

GUNS AND GANGS: A DEADLY DUO

LRC

Literary Review of Canada

\$6.50

Vol. 15, No. 6 • July/August 2007



Christopher Moore
When a copy is not a copy

Mark Proudman
**The intrinsic boredom of
Canadian history**

Farouk Jiwa
**Our foreign policy
needs more voices**

Geoff Pevere
**Digitization:
The destruction of Hollywood?**

Katherine Fierlbeck
**Canadian roots are
more liberal than Tory**

David Silcox
**Ignoring Native art:
neglect or racism?**



+ William Weintraub revisits that summer in Paris + Harriet Friedmann cuts a swath through farm-control legislation + Marian Botsford Fraser gazes at the father-daughter relationship + Zeba Crook takes on George Jonas + Hugh Graham reconnoitres the War of 1812 + fiction reviews by Robert McGill and Allan Weiss + poetry by Susan Musgrave, Andreas Gripp and Jason Ranon Uri Rotstein + responses by Thomas Homer-Dixon and responses to Shiraz Dossa



LRC

Literary Review of Canada

Vol. 15, No. 6 • July/August 2007

3 Teenage Mutant Supreme Court Judges

An essay
Christopher Moore

6 Canada: More Liberal Than Tory?

A review of *The Canadian Founding: John Locke and Parliament*, by Janet Aizenstat
Katherine Fierbeck

8 That Decade in Paris

A review of Robert McAlmon's *The Nightinghous of Paris*
William Weintraub

10 Minority Views

A review of *Canada Among Nations 2006: Minorities and Priorities*, edited by Andrew F. Cooper and Dane Rowlands
Farouk Shamas Jiwa

12 Our Toxic Harvest

A review of Elizabeth Brubaker's *Greener Pastures: Decentralizing the Regulation of Agricultural Pollution*,
Harriet Friedmann

14 Why Canadian History Is Boring

A review of *The Penguin History of Canada*, by Robert Bothwell
Mark F. Proudman

16 Seven from Sangan River Meditations

Poetry
Susan Musgrave

17 My Cat Is Half-Greek, or Zeus Left The Acropolis Open Again

A poem
Andreas Gripp

17 Before & After

A poem
Jason Ranon Uri Rotstein

18 Realistic to Bizarre

A review of *Optique*, by Clayton Bailey, and *Bang Crunch*, by Neil Smith
Allan Weiss

19 Don't Try This at Home

A review of Michael Ondaatje's *Divisadero*
Robert McGill

20 Guns and Gangs: A Deadly Duo

A review of *Enter the Babylon System: Unpacking Gun Culture from Samuel Colt to 50 Cent*, by Rodrigo Bascuñán and Christian Pearce, and *Young Thugs: Inside the Dangerous World of Canadian Street Gangs*, by Michael C. Chettleburgh
Paul McKenna

22 Brave, But Mostly Wrong

A review of *Reflections on Islam: Ideas, Opinions, Arguments*, by George Jonas
Zeba A. Crook

23 The Post-Celluloid Era

A review of *The Decline of the Hollywood Empire*, by Hervé Fischer
Geoff Pevere

25 The Daughter's Dilemma

A review of Sandra Martin's *The First Man in My Life: Daughters Write About Their Fathers*
Marian Botsford Fraser

26 A Miserable War

A review of *For Honour's Sake: The War of 1812 and the Brokering of an Uneasy Peace*, by Mark Zuehlke
Hugh Graham

28 A Rich Heritage Ignored

A review of Leslie Dawn's *National Visions, National Blindness: Canadian Art and Identities in the 1920s*
David Silcox

30 Letters and Responses

Thomas Homer-Dixon, Sean E. Riley, Micheline Mallory, Ian Thal, Ken Stange, Bryan Townsend, Tarek Fatah, Sarah Ramer, Leslie Smith

Literary Review of Canada
581 Markham Street, Suite 3A
Toronto, Ontario M6G 2L7
e-mail: review@lrcreview.com
reviewcanada.ca
T: 416 531-1483
F: 416 531-1612

