

# ÉLECTION 2011

**MALOUF** Bain de sièges .....page 3  
**SOLWAY** A chance for change .....page 5  
**HUSTAK** What Harper hath wrought .....page 6  
**WAJSMAN** Pourquoi le libéralisme est important .....page 7

**DUHAIME** Les dépendantistes .....page 9  
**CONACHER** Better voter rep system needed .....page 9  
**SIMARD** No more room between right and left? .....page 10  
**PRESSER** Majority economics in a polarized house .....page 15

Ensemble et libres  Together and free

# THE MÉTROPOLITAIN

9 JUIN 2011 • VOL. 4, NO 3

THE BILINGUAL JOURNAL OF REFLECTION, OPINION AND THE ARTS • LE JOURNAL BILINGUE DE RÉFLEXION, D'OPINIONS ET DES ARTS

WWW.THEMETROPOLITAIN.CA

# CANADA

# A NEW ERA?



## Himelfarb

A meaner Canada: junk politics and the omnibus crime bill

Page 16



## de Perlycroix

La révolte de la peur et... le moment de vérité!

Page 12



## Al-Fattal Eeckelaert

Chaos theory for political order in the Arab world

Page 14



3<sup>e</sup> item  
GRATUIT!  
3<sup>e</sup> item à prix égal ou inférieur est gratuit

jean bleu

## THE MÉTROPOLITAIN

*Ensemble et Libres ~ Together and Free*

Édifice Hermès, Tour A, Suite 155, 1470 rue Peel,  
Montréal, QC, Canada, H3A 1T1

Tel: 514-759-8541

Fax: 514-759-8544

e-mail: [info@themetropolitain.ca](mailto:info@themetropolitain.ca)

Rédacteur en chef et Éditeur  
*Beryl P. Wajzman*

Senior Editor  
*Alan Hustak*

Contributing Editor  
*Brigitte B. Garceau*

Managing Editor  
*Dan Delmar*

Rédacteur-adjoint principal  
*Daniel Laprès*

Coordonnateur, Affaires internationales  
*Leonard Dykler (Paris)*

Copy & Translations  
*Mike Medeiros*

Photojournaliste  
*Robert J. Galbraith*

Editorial Artwork  
*Roy Piperberg, Melissa K. Wheeler*

Ventes et Marketing  
*Genevieve Maclean, Joseph Mardini*

IT Director  
*Valeri Prudnikov*

Webmestre  
*François Charbonneau*

### Editorial staff

*Alidor Aucoin, Louise Labrecque, Pierre K. Malouf,  
Robert Presser, P.A. Sévigny, Sharman Yarnell, Robert Elman,  
David T. Jones, Mischa Popoff, David Solway*

### Editorial contributors

*Rouba Al-Fattal, Alain-Michel Ayache, Germain Belzile,  
Jean-Charles Chebat, Duff Conacher, Esther Delisle,  
Graham Dodds, Daniel Dufort, Robert Elman, Fred Eytan,  
Patrick C. Gagnon, Julius Grey, Rudyard Griffiths, Nancy  
Hinton, George Jonas, Barbara Kay,  
David Kilgour, Rémi Landry, Marc Lebus, Lewis W. Mackenzie,  
Timothy Mak, Annette Paquet, John Parisella, Andrei  
Piontkovsky, Daniel Romano, Michael Ross,  
Francis Tourigny, Thomas R. Velk, Hubert Villeneuve,  
Albert A. Zhily*

### Strategic Counsel

*Charles S. Coffey*

## Letters and Submissions

The *Métropolitain* encourages letters and submissions from our readers in both official languages. SVP envoyer vos textes à:

[submissions@themetropolitain.ca](mailto:submissions@themetropolitain.ca)

### Disclaimer

All materials accepted for publication may be subject to editing. *The Métropolitain* aims to meet the need for original and unconventional thought and opinion on local, national and international affairs. The opinions and views expressed by the contributors to *The Métropolitain* are strictly their own and do not necessarily represent those of the ownership, its advisors, members or editors. *The Métropolitain* does not accept responsibility for the views expressed in any letter, article or comment that appears in these pages. It does accept responsibility for giving these submissions the chance to appear. No reproduction is permitted without prior written permission from the Publisher or Deputy Publisher. Any and all reproductions must clearly credit the specific issue, article and author as they originally appeared in *The Métropolitain*.



**Pierre K. Malouf**

« *Brasse-camarade* »

malouf@themetropolitain.ca

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

**LA PATRIE**

CONNAISSONS-NOUS VRAIMENT LES NÉO-DÉMOCRATES ?

## ELECTION ANALYSIS

# Bain de sièges

Le Québec avait mal au Bloc, les Québécois ont choisi comme traitement de choc un bain de sièges NPD ! Que les motifs de tout(e) un(e) chacun(e) de voter pour un candidat du NPD aient été justifiés ou farfelus (et certains étaient sans doute excellents aux yeux de ceux qui ont fait ce choix), le résultat est le même: nous voilà plus que jamais éloignés du pouvoir. Et représentés à Ottawa par des députés dont la majorité des électeurs ne partagent pas les convictions et ne connaissent pas le programme. Un sondage Léger Marketing nous apprend d'ailleurs que «quatorze pour cent des électeurs qui ont voté pour le NPD se définissent comme de droite ou de centre droit ». M. Léger précise dans un article du Journal de Montréal que seulement 29 % de ceux qui ont voté NPD se disent de gauche, 21 % au centre [...]. Alors que 48 % des électeurs du Bloc sont à gauche et seulement 6 % sont à droite. » Allez donc y comprendre quelque chose. La volonté des Québécois de se débarrasser du Bloc les a poussé de manière irréfléchie sur une voie de garage sans issue. Qu'on veuille bien me pardonner, mais je ne peux m'empêcher de voir dans ces résultats électoraux une preuve éclatante de l'immaturation politique d'une forte proportion de mes concitoyens. Heureusement, le reste du Canada a montré plus de sens commun en élisant un gouvernement conservateur majoritaire. Le NPD pourra donc nous infliger pendant quatre ans son discours surréaliste (belles chicanes en perspective entre les députés du Québec et ceux des autres provinces), mais son programme calamiteux ne risque pas de contaminer les politiques d'un gouvernement solidement installé au pouvoir, qui n'aura pas à faire de concessions à l'opposition.

Je ne nie pourtant pas que les députés NPD

que les Québécois viennent d'élire sont pour la plupart des gens bien (?) intentionnés (dont certains, à n'en pas douter, deviendront des députés compétents, dévoués et... bilingues). Mais on découvre aussi parmi la cohorte un noyau dur de gauchistes foncièrement hostiles à l'économie de marché et aux principes fondamentaux du libéralisme, personnages à ce point multiculturalistes (par haine de l'Occident et de l'universalisme hérité des Lumières) qu'ils n'ont pas honte de flirter à l'occasion avec l'idéologie totalitaire la plus

livre à une trop subtile défense du Hamas, faut-il aussi y voir un détail sans importance ? N'est-il pas plus conséquent de s'inquiéter des propos de M. Boulerice, qui sont typiques de la mouvance antisioniste obsessionnelle qui sévit dans les milieux de gauche ? (2).

Et lorsque, à la chambre des communes, un député NPD de Colombie-Britannique, Bill Silksay, rend un vibrant hommage à l'imam Ziyad Delic, directeur exécutif du Canadian Islamic Congress, faut-il faire la sourde oreille et surtout ne pas s'aviser du fait que Delic et

dans l'urne le 2 mai dernier. À cette objection, ma réponse est la suivante : si les électeurs ne se sont pas avisés que le NPD a de drôles de fréquentations, c'est tout simplement qu'ils n'en ont jamais entendu parler, surtout s'ils sont des lecteurs assidus de La Presse et du Devoir ou sont branchés sur la radio et la télévision d'État, médias pour qui les pires, voire les seuls extrémistes qui menacent la société libérale et les vaches sacrées de l'État-providence, ce sont les conservateurs, et plus particulièrement parmi ces derniers ceux qui élèvent du bétail, font pousser du blé ou extraient du pétrole quelque part dans l'Ouest.

Bonne idée, certes, que de s'opposer aux visées réactionnaires de certains conservateurs (pourtant soigneusement tenus en laisse par Steven Harper). Mais c'en serait une tout aussi bénéfique que de regarder en face les menaces aux libertés qui viennent de l'autre bord de l'éventail politique et dont les complices et/ou propagandistes se retrouvent plus que jamais dans notre propre cour. Évidemment, pour que se produise une telle prise de conscience, il faudrait que les médias mainstream y consacrent une certaine attention, ce qu'ils se garderont bien de faire, car pour eux le danger vient uniquement de l'Ouest et des conservateurs. Ne comptons donc ni sur La Presse, ni sur Radio-Canada pour explorer ces dossiers importants. C'est pourquoi je vous invite à consulter les cinq articles que je donne en référence.

(1) <http://www.postedeveille.ca/2011/04/canada-jacklaytonhonoré-par-deskhomynistes.html>

(2) <http://www.ledevoir.com/non-classe/106001/lettres-une-decision-precipitee>

(3) <http://www.postedeveille.ca/2010/10/canada-le-npd-rend-hommage-a-lextrémiste-deoic.html>

**...on découvre aussi parmi la cohorte un noyau dur de gauchistes foncièrement hostiles à l'économie de marché et aux principes fondamentaux du libéralisme, personnages à ce point multiculturalistes...**

menaçante actuellement à l'oeuvre au Canada comme ailleurs dans le monde: l'islamisme. Vous croyez que j'exagère ?

Quand le très sympathique Jack Layton reçoit une récompense des mains d'un ayatollah aux relations douteuses, faut-il considérer l'événement comme une simple anecdote sans signification politique ou idéologique ? (1)

Quand Alexandre Boulerice (député de Rosemont La Petite-patrie depuis le 2 mai), se

CIC sont des promoteurs de la charia et des résolutions anti-blasphème de l'Organisation de la conférence islamique ? (3)

Les exemples que je viens de donner des compromissions pro-islamistes du NPD ne sont que des incidents de parcours, diront certains, et les Québécois ont bien fait de ne pas en tenir compte (comme ils n'ont pas tenu compte de l'identité ou de la compétence des candidats) lorsqu'ils ont déposé leur bulletin



**Ideas before identities.  
Justice before orthodoxy.**

**THE MÉTROPOLITAIN**



**Anja Karadeglija**

info@themetropolitain.ca

WWW.THEMETROPOLITAIN.CA

## ELECTION ANALYSIS

# Tories and NDP must deal with new pan-Canadian realities

When Stephen Harper first appeared as a prime ministerial candidate, his opponents charged that he harbored a secret agenda, and the strategy helped Paul Martin's Liberals defeat the fledgling Conservatives in the 2004 election.

Seven years later – five of them with Harper as prime minister – Canadians decided they liked Harper and his party enough to give him a majority, but the accusations of a hidden agenda still haven't disappeared.

So what can Canadians expect from their new government? While the short-term outlook seems clear enough – an omnibus crime bill, a re-introduction of its defeated budget – the long-term picture is a bit murkier.

"That's the \$64,000 question. I think we'll have to see – it's not clear," says Keith Banting, a professor in Queen's University's department of political studies and school of policy studies and Queen's research chair in public policy.

Banting says he would be surprised if Harper were to reintroduce social issues like abortion or same-sex marriage.

"My guess is they will focus more on economic issues...that it's going to be more economically conservative than socially conservative, but that's just a guess," he predicts.

Antonia Maioni, associate professor in McGill's department of political science and director of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, agrees that it's hard to say what path Harper's government will take in the long term.

"Strangely enough, even though the

Conservative party has been in power for many years, we certainly don't know what its legislative ambition is as a whole," she says.

"And that's where it's going to be interesting, to see to what extent some of the kind of fiscal or social conservative policies that some critics of the Conservative party are worried about, whether or not those worries will come to pass."

Maioni notes balancing the demands of its base and the expectations of its new Ontario

to watch," he explains.

In the short term, the Conservatives have said that they will introduce legislation that will amalgamate unpassed crime bills, as well as bring back last March's budget. Harper also promised to carry on with the controversial purchase of fighter jets, as well to gradually pay down the deficit and return to balanced budgets within a reasonable amount of time, adds Harold Chorney, a political science professor at Concordia University.

**... there won't be any great changes in the governing style of the Conservatives, arguing that even in a minority situation, they governed as if they had a majority.**

supporters will pose a challenge for the Conservative party; in order to ensure its long-term survival, it will have to respond to the its base without alienating middle-of-the-road voters.

Banting says that the party will change in response to the influx of Ontario members.

"It cannot be as full-shaped by the experience of the western wing of the party, which has stronger roots in the Reform movement. So that rebalancing process internally is going to take some time, and it's going to be interesting

The Conservatives, of course, aren't the only ones who will have to incorporate a new base of supporters; while the grabbing of official opposition status away from the Liberals was a historic victory for the NDP, that party will also have adjust to its new political reality.

"They've obviously got their task cut out in terms of...developing internal coherence, developing a...large number of political novices into an organized, effective opposition, so I think they'll have a lot of work internally for a while," Banting says.

Maioni adds the NDP will also have to adjust to the fact that they're now the voice of Quebec voters.

"They also have to deal with integrating this new Quebec voice into a caucus that is much more pan-Canadian, and rooted elsewhere in Canada," she says.

Canadians may have chosen to maintain the status quo by electing a third Conservative government, but the fact that it now holds a majority of seats means that the rules of the game have changed.

A majority allows a party a much greater amount of freedom than they would have in a minority, notes Chorney.

"Having a majority means never having to say you're sorry. It's essentially a benevolent parliamentary dictatorship, and it doesn't have to be that benevolent either," he says. "If you have someone who really doesn't want to stay longer than the four-year term ... then you've got a potential for a fairly radical government, because they can run roughshod over Parliament."

Despite their increased legislative power, Banting says there won't be any great changes in the governing style of the Conservatives, arguing that even in a minority situation, they governed as if they had a majority.

"I can't see any reason to assume it would be any less centralized, I can see no reason to assume they would be any more forthcoming with documents.... [that] they would suddenly have a big burst of faith in evidence-based empirical analysis shaping policy," he says. "So I think their style has emerged pretty clearly."

...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?

Citoyens Anti Gouvernement Envahissant

**CAGE**

Citizens Against Government Encroachment

www.cagecanada.ca

David Solway is the award-winning author of over twenty-five books of poetry, criticism, educational theory, and travel. He is a contributor to magazines as varied as the *Atlantic*, the *Sewanee Review*, *Books in Canada*, and the *Partisan Review*. His most recent book is *The Big Lie: On Terror, Antisemitism, and Identity*.

**David Solway**  
solway@themetropolitain.ca



## ELECTION ANALYSIS

# The election: A chance for real hope and change

On May 2 of this year, Canadians went to the polls and generated a set of electoral results that defied the collective wisdom of the nation's pollsters, editors, political pundits and think tankers. Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper was given the majority government that had eluded him over the previous two election cycles—and a substantial majority it was. The best he could have hoped for, according to the commentariat, was yet another minority government presiding over a fractious, multi-Party House of Commons, with little chance of passing a Conservative budget and implementing Conservative legislation. He was regularly lampooned in Canada's mainstream left-wing media as cold, unlikeable, domineering and "scary," apparently harboring a "secret agenda" to turn the country into a far right, semi-police state. Fortunately, ordinary Canadians thought otherwise.

The Liberal Party, which had styled itself as the "Natural Governing Party" of Canada and which had been in power for most of the last century, met the worst electoral defeat of its long and epochal history. It was ignominiously reduced to rump status in parliament, a mere 34 seats to the Conservatives' 167. The Liberals had pinned their hopes on the intellectual lustre of their leader, acclaimed author and Ivy League prof Michael Ignatieff, who had spent most of his career outside of Canada, teaching in Europe and the U.S. He was, presum-

ably, to play the part of Elisha to Pierre Trudeau's Elijah, donning the mantle of the "intellectual giant" who was also a university scholar and author and who had gradually snaffled the country to the left during his controversial tenure. Trudeau had captivated the public with his charisma and Gallic charm, his eloquence, his marriage to a beautiful (if unstable) woman, his sandal-wearing hippiness, his pirouette behind the Queen's back when he succeeded in repatriating the Constitution, and many other feats of derring-do.

