ceci est très important. C'est triste de penser que ça prend une tragédie comme celle-ci [le tremblement de terre haïtien] pour que les gens se rassemblent, mais regarder ce qui se passe. Les gens travaillent ensemble et ils parlent déjà de bâtir, et non simplement de reconstruire un nouveau Haïti. »

During televised Friday night benefit concerts on both the CBC and Radio-Canada, Prime Minister Stephen Harper's pledge to have the Canadian government match any Canadian's donation to a recognized Canadian charity provided at least \$100,000,000 for emergency relief work on the island. But Governor General Michaëlle Jean's actions spoke louder than anything done onstage as she personally made her way through the city's north-end community centers to show her support and solidarity with the victims of Haiti's latest



catastrophe. During a brief stop at Montreal's North-end TOHU pavilion, the Governor General stole the show with her frank and sincere televised appeal for the victims of Haiti's recent earthquake. As Jean got ready to take her turn before the television cameras, many of the city's Haitian policemen could be seen smiling with obvious pride as they watched the nation's Governor General, a native-born Haitian, speak for the people of their homeland.

La chef de l'opposition municipale Louise Harel, une séparatiste avouée, a indiqué au The Métropolitain a quel point qu'elle était impressionnée de la visite de la gouverneure générale et croyait qu'elle faisait une bonne chose pour les gens de Montréal-Nord-particulièrement sa communauté haïtienne.

« Ce n'est pas politique » a dit Harel. « C'est simplement d'aider des gens quand ils ont vraiment besoin de notre aide, » a-t-elle indiqué alors qu'elle a rapidement écrit un gros chèque pour l'effort de la Croix-Rouge canadienne en Haïti.

Papineau MP Justin Trudeau was also in the crowd along with Québec's Immigration Minister Yolande James

and Viau MNA Emmanuel Dubourg who took his own star turn with his "Je me souviens" quote during the Thursday night Telus party. Dubourg's recent work among affected community groups in his district is quickly giving him the reputation as being one of the major players among Jean Charest's Liberal stars in Montreal North.

"This is wonderful," he told The Métropolitain. "The people of Montreal are getting to know who we really are, but we still have to remember how the situation is still urgent. People are hungry, people are thirsty and we still have to help them build a new city."

Denis Coderre est d'accord avec Dubourg. Non seulement croit-il que le Canada devrait se dédier à trouver des solutions permanentes pour la pauvreté endémique de l'Haïti, mais il devrait également profiter de la situation actuelle « pour bâtir un nouveau Haïti, un Haïti véritablement démocratique et finalement un Haïti qui se soutient lui-même. »

Later, in La Perle Retrouvée, a community center located in the basement of a de-consecrated Montreal North church, organizers were setting up more chairs as people kept coming

in to see the televised benefit concert. When Montreal entertainment personality Gregory Charles began signing La Dessalinière, Haiti's national anthem, with a singular gospel beat, the entire room stood up as they added their voice to the anthem.

Antoine Alexandre was standing near the basement's back door as he was getting ready to go home and hit the books. As a communications student who is trying to get his Québec teacher's certificate, Alexandre spent most of the last week wondering what happened to his family. His brother Hans, a Catholic priest, lost his church and he only recently received news about the rest of his family who are all safe but completely destitute and effectively out on the street.

"I want to bring them to Canada," he said, "...but now we lost all of our papers and it's going to be very difficult."

À ce moment, des policiers et des agents de sécurité sont entrés par la porte arrière pour escorter la gouverneure générale à l'avant de la salle. Alors que la gouverneure générale rentrait dans la salle, elle a vu Alexandre et a immédiatement étendue sa main pour le saluer et pour lui dire quelques mots avant de continuer pour rencontrer d'autres qui avaient hâte de la voir.

"I can't believe it," said Alexandre who was visibly moved by the experience. "I just met the Governor General of Canada. She shook my hand and talked to me like I was a friend. This is such a great country...I just love this country."

Leonard Cohen was right. Sing Hallelujah!

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

- George F. Lengvari, Sr.





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## Droits et démocratie : Harper a raison de faire le ménage

Les demandes de l'opposition fédérale pour une enquête sur la supposée influence négative du gouvernement Harper sur l'organisation Droits et démocratie sont inacceptables, mal conçus et corrosifs. Inacceptables parce qu'ils ne résonnent à rien de plus qu'une chasse aux sorcières cherchant un bénéfice politique sur la mort du défunt président de Droits et démocratie, Rémy Beaugard; qui est mort récemment d'une crise cardiaque. Mal conçu car ils démontrent une ignorance effroyable des lacunes de Droits et démocratie que ce gouvernement a essayé de corriger. Corrosif parce qu'ils démontrent n'importe quelle tentative par n'importe quel gouvernement de réformer n'importe quelle organisation chérie des médias et de la gauche libérale que, en effet, soutient trop souvent des groupes autour du monde dont les objectifs sont hostiles aux sociétés libres.

Droits et démocratie fut fondé en 1988 par le gouvernement Mulroney. Son objectif original était de faire le genre de travail que fait le National Democratic Institut de Washington. Envoyer des agents à d'autres pays pour aider à établir des institutions démocratiques, surveiller des élections et former les citoyens dans les valeurs et vertus des sociétés libres. L'engagement du NDI au

développement démocratique et au pluralisme libéral occidental est franc et clair.

Tristement, Droits et démocratie ne s'est pas développé comme ça. Au lieu d'une vision franche et d'une résolution persistante, elle a poursuivi une approche nébuleuse envers sa mission originale qui ressemblait plus à un cours de deuxième année de bac en science politique que de la bonne politique publique. Il est vrai qu'elle a envoyé de l'argent et du personnel à l'étranger. Mais l'argent est allé trop souvent à ceux qui croyaient qu'ils avaient un droit d'avoir tort; et pire encore, qui ont été instruits dans les diables jumeaux du relativisme moral et de l'équivalence politique qui furent les cachets des universitaires de gauche. Peu d'habileté- et moins de courage - de pouvoir distinguer le bien du mal.

La mort de Beaugard fut en effet une tragédie. Elle est venue après une réunion du conseil d'administration de Droits et démocratie. Mais ça aurait pu se produire n'importe où et à n'importe quel moment. Suggérer que les désaccords que Beaugard avaient eu avec des gens du conseil d'administration nommés par Harper constataient de « l'harcèlement » menant à sa mort - comme fut insinué par certains - est risible au point d'être à la McCarthy en sa nature.

Peu importe ce qu'on puisse penser des dirigeants politiques, le moins que puissent être attendu d'eux est qu'ils maintiennent une rigueur intellectuelle une touche au-dessus d'un film de série B. L'opposition a non seulement échoué à cette épreuve, mais a ajouté un mélodrame supplémentaire basé sur des faits erronés qui aurait du être exacts. Ils allègent que M. Beaugard avait été en un désaccord violent sur des coupures dans le financement soutenues par des gens nommés par Harper. Ces coupes ont été dirigées envers des groupes qui ont des liens avec des organisations reconnues comme étant terroristes par le Canada. À vrai dire, M. Beaugard avait voté pour les coupures dans le financement avec les gens nommés par Harper, dont Beaugard était un lui-même.

Les gens nommés par Harper au conseil d'administration, le président Aurel Braun, Jacques Gauthier, Elliot Tepper et l'avocat des droits de l'homme de renom David Matas, ont essayé de redresser le chaos. Une décision récente qui a rendue l'opposition tout éternée était la décision de couper l'aide financière à plusieurs groupes au Moyen-Orient. Ces groupes ont reçus des sommes par l'entremise de fonds discrétionnaires qui ont eu peu ou pas de surveillance par le conseil d'administration dans le passé. Parmi les organismes recevant les argents provenant des contribuables canadiens étaient Al Haq, qui a est basé en Cisjordanie, et Al Mazan, basé à Gaza. Le directeur général d'Al Haq, Shawan Jabarin, a eu des demandes de visas de sortie refusés par l'Israël et la Jordanie en raison de ses liens au Front populaire de libération de la Palestine (FPLP). Le FPLP est une organisation reconnue comme étant terroriste au Canada. La signature de M. Jabarin était sur les documents acceptant l'argent de Droits et démocratie. Pourquoi devraient ces coupes choquer et irriter l'opposition les menant même à alléguer que ce gouvernement compromet l'intégrité de Droits et démocratie? S'il y a de quoi compromettant c'est ce que Droits et démocratie faisait aux politiques de ce pays, et les objectifs de n'importe quel peuple libre. D'ailleurs, simplement en termes de correction, le défunt M. Beaugard - que l'opposition magnifie en grand martyr des mauvais Harperiens - a aussi voté pour couper ces financements.

La glorification de Droits et démocraties sur la mort de M. Beaugard, combiné avec une campagne de diffamation anti-gouvernementale, cherche à arrêter la tentative du gouvernement fédéral de réformer Droits et démocraties en attaquant la légitimité de son droit d'enquêter et en marginalisant les actions indignes que Droits et démocraties a commis dans le passé.

Certains ont même eu la témérité de suggérer que le tout tourne autour de l'impossibilité de critiquer l'Israël. Ils ont complètement tort.

Les votes juifs n'importent pas beaucoup dans ce pays. Il y a seulement 350 000 juifs. Et l'Israël n'est pas l'enjeu numéro un pour tous. L'engagement de ce gouvernement envers l'Israël est basé sur une fidélité à la survie et au succès de la liberté. L'Israël est une nation qui représente la liberté sur le front du plus grand défi existentiel à nos libertés dans le monde aujourd'hui. Si le Canada va financer une

organisation comme Droits et démocraties, cette organisation ne devrait-elle pas être fidèle à protéger les principes mêmes que son nom expose?

Un autre peu d'hypocrisie dans les harangues de l'opposition vient de son engagement supposé à la transparence et à l'imputabilité. Je dis supposé parce que personne sur les bancs de l'opposition ne se sont interrogé à propos d'un courriel envoyé par un employé qui allège que chacun des 47 employés de Droits et démocratie voulaient le retrait des membres du conseil d'administration que Harper a nommé. Pourtant il n'y avait aucune lettre signée par les employés, seulement ce courriel indiquant leurs noms. Pourtant l'opposition a voracement pris ce morceau quoique des membres du conseil d'administration ont été contactés par les employés et leur ont indiqués qu'ils n'avaient aucuns liens avec ce courriel et qu'ils n'étaient pas en accord avec.

Et des questions d'imputabilité et d'honnêteté ne sont tristement pas nouvelles à cette organisation. En 2007, bien avant que la plupart des membres du conseil d'administration de Harper aient été nommés, le Bureau de l'inspecteur général du ministère des affaires étrangères a conclu que Droits et démocratie avait besoin d'une plus grande transparence, de contrôles financiers internes plus strictes et d'une plus grande imputabilité. Même en 1998, le conseil d'administration - un conseil d'administration libéral - a agi pour mettre fin au programme de Droits et démocratie au Moyen-Orient parce qu'il engendrait le mêmes type de problèmes qu'aujourd'hui.

Un autre mensonge que les partis d'opposition ont légitimé est que le conseil d'administration de Droits et démocratie a rejeté un projet pour aider des victimes de violence sexuelle en République Démocratique du Congo. En effet, il l'a approuvé avec quelques ajustements aux détails. Mais ceci génère une question. Aussi horrible qu'est la violence sexuelle, quel est le lien avec le mandat de faire croire les idéaux et les institutions démocratiques? Une autre fabrication propagée par l'opposition dans ses demandes pour une enquête est que Droits et démocratie est censée être indépendante du gouvernement. Mais ce n'est pas du tout représentatif de ses compétences. Les ONG étrangères recevant de l'argent de Droits et démocratie doivent être indépendantes de Droits et démocratie. Droits et démocratie ne devait pas être indépendante du même gouvernement qui l'a créée. Ça en fait partie et est alors sujette à la gouvernance de ses agents dûment élus.