EDITOR

Bronwyn Drainie
editor@lrcreview.com

ASSISTANT EDITOR

Alastair Cheng

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

Anthony Westell

ASSOCIATE EDITOR

Robin Roger

POETRY EDITOR

Molly Peacock

ASSISTANT POETRY EDITOR

Moira MacDougall

COPY EDITOR

Madeline Koch

PROOFREADERS

Ted Brown, Alastair Cheng, Lauryn Drainie, Madeline Koch, Claire Laville

RESEARCH

Claire Laville

PUBLICITY

Kevin Watt
publicity@lrcreview.com

DESIGN

James Harbeck

ADVERTISING/SALES

Michael Wile
Phone: 416-531-1483 • Cell: 416-806-6178
ads@lrcreview.com

PUBLISHERS

Mark Lovewell
lovewell@ryerson.ca
Helen Walsh
helen.walsh@sympatico.ca

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Michael Adams
Ronald G. Atkey, P.C., Q.C.
Alan Broadbent, C.M.
James Gillies, C.M.
Carol Hansell
John Honderich
Sandy Houston
Donald Macdonald, P.C., C.C.
Trina McQueen
Susan Reisler
Grant Reuber, O.C.
Don Rickerd, C.M.
Mark Sarner
Reed Scowen
Anthony Westell

POETRY SUBMISSIONS

The Literary Review of Canada accepts poetry submissions by email from May 1 to October 1 each year, although it solicits poetry year round. Send submissions to poetry@lrcreview.com in a single Word file as an attachment and include the poems in the body of the email as well. The LRC does not review poetry.

FOUNDED IN 1991 BY P.A. DUTIL

The *Literary Review of Canada* is published 10 times a year by the Literary Review of Canada Inc.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Canada \$57; the rest of the world US\$57. Libraries in Canada \$72; elsewhere US\$77. Price includes postage.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND CIRCULATION

Jon Spencer, Abacus Circulation
P.O. Box 8, Station K
Toronto, ON M4P 2G1
Phone: 416-932-5081
subscriptions@lrcreview.com

©2007 The Literary Review of Canada. All rights, including translation into other languages, are reserved by the publisher in Canada, the United States, Great Britain and all other countries participating in the Universal Copyright Convention, the International Copyright Convention and the Pan-American Copyright Convention. Nothing in this publication may be reproduced without the written permission of the publisher.

ISSN 1188-7494

Canadian Publications Mail Product Sales Agreement No. 1479083.
Postmaster: Please send address changes to the above address. The *Literary Review of Canada* is indexed in the Canadian Literary Periodicals Index and the Canadian Index and is distributed by Disticor and the Canadian Magazine Publishers Association.

Cover art and pictures throughout the issue by Aino Anto.

Aino Anto is a Toronto-based freelance illustrator with interests in editorial illustration and children's books. Her first work, Len Gasparini's *A Christmas for Carol*, was published by Seraphim Editions in 2002. More examples of her work can be seen at www.antostudio.com.

FUNDING ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We acknowledge the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Canada Magazine Fund towards our editorial and production costs.

We acknowledge the assistance of the OMDC Magazine Fund, an initiative of Ontario Media Development Corporation.



THE CANADA COUNCIL
FOR THE ARTS
SINCE 1957

LE CONSEIL DES ARTS
DU CANADA
DEPUIS 1957

Canada



Ontario
Film and Television
Tax Credits
Ontario Media Development Corporation



ONTARIO ARTS COUNCIL
CONSEIL DES ARTS DE L'ONTARIO

Minority Views

What should be the role of Canada's diasporas in shaping foreign policy?

FAROUK SHAMAS JIWA

Canada Among Nations 2006:

Minorities and Priorities

Andrew F. Cooper and Dane Rowlands, editors

McGill-Queen's University Press

367 pages, softcover

ISBN 9780773531703

As an inaugural Global Youth Fellow of the Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation, I have been extensively exploring the meaning and relevance of multiculturalism, diversity and the pluralism of identity for foreign policy. I grew up in Africa and have lived and studied abroad, travelled extensively and become an active member of Canadian society, so these issues are close to me personally. They also run deep in the historical experience and transnational ties of my family, and fuel a perennial desire to understand why identity and diversity have been a source of conflict in societies as well as a source of growth and pride, Canada being no exception.

For a country that takes immense pride in accommodating diversity, however, Canadians lately seem edgier than usual on the question of diversity if judged, *prima facie*, by the reaction to the arrest of alleged terrorists in Toronto last summer and the 2006 evacuation of Canadians from Lebanon. *Maclean's* magazine, taking its cue from the incident in Hérouxville, Quebec, asked recently, "Do Immigrants Need Rules?" while sporting on its cover a woman clad in a niqab.