But Ignatieff, popularly known as "Iggy," could never arouse the electorate. He came across as pompous, self-infatuated, rather stodgy, and like a modern version of Shakespeare's Coriolanus, seemed uncomfortable flipping hamburgers and kissing babies. Worse, he was seen as parachuted in to revive the Party's flagging prospects. This was perhaps his greatest liability.

No less surprising than the Conservatives' stunning victory and the Liberal collapse was the unexpected surge of the hard left New Democratic Party, or NDP, led by the opportunistic Jack Layton. Earning hefty salaries, he and his parliamentary wife, Olivia Chow, lived for years in subsidized government housing. As well, Layton, a vigorous supporter of mandatory public health care, had no compunction jumping the queue and undergoing medical treatment in a private clinic. No matter. A caviar socialist can do no

wrong.

Formerly a minor player in the country's motley parliament, the NDP's appeal to the programmatic left had ensured it of a gadfly presence in the House, if not of administrative influence. Under Layton's clever minstrelsy, all this has now changed. Buoyed by its 102 seats, the NDP constitutes the Official Opposition and brandishes considerable clout in upcoming budgetary and policy debates.

It should be noted, however, that of its 102 seats, 58 were picked up in Quebec, largely at the expense of the province's independence Party, the Bloc Québécois, which was reduced from the 47 seats it held at parliament's dissolution to an infinitesimal 4. Like the NDP, the Bloc is strongly socialist in its political orientation, a similarity upon which the NDP was able to capitalize. But after several terms in Parliament, once as the Official Opposition, the Bloc's tiresome, one-note, strident vuvuzela and its lack of productive results eventually paled upon Quebec voters.

Without a single member from the ROC (Rest of Canada), the Bloc was always something of an anomaly. For Americans to understand this electoral curiosity, they would need to imagine a parliamentary system in which an independence Party representing one of their most populous states, say California or Texas, is regularly elected to the halls of power in order to achieve the secession of the state from the body of the nation. One might call it the

Catalan model—Catalonia has long agitated for political dismemberment from Spain, in some respects like Scotland from the United Kingdom and Flanders from Belgium. But in Canada the threat is real and ongoing, far more so than in other Western nations, and in the Quebec referendum of 1995 the country came within a 1% vote differential of breaking up.

What is rather delectable in the current situation is that the NDP now finds itself between a ROC and a hard place. As Official Opposition, with 44 seats won outside of Quebec, it must act as a national unity Party if it wishes to retain credibility and a viable future. At the same time, it must also answer to the demands of Quebec separatists and so-called "sovereignty-association" sentiment if it holds out any hope of retaining the Quebec vote that catapulted it to its present position of eminence. Adding to its predicament, much of its Quebec caucus consists of young people, students and raw first-timers, clearly unready for the exercise of power. For example, one of its candidates, twenty-something Ruth Ellen Brosseau, whose passion is rescuing stray animals, was happily vacationing in Las Vegas during the election, ran in a jurisdiction where she does not live, and does not speak passable French, the language of 98% of her constituents. Only in Quebec, one might say.

It will be interesting times ahead for Canada. The Bloc is moribund for now, but should not be counted out in

the future. Liberals will be looking inward, struggling to rebuild. A product of the perennially freakish West Coast, the Green Party with its measly one seat is a non-entity, though it can be expected to side with the NDP in stirring up as much trouble as it can for the Conservatives—and for the country. The socialist zombie is always on the prowl, hunting for victims.

Nonetheless, the Conservative majority augurs reasonably well for the next four years. Cap-and-Trade is going nowhere. The Global Warming scam is likely to be rumbled or at least deflected. Those who desire to split the country will be up against a formidable opponent. The deficit will be tackled. Union pressure will be resisted. Islamic organizations and fellow-traveling NGOs may have a tougher time advancing their programs. Immigration patterns should grow more selective, tailored to the country's needs rather than to multicultural bromides. Israel will have a good and honorable friend at the United Nations—very different from the hypocritical "honest broker" position adopted by the Liberals and in direct contrast to the pro-Muslim slant of the NDP. The business environment will continue to improve, thanks to less wasteful entitlement disbursement and lower taxes, leading to a more favorable job market. Resource exploitation will be increasingly pursued. The economy will be further strengthened.

All in all, Americans can surely sympathize.



Le Groupe  
**Parlementaire**  
The  
**Parliamentary**  
Group



Deb Grey



Val Meredith



John Nunziata



Lorne Nystrom



Patrick Gagnon

**The Parliamentary Group**  
400-200 Elgin Street  
Ottawa, Canada K2P 1L5  
613.860.0043  
www.parliamentarygroup.com

The Parliamentary Group assists with regulatory, governmental and legislative advocacy issues. Our pan-Canadian government relations and lobbying firm helps clients navigate the often confusing corridors of government with a comprehensive range of services.



## Alan Hustak

hustak@themetropolitain.ca

WWW.THEMETROPOLITAIN.CA

## ELECTION ANALYSIS

# What Harper hath wrought

The True North is undeniably stronger for Conservative supporters following the recent election but is perhaps a little less free for those who believe that liberalism and social justice still matter.

The Harper government's 15-seat majority puts an end to political uncertainty for the next four years. But the untimely collapse of the Liberal party leaves the country without a voice for non-dogmatic

policies, a less invasive government and a fidelity to executive federalism.

Both the Harper Conservatives and the new NDP opposition appear to be little concerned about the possible balkanization of Canada. In his attempt to slay the dreaded Liberal dragon, Harper has to contend with an even more potent force on the land. It is not the New Democrats who are to be congratulated for winning 103 seats in the election, but Stephen Harper. The

reprehensible but effective conservative attack ads undermined Michael Ignatieff's reputation by questioning his patriotism, discrediting his commitment to Canada and portraying him as an elitist dilettante. It worked. And what the Conservatives didn't do to humiliate liberals, the party itself did.

Liberals have always campaigned from the left and governed from the centre. This this time they campaigned from the centre giving

no voice to their traditional defense of individualism and national unity. Special thanks for the party's destruction in Ontario is reserved for the back room strategist who allowed Jean Chretien back on the campaign trail in Toronto; it has to be the same bright light that thought resurrecting Jacques Parizeau from the dead would help the Bloc win seats in Quebec.

Few voters had the foggiest idea of what Liberals stand for. Although it paid lip service to the ideals of the Just Society, its leadership was no longer able to articulate those principles that made the party great. The "Just Society" was, in its soul, about

Raising money isn't going to be easy. No one banks on a loser. In addition, redistribution before the next election will increase the number of seats in the house of commons to 338 adding three dozen seats in Conservative areas of the country.

It doesn't much matter whether the liberals change their constitution or whom they have a convention to pick a new leader. Realistically the party has marginal influence, and can't even think of regaining power for another several elections.

One out of every four liberal-minded voters who might have been counted upon to vote for Ignatieff are now in the Layton camp. In

**riosud**  
Vêtements mode pour la femme d'aujourd'hui

Alma • Amos • Beloeil • Chicoutimi • Dolbeau • Gatineau • Joliette • La Sarre • Mont-Laurier  
Montréal (Lasalle) • Québec • Rimouski • Rouyn • Shawinigan • Sherbrooke • Sorel  
Ste-Marie • St-Jérôme • Terrebonne • Trois-Rivières • Val d'Or • Valleyfield

Le Nouveau Super Magasin  
**riosud** • COHOES VÊTEMENTS • MEUBLES • DÉCOR

MONTRÉAL 4908, Jean-Talon O. GREENFIELD PARK 4980, Taschereau E. LAVAL 1799, St-Martin O. MONTRÉAL-NORD 6000, Henri-Bourassa E.

SIÈGE SOCIAL 4810, Jean-Talon O., Suite 203, Montréal (Québec) H4P 2N5 info@riosud.com  
[www.riosud.com](http://www.riosud.com)

## Few voters had the foggiest idea of what Liberals stand for.

ending government by prohibition. Today's nanny-state Liberals wouldn't even understand that. They tried using the nostalgia of Trudeau without his substance of individual dignity and self-worth. It didn't cut it.

In the squeeze from both the hard core right and the left Liberals were crushed. In a world of extremes, no one cares about the middle. The voters, specifically in Ontario where the majority was decided, did what liberals themselves failed to do: united the left into what for all intents and purposes is now a New Liberal-Democratic Party. These new "Layton liberals" have parked their votes with the NDP leaving the old natural governing party in search of a constituency. It won't be easy.

In the month since the election liberals remain in a state of absolute denial. These are the facts: 80 per cent of Canadians voted against the Liberal party whether it was the Quebec protest vote replacing the Bloc with the NDP or the more significant new Ontario Liberal Democratic vote. There are now more Liberals in the Senate than there are in the House of ommons. Harper will re-introduce a budget that will put an end to \$4-million in vote subsidies to the Liberal party.

Quebec, one out of every four soft-nationalists defected from the Bloc Quebecois to the NDP after Parti Quebecois leader Pauline Marois reinforced her commitment to another referendum that no one wants. Poised to elect another separatist government, Quebecers once again have demonstrated a high level of political schizophrenia by opting to let the NDP safeguard their federalist interests.

In his essay, *Two Cheers for Democracy*, E.M. Forster famously wrote that the strength of parliamentary democracy is that it admits variety and permits criticism. But in Britain they don't use the tripleline whip. MPs can exercise their consciences. Canadians have opted for a neo-conservative government that stifles criticism and at the same time have narrowed the variety of political opinion by electing a strong, if in inexperienced, opposition committed to social justice but only through dogmatic state centralization and intervention.

Forster was right. Democracy doesn't deserve three cheers. But as he reminds us, the brighter shine the little lights, reassuring one another, signalling: "Well, at all events, i'm still here."



## ELECTION ANALYSIS

# Pourquoi le libéralisme est important

Il semble que l'élément le plus important à retenir de la dernière élection fédérale soit le supposé renouveau de la gauche. En fait, cet élément est un non-événement. Il n'y a pas eu de renouveau de la gauche.

On tente ainsi de démontrer que le succès du NPD est d'abord un phénomène québécois enveloppé dans une « énigme » du Québec. On tente aussi de nous faire croire que ces élections signifient un pays divisé et désespérément polarisé entre une droite récalcitrante et une gauche autocrate. Et pourtant, les raisons sont toutes autres : la fatigue des Québécois pour la séparation et l'incapacité pour les libéraux de rallier les Canadiens à travers un message authentique.

Aujourd'hui, il est temps pour le Parti Libéral de reprendre son message premier, négligé par la timidité, durant les dernières décennies. Il est temps de le déclarer à nouveau clairement et ouvertement :

**Le libéralisme est important !**  
Toujours et partout. Quand et où les gens aspirent à être libres,

le libéralisme est important. Dans la quête de l'épanouissement de nos possibilités individuelles,

le libéralisme est important. En regardant les zones grises des défis les plus difficiles, le libéralisme est important. Il est important parce que l'évangile libéral authentique nous offre la seule chose dont les gens ne peuvent se passer : l'espoir. Nous en avons besoin autant que de l'eau que nous buvons et de l'air que nous respirons. Avec l'espoir nous pouvons tout accomplir. Sans espoir, une nation devient le miroir de la vision d'Ézéchiël, une vallée d'ossements secs.

Ça fait trop longtemps que le Parti libéral essaie de définir le libéralisme comme un ensemble de pratiques comptables ou de positionnements politiques centristes. Le libéralisme ne peut pas réussir une fois réduit à une stratégie qui plaît à tout le monde. Il ne peut non plus réussir comme la façade du cuirassé Potemkine pour représenter « ce que la base veut. » Le libéralisme n'est pas facile, il est difficile. Il est difficile parce qu'il représente surtout l'idéal dont son nom origine : la liberté. Et c'est là qu'on retrouve l'espoir. Mais comme Bernard Shaw a écrit : « La liberté

exige la responsabilité, c'est pourquoi tant de gens en ont peur ! » Le libéralisme et les libéraux réussissent quand ils sont menés par des chefs passionnés et résolus. Ils réussissent avec des chefs capables d'amener les gens à trouver le courage de surmonter leurs craintes.

Lors de cette dernière élection, les Québécois cherchaient l'espoir. Ils voulaient la liberté. Ne trouvant aucun champion vigoureux et porteur de ces désirs, ils ont tout simplement opté pour le changement. Même si cela voulait dire élire des étudiants universitaires et des « barmaids » en vacances.

**La majorité de Harper n'a pas été gagnée en raison du succès de NPD au Québec, mais bien par l'échec libéral en Ontario. Et cet échec s'est produit parce que les libéraux ont abandonné les principes fondamentaux du libéralisme canadien.**

L'alpha et l'oméga de cette campagne se sont produits durant la fin de semaine du congrès du PQ. Marois et Duceppe répétaient le même venin, mais cette fois avec plus de poison. Non seulement ils promettaient un autre référendum, mais Marois menaçait l'utilisation de la « clause nonobstant » contre quiconque aurait la témérité de demander la protection de la Charte des droits et libertés de notre pays. En outre, elle a déclaré que l'accès aux cégeps anglophones serait interdit aux francophones et aux allophones et qu'un gouvernement péquiste forcerait les juges à interpréter les lois par « la primauté de la protection de la langue française et des valeurs du Québec. » Les francophones en avaient assez.

Les parents francophones veulent que leurs enfants aient toutes les chances d'avoir du succès dans la vie. Ils savent qu'en Amérique du Nord, on doit être capable de fonctionner en anglais. En outre, ils sont tout à fait confiants en leur capacité à protéger leur culture. Ils étaient également fatigués de la possibilité d'un autre référendum et plusieurs ont été choqués par l'ingérence possible sur l'indépendance juridique et les restrictions des libertés que la Charte garantit.

Ne voyant aucun champion pour

exprimer la protection de leurs libertés chez les conservateurs ou les libéraux, ils ont simplement voté pour le NPD en signe de changement et de protestation. Le fédéralisme doux du NPD est devenu très acceptable pour un grand nombre de nationalistes mous au Québec. Les sondages de CROP et d'EKOS, qui ont été les premiers à démontrer la montée subite du NPD au Québec, ont été réalisés dans les deux jours suivants le congrès du PQ. Au cours de cette période, plusieurs observateurs du Québec ont rondement condamné l'extrémisme du PQ.

Les médias nationaux du Canada se

sont empressés de rattraper et d'essayer d'expliquer le « phénomène ». Et rarement, il y a eu un tel exemple des deux solitudes. Ainsi, obsédés qu'ils étaient par la campagne électorale, ils ont accordé très peu d'attention au congrès du PQ. La seule exception est Chantal Hébert qui a traité de l'événement. Layton a alors ressuscité comme Lazare.

Presque tous les observateurs ont attribué la montée du NPD au Québec à la performance de Layton au débat des chefs en français. Pourtant c'est faux. Il n'a pas fait mieux ou pire que les autres. Mais on se devait de fournir une explication, fut-elle incorrecte. Cet « appui » national pour Layton a légitimé le NPD à travers le pays sans qu'aucune critique ne soit dirigée vers sa plateforme irréaliste et sa position méprisable selon laquelle un Québec séparé serait le bienvenu dans une nouvelle fédération canadienne et serait toujours éligible aux avantages canadiens.

Mais les Canadiens étaient plus intelligents que les chroniqueurs. Le vote de contestation contre le Bloc au Québec a donné 58 nouveaux sièges au NPD. Mais à l'extérieur du Québec, le parti a remporté seulement 8 nouveaux sièges. Pas vraiment une approbation vigoureuse de la gauche ! Et à peine une raison indiscutable de

mettre la promesse du libéralisme à la poubelle de cet anachronisme qu'est le socialisme.