À mon avis je ne comprends même pas pourquoi nous avons besoin d'une organisation comme Droits et démocratie. Ne devrait-il pas être le travail de notre ministère des affaires étrangères de s'assurer que ce pays est profondément engagé dans le développement démocratique autour de la planète? Pourquoi est-ce que ceci devrait être sous-traité? Mais voyant qu'il existe, nous devrions être reconnaissants que nous ayons un gouvernement fédéral avec l'engagement résolu envers les droits et à la démocratie que l'organisation elle-même compromet dans ses fonctionnements internes et dans ses opérations externes. Il est temps de faire le ménage.

  
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# Reframing

## A comment on the media controversy surrounding Rights and Democracy

Remy Beauregard, the former president of Rights and Democracy, died of a heart attack the night of January 7, 2010. Some of the staff of Rights and Democracy in the name of all of them released a letter dated January 11, 2010 calling on the leadership of the Board of Directors to resign, accusing them of harassment of the former president. The accusation of harassment was directed against the chair and vice-chair of the Board, Aurel Braun and Jacques Gauthier, and the chair of the audit and finance committee, Elliot Tepper.

The letter did not indicate what was the activity of the Board members which caused concern. The fact that the charge was levied against the leadership of the Board indicated that in substance the issue was rather about the role of the Board. The letter itself hinted at this, accusing the three of having a "complete misunderstanding of your role as Directors".

What the understanding of the staff was of this role, the letter did not indicate. Presumably the staff thought that the Board should be less hands on in directing Rights and Democracy than the leadership of the Board thought it should be. That, despite the charge of harassment, seemed to be the substance of the dispute.

The statute of Rights and Democracy gives authority over the conduct and management of the affairs of the institution to the Board [section 21(g)]. The Rights and Democracy press officer Charles Vallerand sent a letter to the Globe and Mail, published January 16, attempting to explain the nature of the dispute between the Board leadership and the staff. In that letter, he referred to the independence of the institution.

It is most unusual for the staff of any organization to ask its leadership, those responsible for conduct and management of its affairs, to resign, and to justify that request by asserting independence. What to the staff seemed to be harassment by the Board leadership may have been no more than Board resistance to rejection by staff of accountability to the Board.

Whatever the subject matter of this dispute, one thing was clear. There was no dispute over policy. The editorial to which Charles Vallerand responded indicated that the dispute between the Board and staff was over policy. Vallerand wrote: "this is not the problem".

A dispute over the role of a board arrives in a context. Where there is agreement in substance, there is no foundation for a debate over process. Debates about process flare up in the context of disagreements over substance.

There was, at one time, between the Board and the staff, a policy debate, about whether the institution should have given grants immediately after the Gaza war to three non-governmental organizations - Al Haq, Al Mezan, and B'Tselem - to document human rights violations occurring in the Gaza strip. The dispute about the role of the Board evolved in the context of a dispute about those grants.

However, by the time Remy Beauregard died, that policy dispute had been resolved. The day before Beauregard died, the Board passed a motion repudiating the grants. The vote was nine in favour and one abstention. None opposed. Beauregard not only voted in favour of repudiation; he spoke for the motion saying "we could have done our homework better". All that remained in dispute was the manner in which both sides had acted in resolving this policy disagreement.

Yet, a sequence of politicians, editorialists and commentators have reframed the dispute about the role of the Board of Rights and Democracy as a political dispute. The staff charge levied against the Board leadership that it did not have an understanding of their role as directors instead became a polemical charge levied against the Conservative government that it had stacked the Board to pursue a right wing pro-Israel agenda.

For anti-Conservative polemicists, the dispute remained a

disagreement over the three grants to Al Haq, Al Mezan and B'Tselem, despite the fact that this dispute had been resolved within Rights and Democracy. For these polemicists, those grants were rightly made. And, so their reasoning went, the Conservative government was wrong to insert its people onto the Board to reverse the decision on those grants.

Because, by the time the Board/staff dispute had become public, the Board and the staff agreed on policy, the facts could not sustain this characterization of the dispute. That, though, did not stop the polemicists. Their attitude seemed to be, if the facts are not on our side, so much the worse for the facts. A sequence of opinions concocted facts to sustain the line polemicists had developed.

For example, Haroon Siddiqui, in an opinion piece published in the Toronto Star, January 31, 2010 under the heading "How the Harperites ambushed the rights agency" wrote that the Board "voted 7-6 to repudiate the three grants". A vote of 7 to 6 for repudiation sustained a story line that recent Tory appointees to the Board were bringing to the Board the Tory's pro-Israel agenda. So that was the assertion, in spite of the fact that the vote was nine to none with one abstention.

Moreover, Siddiqui when he wrote about the 7-6 vote, knew it

**By the time the Board/staff dispute had become public, the Board and the staff agreed on policy, the facts could not sustain this characterization of the dispute.**

not to be true. I had written an analysis of the controversy in Rights and Democracy where I recounted the repudiation vote. In my analysis, I pointed out that the motion had passed handily and that Beauregard had voted in favour of the repudiation motion. I sent my analysis to Siddiqui by e-mail. He responded on January 27 by thanking me and indicating he had already read my analysis on a website.

Yet, four days later he wrote an opinion piece suggesting that the Board/staff dispute over the three grants remained alive and that the change in policy was the result of a Harper "hostile takeover" of the Board. Those imaginary facts fit better into the opinion he wanted to express than the real facts. So the imaginary facts prevailed.

In a similar vein, Ish Theilheimer, at the website PublicValues.ca, wrote that the letter from the staff asking three Board members to resign was directed not to the leadership of the Board, but rather to a trio he characterized as recent political appointees - myself, Michael Van Pelt, and Jacques Gauthier. Yet, Jacques Gauthier was appointed to the Board two years ago.

Michael Van Pelt and I are the new appointees. The January Board meeting was our first. The staff did not ask us to resign. The Theilheimer commentary which criticized the Harper government for using the appointments process to pursue an ultra conservative agenda both quoted and had a link to an article by Maclean's reporter Paul Wells. That Wells article stated correctly who the three targeted Board members were.

So again here we have an imaginary fact, which the writer knew to be false, being using to buttress an opinion which the real facts could not sustain. The suggestion of a hostile political takeover is more compelling if the staff resignation demand is directed to the new members. The narrative Theilheimer wanted to build is that the staff today still support funding for the three organizations but the Government does not; so the Government appointed people to reverse the funding policy.

Michael Van Pelt was described in this Theilheimer article as an evangelist, which he decidedly is not. This false description

added colour to the political narrative the author was trying to build. So the fact that Van Pelt is not an evangelist just went by the wayside.

The sole fact mentioned about Jacques Gauthier is that he had written a thesis that Jerusalem belonged to Israel at international law. Pushing Gauthier's appointment to the Board forward two years gave support to the thesis that the Tories were stacking the Board with members who had a narrow Middle East agenda.

Ed Broadbent, in a letter to the National Post dated January 26, 2010, wrote that recent appointments to the Board "were clearly intended to pursue the government's political agenda". Yet, it is not so clear.

For one, the repudiation motion was mine alone, though once I presented it, it was seconded and then adopted. No one suggested the motion to me, directly or indirectly, either in the Government or on the Board. By the time of the January Board meeting, the three grants had been long since disbursed and the money long since spent. The resolution was functionally superfluous, which is probably why no one else bothered. I have never had any conversations with anyone in the government about anything to do with Rights and Democracy, either in the Department of Foreign Affairs, or in the Privy Council or in the

Office of the Prime Minister, other than a one sentence query from Foreign Affairs, before I was appointed, asking whether I would accept an appointment to the Board.

Second, much has been made of the fact that I am a volunteer lawyer for B'nai Brith Canada. Almost completely ignored is the fact that I am a member of the Liberal Party, a past candidate for the Party in three federal elections, in 1979, 1980 and 1984, a member of the Party's national policy committee for five years, between 1973 and 1978 and a member of its election platform committee for the 1980 election. Ed Broadbent may not have known all these details. But he is familiar enough with the Canadian political landscape to know that I have no interest in furthering the Conservative Party's political agenda.

My own guess, for what it is worth, is that my appointment to the Board had nothing to do with either my affiliation with B'nai Brith or the Liberal Party and everything to do with the fact that I had served on the Board for two prior terms, between 1997 and 2003. The Board, by the time I was appointed, had degenerated into controversy on the role of the Board and the Government, I believe, wanted a person on the Board with prior experience.

The motivation for the appointment of Michael Van Pelt was, as far as I can tell, similar. Van Pelt is a person with a good deal of organizational experience, wise in the ways of board/management relations.

Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. Al Haq, Al Mezan and B'Tselem have gained a reputation for their method of operation - develop a theory first, in their case "Israel is to blame" and then twist or invent the facts to fit the theory. The current round of polemicist attacks on the Tories seems inspired by this method of operation. If the facts cannot sustain their theory - a Conservative party hostile takeover of Rights and Democracy to pursue a right wing ideological agenda - then the facts must be changed to fit the theory.

As a Liberal, I am not averse to attacks on the Tories. All I would say to Broadbent, Siddiqui, Theilheimer and others is, stick to the facts.



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# Chill, political foodies! There's too much government already

One of the worst by-products - among many -- of the rapid expansion of government in the past 50 years has been the politicization of everything, including aspects of personal daily life that government has no business in. Relationships, child rearing, garbage collection, even the replacement of light bulbs have come under government scrutiny.

Private charity has been deemed demeaning and replaced, by and large, by public welfare. Even the charity that remains has been politicized with highly biased tax bureaucrats determining which private causes are worthy of tax-deductible donations on ideological grounds.

Smoking, even in the confines of one's own home or car, is political. A woman's use of makeup is political. Perfume, pesticides and animal ownership are all political, as well.

Sex is political, too. For instance, there is a branch of feminism that argues all heterosexual intercourse is, in essence, rape. In her 1987 book on the subject, feminist icon Andrea Dworkin argued that intercourse's "penetrative nature" is a form of "occupation" that consigns women to a life of subjugation and inferiority. Silly me. Here I thought intercourse's penetrative nature was dictated by biology and the need to procreate, not to mention that it was part of the pleasure for both partners. But then again, I am a tool of the patriarchy.

Human rights commissions, too, have politicized speech by deciding which opinions may be expressed in public and, more importantly, which may not.

The problem is when you make government enormous and powerful, cede to it control of nearly everything, give it authority to confiscate vast sums of private income and make it the sole source of most funding, it has to find actions to occupy its time. So in the absence of big, public issues, it will justify its enormity by intruding more and more into the private sphere.

Still, among all the politicizations

of private activities and pleasures, the one I probably resent most is the politicization of food. How much carbon is emitted in its production and transportation to the market? Has it been obtained by "fair trade?" Does it contain genetically modified organisms (GMOs)? Is its nutritional value honestly represented in its labelling? Can I tell its country of origin from its packaging?

The trendy 100-Mile Diet, for instance, is nothing more than food politics. It is fashionable among upper-middle-class urbanites, but in most of Canada, trying to live off food grown within 100 miles of one's home would be bland and

repetitive at best and dangerously unhealthy at worst.

There would be few fresh fruits and vegetables from which to choose; none at all most of the year. Forget seafood. Get used to game, beef (unless you're worried about "all those chemicals they put in cattle these days"), poultry and some tuberous roots.

What would residents of Iqaluit eat? Lichen tea and blubber?

I'll admit I buy local when I can, for freshness and in support of nearby producers, not as some statement of eco-consciousness. But if I want a mango, I buy it without worrying about the carbon footprint

produced by the truck that brought it to my grocer's or whether the worker who picked it is being denied a collective agreement.

Truly, if you worry about GMOs and import labels and carbon emissions and workers' rights each time you squeeze a melon in the produce department, you've got too much time on your hands and too little of real importance on your mind.

But if you are such a person, here's good news: Britain has just released a national food plan that says GMOs are in, local is out.

While the whole idea of having a national food strategy is far too

central planning-intense for me, some of the recommendations are interesting.

Local food is out as an environmental goal, since only 9% of food's eco-impact comes from transportation, and half or more from production methods. Besides, eating local hampers the ability of Third World countries to lift themselves out of poverty by exporting crops.

As for GMOs, they increase the size of crops from the same piece of land and for the same emissions, which permits greater production with less eco-impact.

So chill, political foodies. Enjoy more food with less political stress.

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# Harper prorogues Parliamentary backhanding

If Harper prorogued Parliament merely to avoid answering questions about Afghan detainees there might be a basis for the indignity the opposition feigns. But Harper had a quick look at the polls before he called G.G. Michel Jean and you can rest assured that the tale of a terrorist who claims to have been roughed up after our soldiers handed him to Afghan authorities is destined for obscurity.

It's not as though any Afghans captured by Canadians died. Remember when Shidane Arone was beaten to death by Canadian soldiers in Somalia? Even a prorogation could not have checked that issue. The Afghan detainee issue is nothing by comparison. Innocent people die every day in Afghanistan, including Afghan women and children, 138 Canadian soldiers, a diplomat and a journalist. What Canadians want to know is why we're not killing more of the enemy, not whether the enemy suffered a fat lip.

Love him or hate him, Harper is a renegade in power, an accolade that many Liberals, New Democrats and Bloquists will admirably admit privately over a beer.

After sailing through the House of Commons, Harper's crime bills and Senate Reform bill have been held up for three long years in the Liberal-dominated Upper House. By proroguing

Parliament Harper will go down in history as the first prime minister to stymie a Senate he did not yet control. This has given rise to calls to abolish the Senate, but where were those voices when the Senate was thwarting the will of our elected MPs?

Despite the 150,000 Canadians who joined a Facebook page called "Canadians Against Proroguing Parliament," few Canadians are upset. The turnout in the streets was scant. There is only one poll that matters. There is likewise only one campaign that matters. The only way Harper will regret what he did is if he is returned to the Opposition Bench following a non-confidence vote and a general election... if only members of the Opposition actually believed their own words.

The NDP are wisely distancing themselves from the Liberals on this one, appreciating that when it comes to explaining what Harper's real goal is the answer for the majority of Canadians is clear: It's the Senate, stupid. Some scholars suggest Harper should have continued appointing Conservative senators and could eventually have passed his Senate Reform and crime bills, but this intellectually dishonest line of reasoning belies the hustling of the Liberal leader who directed his MPs to go one way and his Senators to go another. And Harper is accused of being undemocratic.

Ignatieff used the same tactic when Harper tried cracking down on marijuana grow-ops by reducing the number of plants allowed for personal use to 10. Ignatieff supported this in the Commons and then backhandedly opposed it in the Senate where 200 plants were claimed to be just fine. Who knew Jean Chrétien had appointed so many avid potheads to the "upper" chamber?

We're all big girls and boys; we know politics can be a dirty game. But whoever among us was prepared to continue turning a blind eye to Ignatieff's inside/outside strategy has to now grow up and get over Harper's bold move to deny the Liberals the use of that wholly undemocratic ploy.

In 1958, Liberal stonewalling of Diefenbaker's Conservative agenda led that renegade to Canada's largest ever electoral majority, surpassed only by Brian Mulroney's Conservatives in 1984. With that in mind, Harper's main consideration in proroguing Parliament was determining that if Ignatieff actually dared to try to teach him a lesson by going to an election, there is a very high probability it would backfire on the Liberals for the third time in 52 years.

Anyone who thinks this has anything to do with an Afghan terrorist who's lucky he's still alive is missing the point.

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## HAITI

# Activists and diplomats unite to help Sun Youth's Haitian relief

### Dominican Republic Consulate aids Garceau Foundation and Public Affairs Institute efforts

Sometimes tragedies do bring out the better angels of our nature. And they bring together new allies in common cause to help those who are always at the forefront of relieving human suffering.

Much money has been raised for Haitian relief. World leaders meet at conferences to discuss reconstruction. Great concerts are held. All this is just and right.

But sometimes we forget that there are things to do right here at home. Sid Stevens and his Sun Youth organization have never forgotten that. When Haitian survivors and orphans began arriving at Trudeau Airport he leapt into action.

Sun Youth has had a round-the-clock staff of 25 volunteers at Trudeau International Airport since the earthquake hit, working five shifts a day, seven days a week, to welcome and process Haitians returning on Canadian passports. Sun Youth is working in partnership with the Red Cross and the Quebec Protection Agency, and has already provided emergency help to the more than 2,000 Haitians who have arrived. Some 6,000 more are still expected.

"Montreal is the clearing centre for most of them. Some are going on to other centres, other cities," explained Stevens, "These are not refugees, but Haitian-Canadians who are arriving with nothing more than the clothes on their back. Many have lost everything. We need the very basics. Hygiene products, winter clothing, coats, boots, shoes. We've been getting discounts, but you don't get the clothing we need for nothing. We still have to pay for it."

When Montreal lawyer and activist Brigitte

Garceau heard about this plight she brought her Garceau Foundation into partnership once again with Suburban editor Beryl Wajzman's Institute for Public Affairs. As Suburban readers will remember, that was the team that put together the highly successful "Cassandra's Lilacs" anti-poverty concert at Theatre St. Denis.

They launched a fundraising campaign for the benefit of Sun Youth with a blitz this past weekend and already delivered the first cheque. And they did it with an interesting new ally, the Consulate-General of the Dominican Republic.

The DR's involvement really highlights a story of three societies and an island. Quebec has, of course, close cultural ties with Haiti with Montreal being home to one of the largest Haitian diaspora communities. The Dominican Republic, which shares the island with Haiti, is one of Quebecers' favourite vacation resorts. So the ties between Quebec, Haiti and the DR are intimate.

But the DR's story of assistance to its Haitian neighbour has not really been told. Institute board member, Montreal businessman Stavros Daskos, brought the story to Garceau and Wajzman's attention. Daskos himself, as was reported in these pages last week, has been sending tents and cots to Haiti through the DR since soon after the tragedy struck. He brought the activists and the diplomats together.

The Dominican Republic's Consul-General Raquel Jacobo and Vice-Consul Frank Cabral very much wanted to do something here, on the ground, to reflect to Quebecers the DR's continuing commitment to Haitian relief that was



ALAN HUSTAK PHOTO

**The Metropolitan publisher Beryl Wajzman, Dominican Republic attorney Cesar Castillo, Dominican Republic Vice-Consul Frank Cabral, Dominican Republic Consul-General Raquel Jacobo, Sun Youth's Sid Stevens, Garceau Foundation's Brigitte Garceau, and Institute for Public Affairs board member Stavros Daskos at presentation of Foundation cheque at Sun Youth headquarters.**

going on at home. When the groups met, attorney Cesar Castillo, who was in Montreal for the Haiti Reconstruction Summit that took place this past Monday, detailed how much of his country's resources were being used to help the DR's neighbour.

Not only are many of the supply lines to Haiti running through the DR, but the entire public health system of the republic has been mobilized to treat the injured. Haitian victims are airlifted every several hours into the DR's hospitals to the point that there is barely a bed left. And the DR is committed to continuing medical assistance as well as sending financial aid and reconstruction professionals.

When the Consul-General heard what the Foundation and the Institute were doing for

Stevens, and the human tragedies that were being relieved here in Montreal by Sun Youth, she immediately wanted to help. A significant part of the first cheque delivered to Stevens from the Foundation came from the initiative of those at the Consulate-General of the Dominican Republic.

Garceau — who aside from her practice at Robinson, Sheppard, Shapiro is active in federal politics — noted that "this kind of activism cements heartfelt allies who bring to bear the kind of compassion we need to meet these challenges."

For anyone wishing to make a contribution please send your cheques to the Garceau Foundation, 800 Victoria Square, 46th Floor Montreal, QC, H4Z-1H6



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## GLOBAL VILLAGE



## David T. Jones

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

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ADOPT HAITI, CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

## HAITI

Now the devastation is so awesome, the destruction so comprehensive, the societal breakdown so massive that one might almost be tempted to say, "Sweep the boards clean and start over." After all, Haiti, in effect, has nothing: no natural energy resources (gas, oil, coal); a devastated country side as a picture postcard for environmental disaster--denuded of forest and with agricultural land eroded from subsequent rainfall. Add to this bleak circumstance the absence of

proved to be a pitiful façade with now president Rene Préval speaking more frequently to foreign leaders/visitors than to his beleaguered population.

Now Haiti is the cause of the day--maybe even the relief project of the year. Every year another crisis: Lebanon in 2006; Katrina in 2005; the tsunami in 2004; Darfur, forever. And now it is Haiti's turn again, just as it has been in the past when various efforts to get the country to "straighten up and fly right" have

social support to Haiti independent of political vagaries.

There are three obvious candidate countries: France; the United States; and Canada. Despite the advantage of a more-or-less common language, France can be eliminated.

Its invidious colonial history and a separating ocean reduce real possibilities of extended support. The United States has the might--but not the interest--to make a difference in Haiti. We are endlessly distracted by other crises with two

ments and backed by the reality of a significant percentage of the Haitian exodus residing in Montreal has taken a major role in Haiti.

Haiti desperately needs "adult supervision"--and Canada located in the same hemisphere and with tens of thousands of its citizens, including the Governor General, with ethnic roots is exceptionally qualified.

In its response to the current crisis, Canada has been exemplary: quick off the mark with assistance both

military and economic and hitting the right tone in public commentary by both the prime minister and the governor general. It has been an effort in which both Government and Opposition have united--almost as rare as a Republican victory in Massachusetts.

There is also a nationalistic and idealistic facet. Canada and Quebec have a Peace Corps style project for the next generation. And Canada can succeed where the United States has failed.

What is needed is a long term "trusteeship" (in another name). A country-to-country mentoring that is a project for a generation that will provide protracted economic and social support to Haiti independent of political vagaries.

industry and the rising prevalence of the drug trade and the economic picture is beneath bleak.

The economic/social horror story is complemented by predatory politics: a generation of Papa Doc and Baby Doc Duvalier succeeded by chaotic malfeasance featuring two rounds of corrupt incompetent rule by Jean-Bertrand Aristide separated by an equally corrupt and incompetent military dictatorship. Having again pushed Aristide to the sidelines (and into exile), the subsequent Haitian government

marked its history--and failed. The U.S. Marine Corps occupied and administered Haiti from 1915-34. The U.S. tried again in 1994 partly to stem the tide of "boat people" who were attempting to escape to the U.S. and to jettison the military dictatorship. The UN force has operated with band aid, palliative effort ever since.

What is needed is a long term "trusteeship" (in another name). A country-to-country mentoring that is a project for a generation that will provide protracted economic and

wars now in play and global responsibilities addressing nuclear challenges in North Korea/Iran; a revanchist Russia; a surging China; and a Middle East that always verges on explosive collapse. And we have already failed twice in Haiti.

That leaves Canada. And I, for one, nominate Ottawa to take the lead on Haiti for the indefinite future.

Ottawa is well-qualified for the responsibility. Over the past several decades, driven by UN commit-

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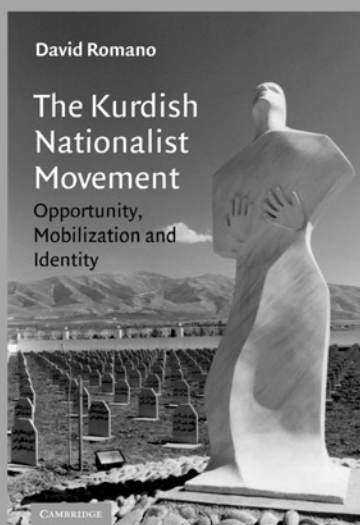
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## Cambridge Middle East Studies



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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## HAITI

# Haiti can rise

In 2006, Canadian-Haitian intellectual Georges Anglades penned the tongue-in-cheek novella, 'What if Haiti declared war on the USA?'

It explored a Haiti so totally destroyed in a war against imperial powers it's given a chance to climb out of three centuries of adversity by starting from scratch.

Sadly, Anglades and his wife Mireille died in the January earthquake that ravaged the country they loved and worked throughout their lives to improve.

Along with so many thousands of their countrymen, they suffered a claustrophobic death under the rubble of Port-au-Prince.

But now his story of a razed Haiti has come partially true and the country is finally offered an opportunity to rebuild itself as something more than a failed state.