Ceux qui rêvent maintenant « d'unir la gauche » manquent la cible et préparent un climat politique, heureusement passager, qui échouera aux urnes, mais qui réussira à polariser le Canada et les Canadiens pour des générations. Ces patriotes de convenance seront durement condamnés par l'Histoire.

La majorité de Harper n'a pas été gagnée en raison du succès de NPD au Québec, mais bien par l'échec libéral en Ontario. Et cet échec s'est produit parce que les libéraux ont

profité de la richesse du pays qu'ils ont forgé. Huitièmement, l'attachement à notre rêve d'une société juste ne se limite pas à nos frontières, mais nous impose aussi de nous engager à l'étranger comme nous le faisons si bien à une autre époque.

C'est seulement quand nous entendrons de nouveau des échos de ces sentiments qui font vraiment appel à nos « anges plus nobles » que les Canadiens comprendront pourquoi le libéralisme est important. Bon nombre d'entre nous sont devenus politiquement matures avec ces idéaux et ils y croient. Et cette foi - ce libéralisme - a réussi tellement souvent parce que les

abandonné les principes fondamentaux du libéralisme canadien.

Premièrement, la croyance dans un fédéralisme qui rejette la supériorité morale ou le statut spécial de l'une ou l'autre des deux cultures européennes qui ont fondé le Canada. Deuxièmement, la fidélité à la suprématie de la personne sur toute idéologie étatiste. Troisièmement, l'engagement à l'équité pour chaque citoyen devant nos cours avec des lois qui sont les boucliers des innocents et les bâtons des justes et non des épées à double tranchant pouvant servir à l'oppression. Quatrièmement, le rejet de la gouverne interventionniste qui menace non seulement de remettre l'état de nouveau dans les chambres à coucher mais qui lui permet de suivre le citoyen dans la rue avec des contrôles coercitifs et des interdictions sur des prérogatives privées. Cinquièmement, la foi en l'idéal de l'État-providence où la compassion permet les coups de main sans que ce soient nécessairement des largesses. Sixièmement, la compréhension d'une économie de marché équitable. Septièmement, l'équilibre entre le droit à la récompense pour des initiatives individuelles ou provenant des entreprises, mais sans les privilèges et préférences incontrôlées qui empêchent les Canadiens de tirer

hommes et les femmes qui travaillent, servent et se sacrifient comprennent que - en dépit de beaucoup de doléances légitimes - cette orientation est la seule vraie sécurité contre la domination économique déchainée par les intérêts de la droite et la suffocation de même que les tendances appauvrissantes et autoritaires de la gauche. Le libéralisme est la manifestation politique de cette foi sainte qui est aussi vieille que les écrits saints et aussi vraie que le temps lui-même. Il vise à ce que la liberté de chaque citoyen sera contrainte uniquement par les demandes de liberté égale des autres.

C'est seulement cette foi qui peut allumer les milliers de centres d'énergie créative et d'audace nécessaires pour enrayer les derniers vestiges de l'injustice et de l'inégalité. Nous pourrions ainsi perfectionner l'oasis de la liberté et espérer que tous essaierons de l'atteindre. Je ne pense pas que ceux qui nous ont laissé ce legs - de Spinoza à Descartes, de Locke à Rousseau, de Paine à Jefferson ou, et oui de Laurier à Trudeau - l'échangeraient pour une association politique condamnée aux ruines avec des étudiants. Nous pouvons faire mieux. Nous le devons à ceux qui nous ont défriché le chemin.



## Johannes Wheeldon

info@themetropolitain.ca

Johannes Wheeldon holds an LLM in International law and a PhD in criminology. He currently teaches philosophy.

WWW.THEMETROPOLITAIN.CA

## ELECTION ANALYSIS

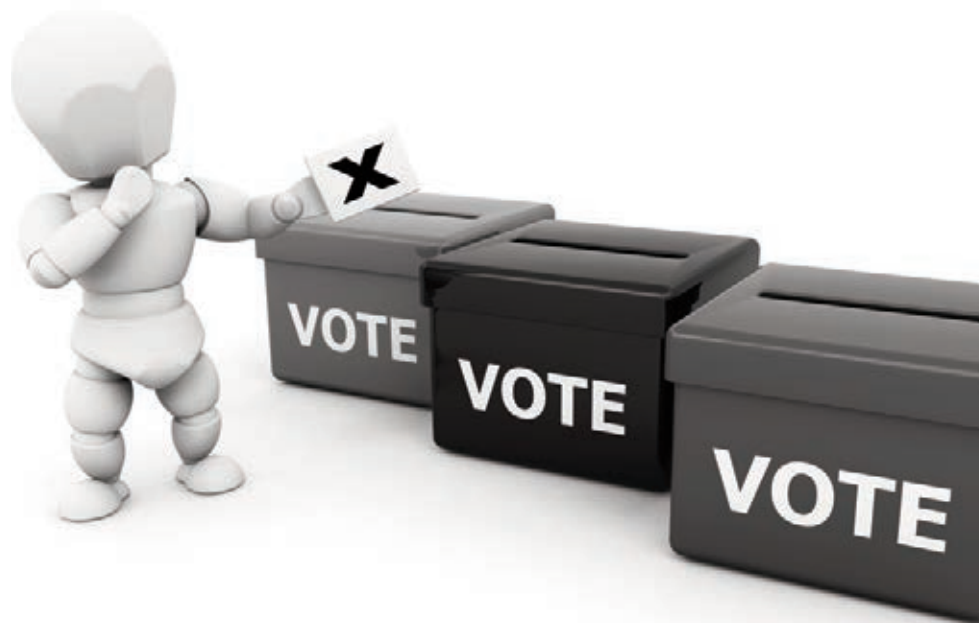
# Post election blues: Splitting hairs on vote splits

One of the outcomes of the 2011 Federal election has been interest in how Liberal and NDP voters split the progressive vote, and thus paved the way for a conservative majority. Shouldn't it be easy to understand what role vote splitting played in the 2011 election? Well, yes. And no.

As with most things, it all depends on how you define vote splitting. Traditionally, vote splitting refers to a situation whereby voters torn between two or more similar candidates effectively split their vote, reducing the chance that either candidate will win while increasing the chances for a dissimilar candidate. Brian Topp and Ken Boessenkool offer another useful set of assumptions. They suggest one look in more detail at victorious candidates winning with less than 50 per cent of the vote, who won seats with small margins over the second place finisher. In the 1990s it was the conservative vote that was split. More recently, it is the progressive vote that appears split. The answer, according to some, is a merger between the New Democratic Party and Liberal Party of Canada.

Those who spend time gathering and analyzing data reject this simplistic definition. They argue you cannot simply add LPC and NDP vote totals together and then assume these voters would work together to stop a Conservative MP. Both parties are made up of a variety of voters and more rigorous approaches are needed to understand this issue.

One is by Éric Grenier who tried to show



how New Democratic gains contributed to Liberal defeats. He considers vote splitting by looking at 2008 data and then comparing how candidates did in 2011. His analysis suggests, especially in Ontario, that NDP gains were greater than the gaps between Liberal incumbents and Conservative challengers. While the Conservatives earned their majority, Grenier concludes the vote shift played an important role in electing a Conservative majority government.

Another is by Alice Funke who has challenged this conclusion. She considers that

vote splitting occurs when the party who wins the seat gains fewer votes than the party losing the seat, or when a third party gains more votes than the losing party loses. On this view, she argues that in only 6 cases did the so-called NDP surge cost the Liberals their seats. Furthermore, even if the LPC or NDP simply disappeared, Funke contends the Conservatives would likely still have won unless either of the parties could hold on to 100% of the other party's votes.

While useful, each of these approaches must contend with some methodological

challenges associated with some of the assumptions they rely upon. Both use the results of 2008 as the starting point. While this is logical, it also begs a few questions: Can we really assume past elections are a good prediction for the future? How do we account for broader trends that might change a voter's choice between elections? Are provinces, regions, or other distinctions relevant? What about new voters?

At least some of these questions will be answered once the Official Voting Results, including the poll-by-poll results, are released over the summer. In the meantime, the pundit class ought to hold their powder and wait to theorize until we have more data. At the very least they should, as Grenier and Funke have done, clearly spell out their assumptions, and present their methodology. It does appear though that in Ontario, there were 16 seats won by the CPC in which the difference was 7% or less. It is these sorts of outcomes that have driven some to develop new approaches to strategic voting. The Catch 22 campaign is one example and their experience offers some important lessons about what may work and what may not be going forward. Clearly, strategic voting cannot occur without reliable data and good local polling at the riding level. Informed decision-making requires information – one lesson from 2011 is that it is local riding information, not national trends that will allow progressives to make their voice heard in four long years. The planning starts now.

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



2000 Peel, Suite 900  
 Montréal, Qc H3A 2W5  
 (514) 842-8636  
 www.canderel.com



Éric Duhaime possède près de 20 ans d'expérience comme conseiller politique à Ottawa et à Québec et comme consultant international en développement démocratique. Il est co-fondateur du Réseau Liberté-Québec.

**Éric Duhaime**  
info@themetropolitain.ca



## ELECTION ANALYSIS

# Les dépendantistes

**L**a déconfiture du Bloc québécois après l'élection pose la question de la survie du parti. Le Bloc est-il mort?

Avec seulement quatre députés ayant survécu au naufrage, la reconstruction s'annonce périlleuse, voire impossible.

Ces résultats désastreux le privent de son statut de parti reconnu à la Chambre des communes. Il perd ainsi son budget de fonctionnement de 4,8 millions.

Si les électeurs ont mis l'existence du Bloc en danger, c'est le premier ministre Stephen Harper qui pourrait cependant mettre le dernier clou dans le cercueil du parti.

En 2003, l'ex-premier ministre libéral Jean Chrétien s'inspirait de la législation québécoise et amendait la Loi électorale du Canada afin de permettre le financement public des partis politiques.

Depuis ce temps, les partis reçoivent, tous les ans, 2 \$ pour

chaque vote obtenu aux élections précédentes. Pour le Bloc, en 2009-2010, ça représentait 2 742 345 \$. Pour la même année, le parti fondé par Lucien Bouchard ne recueillait que 621 126 \$ en contribution de ses supporters. C'est donc dire que plus de 81 % de son financement provenait des contribuables canadiens, contre moins de 19 % des militants souverainistes québécois.

Au fil des ans, le Bloc est devenu, et de loin, le parti le plus dépendant de l'argent fédéral. À titre de comparaison, le financement public compte pour 53 % des revenus du NPD, 52 % de ceux du PLC et 37 % du PC.

Il est assez ironique de constater, aujourd'hui, que c'est la culture de la dépendance qui affaiblit et provoque probablement la disparition d'un parti qui se voulait initialement indépendantiste.

Le discours bloquiste de toujours vouloir plus d'argent en

péréquation pour faire du Québec une province de plus en plus dépendante aura précipité sa chute de popularité. Le fait de ne plus avoir à compter sur une base militante active pour contribuer financièrement à la vie démocratique du parti cause sa perte.

Le Bloc s'est déconnecté, au fil des ans, autant des électeurs que de ses membres.

Harper s'est engagé durant la campagne électorale à éliminer le financement public aux partis politiques.

Connaissant l'entêtement du PM à donner suite à ses engagements, les jours du Bloc à têter les mamelles fédérales seront bientôt terminés.

Sans crise constitutionnelle ou linguistique pour galvaniser leurs troupes et sans l'argent du Canada anglais pour les faire vivre, les quatre derniers créditistes de la souveraineté à Ottawa peuvent maintenant fermer la shop.

Duff Conacher is Coordinator of Democracy Watch and Organizer of the Coffee Party movement

**Duff Conacher**  
info@themetropolitain.ca



# Better voter representation system needed

**T**he \$2 per-vote annual subsidy for parties is the most democratic part of the federal political finance system, because it is based on the fundamental democratic principle of one-person, one-vote. While it should be changed to make it more democratic it will be very undemocratic to cut it to zero as the Conservatives propose.

In contrast, our flawed voting system election has the undemocratic effect of giving a higher

percentage of MPs in the House of Commons to some parties than they deserve in terms of the percentage of voter support they receive. This does take tax dollars from some voters and gives them to parties they don't support.

For example, the Conservatives received 24 MPs more than they deserved in the recent election (they received 39.6 percent of the vote, but 54 percent of the MPs). Each of those MPs receives \$440,000 annually in

salary and for their offices, so the Conservatives will receive a large, undemocratic subsidy of \$10.5 million every year until the next election (the largest such subsidy of any party -- the NDP was the only other party that received a higher percentage of MPs than votes).

A fair, democratic move would be to cut the per-vote subsidy to any party that receives more MPs than it deserves, while keeping it

for parties that receive fewer MPs than they deserve (or, even better, reform the voting system so that parties receive the exact number of MPs they deserve based on their voter support percentage).

The subsidy should also be cut in half for regional parties that do not operate nationally, such as the Bloc Québécois, simply because they have lower operating costs than parties with riding associations across the country.

the  
**metrontario**  
group

## David-Éric Simard

simard@themetropolitain.ca

WWW.THEMETROPOLITAIN.CA

### ELECTION ANALYSIS

# No more room in between right and left?

We have just witnessed several surprising political upheavals that have changed the Canadian political landscape. Is this ephemeral, or the path we are set on for the next generation? Despite the passage of a few weeks to take it all in, it is still hard to believe that we now live under a majority Conservative government. For many people, it's difficult to clearly see what has changed and where our country is headed. In our immediate environment, Quebec's political map has been painted NDP orange while

most of Canada's other regions are now Conservative blue. This clear distinction leaves many of us wondering whether there's still a place for Liberal red and the Bloc's light blue on the political horizon beyond the next four years.

What surprised many who followed the campaign closely, was seeing Michel Ignatieff in a different light: except for the all-important debates, he was passionate and a strong performer, answering question after question with steadfast fortitude. For all Ignatieff's efforts, liberals were rewarded with their

worst showing since Canadian political time began. While Conservative attack ads and campaigning too far left on the political spectrum hurt the Liberals, the underlying problem has not really been their leadership choices, but the more profound issue of confidence, and this, not entirely related to the sponsorship scandal. Arrogance might be the more appropriate culprit. The belief that the Liberal Party could have an open internecine war of succession and still hold to the image of the "natural governing party" was too much for many supporters. Which future

leader you supported in the party, for many, became more important than trying to win Canadians' trust. This disunity within Liberals ranks brought to light the newfound unity between fragmented Conservative Parties. That was the story of the last decade.

Of the 102 NDP seats, 59 are from Quebec. The Bloc has been reduced to 4 MPs and Gilles Duceppe himself lost his seat by a fair margin.

have augmented, if only by appearance, because of the considerable Conservative victory outside Quebec.

Canadians must remember that many Quebecers are tired of the same old voices promoting sovereignty, but not necessarily of the ideal itself. This makes the NDP victory there difficult to repeat, time and policy will tell if "Le bon Jack" and Thomas Mulcair's "NPD" will

The belief that the Liberal Party could have an open internecine war of succession and still hold to the image of the "natural governing party" was too much for many supporters. Which future leader you supported in the party, for many, became more important than trying to win Canadians' trust.

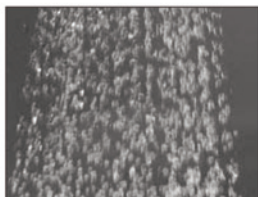
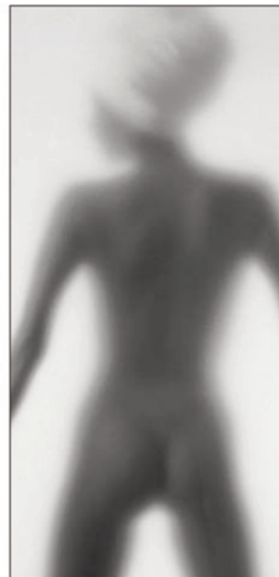
This is, albeit to a lesser degree, a second "Beau risque". In part, Quebecers want to participate in the federation but on their terms. For those that think that it is not the time to mend the constitution because it does not matter to Quebecers, should rethink their strategy. The time will come when we will have to face this issue head on.