The world wants Haiti to succeed.

By mid-February, Canadians gave \$113 million to Haiti for earthquake relief. All told, donations worldwide totaled over \$525 million.

And G7 finance ministers agreed to forgive Haiti debts in the meeting in Iqaluit in February.

Still, development won't be easy.

Franque Grimard, interim director of the Institute for the Study of International Development, said the challenges facing Haiti development were sobering.

"It's everything," he said. "From the short-run to the medium-run to the long-run."

Consider:

-Haiti is the poorest country in the Western hemisphere with 80 per cent of the population living under the poverty line and 54 per cent on less than a dollar a day.

-Prior to the earthquake, It spent 1.4 per cent of its GDP on education and only half the population is literate.

-Widespread deforestation -- just two per cent remains -- has left the two-thirds of the population living on subsistence farming, at the mercy of hurricanes that regularly sweep the country.

-Infrastructure before the latest disaster was basically nil. Haiti has suffered from a lack of investment

due to insecurity and limited infrastructure.

-The government relies on international aid for fiscal sustainability.

-It has a shortage of skilled labour with an estimated two-thirds of the work force believed to not have formal job.

-Corruption remains pervasive. At one point, the former Duvalier regime allegedly stole up to 80 per cent of aid.

Grimard noted the West excels at emergency relief but fostering longterm development offers a unique set of problems, especially considering Haiti's dysfunctional history.

"The initial condition of Haiti before the earthquake was very, very difficult," he said. "Where to start is not clear."

The earthquake killed many politicians and bureaucrats, creating a governance vacuum.

According to Grimard, establishing a temporary development authority is key to successfully managing the work of the donor countries and the recipient country, the diaspora, NGOs, the UN and the Haitian people. And he contends the recent meeting in Montreal was a good start but it's unlikely there will be a united answer.

"It will be an interesting game of

negotiation," he said.

Still, there is at least one example of a successful reconstruction after a disaster -- that of Indonesia's Aceh province after the 2004 tsunami.

"In Aceh, about 140,000 houses have been rebuilt, 2,500 miles of roads have been constructed, and 200,000 small and medium-size businesses have been supported," Joachim von Amsberg, the World Bank's country director in Indonesia, wrote recently in the Washington Post in late January.

The Aceh people also have a functioning governance after decades of unrest.

The successful -- though Von

Amsberg noted, by no means perfect -- reconstruction was based on three key principles: local and national leadership, empowering the people (victims, for example, became development workers) and coordinating global aid.

"You can't compare both but there are similarities," Grimard said.

As donations continue to pour in, donors will be demanding accountability and results. Haitians as well will want to see their most persistent problems solved.

"People will start asking questions," said Grimard. "And decisions will soon have to be made."



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## Alan Hustak

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# The politics of climate change

## Cleo Paskal's caution to the world's eco-warriors.

*Global Warring: How Environmental, Economic and Political Crises Will Redraw the World Map*, by Cleo Paskal, Key Porter Books, 288 pp. \$32.95.

Everyone in the non-stop debate on climate change has an opinion, but how much consideration has been given to the potential seismic shift in international diplomacy that can be attributed to global warming? What happens to nation states, to the realignment of political boundaries, and to shifting corporate interests as we become even more dependent on fossil fuels, and as forests disappear, farmland is exhausted and sources of fresh water evaporate? This month, Veteran Quebec journalist Cleo Paskal raises the ante in the debate with her book, *Global Warring*, which makes the powerful argument that the map of the world as we know it is about to be redrawn as resource rich countries try to protect their natural sources of energy and others aggressively try to secure new ones. "As pressure is put on food, water supplies and national boundaries, famine and war may become more frequent," she writes, "This instability may make populations more tolerant of autocratic governments, especially nationalist capitalist one...China and Russia already have a head start on this model."

Clearly intrigued by the what she calls "the new global ordering," Paskal says the collapse of the UN's climate change summit in Copenhagen, is evidence of the dynamics of shifting geopolitics. She finds that disconcerting. "Copenhagen certainly wasn't about climate science. From the western point of view it was about the establishment of climate markets, about ways of setting up mechanisms to create financial instruments around carbon trading systems and other climate related financial issues. From the Chinese and the Indian point of view it was geopolitics." As she wrote for UPI Asia, following the conference, "It is not uncommon for international meetings to devolve into finger pointing, but normally the signs are evident well in advance, and political leaders stay far away. In Copenhagen, however, the leaders

were there, flailing for all to see."

That, she says, is increasingly problematic for Canada which is caught up in melting polar caps, thawing perma frost and the politics of continental water resources. "It's not just that our environment is changing, our reaction to that change will determine how bad the situation will be. A lot of problems we have with water, for example, are management problems. There's a lot of waste. We don't have a Las Vegas in the middle of a desert sucking up water that is not renewable. We shouldn't be flushing our toilets with drinking water. Another question we have to address is what happens to the St. Lawrence Seaway when water levels in the Great Lakes are reduced. Big ships won't be able to get into the Seaway, the salt water front in the St. Lawrence River could move, and with more mild winters, we may have to prepare for more ice storms."

All of this will have an impact on Canada's future relationship with the United States.

"The prevailing view in the U.S. is that Canada is a military marshmallow," she writes, "and threats to our Arctic security are real...The United States wants its allies not only loyal, but also subservient, and in the case of the North West Passage, it was made clear as early as 1970 that because Canada is an ally, it is supposed to fall in line quickly and completely." Paskal argues that the U.S. position makes it difficult for us to defend the Arctic on our own, and as a result Canada has been toying with unconventional options in the north, including a multi-million dollar deal to open a shipping route through the Arctic between Murmansk and Churchill, Manitoba.

While Paskal agrees that many aspects of climate change are uncertain, she says no one can ignore that weather patterns are changing and storm patterns are rising.

"For the purposes of dealing with the impact of climate change, it doesn't matter what Al Gore or David Suzuki tell us. The cause doesn't matter. Most people are skeptical about the root cause. But we shouldn't care about the cause. The impact is observable. The Co2 debate has become so emotional, that the energy security

component has become lost. We have to deal with it."

The daughter of a Montreal Star science editor, Paskal was raised in the Laurentians by her mother and her stepfather, obtained her degree in history from McGill in 1990, co-founded a satirical magazine, *The Red Herring*, worked as an actress, became a radio journalist, and won an Emmy for a television series on the *Cirque du Soleil*. She wrote travel pieces for the *National Post*, and today, is an associate fellow of a London think tank, Chatham House, teaches at two universities in India, and is a consultant to the U.S. Department of Energy.

"When I was a kid, I wanted to be a detective," she said in an interview over lunch at Alexandre. "I wanted to understand how things work. Becoming a journalist gave me a privileged position. You can ask anybody anything."

While working on a BBC radio series about the world's smallest countries she found herself in the Republic of Kiribati, which is made up of 32 atolls and one coral island in the central Pacific "These islands are not really physically stable places, they are very fragile, reefs, rising sea levels, lagoons. These aren't isolated islands, these are chess pieces," she said. "And what happens when they start to disappear, when their people have to be relocated, what happens to their identity, to their resources? Do their waters become international? What happens politically when these things happen? Like a detective, I wanted to find out. They say Geography makes history, but now it appears that environmental change is reshaping geography. I wanted to look at what happens to the geo-strategic potential of a country when it disappears or when its borders are affected by environmental disaster."



Cleo Paskal

ALAN HUSTAK PHOTO



## Pierre K. Malouf

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# Le multiculturalisme au service de l'intolérable

La Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme adoptée par l'ONU en 1948 fut mise à mal dès le début. Aujourd'hui, l'utopie universaliste est surtout menacée par l'islamisme, qui ne sévit pas qu'en pays musulman. Il est en train de s'implanter en Occident, où ses adeptes s'ingénient à imposer leurs traditions religieuses aux dépens des libertés individuelles, celles dont leurs femmes devraient jouir, et les nôtres également, qu'ils cherchent à détruire. C'est le cas notamment de la liberté d'expression. «C'est pourtant sur ces terres, écrit Caroline Fourest, au coeur même des démocraties, que l'universalisme risque de succomber à force de tolérer les idées les plus intolérantes au nom du droit à la différence.» Ainsi résumé, le premier chapitre de cet ouvrage magistral y perd en richesse et en subtilité, je ne saurais donc trop vous recommander de vous précipiter chez votre libraire.

Captivant du début à la fin, ce vibrant plaidoyer en faveur de la laïcité (et surtout de son «modèle français») loge néanmoins à l'enseigne de la raison plutôt qu'à celle de la passion. La démonstration en est d'autant plus convaincante. « Je tiens, écrit l'auteur, à

distinguer la religion de l'intégrisme, que j'entends comme son instrumentalisation politique à des fins intolérantes. Ce que me reprochent des groupes ultra-laïques comme Riposte laïque, pour qui cette vigilance est comprise comme une forme de naïveté face à l'islam.»

Certains reprocheront donc à Caroline Fourest de promouvoir une version trop soft de la laïcité, mais personne ne pourra cependant prétendre qu'elle ne maîtrise pas son sujet ou ne met pas cartes sur table. Ainsi rend-elle compte avec autant de clarté que de profondeur des tenants et aboutissants d'un double défi auquel tous les pays occidentaux sont confrontés : cohabiter avec les citoyens de toutes origines et de toutes cultures sans trahir nos propres valeurs ; défendre ces dernières sans tomber dans le racisme ou la xénophobie. Elle analyse dans le détail les cas de la Grande-Bretagne, des Pays-Bas, de la France, etc. mais l'espace me manque pour tous les commenter. Je m'attarderai seulement sur celui du Canada, auquel elle consacre plusieurs pages, qui comptent parmi les plus fouillées.

«Considéré comme le berceau du multiculturalisme, le Canada

connaît un vif débat au sujet de son modèle culturel.» En Ontario, par exemple, le projet de création de tribunaux islamiques de la famille — qui a heureusement échoué — a soulevé en 2003 et 2004 une vive controverse. Mais c'est au Québec que la question est la plus brûlante. L'analyse qu'en fait Caroline Fourest est fort juste — ce qu'elle écrit sur Hérouxville et son «code de vie» est bien documenté —, mais j'avoue avoir sursauté en lisant ce qui suit : «Loin d'apaiser les esprits, le rapport [Bouchard-Taylor] va verser du sel sur les plaies de la fracture entre fédéralistes et souverainistes. Le débat sur les accommodements raisonnables prolonge parfaitement ce clivage : en opposant une vision anglo-saxonne et fédéraliste multiculturaliste à une vision francophone souverainiste intégratrice ». Thèse déplaisante dont je suis obligé d'admettre après mûre réflexion qu'elle est probablement conforme à la réalité.

La preuve n'est plus à faire : l'islamisme poursuit des objectifs totalitaires. En Europe il a trouvé ses principaux complices parmi

Lauryn Oates is an international human rights advocate and co-founder of Women For Women in Afghanistan.

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# Time to shine the light on Uzbek sadism

In the vast emptiness of the Kyzyl Kum desert that covers western Uzbekistan, there is a dark prison called Jaslyk. The very name causes local people to shudder. There, inmates are jammed into cells, 16 in each, sometimes forced to stand for days on end, forbidden to speak out loud.

One day in 2002, two men were being tortured in Jaslyk. Their names were Muzafar Avazov and Khusnuddin Olimov. Submerged in boiling water, they were literally boiled alive, a form of torture otherwise unknown since the likes of 14th-century Scotland or the Roman Inquisition.

No tabloids seized upon the gruesome photos of the bodies. There were no angry demonstrations in the streets of western cities. Unlike H1N1 or the 2010 Olympic Games, the story failed to make its way into water cooler conversations. It was almost like it had never happened at all.

The Uzbek government manages a wildly successful public relations effort for itself. A couple of years ago, I attended a government-hosted conference in the capital, Tashkent, on the topic of elections. There, I was asked to give an interview on the state news station. All of the questions were designed to lead me into praising Uzbekistan, to show how foreigners heap approval on the dictatorship. After refusing to go along, I was handed a booklet with page after page of quotations from foreign diplomats, journalists, and past conference delegates who had participated in this ruse, complimenting Uzbekistan for its “gradual and therefore stable reform efforts.” It was a farce. But judging by the blank stares you’ll get from most Canadians when you mention Uzbekistan, it’s the sort of public relations that works. The truth has been safely muffled and Uzbekistan’s torturers carry on unimpeded.

But evidence of the regime’s sadism exists outside Uzbekistan, buried in the pages of the reports of human rights watchdogs and Uzbek groups in exile. On the last page of a 2003 report by Human Rights Watch, there is a photo of Fatima Mukhadirova, the mother of Muzafar Avazov. She sits at a table surrounded by dozens of photos of her son’s brutalized body. One hand is on her forehead, her eyes closed. In addition to the injuries from the scalding water, her son’s teeth were smashed in

and his fingernails missing. Today, unable to seek justice for her son’s murder, she also sits in prison, reportedly for her possession of anti-government pamphlets.

The few Uzbek opposition leaders who have survived have been forced into exile. There is no viable opposition movement left in the country. Civil society activists routinely flee the country, too, waging an uphill battle from exile, with few enthusiastic allies. If they stay, they can carry on their work knowing that the risk of imprisonment, torture, or death is very real. The threat also hangs over their family members and associates – in 2004, at a meeting of women’s rights activists from Central and South Asia I attended, the Uzbek delegates rushed home suddenly in a panic. One had learned her daughter

**The truth has been safely muffled and Uzbekistan’s torturers carry on unimpeded.**

had been fired from a government job. Another’s husband was threatened with kidnapping.

The only other option is to remain in country, stifled, disarmed, and passive. Dissidents can join officially state-sanctioned (and effectively, state-run) “civil society organizations,” or they can take up politically neutral activities, painstakingly avoiding any topic that might risk upsetting those at the top. It is a form of enforced acquiescence that erodes the spirit of artists, writers, activists, and intellectuals – the very people who could be carving out a bold new democracy from the ruins of the post-Soviet state.

Last month, the celebrated Uzbek photographer Umida Ahmedova was charged with “slander and insult of the Uzbek nation.” Her book of photographs of the daily life of Uzbeks and a documentary film about Uzbek customs and rituals had apparently earned her the wrath of Uzbek strongman Islam Karimov, a holdover from the Soviet days. She now faces up to

six months in prison.

The tribulations of Umida, Muzafar, Mirzakomil, Khusnuddin and countless others take their toll, their stories a haunting echo of the treatment of dissidents in Nazi Germany, Soviet Russia, or Amin’s Uganda. Meanwhile, the world’s rich, liberal democracies behave as though the tyranny of closed societies is none of our business.

In 2005, after Karimov’s troops massacred hundreds of unarmed protesters in the city of Andijan, Western governments moved to isolate the regime but backed off when Karimov closed a U.S. air base in retaliation. The publics of those countries held no one to account for this dereliction.

Perhaps it’s an irrational fear of becoming embroiled in another Iraq or Afghanistan, but somewhere along the way, we seem to have lost our insistence upon freedom. We are turning smug and inward. Our complaints and preoccupations are becoming increasingly parochial, just as our lives and economies are becoming increasingly integrated into a global community. One would think that this is precisely the time to confront human rights atrocities of the sort so commonplace in Uzbekistan. Instead, we are silent, and by our silence we are complicit.

We could still turn ourselves around and, as Leonard Cohen sings, “ring the bells that still can ring.” Canada could forge a global solidarity movement with the people of Uzbekistan, and with all the other peoples still living under authoritarian rule. We might return to old tools like boycotts, vigils, protests. Or we could simply write letters to our MPs, demanding sanctions, investigations, action. We could demand that our government, and the multilateral institutions to which it belongs, do something.

It won’t be our governments who first show care. It is up to us. Ordinary citizens in free countries are the great threat to authoritarian regimes, totalitarianism, and tyrants. But we have to speak up. And we have to take heart in knowing, as Cohen reminds us, “there is a crack in everything. That’s how the light gets in.” Until then, to our great shame, totalitarianism still thrives in 2010.

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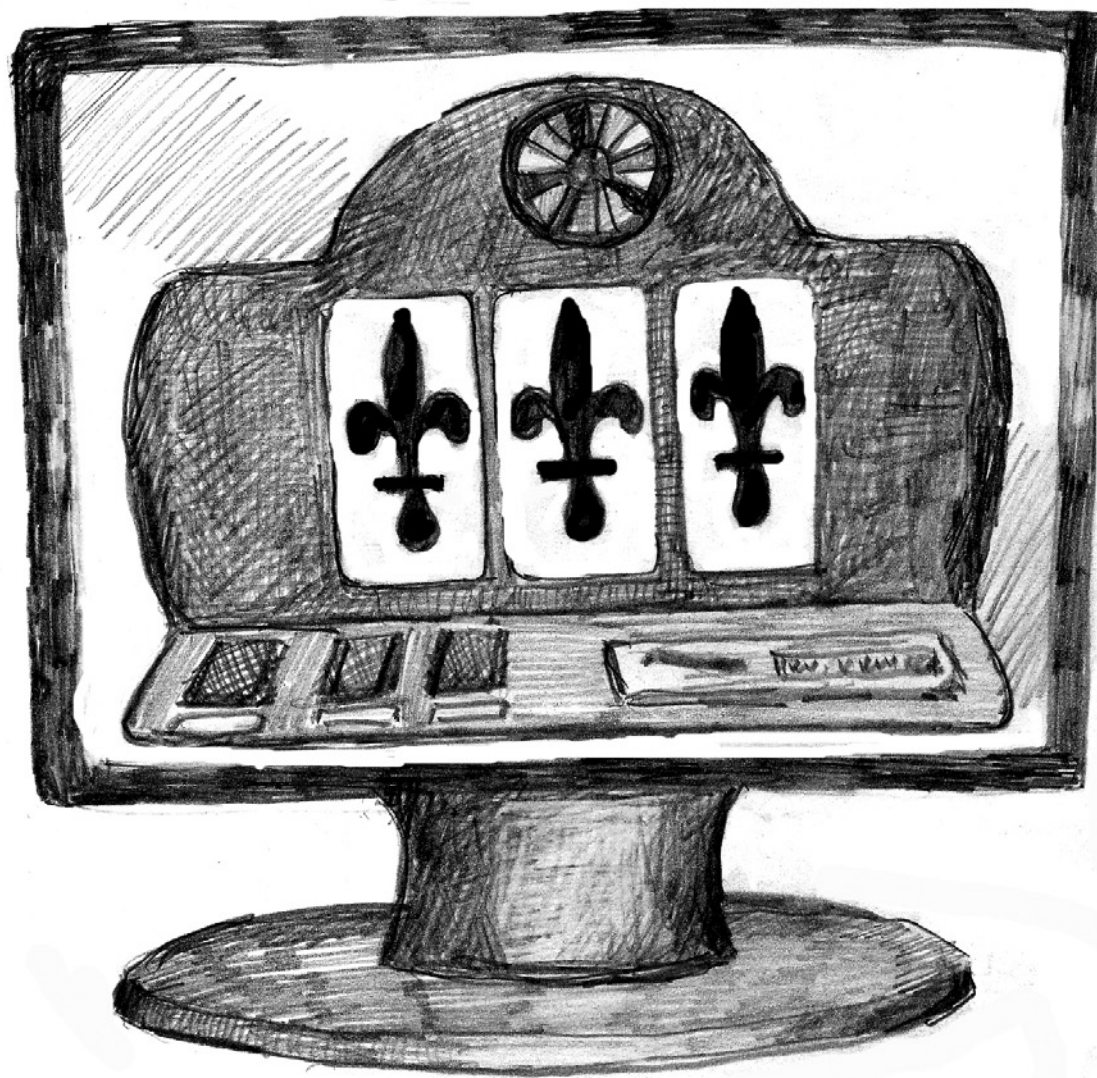
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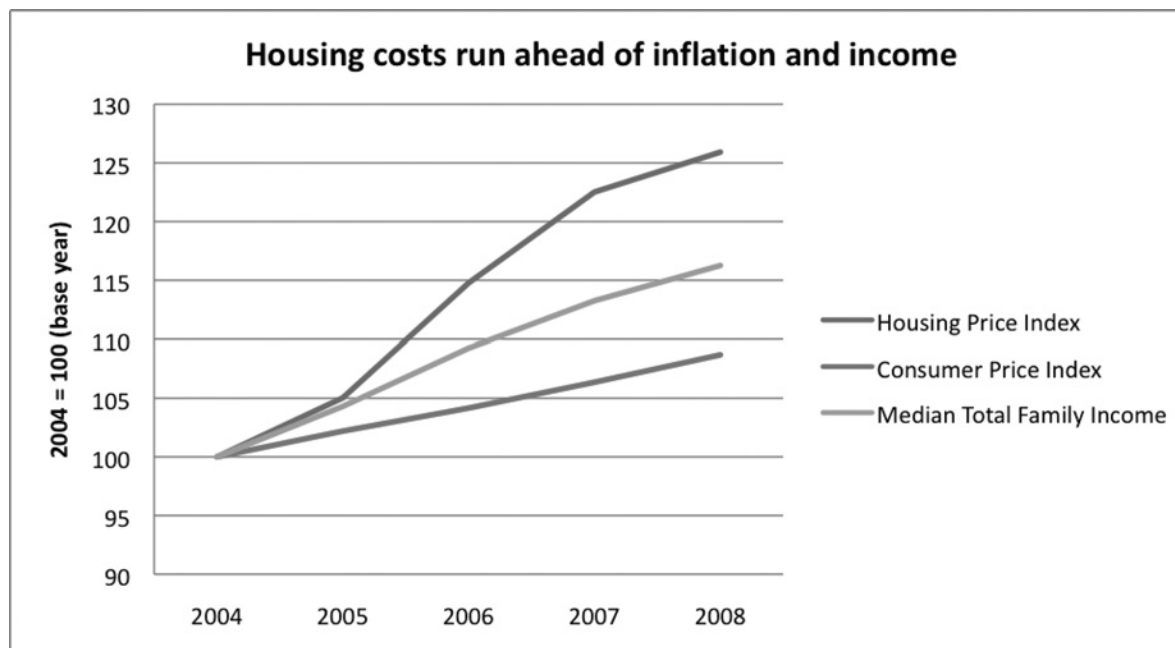
# Bubble, Bubble... Canadian Debt Trouble

Canadians can rarely feel smug when comparing themselves to their US neighbors, but when it comes to our banking sector our airs of superiority are justified. While the Obama administration contemplates an overhaul of financial industry regulation and punitive taxation of banking executives' bonuses, Prime Minister Harper announced in Davos that Canada has no intention of "micro-managing" Canada's banks. Canada's financial system is recognized as being among the healthiest in the world and certainly the finest among the G8 – our banks were well capitalized and their conservative lending models averted the massive asset write-downs that plagued other developed-world banking systems.

What Canada and the US have in common is historically low interest rates, basically zero from the US Federal Reserve and a point and change from the Bank of Canada. Consumers in both countries have been using the low mortgage rates that have resulted to finance new real estate purchases or refinance existing mortgages at cheaper rates. The difference between Canada and the US is that US real estate prices have dropped 30% from their pre-recession peak, while in markets like Florida the correction extends to 50% in certain sub-markets. In Canada, no such correction has taken place; the Canadian real estate market has recovered from its late 2008 to early 2009 weakness and prices are moving ahead at a rate that far exceeds the inflation and family income growth rates. Recent studies show that Vancouver has become "severely unaffordable" for middle-class families and the insinuation is that the divergence between the growth in real estate prices and the family income needed to support it is unsustainable. Yet, Canadian consumers continue to pour into the new construction and resale markets with a zeal not seen elsewhere in the developed world with the exception of Australia, whose integration with the Chinese market allowed it to be barely brushed by the worldwide recession.