The NPD is the only federal party that Quebecers have not tried. If they fail, we can foresee a replay of 1995 with the "Parti Québécois" possibly returning to power before the next federal election. It could be very treacherous waters for Canada. This time, English Canada looks different than it did back then. There seems to be a rightward shift across the English provinces, contrasting strongly with social democracy in Quebec. The value divide seems to

be able to make this momentous victory into permanent favor with Quebec's fickle voters. It is difficult to know what will happen in the next four years. Will it be a more divided country or will Quebec finally adhere to its rightful place within Canada? All bets are off.

Many people do not see themselves in a Canada where power is tilted westward. Canada is changing, but will this mean big oil and suburbia at the helm of policy and polls for the next generation? Is the idea that we are socially minded a fading ideal? All this remains to be seen. Perhaps, in the end, Canadians will hold this very Conservative government close enough to the Centre, and if they try to veer too fast and too far to the Right, the death of the Liberal Canada, and the Liberal Party may be a little premature.

SKALA  
SKALA HOMEWARE PRODUCTS INC.  
L'ART DE LA SALLE DE BAIN





# Theodore Bikel and the soundtrack of our lives

Some things stay with you. More importantly, some people do. They become part of the fabric of who you are. The memory of their piercing glare, their defiant words, their resonant voice and their courageous acts rally your resolve whenever it weakens. It is not even the stirring of memory, for their images never really leave you. Theodore Bikel is all that and more. For in his case there is music, and what music. It is the soundtrack of our lives.

Bikel was in town giving a magnificent performance in the Segal Centre's musical production of *"Lies my father told me."* But this is not a review. What I want to share with you is how one man's talent in combining his work and his causes stirred a generation. And in this case a generation of young Montrealers.

I had the pleasure of sitting down with Bikel and his wife Tamara Brooks recently. He was everything I expected and more. And I had the privilege to relate to him how much he meant to myself and to so many others.

Bikel is well known to the world as a brilliant actor and musician. What is perhaps less well known is that he has been a frontline activist for civil and human rights from Moscow to the American South. And he has used his music to advance the progress of all mankind.

Many artists have used their fame and talent for good works. But very few have made the subject of their music the vulnerable for whom they fought. And fewer still put their personal safety on the line by singing that music in the face of power that forbade it. But what follows is not a panorama of his career and his effect in the capitols of the world. It is a story of his effect here, in our community, on passionate young people who struggled for redemptive change for prisoners of conscience thousands of miles away.

There was a time, not that long ago,



Theodore Bikel and his wife Tamara Brooks sit with Métropolitain editor Beryl Wajzman.

when there was no internet, no facebook, no texting and no twitter. Can you imagine that? If you wanted to get the word out about something you had to use things like the telephone, posters and if you were really lucky you knew someone at a radio or tv station who would do a public service announcement. That was the way it was when Montreal was a world nerve centre in the struggle for freedom for Soviet dissidents. But we needed some tools to stir the imagination and rouse the passion for justice. Sure there were dramatic pictures and some tapes, but we needed more.

The organizations that sprang up in Montreal led the world. At one time they even helped organize New York's action groups. I was involved in them early on because they needed someone who spoke Russian. Montreal was one of the first committees that successfully made phone calls to dissidents inside the Soviet Union. I remember my first. It

was called the "Gavriel call."

We demonstrated and rallied through the 1970s. From the time of the Leningrad 7 all the way through supporting the incredible defiance of Andrei Sakharov. We seemed to be constantly in the streets. But the apex was the trial of Anatoly Scharansky. The Group of 35 as i believe they were called here, understood that this trial had the historical significance of the Dreyfus trial. And it called for spectacular action beyond anything we had done before.

It was decided that we would demonstrate in large numbers every day of the trial. We would not be moved from in front of the Soviet consulate buildings on Ave. Du Musee. The vigil would be every hour of the day every day of the week. Some of us even slept on mattress in the street at night.

This kind of demonstration required large numbers. One of my jobs was to rally young people, particularly those at McGill which was right next door. But

how to do it? Even though I had been president of Hillel Students' Society, I knew a special spark was needed. As much as i talked and organized groups of students there was something missing. And then I discovered Bikel.

I don't mean for the first time. I had seen his movies and heard his great folk songs. With Pete Seeger and George Wein he had organized the Newport Folk Festival. No, i discovered a special Bikel album. It was called "Silent No More!" it was a collection of protest songs that were either written by Bikel or that Bikel recorded from underground works smuggled out of the Soviet Union. The album was a revelation.

Bikel himself had sung them in the Soviet Union in the face of menacing police presence. Some of the recordings were done in secret. The quality was not great. But it did not matter. From the first profound bass notes and defiant words of "Let redemption come!" you heard a combination of old testament

prophet and Martin Luther King. The songs stirred the soul and pierced the heart.

I played that album over and over for groups of young people small and large. And as each heard the songs from "Let my people go!" to "I fear nothing and no man" they were moved to act. They came onto that little street in waves chanting slogans of freedom in the face of the crimson bannered Hammer and Sickle.

For the last day of the week long demonstration we wanted a spectacular turnout. Three of us gerrymandered a tape player attached to a bull horn mounted on a Jeep and drove through quiet neighbourhoods of Montreal early on a Sunday morning announcing the need for a massive turnout later that afternoon. Interspersed with our calls we played Bikel's songs. Later that day some 7,000 people filled that little block on du Musee. Le Devoir's title above it's picture said it all: "Non au justice du Goulag!" And Theodore Bikel's spirit was there as much as anyone's body. As I told him when we met, his work, his passion, his music were as responsible as anything for the success of that week.

During our conversation Bikel recounted to me how he and his family had actually seen Hitler. Viennese Jews, they watched in horror as Hitler drove through the streets of that most civilized of cities after the Anschluss. By the late 1930s the Bikel family was one of the fortunate few who escaped Europe making it to Palestine. But Bikel told me that what has always bothered him through all these years - despite his work with the SCLC and putting his life at risk for Soviet dissidents - was "Why me? Why did I survive and so many didn't?" Hopefully this column will serve as both tribute and answer. You survived Mr. Bikel because you were meant to inspire a generation. And you did. Honor is due.



Ideas before identities.  
Justice before orthodoxy.

THE MÉTROPOLITAIN



**Alain de Perlycroix**

info@themetropolitain.ca

Analyste politique et  
écrivain

WWW.THEMETROPOLITAIN.CA

# De Tunisie jusqu'en Syrie La révolte de la peur et... le moment de vérité!

**A**priori, lorsqu'on voit les peuples arabes se soulever contre leurs dictateurs, on ne peut que s'en réjouir. Toutefois, à bien y penser, l'on se demande si cela permettra pour autant la mise en place d'une démocratie à l'occidentale ou tout simplement l'implantation d'une autre sorte de dictature masquée, quelle soit religieuse ou laïque pro-occidentale.

**Effet domino? Pas vraiment!**

L'effet domino dont les analystes occidentaux ont parlé ne peut être réellement pris comme modèle et appliqué sur l'ensemble des pays arabes car il existe des variables qui font en sorte que le changement prôné officiellement par l'Occident et les souhaits d'établissement de démocratie à travers les pays arabes ne peut être réellement applicable à tous les pays et certainement pas de la même façon que nos démocraties.

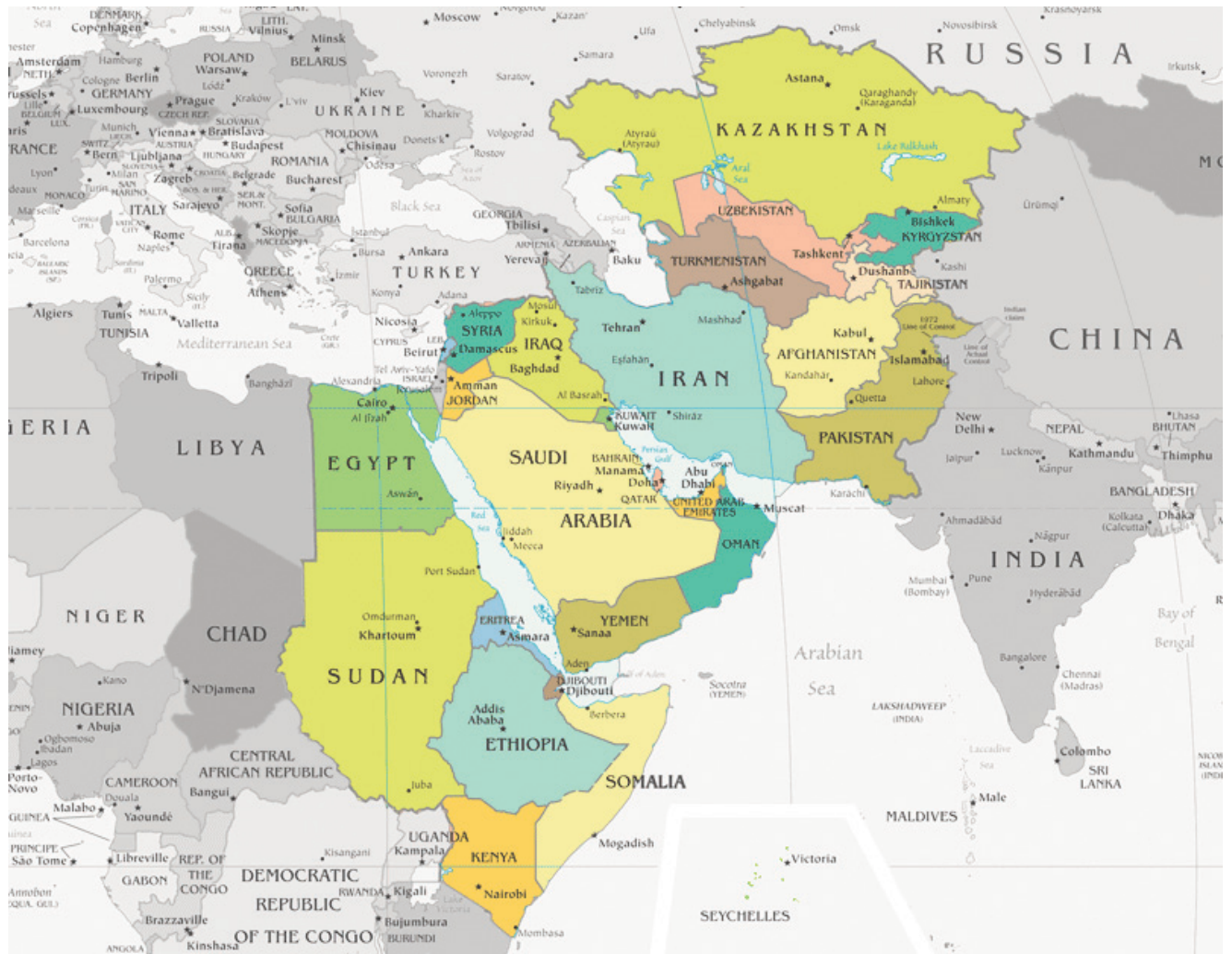
En effet, à bien analyser ces variables, l'on se rend rapidement compte que lesdites révoltes populaires sont loin d'être des révolutions comme l'on a connues dans le passé dans de nombreux pays. D'ailleurs, cela est visible du fait que les pseudo-révolutionnaires arabes n'ont en réalité aucun projet politique concret à part peut-être la volonté de changer le statu quo misérable dans lequel ils vivaient jusqu'aujourd'hui. Cependant, et à défaut de révolutions civiles ou coup d'État militaires, la variable islamiste semble être la seule organisée et ayant un agenda politique bien déterminé, mais probablement pas de projet sociétal en bonne et due forme.

**L'absence de projet de société et l'alternative**

L'absence de tels projets de société à travers l'ensemble des pays arabes est principalement dû au fait qu'aucun de ces peuples ne rêvait pouvoir un jour détrôner leurs chefs alors qu'ils bénéficiaient de l'appui de l'Occident. D'ailleurs, ces chefs pour la plupart déchu aujourd'hui, étaient les alliés inconditionnels des États-Unis et de l'Europe de l'Ouest. Ce qui pour eux représentait une sorte de garantie que nul peuple les détrônerait tant et aussi longtemps qu'ils partageaient la politique américaine notamment dans la région. Or, la révolte tunisienne était le déclencheur d'un mouvement de frustration qui se voulait innovateur mais en grande partie copié de la révolution du Cèdre au Liban, elle-même inspirée de l'ukrainienne, qui a poussé l'armée d'occupation syrienne à quitter le Liban après un peu plus de trente ans d'occupation.

**La variable des « Frères Musulmans »**

La révolte tunisienne a non seulement créé un précédent dans le monde musulman, mais a également donné un nouveau souffle aux islamistes mais surtout un espoir aux Frères Musulmans qui cherchaient depuis longtemps à travers le monde arabe d'identifier et de trouver une faille dans les systèmes politiques existants jusqu'à lors dans la région pour gagner du terrain et prendre le pouvoir par les moyens du bord, grâce aux pseudo-libertés accordées ou les pseudo-démocraties permises par les dictateurs en place. Tel fut le cas par exemple en Égypte où les Frères Musulmans gagnaient à chaque fois un peu plus de terrain au Parlement et principalement dans les rues affamées d'Égypte face à un gouvernement de plus en plus corrompu concentrant les richesses dans les mains de ses proches. Par ailleurs, pour certains intellectuels égyptiens, le gouvernement de Moubarak est accusé d'avoir créé la zizanie entre Musulmans et Chrétiens coptes. Ces derniers furent sujets à des attentats qui auraient été orchestrés par les services secrets égyptiens pour satisfaire en quelques sortes les demandes d'un Islam pur et dur afin de le calmer face au pouvoir, mais surtout pour envoyer un message à l'Occident que l'islamisme ne pouvait être toléré en Égypte à cause justement des attentats commis contre les Coptes, ce qui justifierait la répression du régime contre les Frères Musulmans. Bien que cette vision des choses semble un peu poussée à l'extrême, il n'en demeure pas moins que le régime de Moubarak jouait les uns



contre les autres pour se maintenir au pouvoir.

Les mouvements populaires en Tunisie et en Égypte bien qu'ils aient été largement le fruit de jeunes sans aucun agenda politique prédéterminé, et où les technologies nouvelles et les sites sociaux ont servi de tremplin pour faire parvenir le message de ces jeunes à l'Occident et au monde entier, ont tout de même quelque chose d'autre en commun. En effet, à bien analyser le gain qui sera remporté dans les mois à venir, force est de constater que si aucun projet de société vital n'est présenté par la jeune génération qui a été la tête de lance dans ces mouvements, seuls les Islamistes, dont les Frères Musulmans auraient alors quelque chose de concret à présenter aux peuples desdits pays. Or, que ce soit l'Occident en général ou les États-Unis en particulier, nul n'est enthousiaste à l'idée qu'une telle possibilité devienne réalité d'autant plus que cela voudrait dire que leurs intérêts dans la région du Moyen-Orient seront menacés et leur allié stratégique, Israël, en danger.

**La politique d'endiguement en attendant l'alternative**

Ainsi, et dans un effort pour la mise en place d'une politique d'endiguement pour contenir les soulèvements des populations arabes contre leurs régimes, l'Administration américaine semble renouer avec sa realpolitik éternelle. C'est celle de la stratégie des « petits pas » de l'ancien Secrétaire d'État Henry Kissinger, accompagnant ainsi les soulèvements arabes par une sorte d'attention particulière en délaissant les alliés d'hier, ces mêmes régimes aujourd'hui mis au banc des accusés par les leurs. Pas étonnant alors de voir les Ben Ali et les Moubarak écopés et leurs fortunes et avoirs à travers le monde gelés voire remis aux autorités de leurs pays en bon geste d'appui officiel à la décision de leur peuple... Un rachat des

politiques anciennes pour avoir appuyé les dictatures déchues et contribué ainsi à l'écrasement des peuples arabes.