Table based on data from Statistics Canada

Eventually this real estate party is



going to come to an end; interest rates will rise and those investors who bought just a little too much house in an overheated market will find that their payments will rise as they re-negotiate their one and two-year term mortgages. While the majority of investors have taken fixed-rate five year terms, that still leaves a lot of other buyers who took shorter terms or variable rate mortgage products. All it takes is 10% of sellers in a market to be forced into accepting slashed prices to move their properties to cause a widespread price decline for all sellers, since the expectation in the market will switch towards falling, rather than rising resale values.

There are several other potential triggers for a crisis in consumer debt beyond the question of problems with mortgage refinancing; rising gas prices is the next possible culprit, and government taxation is another. Canadians are fortunate that gas prices have stabilized around the dollar a liter mark over the past year, far from the \$1.50 we saw at the peak in late 2008. However, as worldwide demand for oil increases to fill in the 5 million barrel per day gap between production and consumption that we are now enjoying, you can bet that oil will once again rise above \$120 USD per barrel and that the price at the pump will rise in sympathy. For the average consumer who drives two to three hundred kilometers per week, the extra \$20 per tank could be just enough to ruin the monthly budget and cause a retraction in household

discretionary spending, which economists have been counting on to push forward the recovery. Oil also manifests itself in home heating, plastics, food (remember delivery costs?) and much of what we touch. If oil prices rise, then so does the cost of our groceries, clothing, toys, pretty much all goods and services we consume and the money to pay for these costs all comes out of a household budget that is already strained. In late 2008, many American consumers were choosing between putting gas in the car and paying the mortgage. Many

figured that they could get another house more easily than they could find another job to commute to, and the cascade towards repossessions began. The situation would not be so dire in Canada, but it would certainly occur in our more expensive urban markets like Vancouver and Toronto.

Taxation is the silent income killer that is right around the corner, though governments will not discuss it in direct terms. Ontario has announced a \$25 billion provincial deficit for the coming fiscal year – does anyone believe that they can close this gap over time with spending cuts alone?

Ontario will move to tax its citizens in any way possible, squeezing the family budget even tighter and further slowing the recovery. Quebec's \$4.5 billion deficit looks paltry in comparison, but Quebecers will face a sales tax increase and new user fees to help bring our finances back into line. The federal government insists that the budget can be balanced by 2015 without tax increases, but Canada's own budget watchdog, Mr. Page, insists that there is a \$15-20 billion gap that will remain to be filled, depending on the macroeconomic assumptions employed. In short, governments are just waiting for household finances to improve to the point at which it is OK to increase their tax burden, so governments can improve their own balance sheets.

Whether the debt in Canada is held by consumers or our governments, we will all suffer the constraints of rising interest rates, oil, goods and service prices and taxes. The squeeze on our pocketbooks will slow economic growth, curtail new wealth creation and prolong high unemployment. For home buyers, there is one sage piece of advice; buy less home than you can afford today, or wait a few years and pick it up for less from the buyer who ignored that advice.



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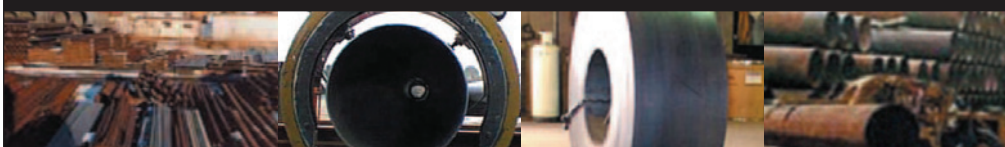
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# L'infrastructure numérique du XXIe siècle

Pendant et après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, C.D. Howe, un homme politique canadien, a présenté un grand projet de société pour transformer le Canada en une puissance industrielle de premier plan dans la seconde moitié du XXe siècle. Anticipant l'avenir, il a commencé à créer les industries nucléaire et aérospatiale du Canada, ainsi que l'infrastructure essentielle nécessaire pour bâtir une économie prospère et dynamique.

Aujourd'hui, le monde continue d'évoluer rapidement et un nouveau grand projet de société est nécessaire. Internet est devenu un outil essentiel de la nouvelle économie, l'autoroute essentielle pour transférer l'information. La connaissance et la créativité sont les denrées les plus prisées et les

moteurs de plus en plus puissants de l'économie canadienne.

L'économie numérique ne connaît pas de limites, et le monde entier investit massivement pour saisir l'opportunité. L'Australie a consacré un ministère fédéral tout entier aux communications à haut débit et à l'économie numérique, dans un effort pour établir un leadership technologique. Le Royaume-Uni, avec sa stratégie « Digital Britain » (« la Grande-Bretagne à l'heure du numérique »), met au point la prochaine génération d'infrastructure numérique : connectivité par fibre optique, sans fil, radiodiffusion. En outre, ce pays s'engage en faveur d'une connectivité à 100 % à une vitesse de 2 mégaoctets/seconde, et met en place un système où la

concurrence joue pour encourager l'investissement dans les réseaux de prochaine génération. Le Royaume-Uni comprend que l'avenir, c'est le monde numérique, et il est déterminé à y arriver en premier.

En 2001, le Canada se classait 2e au niveau mondial en matière de connectivité à Internet, mais il est maintenant tombé au 10e rang, et il est 28e sur les 30 pays les plus industrialisés en termes de coûts de l'internet sans fil.

Où s'en va le Canada ? Tout comme les grands projets de C.D. Howe pour le XXe siècle, il nous faut une nouvelle vision concernant l'infrastructure numérique du XXIe siècle. Où le Canada se situe-t-il sur le plan de l'engagement en faveur de la connectivité et de l'accès universel ?

Afin de créer de nouveaux

emplois et de bâtir des communautés florissantes au cours du XXIe siècle, le Canada doit saisir l'avenir et investir dès aujourd'hui. Dans son ambition de bâtir l'infrastructure du XXIe siècle, le Canada doit se donner l'objectif ambitieux d'être connecté à 100 %, y compris les communautés rurales et éloignées. Pour cela, il nous faut créer des conditions de concurrence qui favorisent les investissements dans les réseaux à fibres et sans fil de la nouvelle génération. Il faut aussi réformer nos lois afin d'assurer que l'Internet reste une plate-forme libre et ouverte d'échange d'idées. Il faut créer un milieu prospère qui ouvre la voie à l'innovation mais qui protège aussi le travail des créateurs. Et il faut

constamment faire évoluer nos institutions culturelles, de radiodiffusion, de télédiffusion et de communications.

La technologie change notre monde. Les Canadiens ne regardent plus les émissions uniquement à la télévision, mais aussi sur Internet et sur leurs appareils mobiles. Tout en respectant le contenu canadien et les liens culturels qui unissent notre pays par l'entremise de la radio, de la télévision et d'autres médias, nous devons nous aussi évoluer si nous voulons continuer à prospérer.

L'économie numérique forme et continuera à former une partie importante de notre économie, des emplois d'aujourd'hui et de demain, et changera l'essence de la société canadienne.

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# The CSST and workers rights

One day, Bob Morgan was happily working at his baking job when he was assaulted by a co-worker. The story is eerily reminiscent of the butcher who had a mishap while grinding beef to make sausage.

The butcher was a skilled fellow with many years experience under his belt. As he was grinding the meat he realized he had to add more spices to the mixture. As he reached high atop the shelf, the pepper fell. When he tried to catch the falling container, he accidentally backed up into the meat grinder.

After the butcher was released from hospital, the occupational safety inquiry refused to give the poor man compensation. Their rationale: A butcher should not get behind in his work.

And while the butcher story is not true, the case of Morgan is very true.

Morgan (not his real name) has just received the CSST (Commission de la Santé et de la Sécurité du Travail) decision dismissing the recognition of his complaint. This dismissal was a preliminary, procedural dismissal saying his complaint would not have a hearing on its merits.

But Morgan is not surprised.

He says he knew he was in trouble when the adjudicator took him into a separate room and told him that he should not have left the workplace upon being assaulted.

"The adjudicator, Francois Morand, told me that a worker who refuses to work because of perceived danger must remain at the worksite and call the CSST immediately," says Morgan.

"When I told him I had been assaulted and was injured, he reiterated that the responsibility of the worker is to call the CSST immediately and to stay at the workplace. This was a bad omen."

Obviously, Morgan did not do as he should have. He left the workplace and sought medical attention. What was he thinking?

Morgan has not read Morand's 13-page decision (as Morgan is not fluent in French.) Nor is he eager to read the translation which he is to receive in 3-4 weeks.

"I've seen enough mouse turds where I worked to know mouse turds when I see them," says the philosophical (and unemployed) sojourner.

Morgan has 45 days to file an appeal with the Commission des lésions professionnelles, but it sounds like an appeal is unlikely. He thinks he hasn't a scintilla of hope on appeal.

The refusal to work is a right which all worker's possess and that right is part of Quebec's Act respecting occupational health and safety:

"A worker has a right to refuse to perform particular work if he has reasonable grounds to believe that the performance of that work would expose him to danger to his health, safety or physical well-being, or would expose another person to a similar danger."

Did Morgan truly think that he would get assaulted again?

"The head injury I sustained was not what worried me most. The cook who hit me uses far more dangerous tools than their fist and I was not willing to risk a future altercation," he says. "Not only is the CSST dismissing my complaint before a hearing, they will not even consider looking at my complaint."

In essence, the CSST is saying that assault is not an occupational danger. It's not like, for example, falling into a meat grinder.

So now, Morgan will seek other employment. He will not appeal the CSST's decision.

It's probably a smart decision, after all, a baker knows a lot about a peel.

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## Le multiculturalisme au service de l'intolérable, suite de la page 14

l'extrême gauche et chez les altermondialistes. Au Canada, le centre libéral se contente de lui laisser la bride sur le cou. Les tenants du multiculturalisme vont d'ailleurs jusqu'à nier l'existence du problème, alors que les nationalistes en exagèrent la gravité. Pour les premiers, le multiculturalisme et la loi qui l'encadre sont des vaches sacrées ; pour les seconds, il résulte d'un sinistre complot contre la Nation tramé par les descendants de Lord Durham.

Les apôtres inconditionnels du multiculturalisme commettent deux erreurs : ils font d'une part le jeu des islamistes, qui profitent de nos politiques non point accueillantes mais plutôt laxistes pour maintenir leur domination sur les membres de leur communauté —

les femmes surtout ; ils font d'autre part le jeu des mono-maniaques de l'identité québécoise. Les nationalistes ayant tout intérêt à alimenter de craintes fantasmagiques le danger réel représenté par l'islamisme, les fédéralistes auraient intérêt à s'engager, ici même au Québec — car la loi fédérale n'est pas près de changer, ni la constitution d'être amendée —, dans une démarche qui devient de plus en plus urgente : le renforcement de la laïcité. S'il faut pour cela faire aussi disparaître le fameux crucifix de Maurice Duplessis, n'hésitons pas. Si

CAROLINE FOUREST  
La dernière utopie  
menaces sur l'universalisme



ceux qui veulent maintenir l'unité du Canada n'imposent pas aux intégristes de tout acabit de sévères mesures prophylactiques, ils feront le jeu de leurs adversaires.

« Facilitateur de progrès pendant les années 90, lorsqu'il s'agissait de faire reculer les discriminations envers les minorités, le multiculturalisme sert désormais surtout à tolérer l'intolérable. » Attendrons-nous pour mettre le holà aux ambitions des islamistes que des manifestants brandissent dans les rues, comme à Londres récemment, des pancartes promettant à l'Occident un nouvel holocauste ?



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# Liberalism and the Jews

One of the strangest and, at first blush, inexplicable aspects of the current social and political scene, remarked upon by many writers, is the swelling tide of antisemitic sentiment and the orchestrated, international campaign against the very existence of the Jewish state. We see it in the divestment campaigns of the churches, NGOs, and trade unions, in the proliferation of “Israel Apartheid Weeks” on university campuses, in the modern blood libel perpetrated by the Swedish press, and in the ramifying anti-Israel resolutions passed by the United Nations, exemplified most recently by the mendacious Goldstone report. Why should this be so? It is no accident, I would suggest, that this storm of resentment and hatred against the Jewish people is accompanied by another bizarre phenomenon, namely, the “unholy alliance” that has been forged between the proponents of Western secularism and the armies of Islam ranged against it. Judeophobia and Islamophilia go hand in hand. We need to start here if we wish to understand why Israel and Jews have been targeted by the liberal West.