**L'erreur américaine : La non homogénéité des peuples arabes!**

Ce que l'Administration américaine semble ne pas prendre en considération dans son analyse de la région demeure cette variable très importante de la non homogénéité de la réalité de chacun des pays arabes, ni la constitution desdits peuples ou tribus qui constitueraient à date une sorte de pays grâce à une forme de pacte intertribal. Ce qui est peut être commun à la Tunisie et l'Égypte, n'est pas nécessairement applicable pour les autres pays actuellement en ébullition. Tel est le cas de la Lybie, du Yémen, du Bahreïn, et de la Syrie.

**La Lybie**

C'est un peu tragique, de voir un dictateur comme le Colonel Mouammar Kadhafi, s'accrocher au pouvoir alors qu'il est responsable des attentats antioccidentaux puis « pardonné » de ses actes de barbarie par une sorte d'un tour de passe-passe diplomatique contre du pétrole, mais également contre la libération de certains otages occidentaux condamnés en Lybie pour avoir utilisé du sang contaminé!

Le problème qui semble se poser aux décideurs occidentaux, c'est de trouver la relève audit régime. Malheureusement le choix est minime voire inexistant. Encore une fois, ce sont les Islamistes qui mènent le jeu de l'opposition libyenne alors que sans une réelle force politique opposée avec des programmes claires, l'Administration américaine ainsi que l'ensemble des pays européens semblent maintenant hésiter à vouloir faire tomber le régime sans assurer qu'une relève au pouvoir puisse remplir les

conditions d'éligibilité lui permettant de bénéficier du support tous azimuts des forces de l'OTAN avec bien entendu la bénédiction américano-européenne. Kadhafi l'excentrique le sait et en abuse en s'accrochant au pouvoir créant du fait même une position alternative à son propre régime. En d'autres termes, Kadhafi sait bien que l'Occident ne peut pas prendre le risque de voir les puits de pétrole tomber dans les mains de l'Opposition musulmane désorganisée et où la rhétorique anti-américaine règne en maître. Alors, il lance ses sbires pour démontrer aux tribus libyennes qu'il est le maître du terrain et mine également les puits pour adresser un message à l'Occident qu'ils ont tout à perdre advenant une tentative de l'éliminer par la force. Sa stratégie semble fonctionner pour l'instant dans la mesure où l'Occident s'est rendu compte qu'une « irakisation » de la situation en Libye ne pourra que rendre les choses plus difficiles et faire envoler plus les prix du pétrole.

Pour l'heure, le mot d'ordre semble celui de contenir également la situation à l'intérieur du territoire libyen tout en étudiant de près les acteurs qui se préparent pour la relève de l'excentrique Kadhafi. D'ailleurs, selon certaines sources, des agents de la CIA seraient sur le terrain avec les opposants en train de les entraîner en vue d'un assaut final contre les forces du Colonel Kadhafi, mais qui, en réalité, seraient en train d'évaluer la stabilité des éléments de l'Opposition et leur « loyauté » envers les États-Unis advenant une victoire contre Kadhafi.

Également selon d'autres sources, il semblerait que l'Europe et la Grande Bretagne en particulier n'est pas tellement enthousiaste à voir le régime tomber aux mains d'une opposition islamiste. Alors, on laisse les Libyens se battre entre eux sans pour autant permettre ni à Kadhafi ni même à l'opposition de gagner du terrain d'une façon considérable menant à la fin du règne du Colonel Kadhafi. D'ailleurs, il semblerait que les armes de pointes ne sont pas « distribuées » aux forces de l'opposition car l'Occident a peur de se retrouver avec de nouveaux Talibans une fois le règne de Kadhafi tombé. Ce qui explique en partie, selon ces mêmes sources, la stabilité de l'instabilité et des combats entre les parties antagonistes et les bombardements limités des forces de l'OTAN sur des cibles symboliques du régime. Toutefois, et à la différence de ce qui se passe en Égypte, en Tunisie et en Syrie, les islamistes ici ne sont pas de la même « famille » des Frères musulmans, mais un ensemble de groupes hétérogène ayant l'Islam comme vision mais des agendas souvent différents. S'ajoutent à eux les affairistes et opportunistes libyens qui voient dans la disparition de Kadhafi une occasion en or pour eux pour le remplacer à la tête du pays et se soumettre au plus offrant des pays de l'Occident.

#### Le Yémen

Comme Kadhafi, Ali Abdallah Saleh, fait miroiter le danger de la présence des membres d'Al Qaïda pour dire aux Américains, pourtant ses alliés, que le délaissier, équivaldrait à la mise à mort non seulement de la présence américaine dans la région au profit des Salafistes et des intégristes membres d'Al Qaïda, mais également la fin à court terme des régimes des monarchies du Golfe avoisinants. Ce qui serait une catastrophe pour l'économie mondiale et notamment américaine qui exporte desdits pays le pétrole...

Ainsi, le mot d'ordre devient alors comment changer le gouvernement ou le régime au Yémen sans pour autant changer la présence américaine dans ce pays. Une équation qui est des plus difficiles face à l'opinion mondiale qui applaudit le soulèvement des peuples arabes à la recherche d'une liberté opprimée par leurs dictateurs. Or, le problème principal au Yémen ressemble à celui en Libye mais diffère de celui de l'Égypte et de la Tunisie où une sorte d'homogénéité entre les composantes de la société égyptienne existe alors que cela est inconnu en Libye et au Yémen où le pays est principalement constitué de tribus différentes.

La solution pour le Yémen devient alors celle de lui trouver une sortie honorable et une garantie qu'il ne sera pas persécuté comme les présidents tunisiens et égyptiens. Ce qui est presque fait sous le patronage justement des pays du Golfe, car ces pays monarchies avoisinantes ne veulent surtout pas d'une Qaïda proche de leurs frontières... Or, la dernière attaque dont fut victime le président yéménite relance la course pour la mainmise sur le Yémen par aussi

bien les sbires d'Al-Qaïda que par les proches et opposants tribaux du président Saleh. Pour l'instant il semblerait que la sortie d'un tel problème serait la santé de ce dernier après les blessures écopées lors d'un bombardement qui l'a ciblé directement. Ainsi, et si Ali Abdallah Saleh est gardé en Arabie Saoudite, et que des pourparlers avec l'opposition sous l'égide des pays du Golfe et / ou l'Occident arrivent à un consensus, nous verrions dans les semaines à venir la destitution de Saleh de son poste de Président et la prise du pouvoir par un gouvernement transitoire qui promettrait des changements et une meilleure distribution du pouvoir avec l'opposition... À suivre!

#### Le Bahreïn

À la différence des autres pays, la problématique au Bahreïn est plus d'ordre géopolitique que celle reliée aux libertés des individus.

En effet, la majorité de la population de ce mini pays du Golfe à la frontière saoudienne est composée de musulmans chiïtes. Ces derniers avaient été naturalisés il y a quelques dizaines d'années par le régime en place qui cherchait à augmenter sa population. Les chiïtes principalement de descendance iranienne s'étaient alors intégrés dans la société musulmane sunnite mais n'avait pas droit au chapitre du pouvoir. Le Bahreïn connu pour son ouverture avait besoin de main d'œuvre et c'est dans cette population et d'autres de la région toutes confessions confondues qu'il l'avait trouvée. Chrétiens, musulmans pouvaient pratiquer leur religion dans leurs lieux de cultes respectifs sans aucun problème.

La révolte en Tunisie avait donné une occasion au régime de Téhéran de s'approcher de son rival d'antan l'Arabie Saoudite pour l'affaiblir sur la scène régionale. Or, le fait de soulever les Chiïtes contre la monarchie sunnite était suffisant pour pousser le voisin saoudien à lancer ses tanks au-delà de la frontière avec le Bahreïn pour venir à la rescousse d'un « pays frère » alors qu'en réalité, il s'agit d'un bras de fer contre l'Iran par sociétés interposées.

#### La Syrie

Comme la Tunisie et l'Égypte, la Syrie est aux prises avec les Frères musulmans. Ces derniers avaient été écrasés par le sang par le feu Hafez Al-Assad, père de l'actuel président avec la bénédiction de l'Oncle Sam qui avait tourné l'œil en échange de la mainmise sur les forces palestiniennes alors très actives contre Israël à partir du Sud Liban. Ce que Assad avait garanti jusqu'à sa mort faisant de lui et paradoxalement l'allié le plus sûr de Washington et indirectement de Tel Aviv.

Aujourd'hui, voyant la révolte populaire dans les pays arabes, et le succès remporté dans les sociétés similaires, en l'occurrence l'Égypte et la Tunisie, les Frères Musulmans se lancent à l'assaut du régime alaouite d'Assad dans l'espoir de le faire tomber. En arrière scène, la Syrie pointe du doigt les Sunnites du monde arabes, mais particulièrement du Liban en la personne de Saad Hariri, le fils de l'ancien premier ministre du Liban assassiné et dont la Syrie serait le commanditaire de son assassinat.

Ainsi la problématique syrienne, de loin la plus importante et la plus dangereuse pour l'ensemble de la région, prend un tournant tragique chaque jour un peu plus sur un fond de branle-bas de combat entre Chiïtes et Sunnites. En effet, la composition de la société syrienne est majoritairement sunnite, avec une minorité chrétienne et une autre alaouite avec une infime partie druze et chiïte. Le régime alaouite syrien ne représente qu'à peine cinq pour cent de la population syrienne mais avec la particularité qu'il a l'appui des autres minorités, malgré elles, et notamment chrétienne, pour des raisons de protection évidente et ce, malgré la répression dont elles sont sujettes. D'ailleurs, faute de pouvoir faire de la politique, elles se contentent des activités économiques et commerciales et sont les premières victimes de tout soulèvement musulman dans la région.

Suite à la sortie humiliante de 2005 du Liban après une occupation de presque trente ans, le régime fut officiellement pointé du doigt par le fils de Hariri comme étant le commanditaire principal de l'assassinat de son père. Or, faute d'alternative dans la région et pour éviter un nouveau front sur la frontière irakienne et un désordre en Jordanie, les Américains en particulier ne voulaient pas voir leur allié de circonstance de toujours, le régime Assad, tomber dans les mains des Islamistes. Car advenant un tel cas, et à part le fait que les Chrétiens seraient les premiers à être massacrés comme c'est le cas en Irak et en

Égypte, l'Irak insurrectionnel trouverait un nouveau souffle à travers une Syrie des Frères musulmans qui contribueraient au Jihad anti occidental ou du moins faciliteraient la logistique pour les insurgés alors que le régime actuel, jouait d'eux de la même manière qu'il avait toujours joué de ses alliés au Liban pour avancer ses négociations avec les américains et indirectement Israéliens.

Par ailleurs, le fait que la Syrie soit l'allié de l'Iran de ce que l'ex Président Georges Bush avait qualifié de « L'Axe du Mal », est en soi indicateur des enjeux aujourd'hui. D'ailleurs, dans la localité de Deraa où les clashes les plus meurtriers ont eu lieu entre la population syrienne sunnite et l'armée et les services secrets syriens, des chiïtes d'Iran et du Liban avaient été arrêtés par les habitants de ladite localité, ce qui a fait dire à de nombreux commentateurs sunnites au Liban que le régime syrien utilise les mercenaires du Hezbollah et d'Iran pour mater sa propre population car la majorité de la population syrienne est sunnite et contre la politique et les agissements du régime.

Actuellement, le nombre des victimes monte au quotidien alors que l'Occident se contente de prononcer de souhaits et de condamner verbalement la violence.

#### Peut-il faire autrement?

Cette question fait actuellement le tour des chancelleries occidentales mais encore aucune réponse n'est disponible car nul n'ignore l'importance de la variable syrienne. Sur la frontière israélienne, ce pays représente l'ultime protection de l'État hébreu par sa realpolitik au grand damne de ses voisins libanais et irakiens. En effet, la stabilité que le régime Assad, père et fils, a assuré pour Israël est incontestable et appréciée aussi bien par l'Administration américaine qu'Israélienne, malgré les multiples mini-guerres dont celle du Liban en 1980-1982 et celle de 2000 puis celle de 2006 à travers le Hezbollah. La réalité est que la zone de guerre était bien localisée et concentrée au Sud Liban. Même la zone syrienne des hauteurs du Golan est demeurée calme depuis leur chute durant la Guerre des Six Jours en 1967.

Ainsi, à défaut de trouver une alternative viable pour le régime actuel, le monde libre se contente de regarder les peuples se massacrer par leur dictateur. Certains analystes parlent de la mise à exécution d'un ancien schéma d'une nouvelle carte de la région du Moyen-Orient défendue par Henry Kissinger alors Secrétaire d'État américaine. Cette nouvelle carte répartirait l'ensemble des pays arabes en des minis États confessionnels et conflictuels. Tel fut l'idée en 1975 quand les Palestiniens avaient cherché à remplacer les Chrétiens du Liban pour éviter un retour en Israël. Tel est actuellement la situation en Irak, où les Chrétiens cherchent à quitter et émigrer vers d'autres pays, notamment ici même au Canada. Tel est actuellement le cas avec les Coptes d'Égypte dont l'avenir ne semble pas non plus reluisant et où les attentats contre eux se multiplient sous silence médiatique. Tel sera sans doute le cas en Syrie à la veille de l'effondrement du régime actuel. Tel fut pour un bout de temps le cas au Liban, avec comme différence majeure, l'élection récente à la tête du Patriarcat libanais d'un Patriarche qui a du charisme et qui a réussi à date à colmater les différends entre leader chrétiens, donnant du coup un souffle nouveau et fort aux Chrétiens. Mais le Liban a toujours été différent des autres pays arabes de part le rôle des Chrétiens dans la naissance et la défense de l'indépendance du Liban et du fait que le Liban est une démocratie parlementaire.

Ce qui se passe actuellement à travers le monde arabe ne peut qu'être annonciateur d'un changement majeur pour l'ensemble de la région. Le grand défi pour l'Occident sera de comprendre les revendications des peuples et de les aider à se bâtir une démocratie à leur rythme et non une semblable à celle que nous avons ici en Occident. À défaut, les jeunes pourtant ouverts aux nouvelles technologies occidentales, et donc à la culture occidentale, pourraient finir par basculer du côté de l'intégrisme qui leur offrira une sortie avec dignité le tout présenté sous la forme d'un projet différent de celui que les dictateurs leur assuraient. Dans une telle hypothèse, les plus modérés d'entre-eux seront persécutés ou trouveront exilés en Occident alors que les autres utiliseront cette technologie occidentale contre l'Occident pour les avoir abandonnés...



## Rouba Al-Fattal Eeckelaert

info@themetropolitain.ca

Rouba Al-Fattal is a Canadian of Syrian origin. She is a Ph.D. Candidate at the Institute for International and European Policy at Leuven University (KUL), in Belgium. Previously she has obtained in Canada a B.A. (with Honours) in international politics from McGill University and an advanced M.A. in European politics from Montreal University.

WWW.THEMETROPOLITAIN.CA

# Chaos theory for political order in the Arab world

As a Board Member of the EuroArab Forum in Brussels and a “specialist” on the Arab world, I am asked daily of what I think is going to happen in the Middle East. Let me be frank, as much as I wish I could predict the future to my own satisfaction, nobody knows what the final outcomes will be. Political analysts and pundits may quench the public thirst for information by providing their sophisticated forecasts, but their chances of getting it right at this early stage are as good as playing the roulette.

For example, the Egyptian revolution could end up with the military – especially the higher echelons who are also the business tycoons of the country – maintaining their status and economic dealings while allowing political representation to the Muslim Brotherhood, who in turn are expected to provide protection to the military. On the other hand, the unwavering demands for change could mount to substantial reforms that may deprive the Egyptian military of their special status.

Likewise, in Yemen, President

Saleh could give up the fight after his injury, but there are no guarantees that his son will not takeover or that the opposition will be able to quell the uprising under the mounting pressure of the country’s socio-economic conditions.

The Syria government is also at a cross road, either continuing with its savage policy of eliminating all opposition while maintaining its relations with the West (mainly by continuing to stabilize its Israeli-Syrian borders), or it could decide to destabilise these borders in an effort to exhibit its strategic importance in

the region, hoping with that to buy Western silence on its human rights violations.

The future of the region is still undetermined, and what we are witnessing today in the Arab world from Morocco to Iraq and from Syria down to Yemen is simply nature trying to sort itself out in this moment of transition. Every once and again we need disorder to reshuffle the cards before they fall naturally in their right place. It is the brilliance of chaos that drives the physical as well as the moral world to a state of equilibrium. Chaos

allows us to think more clearly because inherently people, when surrounded by mess and left to their own will, tend to find creative solutions to their problems.

Once in a while, a complex system – like our political world – needs to go through revolutions, but these moments of heat are often followed by cooling-off periods as more solid systems emerge. Hence, revolutions are a natural state of affairs that are needed to reach a new equilibrium where the least amount of energy is consumed. The real world mimics to a great degree the physical world and we can apply mathematical modeling to detect trends in both. With this axiom at hand, we can predict that these revolutions will lead to better combinations than what was there beforehand.

The problem, however, is that unlike the natural world, in the political world we also have external forces pushing and steering the outcomes of these chaotic yet authentic changes. So, instead of ending with optimal solutions (less energy consumption), we end up with mediocre and fragile combinations that are less than optimal and which require a lot more energy to maintain.

While for an optimal result we should accept what the people choose for themselves and let them achieve these changes on their own, the West is constantly trying to influence the outcomes of these revolutions. This not only results in artificial solutions, but it also ends up costing western governments a lot more money and energy to maintain. So, why do it? The simple answer is: fear of the unknown.

Whereas nature trusts chaos and is optimistic about its results, humans dread it and are willing to pay dear to control their surroundings. But it might not be a bad thing for decision-makers to learn a thing or two from nature and its laws, there is after all creativity and order in Chaos.



When only the best is good enough, trust Levinoff

BOUCHERIE  
**Levinoff**

Premium Red Brand Meats. Delivered Directly To Your Home!

8610 8th Ave., St-Michel  
**(514) 725-2405**



2021 Frontenac, Montreal  
**(514) 526-6500**

www.levinoff.com



# Majority economics in a polarized house

Stephen Harper already led the longest-serving minority government in Canadian history before his majority win on May 2nd. After five years of centrist economic management as a necessity for passing budgets as a minority government, Harper now has an opportunity to put his and the Conservative Party's stamp on the Canadian economy for the coming decade. The question now becomes whether the government will continue to pursue centrist, incremental policies or if it will embrace several big, bold, transformational ideas to leave a lasting effect on the Canadian economy.

The last government to make radical changes in the Canadian economic structure was the Mulroney Progressive Conservatives in their second term. After a wobbly first term during which there were scandals among cabinet ministers and an ill-fated foray into cutting pensions for seniors, the government found its footing after the 1988 election on free trade with the US and resolved to undertake the structural changes that are still being felt today. The adoption of free trade with the US and later, NAFTA with Mexico has tripled North American cross-border commerce and has better positioned all three countries to compete in a world increasingly divided into giant trading blocs. The replacement of the manufacturer's sales tax (a hidden 13% tax that hindered exporters) with the 7% GST turned into the deficit slayer under the Liberals as the consumer economy expanded and provided the federal government with revenue far exceeding its estimates from the early 1990s. Jean Chretien threatened to cancel the GST until Paul Martin and the Finance Department showed him how essential the GST was to the revenue base and deficit reduction. On government spending, Mulroney created the Priorities and Planning Committee of cabinet that gradually steered federal spending into an operating surplus, meaning that at least the taxes coming in were covering all expenses aside from charges on the existing debt. Along with the Acid Rain treaty signed with the US that provided Canadian emitters with a clear path towards

pollution reduction, these major policies were the last brave initiatives from a federal government before the Chretien era.

The first "big idea" that Canadians are going to hear more about is the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP) that the US, Mexico and Canada have been working on since 2005. The Harper government has been negotiating the concept of a North American security perimeter with the US in earnest, trying to move more quickly than under the three way talks with the Mexicans since their drug and illegal emigrant problems have been a constant irritant to the US. Harper understands that trade and security are directly linked to future economic prosperity and has to sell the idea of compromises on Canadian sovereignty to a reticent and, in some cases, fearful Canadian public. With a majority government, Harper will be able to weather the political storm over the SPP initiative without risking a snap election and fear mongering by the opposition parties.

The second major area where Harper will have his opportunity to leave a lasting impression will be in the renegotiation of the Federal-Provincial Fiscal Arrangements Act (covering transfer payments) due to be renegotiated by 2014. This will be an area of major strife and discord due to the poor fiscal shape of some of Canada's traditionally prosperous governments like Ontario and Alberta. Other recently healthy provinces like Newfoundland and Labrador will resist becoming net contributors to Canada in any new round of negotiations. Harper recognizes that Canadian institutions like health care require reshaping if they are to remain financially viable as the baby boomer generation ages and places increased stress on government finances at all levels. As speculation, we may shortly see the formation of a working group among finance, health and treasury board ministers from all the provinces and the federal government to begin looking at this issue well in advance of the due date.

Will Harper reign in federal spending and start behaving like a fiscal conservative? The table below

looks at federal government program spending (without interest payments on the debt) up until 2009. One can see that aside from the fiscal restraint practiced by the Liberals during the mid-1990s, the spending increases have been substantial. Program spending rose from \$175 billion in 2006 to \$208 billion in 2009. According to the CATO institute who compiled the data, "Canadian spending did grow during the past decade, but much less than U.S. government spending. Between 2000 and 2009, total Canadian federal spending increased 47 percent, but total U.S. federal spending rose 97 percent."

The growth in spending did not slow down under the previous minority government, and certainly the two year stimulus package worth \$52 billion was responsible for a substantial part of the increase. However, Harper has committed to balance the books by fiscal 2013-14 and that is going to require the maintenance of the current spending restraint program in the very least. If the high Canadian dollar continues to eat into corporate profits due to reduced exports and curbs tax revenues, expect more restraint in the budgets to come. Two or three years of tight budgets that hold government spending increases within a percentage of the Canadian inflation rate would restore the government's credibility with its fiscally conservative western base.

The newly-minted NDP opposition is going to have a hard time getting its

act together since at least 50 of its 102 MPs are complete neophytes who will require extensive training before they are able to comprehend the complexities of the issues presented in the House of Commons. The NDP front bench will be composed of the existing portfolio critics and a smattering of its most talented new faces. For the first year, the NDP will have to concentrate on providing traditional left-wing opposition to Harper's tight budgets, foreign policy and tough-on-crime social agenda. Harper should expect to have an easy ride in the house during this period as the Liberals, more skilled in the nuances of national policymaking, will be distracted with a leadership race and rebranding exercise of their own.

The longer term perspective for the NDP is not that clear. There are parallels to be found in UK political history after Margaret Thatcher came to power in 1979 and the Labour party was left with a profound identity crisis. Under leader Michael Foot, the party continued with shrill, radical left wing policies that turned off voters and left them languishing in the polls. With the arrival of Neil Kinnock as leader in 1982, Labour began the difficult process of introspection and the purge of the more controversial elements of its platform in order to refashion itself as a government in waiting. The process took a long time, was messy enough to easily allow the Tories re-election under Thatcher and even under the decidedly uncharismatic John Major.

Kinnock's leadership did not survive the process; he resigned and Tony Blair won the leadership to complete the transformation.

Jack Layton may have a Kinnock-esque political future. He will have to decide sometime midway through the current mandate whether the party is going to remain true to its working-class roots (and the socialist-style wordings of its party constitution) or whether it will attempt to crowd the Liberals out of the political centre and become a government in waiting. Layton will have to develop his own set of centrist "big ideas" and sell them to his party, and then to the Canadian public. His political career may not survive the controversy that is likely to erupt within the party and the reaction of his neophyte MPs is practically impossible to predict. Like Kinnock, he may have to cede the leadership to a new face, unblemished by the debate, to carry his new platform before the electorate. In the meantime, the Harper Conservatives can occupy the centre-right of the political spectrum and have it all to themselves for at least one term.

In a House of Commons polarized between an experienced Conservative government and a work-in-progress NDP the debate is likely to sound more like the parties talking to their own electoral bases rather than to each other. For the Harper government, it has to decide how truly conservative it wishes to be; for the NDP, it has to decide what it wants to be, period. Advantage: Harper.

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

- George F. Lengvari, Sr.

## SOCIETY



**Alex Himelfarb**

info@themetropolitain.ca

Alex Himelfarb is the Director of the Glendon School of Public and International Affairs, at York University. He also leads the Centre for Global Challenges which, stressing the interplay of domestic and global issues, brings together decision makers, researchers, practitioners, and students to explore challenges confronting Canada in a changing world.

WWW.THEMETROPOLITAIN.CA

## A meaner Canada: junk politics and the omnibus crime bill

Canada's new Parliament is poised to reshape Canada's criminal justice system and, in significant ways, Canada itself. Within 100 sitting days of its resumption Parliament will pass an omnibus "tough on criminals" bill that represents the biggest change to our justice system in recent memory. But these changes are coming with disturbingly little controversy or opposition. They are not part of some so-called hidden agenda. This is what most or at least many Canadians voted for and, among those who did not, few seem much worried. Political opposition has been muted. Who wants to be seen as soft on crime, soft on criminals, concerned about inmates?

Whether through our active support or our indifferent silence we are all participating in a watershed moment for Canada without so much as a tough conversation. And it matters, it matters for our safety and it matters for the kind of country we are becoming. Surely one key test of any society is how we treat the most vulnerable and, even more particularly, the most despised. Justice policies offer a glimpse into the soul of a nation.

Before getting to the substance, let me admit that a very significant part of my public service career was spent in the justice sector, in what was then the Ministry of the Solicitor General (now Public Safety), the Justice Department

and the National Parole Board. Let me add that in all the time I worked on these issues I never met an official, elected or unelected, who was "soft on crime", not ever, not once. We had of course many debates, many disagreements, but without exception those charged with policy and practice cared about victims and their families, wanted to prevent crime when they could and reduce its economic and human costs when they could not. Policies and practice were guided by three imperatives: public safety – what does the evidence tell us about what works to make our homes and streets safe; freedom – how to ensure a measured response that protects our civil liberties and constrains the state and holds it accountable when our freedom is at stake; and justice – what is a just, that is, proportionate and humane punishment, when a citizen is found guilty of a crime. These are difficult questions and can rub up against each other but, on balance, we have done pretty well. Of course the system must adapt to changing times and new knowledge, but rates of crime and violence have been falling for about three decades. That does not permit complacency but nor does it suggest that need for a fundamental change of direction.

So, where are we now headed? And why now when Canada's crime rate has actually dropped by some 20% since the

early 90s?

As in any Omnibus legislation, the Bill contains some good things, some bad things, some very bad things, and some things that need clarification. And all of this deserves debate. But the direction of these proposals, on top of legislation passed in the previous session, is clear: more focus on punishment, greater use of prison as a penalty, increased police powers, and fewer protections of our privacy and civil liberties. Mandatory minimum sentences will increase prison time not only for sexual predators but for those convicted of growing a few marijuana plants. Even as police discretion is increased, the discretion of judges will be further constrained, making it harder for them to fit the penalty to the circumstances, to address aggravating and mitigating factors. House arrest will be off-limits even for some property offences. Young Offenders provisions will be toughened up. Pardons will be more difficult to get. Surveillance of our internet activity will be easier and without warrant, and preventive detention of those we fear might commit terrorist acts will continue with the process to determine its use to be secret and therefore outside public scrutiny.

What's wrong with this, many will ask. For one thing, the evidence and the experts are pretty much in agreement that this will not make us safer. These kinds of policies, mandatory minimum sentences for example, have proved to be expensive but without any measurable contribution to safety. Quite the contrary, and these are not the views of bleeding hearts, soft on crime. Most of these experts here and elsewhere know that some people belong in prison because justice demands it and that some need to be there because they present a continuing danger. In fact, Canada uses prison as a punishment far more than our European counterparts. But we have also learned – from the evidence and from our experience – that prison can harden those who would have been better diverted from the system in the first instance and that overlong sentences can lose those who might otherwise have been successfully integrated into their communities as law-abiding citizens. We have learned that a preoccupation with punishment can easily divert us from doing what actually makes us safer. And, in its way most troubling, these policies make for a meaner Canada.

For another thing, we know that the preservation of our freedoms, our privacy, our civil liberties requires strong constraints on government's

ability to interfere with those freedoms – that is what warrants are all about, and fair and open trials. That means that if we want to live in a free and democratic society we have to be ready to live with the inevitable risk that entails – and in our pretty safe country, with our balanced crime policies, that has been relatively little to ask. How is it that we are so muted as our civil liberties are undermined? Why is it that we seem more worked up about the risks of government intervention in commerce than we do with its interference in our fundamental freedoms?

For yet another thing, these policies cost money, lots of money. Imprisonment is expensive. And that means less money for those things that might have made us truly safer – prevention, education, rehabilitation. In many respects the dollar we spend on social policy is non-discretionary. The only question is what proportion do we choose to spend on avoiding problems through, say, addressing the unsupportable and growing level of inequality in Canada and what proportion do we spend on the back end, especially prison, to deal, in part at least, with the consequences of inequality and our inattention to it. Getting tough on crime often means getting tough on the poor, the troubled, and excluded. In Canada, the consequences of these policies fall most heavily on aboriginal people. In 2007/08 in Saskatchewan, for example, aboriginal people constituted 11% of the population but 81% of new admissions to prison.

The consequences of a preoccupation with punishment can be insidious. For example, in the U.S. some years back, The Atlantic ran a series on the "prison industrial complex" setting out the long-term consequences of expansive prison building, when prisons become a major tool of regional economic development, in effect turning incarceration into an economic good. More and more communities come to depend economically on their local jail or prison. Any attempts to reverse course and possibly close prisons must, then, contend with the inevitable opposition from communities afraid of losing the source of their livelihood. How can this not make us lose sight of the human implications of ever more reliance on jails and prisons?

And let me repeat, most troubling of all, this turn to "tough on criminals" makes Canada a meaner – not safer – place. And how depressingly ironic that we have chosen this direction just when the U.S. Supreme Court has ordered thousands of California prisoners released after decades of prison

overuse of incarceration due to policies similar to those we are introducing here. This Court decision makes reference to Canada as a model because we have avoided the over-reliance on prisons – and the cruel and unusual conditions that seem automatically to follow – without sacrifice to public safety. But that was then. What has happened? Why?

Our greater openness to these "tough on criminals" policies and the reluctance of the opposition to take them on may reflect a more profound debasing of our politics, what the American critic Benjamin DeMott has called "Junk Politics". In his articles and books, DeMott is not calling for more civility, politer politics; he doesn't mind a good fight, it seems. His concern with contemporary politics is bigger than that; it resides in its refusal to lead citizens to higher ground, to challenge us, to inspire us to find our better selves. Instead, he says, it panders to our worst sentiments. Personalises everything, derides experts and evidence, tells us that we are great as we are, that we have every right to feel morally superior. It divides the world up into good and bad, black and white. Nuance kills. This world, to paraphrase sociologist Orrin Klapp, is destructively divided up into heroes – "hard-working, law-abiding tax payers"; villains – criminals, terrorists and would-be terrorists; and fools – all the elites and so-called experts who are soft on crime and soft on terror. This view gives not much space to idea of redemption or, for that matter, to compassion and brooks no debate on what the evidence might tell us or about the costs of punishment.