Various reasons have been suggested for the bizarre collaboration between Islam and the West: the inability of many public intellectuals to temper what Paul Hollander in *Political Pilgrims* has described as a species of “moral indignation and compassion set and guided by their ideologies and partisan commitments”; the liberal delusion of multicultural equivalencies; and what I have elsewhere called “the utopian prepossession of the modern mind,” predicated on the chimerical notion of the brotherhood of man that transcends all national and ethnological boundaries. Although, it must be admitted, it is a rather selective brotherhood, since a “Restricted” sign has been planted at its entrance.

To begin with, making sense of the liberal-left communion with an implacable theological adversary, at the expense of its Jewish ally and friend, seems a puzzling proposition. To quote Nick Cohen’s *What’s Left: How Liberals Lost Their Way*, we seem to have forgotten about the belief of majority Muslims “in the literal truth of an early medieval

book, the elevation of their god over free men and women, their hatred of intellectual freedom, their homophobia, their antisemitism, their supernatural conspiracy theories, their misogyny, their use of state oppression.”

Worse, we do not seem to be overly concerned that we may one day find ourselves living in a Press-1-for-English world. Although it is moot whether the liberal-left has been punk’d by Muslim window-dressing or is, in fact, fully aware of the Islamic commitment against the weal of the democratic West, there is little question that it has come to behave like the cadet branch of Islam, assuming the proper qibla line (direction of prayer).

A glaring and most disturbing feature of this entente, as we have seen, is the cresting wave of antisemitism in the West, particularly in Europe but increasingly on this side of the Atlantic as well. This phenomenon is especially baffling when one considers that almost everything that Islam stands for, certainly in its present embodiment, is inimical to the welfare of the liberal West, while Judaism with its emphasis on the concept of a universal moral law, the exercise of skeptical inquiry into the claims of arbitrary authority, and the importance of individual choice and judgment in taking responsibility for personal salvation would appear to be our natural confederate.

But, upon reflection, perhaps the Western tendency to come to the defence of Islam, under the sign of combatting a non-existent “Islamophobia,” while simultaneously countenancing Jew- and Israel hatred, accusing Jews in the West but not Muslims of “double loyalty,” targeting a presumably nefarious “Israel lobby” for condemnation, regarding Zionism as a form of racism and falsely castigating Israel as an “apartheid state” is not all that difficult to account for.

To begin with, there’s the census. Muslims weigh in at one and half billion people, Jews at a paltry 12 million, many of them lapsed and many of them frankly self-hating. What we are observing is a conflict between an ever bigger Goliath and an ever smaller David. But, of course, like the caricature of the

proverbial dumb blonde, the world goes where the muscle is.

Then there is the fear factor. Jews do not issue fatwas, attend violent protests, scream obscenities and threats, outfit suicide bombers, hijack airliners, kidnap foreigners, launch terrorist raids and blow up buildings. This obviously puts them at a distinct disadvantage with the Western media, political classes and large segments of the general public who cringe before the menace of Muslim reprisals for perceived offences.

Allied to this faintheartedness is a corresponding element which is nothing less than admiration for and envy of a world-historical force convinced of its own righteousness and unafraid to stampede the public square. The other face of our timidity is the capacity to be impressed by the genuine passion and sincere conviction we are unable to muster in ourselves. Paralyzed in the deepest recesses of the self, we piggyback along for the ride, experiencing vigor by proxy. In a debased and timorous age, Jews cannot compete with Muslims as carriers for our repressions and undisclosed lusts.

I am reminded in this connection of Eugène Ionesco’s play *Rhinoceros* in which we observe the metamorphosis of an entire population, with the exception of a single refusenik, into primitive pachyderms. Having grown tired of their common humanity, people begin to feel that the calloused, dark-green armour of the rhinoceros is preferable to the pale flabbiness of their own skins and welcome the transformation, rejoicing in the group feeling of the trampling herd. What has afflicted the West today is merely a variant of galloping rhinocerotitis. The refusenik Jew, like the Bérenger character in the play, has little luck persuading the multitudes to re-think their fellow-traveling mutation of sensibility.

Then we have the petroleum factor, which is so obvious as to scarcely require comment. An Arab/Muslim embargo would have a disastrous effect on Western economies. At the same time, we fail or refuse to understand that should Israel, the national incarnation of the Jew, ever decide to boycott the world rather than vice versa, our cellphones

would stop ringing, our computers would shut down, and many people with serious illnesses would be deprived of their medications. (The Israeli pharmaceutical company, Teva, is the world’s foremost supplier of antibiotic drugs.) But Arabs are conspicuous in the power of their oil cartels. Israelis, like the Intel microchips, Pentium microprocessors and Google search algorithms developed in the country, are hidden inside their technology.

Yet another issue involves the spectacle of Western venality. Universities and their Middle East Studies departments, practising academics, “peace” centers, former diplomats, ex-Presidents and many other individuals and institutions are the grateful recipients of Arab largesse—mainly Saudi-Arabian, but the Emirates have ponied up as well. Even if it were the intention of some putative Jewish cabal, there simply isn’t enough Jewish money to go around to accomplish the same result, despite the universal canard of shadowy Jewish financiers secretly controlling the dispensation of the world’s fortunes. So the Muslims have the field. Ask Jimmy Carter. Ask Charles Freeman. Ask Ramsey Clark. Ask George Galloway. Ask Rashid Khalidi. Ask John Esposito. But don’t hold your breath if you’re waiting for an honest answer.

Jamie Glazov in his recent book *United in Hate* adduces still another factor to account for the “war against Jews.” Jews are guilty “because as a people, they are synonymous with liberty and the veneration of life on earth.” Thus, for “Islamists—as for leftist believers,” who personify “the impulse to destroy and perish...such a disposition is tantamount to a declaration of war.” We have, in essence, betrayed our own civilizing imperative of which Judaism, along with classical Greece, is the fount and origin.

The issue is further ravelled by the liberal impetus toward a transnational authority that seeks to overcome the presumed limitations of the nation-state in a globalizing world. This is the malware lodged in the liberal hard drive. Israel, however, is perceived as an obstacle to this hegemonic drive toward post-constitutional supranational governance. Treated as an anomaly, a

misfortune, a historical vestige, a pariah, a dispensable construct or a political retrogression, Israel is nevertheless a nation that up to now has tenaciously fought for its existence rather than acquiesce in its disappearance or subsumption into an authoritarian, all-embracing, superordinate, administrative organism, let alone a regional confederacy. Canadian historian Ramsay Cook, who considers nationalism a “reactionary ideology,” long ago understood the significance of the Zionist experience for the modern world. In his 1965 essay, “The Historian and Nationalism,” he writes: “It is no accident that the first Western people with a historical consciousness is also the people whose history provides the archetypes of modern nationalism: the Jewish people.” The liberal-left today, in its castigation of nationalism as an organizing principle of political life, has strongly endorsed this position. But Zionism is a different matter altogether. As Mark Lilla suggested in a *New Republic* essay, “Once upon a time, the Jews were mocked for not having a nation-state. Now they are criticized for having one.”

Add all these factors to the motherlode of ancient and doggedly irrational Jew-hatred and scapegoating that has always subtended the world’s transactions with its scattered Jewish communities, and that continues to sustain its animus against the state of Israel, and we should have no trouble making sense of what might otherwise seem an insoluble paradox. Together, they serve to explain why we collude with our antagonists and favor those who would destroy us rather than embrace and defend the very people with whom we share a common civilizational patrimony.

It is as if the existential core of our collective being has become so viscous that we no longer have identities, only itineraries. Like Paul Hollander’s “political pilgrims,” we migrate not where reason, integrity and survival might dispose, which should in all propriety be our stable and collective address, but where fear and avarice dictate. And in so doing, we bend the knee to our enemies while kneecapping our friends and allies.

# Literary connections, plays about writers and writing hit the stage

Vincent Hoss-Desmarais and Alain Goulem in *Michel & Ti-Jean*.

Imagine, if you will a shoot-out between two of North America's most famous French-Canadian word slingers, Michel Tremblay and Jack Kerouac. George Rideout's *Michel & Ti-Jean*, playing at the Centaur until March 7, is an unexpected surprise, a daring, novel audacious idea that actually works on stage. The encounter between the two takes place in 1969, one month before Kerouac drank himself to death. Tremblay, who was then 27 and anxious to validate himself as a writer, hitchhikes to St. Petersburg, Fla., with a copy of his then as yet unproduced play, *Les Belles Soeurs* in his knapsack to give to Kerouac to read. It never happened, of course. But if it had, the two writers would have had enough in common to talk about. Both were products of extended French Canadian families, both had fathers who were printers, both were outsiders who wrote as a means of escape, and although Kerouac had been married three times, he, like Tremblay had his share of homosexual encounters. And as writers, both "redeemed light from darkness," Kerouac with *On the Road*, and Tremblay with his entire canon. Because everyone in Montreal knows Michel Tremblay, the trick, of course, was to find an actor who could not only portray him, but pull it off convincingly. Happily, the Centaur found one in Vincent Hoss-Desmarais who gives a performance that's all sensitivity and soul, a marvelous and vital impression that is as much Vincent Tremblay, as it is Michel Hoss-Desmarais. He's nailed the part. As Kerouac, Alain Goulem is a pitch perfect match, brash, spontaneous and self loathing. The moment where he reads jazz into Tremblay's script and imitates all the instruments is pure magic. ("Germaine, the fat sister, she's a trombone, she bellows and groans, Rose is a trumpet, she's the loudest, Pierette, the black sheep, she's an alto sax, her sound has the smell of sex....."). Author Rideout, who teaches at Bishop's University, did his Master's Thesis on Kerouac,

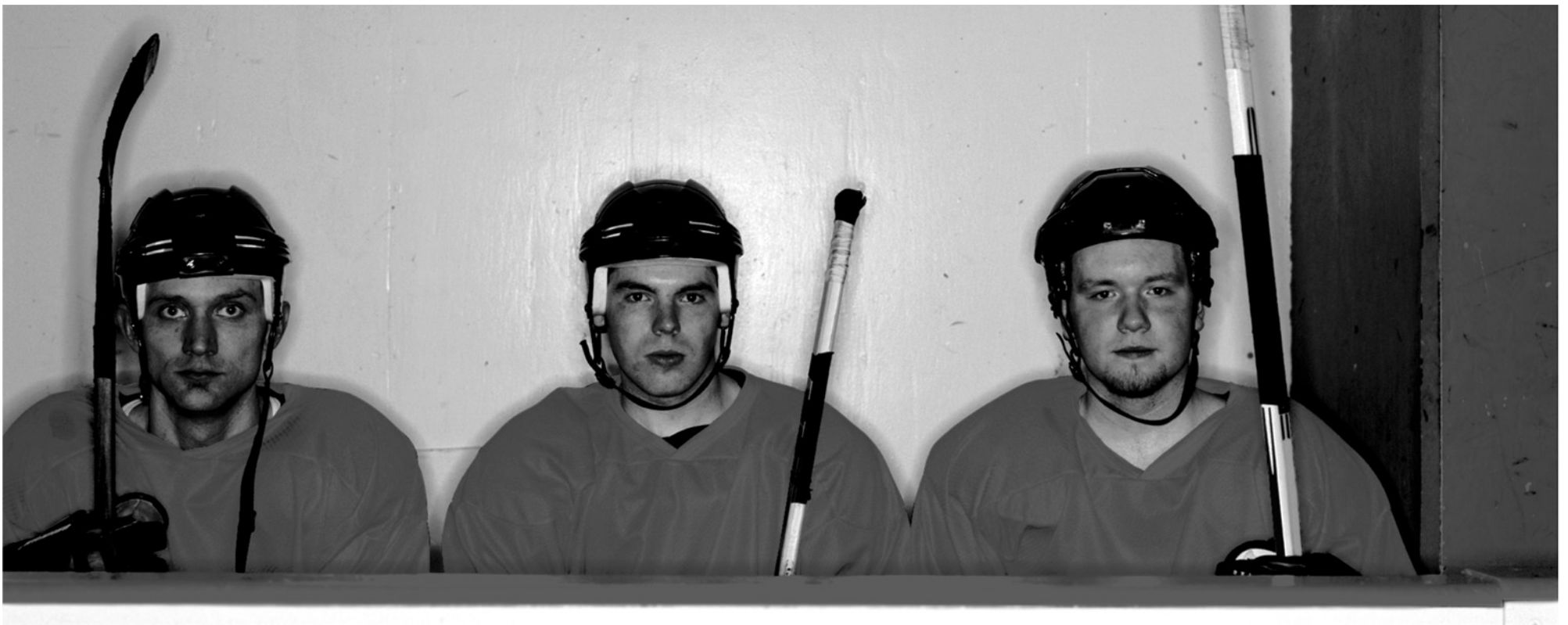
and Tremblay himself liked the script enough to encourage the Centaur to stage the work. If, as the Kerouac character says, heaven exists in literature, because writers make people they love into angels, then Rideout already has his wings. Ian Tamblyn has composed evocative beat music Amy Keith has designed a minimal set around a billiard table, and Sarah Garton Stanley has directed with her head and her heart. *Michel & Ti-Jean* offers home grown characters, heartfelt ideas about good writing, inspired acting, and a craving for beer and fried baloney sandwiches..