So what is the answer? For those who think they are choosing safety, ask for the evidence and the costs and risks. For those grateful that the Bill is not even worse, do not wait to get engaged. This tough on criminals beast just gets hungrier the more we feed it. As if to remove all doubt, the Ontario Conservative opposition just proposed that we introduce chain gangs and proudly puts punishment at the centre of its policies. And for those who wonder what's the point, the Government has a majority, there is nothing we can do, how do we change the conversation if we won't engage. Our silence, for whatever our reason, is part of the problem.

And in the end, in the name of safety, we are less safe. In the name of democracy, we are less free. And in our refusal to have the debate, to move beyond our prejudices, our fears, our anger, we make Canada a meaner and smaller place.

**Dominican Republic**  
Has it all

*Come join us*  
*The Dominican Republic*  
*is a surprising place*  
*that will delight even*  
*the most experienced traveler.*

For more information on this tropical paradise visit  
[www.godominicanrepublic.com](http://www.godominicanrepublic.com)



Chris Schafer is the Executive Director of the Canadian Constitution Foundation.

**Chris Schafer**  
info@themetropolitain.ca



# Constitutional challenges that are fair to all Canadians

In 2007, on behalf of the Canadian Constitution Foundation (CCF), I testified before the House of Commons Standing Committee on Official Languages, in support of the federal government decision to eliminate the Court Challenges Program. The Program provided taxpayer financed assistance for constitutional cases involving language and equality rights. All Canadians, through their tax dollars, paid to advance through the courts the public policy agendas of various special interest groups who received Court Challenges Program funding, whether taxpayers agreed with those agendas or not. This was unfair.

The groups funded by the Court Challenges Program successfully used the Charter and the courts to advance public policies that frequently resulted in bigger government and/or diminished freedom for individuals. Recipients of this government funding have advocated, among other things, that it should be a criminal offence for parents to spank their children. Those who disagreed with the ideology of the Court Challenges Program were routinely denied funding.

The federal government did introduce new litigation support funding shortly after eliminating the Court Challenges Program:

the Program to Support Linguistic Rights. However, that program is confined to assisting anglophones in Quebec and francophones outside Quebec to defend their linguistic rights under the Charter. As a result, the CCF is now the de facto “Court Challenges Program”—minus the government funding.

The CCF was incorporated as a charitable society under the Canada Corporations Act in 2002. The CCF is a registered charity which exists to protect the constitutional freedoms of Canadians through education, communication, and litigation. The CCF supports both individual freedom and economic liberty—i.e. the right to earn a living, and to own and enjoy property. It also supports equality before the law: equal rights and equal opportunities for all Canadians, with special privileges for none. Unlike the defunct Court Challenges Program, the CCF is supported in its public interest litigation and related work by Canadians who voluntarily donate their money.

When government funds a constitutional challenge, it necessarily advances one particular philosophical viewpoint to the exclusion of others. But constitutional issues can be viewed from many different perspectives. There are other interest groups whose views may be diametrically opposed to the group that

received funding. There are also individuals who do not feel represented by the group pursuing litigation in their name. For instance, many women disagree with the radical feminist agenda of the Women’s Legal Education and Action Fund (LEAF), an organization that frequently received funding under the Court Challenges Program.

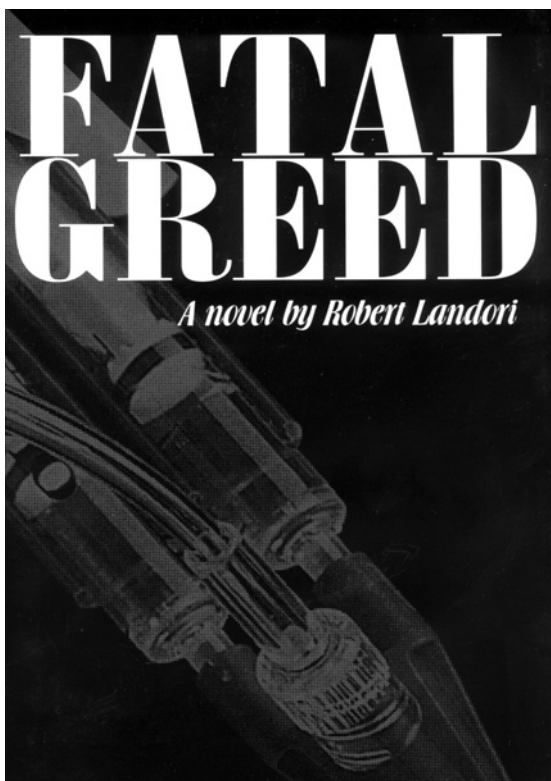
The concept of “human dignity” has been for many years the central element of an equality analysis under the Charter. The Supreme Court of Canada held that in order for an impugned government action or law to infringe equality rights, it had to detrimentally impact a claimant’s human dignity by perpetuating or promoting the view that an individual is less capable or worthy of recognition or value as a human being or as a member of Canadian society.

For some, such as those groups that have historically received funding under the Court Challenges Program, human dignity is violated when, for example, receipt of welfare is dependent on participation in job training programs. For them, a welfare law that reduces welfare payments for those who refuse to participate in training-related programs offends human dignity because human dignity can only emanate from the

state via larger government and related expenditures.

However, for others, such “workfare” laws enhance human dignity because they foster independence from government rather than dependence, and feelings of self-worth rather than shame or embarrassment. Thus, while the pursuit of human dignity is capable of manifesting itself in the pursuit of substantive “equality of result”, it is also equally capable of manifesting itself in the pursuit of individual liberty and “equality of opportunity”. To fund only those groups that argue that only one vision of human dignity exists under section 15 of the Charter is unfair.

For the same reason that the federal government is scrapping the per-vote subsidy that Canadian federal political parties receive from taxpayers, Canadians should not be compelled through their tax dollars to contribute to causes with which they disagree. Canada’s Constitution belongs to all Canadians, not just those who agree with the ideology of the Court Challenges Program. The elimination of the Court Challenges Program has put all groups on an equal footing, at liberty to raise funds from their own supporters to support their own legal causes. This is what the CCF is doing. This is fair.



**Mutant Mad Cow Disease in Toronto. Murder in Palm Beach.**  
The arcana of Bermuda offshore banking. Ex-CIA and Mossad men desperate to seize a weapon of mass destruction from Al-Qaeda, off the Caymans, on the morning of 9/11. *Oh, and love.* What more could you ask for in this hard-cover thriller by Robert Landori. Get it at Chapters/Indigo, or order an author-signed copy from the publisher.

Dear Studio 9, please rush me \_\_\_\_\_ author-signed copies of Fatal Greed at \$39.00 each (including tax and postage). My cheque is enclosed.  
Or, I choose to pay by  Visa  Mastercard  Amex (please circle one)  
Mail or fax to: 514-937-8765  
Card number ..... exp ..... / /  
Name .....  
Address .....  
City/Postal Code/Prov.-State .....  
**Studio 9, 9 Parkside Place, Montreal, QC, Canada H3H 1A7 Phone orders: 514-934-5433**



**Anja Karadeglija**

info@themetropolitain.ca

WWW.THEMETROPOLITAIN.CA

# Rights Commission to police: "Change policy on incivilities."

The Quebec Human Rights Commission has released a report tackling racial profiling in Quebec, but whether it'll make a difference depends on the political will to implement the recommendations, says Fo Niemi, executive director of the Center for Research-Action on Race Relations.

The report notes that racial profiling is often viewed as a problem exclusive to Montreal, and Niemi says that's because of the city's racial diversity.

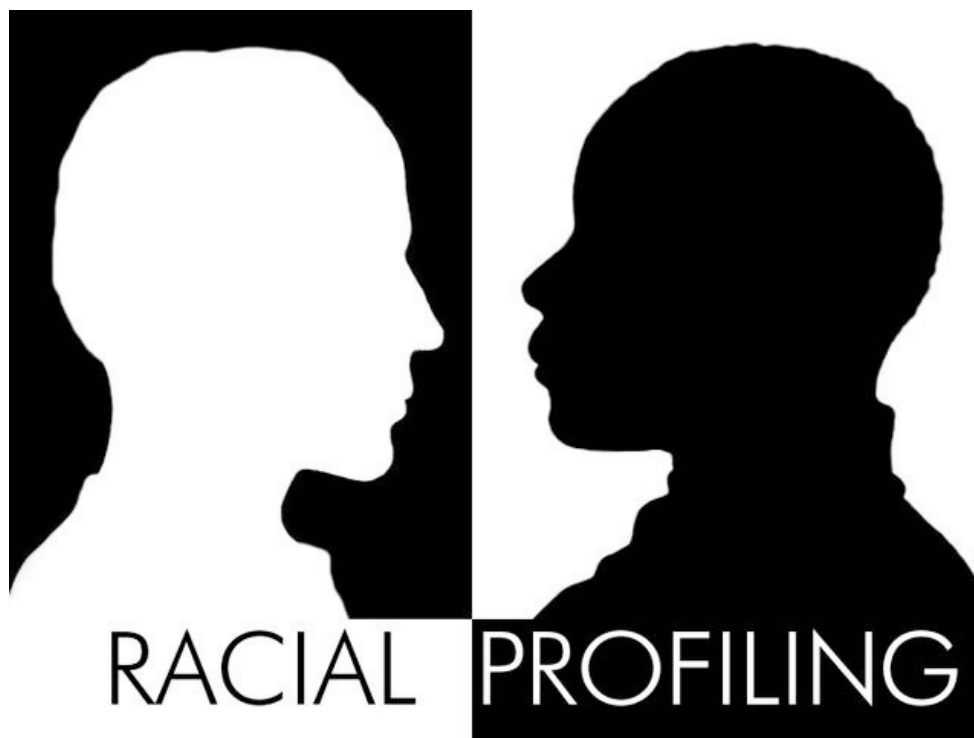
Residents in areas with a higher concentration of minorities, and a high perception that minorities lead to crime, are more likely to be stopped by the police, Niemi explains.

He says that data shows "if you are a young male of colour, mostly black or Latino... your chances of being intercepted increase 100 per cent, or 150 per cent in some areas, such Côte des Neiges, Little Burgundy, NDG, in LaSalle, in Pierrefonds."

The report contains two recommendations that, if implemented, would make an immediate difference in people's lives, Niemi says.

The first is the recommendation that the Montreal police revise the tactics used by Eclipse, the anti-gang unit, which, he says, has been known to target young black men because they are suspected of being gang members.

"The other recommendation is that the city



change its policy against incivilities – any public conduct deemed to be uncivil, like talking loud, jaywalking, spitting in the street, walking on the grass," he says. "All of these supposed incivilities... give police technically a carte blanche to stop and fine a lot of

people."

The report, released on May 11, focuses on racial profiling by police, in schools, and in the youth protection system. It makes 93 recommendations, aimed at the government as well as those institutions, including calling on

the government to take action to prevent and eliminate racial profiling.

It defines racial profiling as an action towards a person or a group, taken by someone in authority "for reasons of safety, security or public order, that is based on actual or presumed membership in a group defined by race, colour, ethnic or national origin or religion, without factual grounds or reasonable suspicion, that results in the person or group being exposed to differential treatment or scrutiny."

Amal Asmar, a profiling victim whose story the Suburban covered last year, says that "there's a lot of work that needs to be done" in order to improve the situation in Montreal.

Asmar was resting on a bench in front of Alexis Nihon Plaza when two police officers stopped and began questioning her.

They told her that because she had placed her bag on the bench, she was using the bench improperly. After pinning her arms behind her, they handcuffed her and gave her \$1000 worth of tickets.

She says the incident changed the way she viewed the justice system.

"I'd never thought I would be a victim of something, and when it did happen to me, my whole perception, my whole belief system, has been very altered. I used to have faith in our justice system, in our police force."

## 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.

 **CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

www.cambridge.org/us



## JEAN-PIERRE GOYER

# Born in Ville St. Laurent, long-time MP for Dollard was architect of prison reform

As Solicitor General in Pierre Trudeau's government, Jean-Pierre Goyer was the architect of prison reform in Canada. Concerned about both the cost of keeping a prisoner in jail and the rate of recidivism, Goyer promoted a more humane approach to incarceration. During the 1970's he introduced better haircuts and better clothing for inmates, inaugurated new housing arrangements that permitted conjugal visits, and made it easier for prisoners to work and go to school. If society really was to be protected, prison he argued, should offer inmates a "more rehabilitative atmosphere."

Goyer, who died in Montreal on May 24 at the age of 79, was also a major player behind Trudeau's decision to seek the Liberal party leadership in 1968. "He was the first MP to rally for Trudeau's candidacy and he was actively involved in Trudeau's leadership campaign," recalled Marc Lalonde. "He had his own views. He might have been kind of stubborn. He often pursued what he thought was right without taking into consideration other points of view. He was young. Because he was young he was not a heavyweight in cabinet but subject to close supervision by senior ministers. But as Solicitor General he

certainly made his mark especially during the October crisis when he was answerable for the RCMP and had to walk a tightrope."

Jean Pierre Goyer was born Jan 17, 1932, and was raised in St. Laurent by his widowed mother who ran a coal distribution company. He studied at College St. Laurent, College Ste. Marie, and in 1953 obtained his law degree from the Université de Montreal. As a student he was involved in a protest demonstration against Quebec's premier Maurice Duplessis and took part in the first sit-in ever staged in the Quebec National Assembly. Goyer was elected to the House of Commons in 1965 for the Montreal riding of Dollard. Re-elected in 1968 he was named Solicitor General in 1969. After the 1970 October Crisis he gave the RCMP the green light to spy on civil servants and, in the interest of national security, may have ordered an illegal break in at the offices of Agence de Presse Libre du Quebec, which had been founded by militant left-wing journalist Jacques Larue Langlois..

Marc Lalonde doubts that Goyer gave such an order directly, and that his directives may have been misunderstood. "Certainly the cabinet as a whole prodded the RCMP to concentrate on the FLQ which was using

violence in support of separatism," Lalonde said. "The RCMP had spent so much time chasing Communists it was totally unequipped to do the job. The Mounties were under stress to obtain and collect information, but they had no agents in the field, nothing to go on," added Lalonde. "I am not convinced Goyer ever directed RCMP Commissioner John Starnes to do anything illegal. No minister would have directly done that." Later, following a review by the McDonald Commission of the break-in and the circumstances surrounding it, the responsibility for intelligence gathering was removed from the Mounties, and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service was created.

His undeniable legacy, however, was his reform to the penitentiary service. "For too long a time now, our punishment oriented society has cultivated a state of mind that demands that offenders, whatever their age, and whatever the offence, be placed behind bars," he told the House of Commons as he introduced the measures in 1971. "Too many Canadians object to looking at offenders as members of our society, and seem to disregard the fact that the correctional process aims at making the offender a useful and law abiding citizen, and not any more an individual

alienated from society and in conflict with it. Consequently, we have decided from now on to stress the rehabilitation of individuals, rather than just the protection of society. Our reforms will perhaps be criticized for being too liberal or for omitting to protect society against dangerous criminals. This new policy will probably involve some risk, but we cannot maintain a system which in itself can cause even more obvious dangers"

After the 1972 election, Goyer became Minister of Supply and Services and was soon embroiled in a law suit after a senior civil servant sued him for libel over remarks he had made about the financing of a long range patrol aircraft. Goyer won the case on appeal, then resigned from cabinet in 1978 and put politics behind him. He returned to his law practice in Montreal where he remained socially, but not politically engaged. He became a corporate director of Bombardier, served as head of the Montreal Urban Community's Arts Council, and was President of the Orchestre Métropolitain.