Elliott Larson in *Geometry in Venice*.

The Saidye Bronfman's revival of Montreal playwright Michael Mackenzie's *Geometry in Venice* at the Segal Centre plays like chamber music. Precise, bittersweet, and elegant, the work is built on *The Pupil*, a short story, by Henry James. It's the coming of age tale of Morgan Moreen, an exceptionally gifted, but sickly child, who discovers his apparently

aristocratic parents aren't quite what they appear to be. Morgan finds solace in the company of his Canadian tutor, Pemberton, (Graham Cuthbertson) who isn't being paid, but finds himself part of the Moreens' nomadic odyssey through Europe. Morgan's parents are typical of those seductively, self-centred people who rub elbows with the rich and famous and depend on their social contacts to keep one step ahead of their creditors. They are charming con artists, hoping to marry off their daughter, Amy (Susanna Fournier) to some aristocrat rich enough to maintain their lifestyle. As Morgan quickly determines, his parents are sycophants, "witty and charming to dolts." They can't afford to pay Pemberton, but expect him to stay around without remuneration because they, themselves, are so "à la mode." In real life, Henry James hobnobbed with the rich and famous that he wrote about. In this show he appears as the fly on the wall (Damien Atkins postures grandly in the part) who quickly determines that the Moreens aren't seriously rich enough for him and drops them like a hot potato. As Pemberton, the tutor who eventually has no choice but to abandon his charge, Cuthbertson's acting is economical and hits home without broad effects. *Geometry in Venice* is well worth seeing for the stage debut of 12-year old Elliott Larson as Morgan. In spite of the occasional problem with projection, Larson steals the show with winsome self assurance. Not to mention his skill as a pianist. As his parents, Allegra Fulton, who barbers sex for her son's well-being, is ideal as the noble ruin she is meant to be, and Aidan Devine, as his oily father, is convincingly amoral and duplicitous. The spare white set by Julie Fox, all drapes and chandeliers is visually fulfilling, everyone is beautifully costumed in Victorian outfits, and Luc Prairie has lit the show with consummate skill. In this production, director Chris Abraham figured out all the possible angles, and got the geometry right.

David Sherman's first-rate take on the future of the newspaper industry, *The Daily Miracle*, isn't so much a play as a situation. The Infitheatre's production, at the Bain St.-Michel until Feb. 14, is as topical as it is timely. Sherman used to work as a copy editor at *The Gazette*, and his apocalyptic view of the future of newspapers is as depressing as anything the CanWest chain of dailies offers its readers these days. It is an authentic look at what happens when self respecting journalists no longer want to work for a local daily that's been gutted and destroyed by far flung corporate interests, but who can't afford to leave. The plot is simple. It focuses on hard-boiled copy editors schooled in the days before Google, who each night edit the stories, write the headlines, and lay out the pages, arguing all the way to deadline. A reporter stumbles across a legitimate front page story, but her hard-boiled editor can't fit it into the new, generic format driven by managers in "Mumbai and Etobicoke" who prefer "drivel about snowstorms in winter" instead of legitimate, hard hitting news. As one of the exasperated characters laments, newspapers should be "prose for the masses," not "ephemeral digits glowing at you" on a webpage. "A good newspaper growls and screams and moans!" his rant continues. "A paper should grab you by the short hairs and make you angry, and if this dinosaur goes extinct, what's it going to say about us? .. Papers are like governments. We get what we deserve. Our prime minister with the plastic hair says no one cares he has shut down Parliament. No one cares if they're torturing prisoners. Well I care, and you care. And if the paper cares, people, they'll care." Arthur Holden, as Marty, the neurotic wing man, gets all the best lines, ("Sodomy ranks high with focus groups,") but Ellen David, is equally fine as the tough night-side reporter, Elizabeth. As Benjamin, the world weary editor in charge, Howard Rosenstein is in looks, speech and demeanor ever inch a newspaperman. Jean-Guy Bouchard is understatedly funny as Roland the former typographer turned janitor, who really knows what's going on in the building, but Sheena Gaze-Deslandes, as Carrie seems to be overshadowed by the rest of the cast. James Lavoie's cluttered set is an authentic newsroom, and Guy Sprung has ably directed with a keen appreciation of what journalism was when it was still an art. You don't have to work at the *Gazette* to enjoy the show, but given the reaction of several *Gazette* staffers in the audience who kept guffawing when no one else did the night I saw the show, it obviously helps.



# Proud to be Canadian?

Canada provides hundreds of million of dollars in aid to dictators, tyrants, and corrupt governments around the world.

Of the 25 countries named in the new International Policy Statement as key recipients of Canadian aid, only 6 are deemed by Freedom House to be free, while 19 are unfree or dictatorships. All 25 are identified as having corruption as a major problem, combined with weak parliaments, a lack of transparency and little respect for the rule of law.

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

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

## Make Democracy a Guiding Principle

Canada's foreign policy is centred around three Ds (Defense, Development and Diplomacy). CCD believes that our policies should be guided by a 4th D, Democracy. Canada must make ending corruption, respect for the rule of law, and open, accountable and transparent governments key foreign policy priorities. If you agree, become a member of the CCD.

Founded in 2003, the Canadian Coalition for Democracies (CCD) is an organization of concerned Canadians dedicated to the protection and promotion of democracy at home and abroad. CCD will influence the Canadian political process and public opinion to achieve a more pro-democracy foreign policy.

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# KATE MCGARRIGLE: Musical Matriarch 1946-2010

**K**ate McGarrigle was a free spirit who, with her much more restrained sister, Anna, enchanted us with their unornamented, honey-voiced duets in both official languages. Kate was the taller of the two, the slightly off kilter one, tart and earthy, the one who took charge on stage assuming everyone in the audience was a member of the family.

Cancer was the only thing that could break up the duo. Kate succumbed to clear cell sarcoma on Jan. 18. Her two hour funeral in Notre Dame Basilica had, as her son, Rufus pointed out, “a show business angle,” to it. The historic church was filled with celebrities, including Emmy Lou Harris, Luc Plamondon, Stuart McLean, Monique Mercure, Michel Rivard, Melissa Auf der Maur and Connie Kaldor. It was, as Kaldor wrote, “poignant, musical, filled with incense, tradition, and music from every age, old friends and famous friends, and a genuine sense that there was a community of people who cherished her.”

Catherine Frances McGarrigle was born in Montreal Feb. 6, 1946. She would have been 64 this month. Her father, Frank, was an outgoing Irishman who played piano and guitar, and wanted his three daughters to sing together. Her mother, Gaby was a French-Canadian who worked as a translator at a burlesque house. The girls grew up in St. Sauver des Monts in the Laurentians. Shy about speaking French, the sisters substituted singing for speech. “We sang louder and better than the other kids,” she told one interviewer, “Our harmonies are straight parallel harmonies, they tend to be like two melodies sung together.”

Kate was an unusually talented child, tough, tender and vulnerable. One Christmas, when she received a wristwatch instead of the mandolin that she had asked for, she threw a tantrum and threw the watch across the room. When her grandfather couldn't find a mandolin, he opted for a guitar instead. As Anna told the story, “Mother said, ‘make that two, I don't want Anna making a scene.’ Our father, silent up until this point, asked what was wrong with the fine old 1910 Gibson that was hanging on the wall, and mother replied, ‘it was old and broken – Kate hit Anna over the head with it.’”

Kate made her singing debut at a talent show in the Laurentians in 1959. The family moved to Montreal



PHOTO ALAN MARTIN

where, in 1963, Kate and Anna joined a folk group, The Mountain City Four, singing in coffee houses with Jack Nissenson and Peter Weldon. Kate studied math and engineering at McGill, and in 1970 obtained her

Bachelor of Science degree. She then left for a vagabond life in the United States where she met Loudon Wainwright III whom she married. They had a son Rufus, (‘That special one... that son of a gun,') and a

We are human, we are angel  
We have feet and wish for wings  
We are carbon, we are ether  
We are saints, we are kings  
Why must we die?

*Words and music, Kate and Anna McGarrigle, Copyright, Garden Court Music, 1996*

daughter, Martha. After Kate's marriage to Wainwright ended, Anna wrote a song for her, Kitty Come Home, inviting her sister to “Pack up all your children and come home to our love and concern.” As her daughter Martha recalled at the funeral, “She did come home and into herself with more power and ambition than ever before.” Les McGarrigles took to the road in 1974 and never looked back. As the London Observer wrote, “There never were such sisters... Their homespun music was a law unto itself.”

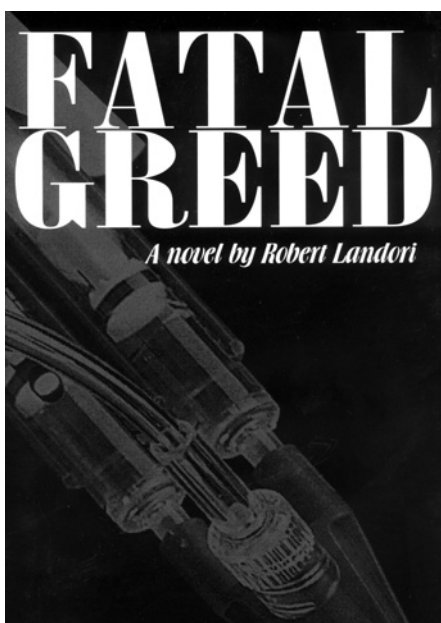
They recorded 10 albums, and their songbook included Heart Like a Wheel, Talk to me of Mendacino, and the Black Fly Song; their most ambitious project brought the McGarrigle clan together, spouses and ex spouses, collaborators and friends, and won a Juno in 1998.

Kate and Anna received the Order of Canada, the only siblings to do so, and in 2004 were given the the Governor General's Performing Arts Award in 2004. Kate last appeared on stage at London's Royal Albert Hall in December. The last song she wrote, Proserpina, was sung at her funeral.

“If your name is Kate, you ride a storm, torch the place, and take no prisoners,” Rufus said in his eulogy, speaking of his mother. “I will miss her ability to reduce any situation to a broth of truth and then fearlessly serve it. Once, at the foot of Masada, after a long and very patronizing lecture on the holy significance of its ancient mass suicide, my mom said, very loudly, ‘sounds like the Jonestown Massacre.’ Behind my mother's flashing eyes and flashing tongue was one of the purest, most absolute forms of kindness the world has ever known – not that she was out to save the world – but she was truly kind.”

Always the one to have the last word, Kate summed up her career shortly before she died this way. “It hasn't been bad in the terms of the music we've done what we wanted. I like the records we've made. I think we could have done some things a littler sharper, a bit more realistic... neither one of us was dying to strut onstage and be somebody, and I don't think we ever were. We like to play music, and it's fun to be loved and have people applaud you.”

The applause continues.



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