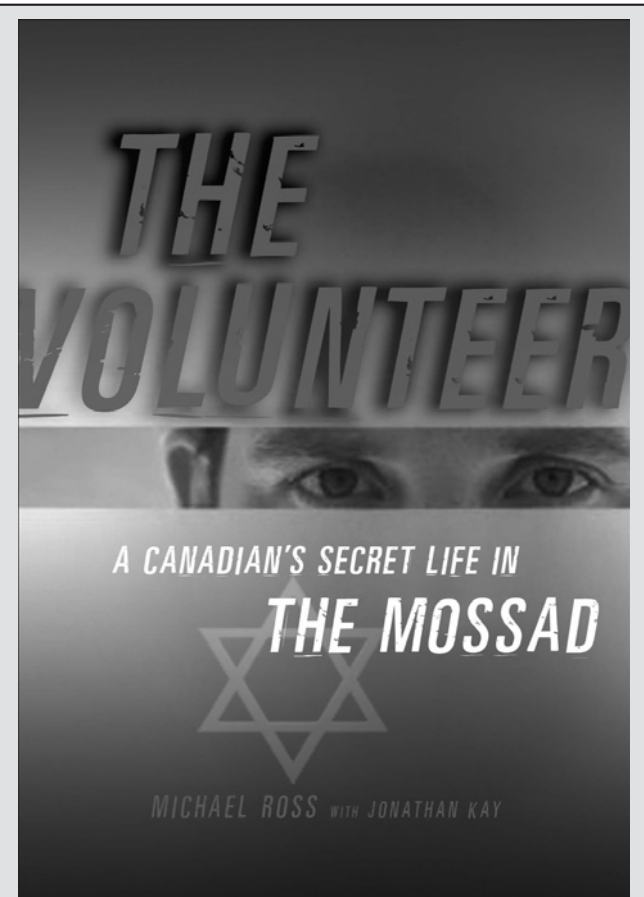
Goyer was twice married, first to Michelle Gascon, with whom he had three daughters, Christine, Sophie and Julie, and then to his now widow, Nicole Forbes

## 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.



## ARTS &amp; STYLE



**Alan Hustak**

[hustak@themetropolitain.ca](mailto:hustak@themetropolitain.ca)

[WWW.THEMETROPOLITAIN.CA](http://WWW.THEMETROPOLITAIN.CA)

## A temple of art and music

From the natural light that floods the fourth floor Inuit sculpture gallery to the luminous glow of the Tiffany stained glass windows in its concert hall, the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts newest pavilion is as calm and as uplifting as ..... well, a church. Which it once was. The old Erskine American Church, a brownstone Sherbrooke St. landmark since 1894, has been converted into a \$40-million temple of art and music known as the Claire and Marc Bourgie Pavillion.

The run of galleries adds 2400 square metres of exhibition space to house the museum's Canadian art

collection is behind the old church. What was once the church sanctuary has been turned into a splendid 444 seat concert hall. An vast underground exhibition corridor that links the building to the Jean-Noel Desmarais Pavilion across the street will be used to display monumental works such as Riopelle's Ice Canoe.

The project was designed by Provencher Roy + Associates, who have restored the church and discreetly added the gallery space behind it. White marble has been used to match the stone used in the museum's three other pavilions. Looking south along Ave. de la



The 20 Tiffany stained glass windows originally commissioned by the church congregation early in the 20th century are now part of the museum's collection – the largest collection of Tiffany windows outside of the United States.

Musee the stone is undeniably a sublime unifying presence. It does not, however, exactly work in the new entrance at the front of the church, where the marble cladding looks more like the entrance to an underground mausoleum than to a museum.

The Sherbrooke St. level is dedicated to the Age of the Refus Global manifesto. It will display works by Quebec artists such as Paul Emile Borduas and Riopelle. The next level, Towards Modernism, will showcase paintings by the Beaver Hall Group and the Group of Seven. Paintings by major artists such as Ozias Leduc, Suzor Cote and James Wilson Morrice will hang on the second level. The third level will be reserved for works from Quebec's colonial periods, which includes religious and historic art and contemporary Amerindian art. It also features a glassed in bay and an outdoor terrace with a sweeping view of Mount Royal.

The 20 Tiffany stained glass windows originally commissioned by the church congregation early in the 20th century are now part of the museum's collection – the largest collection of Tiffany windows outside of the United States. They have been refurbished and installed in the concert space, where they are now backlit to display them to their best advantage. In all, 118 windows, including the Birks family windows and Charles Kelsey's panorama of Montreal, have been restored. Bourgie Hall boasts two new Steinway pianos and a chamber organ. During its first season, the Arts Musica Foundation has programmed 125 concerts.

Quebec Premier Jean Charest is expected open the new pavilion on Sept. 26. Once it opens there will be no charge to tour the galleries.

## RETRO HEAT

### Old Cast Iron Radiators



**Shafter Bros. Inc**  
Since 1927

259 Van Horne Avenue  
Montreal, Quebec Canada  
H2V 1H9

Tel: 514.274.8347  
Fax: 514.274.7652  
Toll Free: 1.800.361.1778

[www.oldeastironradiators.com](http://www.oldeastironradiators.com)  
[www.steamexperts.com](http://www.steamexperts.com)





# When the medium is part of the message

Canadian philosopher and media giant Marshall McLuhan would love this exhibition. Clean, modern and devoid of any kind of pretension, the art's medium is just as important as the work hanging on the wall and none of it costs more than the price of a stamp and a walk to the nearest letter box.

"It's a lot of fun," said Montreal artist Keira Parnell. As the curator of the new Mail-Art exhibition hanging in NDG's popular Connexions Language School, Parnell said she had a great time putting together the eclectic mix of original postcards that makes up the show. "Once you get involved in the mail-art community, using the mail to send your work is just as important as getting one back."

Due to the fact Parnell receives mail-art from all over the world, she used the sender's location as the only means by which she could organize the exhibition. Postcards sent as a classroom art project from a children's school in Toulouse, France, offset several well-crafted collage pieces from Paris which owed a lot to Marcel Duchamp's early surrealist work. While some of Parnell's postcards owed a lot to Russian constructivist pieces which use print as an iconic visual medium, Parnell said the cards soon develop their own original narrative if both parties can maintain the energy and the intensity of their correspondence. After her own year-long experience in the growing mail-art movement, she has over 600 original pieces from 22 countries. While some of her pieces come from contemporary art stars such as Canada's own Anna Banana, Parnell pointed out a few beautiful pieces that come from correspondents in Malaysia and Japan which must have cost its maker more than just a

few hours of work.

"It's not about big box art galleries," said Parnell. "There's nothing except a stamp between the artist and the work's final destination. That's why anybody and everybody can be a part of this....All you need is the desire to make art and a stamp."

Should you want to join the movement, send your own original postcard to K. Parnell at P.O. Box 42085, Montreal, Qc, H2W 1A0



## If we build it, they will come.

Magil Construction prides itself on its reputation for excellence. Its expertise has been perfected on projects of every conceivable size and complexity. Delivering a project on-time and on-budget has been fundamental to Magil's success.

Founded in 1953 by architect Louis B. Magil, the company specialized in residential construction. It has since expanded into commercial, industrial and institutional construction valued in billions of dollars.

[www.magil.com](http://www.magil.com)

# One of North America's largest and most dependable suppliers of steel foundation products.

## Pipe and Piling Supplies' high quality stocks include:

- Wide-flange Beams
- Spiral Pipe
- Bearing Pile Beams
- Piling Pipe
- Sheet Piling
- Concrete Piles



**Pipe & Piling offers competitive pricing and quality pre- and post-sale expertise. It's twelve sales and stocking facilities are available to serve you across North America in:**

Vancouver 604-942-6311	Edmonton 780-955-0501	Calgary 403-236-1332	Toronto 416-201-8189	Montreal 514-879-9008	Halifax 902-835-6158
Washington 253-939-4700	Nebraska 402-896-9611	Kansas 1-800-874-3720	Illinois 1-800-874-3720	Michigan 1-800-874-3720	Pennsylvania 1-800-874-3720

Pipe & Piling Supplies Ltd.



[www.pipe-piling.com](http://www.pipe-piling.com)

## “Via Rail/A More Human Way to Travel?”

VIA's slogan currently reads, “A More Human Way to Travel”. Is this true? I decided to test this a bit further on a recent Toronto to Montreal VIA 1 round trip. A human way to travel means to be treated like a human as opposed to, well let's say to be innovative, cattle. . . .you know serve those human needs with comfort, a smile, amenities, food and drink which by the way is the glue that keeps humans talking and interacting with each other wherever they may be! I have been treated humanely lately with Porter Airlines on my trip to cover the New York 2011 Wine Expo but can a train trip on VIA 1 deliver the goods? From a cost perspective VIA had a bit of a head start making me feel a bit more human with its price being half that of the major airlines albeit this was a very short notice booking. Can a 4 1/2 hour train trip rival a one hour flight? To start with there is no long check in when you travel VIA 1. There are no long security line ups. You are in the train fast and you leave it the same way unlike the airplane where there is a tortured queue to embark and disembark. You are saving time, aggravation and stress. Remember folks, time is not everything. Stress, stress and more stress with plane travel out of major airports. Shoes off, belt off, empty pockets, shoes back on, belt back on, fill up pockets, show passport (and for that matter private body parts in a scan) onto plane, wait on runway, wait to taxi to arrival gate. . . .etc. so many tiring and aggravating steps!

The VIA 1 Lounge in Toronto's Union Station is far from impressive being dark and cavernous with only one washroom and its obvious consequence being a line-up. Unlike Porter's airy, bright and cheery Toronto Island departure lounge (with more than adequate washroom space) there is no food to eat nor spring water to drink, just calorie laden pop and fruit juices with coffee and tea. The sink in the Toronto Panorama Lounge looks like it hasn't been cleaned in a while. The VIA1 Lounge in Montreal is better lit, perhaps too well lit reminding one of a hospital waiting room and again nothing to eat. At least the sink is clean but the ventilation system is rattling and only one bathroom with a waiting line.

The train leaves exactly on time from both Toronto and Montreal! The coach to Montreal is clean and comfortable despite its dowdy brown colour scheme. There is loads of legroom and a big fold out table

to work and eat on. The return coach to Toronto is a dark green ancient cavern with grime encrusted windows and insufficient room for a laptop and the reading lights are not functioning. A welcoming snack consists of the usual packaged crunchy type things. Full bar service follows. This is followed by more packaged snacks. The menu is then handed out and it's looking pretty interesting and the fact you receive a menu so you can choose what you want to eat is better than a perfunctory mass airline response (assuming of course you get any food at all), “We have pasta and chicken tonight. . . .oh sorry we are out of chicken”. The menu is collected after your choice is conveyed to the attendant and then another drink cart rolls by. Matters are indeed looking at bit more human. Here is the menu on the “to Montreal” trip;

Appetizer: Grilled Portobello Mushrooms with roasted red pepper coulis.

Main Courses: There are three choices;

1. Maple Butternut Squash Jumbo Ravioli served with béchamel sauce and roasted squash.
2. Roasted Tilapia served with shrimp and lobster sauce, green beans, Roma tomatoes and artichokes.
3. Pork Tenderloin stuffed with winter fruit served with roasted fingerling potatoes, asparagus and sweet bell pepper medley.

Dessert is Apricot Melba.

On the trip to Toronto the menu is as follows;

Appetizer: Tomato and Feta Cheese and Basil Olive dressing with fresh cucumbers and chopped black Kalamata olives.

Main Courses: The three choices are;

1. Baked Pasta Pinwheels stuffed with spinach, mushrooms and Asiago cheese and served with Alfredo and marinara sauces.
2. Grilled Atlantic Salmon served with Chardonnay cream sauce, olive oil and lemon, Yukon Gold mashed potatoes, baby carrots and broccoli.
3. Grilled Madagascar Peppercorn Chicken Breast served with egg fettuccini, fresh broccoli flowerets and baby carrots.

Dessert is praline almond and raspberry cake.

The food is free. The wine is free. The food is less tasty than the menu hints at. The “to Montreal” appetizer tastes a bit tinny. The main courses are a notch better than one would expect on a transatlantic economy flight on Air Canada or Air Transat although the salmon is dry and overcooked. The Peach Melba looks as if it has been prepared in a mass airline kitchen in some large non-descript North American airport. In fact it's a bit frightening in all its red glory. The praline and almond cake is nouveau inspiring and not bad. At least the food is a pleasant distraction. And oh the horrors of a tray left for half an hour with no room for the laptop exists on the train as with the plane. So given the food is not going to bring you back will the wine do so?

I had the Jackson-Triggs 2008 Black Reserve Merlot both coming and departing from Montreal, which in the pre-dinner bar service, was served in a plastic cup and a generous pour at that unlike the laughable thimbleful of wine Air Transat serves in its economy class on the flight I took with to Madrid last summer. It's garnet in colour with aromas

of nuts, rhubarb and mocha. On the palate some rhubarb, raisin pie, dark chocolate, charcoal and coffee. For a Merlot this has some pretty good traction on the palate and has medium length but after a bit its taste gets a bit tiresome. ( Jackson-Triggs 2008 Black Reserve Merlot, VQA Niagara Peninsula 750 mL, Robert Rating 86/100, LCBO #00109959, \$13.95, tasted on board and at home and not available at the SAQ). The white wine, yet again, a Jackson-Triggs product being Sauvignon Blanc Black Series 2009 Sauvignon Blanc is pale gold in colour having none of the razor sharp acidity of a Loire Sauvignon Blanc or the tropical luminescence of a South Island Zealie and sits in the middle with aromas of pear and baby powder mixed with vanilla wafer cookies. There is acidity but it is unfocused and there just for the sake of it. Disciplined acidity is the hallmark of great Sauvignon Blancs. On the finish it flounders badly being decimated by the feta. A good sauvignon does wonders with feta. The slightly intriguing aroma saves this wine but it limps in with a very low score. (Jackson-Triggs 2009 Sauvignon Blanc Black Series, VQA Niagara Peninsula, 750mL, Windsor Square rating 80/100, LCBO 00058438, \$13.95, tasted at home with a Greek Salad not available at the SAQ)

I spend a half hour talking to Akbar the “to Montreal” attendant after the dinner service. He tells me that VIA 1 is all about service. Just come on in and you'll be taken care of he says. Lots of snacks, food, pre-dinner, during dinner and post dinner drinks with two rounds of chocolates thrown in. He says VIA 1 travellers are happy people. They pull out their laptops, have a nice meal, snooze or

watch the world go by. In fact after VIA1 introduced a sale recently Akbar said many of the “Comfort Class” (love those names eh. . . .like Air Canada's Hospitality Class) now travel VIA1. You really have to see the logic here with low stress travel, lots of fancy sounding food, free flowing drinks and with service right to downtown you should consider VIA1. I can't argue with Akbar on this point. The VIA 1 service (although not its food or wine) equals that of Air Canada's executive class. So the food quite doesn't deliver, the choices in wine are limited but the happy laid back passengers and the sincere attempts a servicing are making some major airlines looking really quite pathetic with the “economy service” . . . .moo! Remember fellow travellers when you fly those short haul flights (Porter Airlines excepted), no free food, no free wine and no time to do much of anything. With VIA 1 the passengers really do have looks of contentment on their face and a good many are very loyal repeat customers moving away from the mass airlines shake down for passenger's wallets and change purses for a drink and food. Will the airlines ever realize how demeaning and hated their charge for food practices are? Check out VIA 1 prices against economy class on a Canadian airline on your next trip. Akbar and VIA1 are eager to convert you. I am not entirely convinced, given Porter Airline's Toronto lounge which is far from a hospital waiting room in design and Porter's service ethic. The dowdy VIA 1 Panorama Lounges and some of the coaches are a real turn off. But against Air Canada or West Jet I'll certainly vote for VIA 1.

# AVOCADO MAN

## Fresh

“Avocados Are Our Business”



2348 chemin Lucerne, suite 534, Mont Royal, Qc H3R 2J8

514.312.3701 • toll free 1.800.672.8030

www.mravocadoman.com • Email admin@mravocadoman.com



le ch<sup>^</sup>ateau

Shop our new digital flagship [lechateau.com](http://lechateau.com)