It may come as little surprise, then, that I leapt at the opportunity to review the 22nd consecutive instalment of the Canada Among Nations series. This year's compilation, *Minorities and Priorities*, edited by Andrew F. Cooper and Dane Rowlands, takes as its focus (as described on the back of the book) "first, how two different forms of minority—parliamentary and cultural—are shaping Canada's international approach and, second, the emerging foreign policy priorities of the minority Conservative government." The book's title alone was reason enough to whet the appetite of this keen student of Canadian politics and foreign policy, and intriguing enough to get my young immigrant heart racing.

Farouk Shamas Jiwa is a Global Youth Fellow with the Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation. Since 2003, he has been working with several federal departments and agencies (including the Canadian International Development Agency) and is a senior policy officer with the Department of Canadian Heritage. The views expressed in this article are his own.

Minorities and Priorities is organized in four sections. The first examines the possibility of an authentic Conservative approach in foreign policy, both in light of the party's minority status and the transition of power from the Liberals. The second looks at the nature of partnerships under a Conservative minority government, from Canada's participation in the United Nations and our relationship with the United States through to Europe and security policy. The third section, in my view, represents an attempt to be more innovative and moves into newer territory for the foreign policy establishment. Here, we come face to face with commentaries on immigration policy, our role in Haiti and engagement with the Haitian diaspora, and Quebec's role at UNESCO. Finally, section four returns to familiar foreign policy themes: China, energy, Kyoto, and international aid and development.

While the scope of *Minorities and Priorities* is diverse, one can (although not always) discern some common yet interrelated undercurrents. First, and perhaps most clear, is that the room to manoeuvre and to place a Conservative "stamp" on foreign policy is available but limited given Stephen Harper's minority situation. The Conservatives' predicament dictates, as Hugh Segal rightly points out in an early chapter, balancing the party's own objectives with parliamentary consensus. Likewise, recognizing the thin line of manoeuvrability facing the Conservatives in his assessment of Canadian aid to Africa, David R. Black notes that "in the Conservatives' quest to win more voters in ... [Quebec] ... it would seem impolitic to tamper too significantly with aid spending levels, at least in a minority context."

While the room for foreign policy manoeuvrability has been showcased in certain clear-cut decisions, such as the withdrawal of Canadian aid to Palestine and the designation of the Tamil Tigers as a terrorist group, it is debatable whether these actions stemmed from a well-planned "distinctive" foreign policy regime. From this perspective, John Kirton's assertion that Mr. Harper's "made-in-Canada" foreign policy of global leadership was presented with doctrinal consistency throughout the campaign platform and promises, the election night victory speech, and the first Speech from the Throne" and his assertion that "the thrust toward global assertiveness was driven by a rapidly educated, rationally calculating, politically skilled and determined prime minister who assembled his inexperienced ministerial team into a well-balanced, coordinated foreign policy decision-making process" seems somewhat exaggerated. For a government

with a clear focus on its "famous five" priorities, foreign policy seemingly remained dormant on the policy shelf. It was only because the early months in office had surprisingly significant foreign policy dimensions that by necessity the Conservatives had to respond and in a manner that would not hamper their chances for a majority. My East African background compels me to liken Harper and his approach to a common Swahili proverb, *simba mwenda pole hula nyama* ("the lion who goes cautiously eats meat"), rather than to some loudly articulated "made in Canada" foreign policy that is big-C Conservative.

Arguably, where the Conservatives have used the space for foreign policy manoeuvrability more distinctively has been on matters of security, a second common theme in the book. Afghanistan was Harper's first international destination following the Conservative victory, chosen deliberately for his world debut rather than the March 2006 Security and Prosperity Partnership summit with George W. Bush and Vicente Fox, which transpired just two weeks after his Afghanistan visit (remember the green fishing vest?). As editors Cooper and Rowlands note, "the extent to which the Conservatives have defended and supported Canada's role in Afghanistan has led some observers to suggest that, even though he inherited the mission from the Liberals, it will be remembered as Harper's war."

Where, undoubtedly, security matters seem paramount is in our relationship with the United States. This is where the reader will find the most food for thought in assessing where and what space is available for the Harper government to lead Canadian foreign policy now and in the future, at least on matters such as defence cooperation, terrorism and energy. Ann Denholm Crosby's contribution on the North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD) and ballistic missile defence is particularly striking in this regard. Denholm Crosby argues that with the 2006 NORAD renewal Canada is already effectively part of the missile defence of the continent, despite Canada's assertion of "non-participation." In addition, in describing Canada as a growing oil power, Isidro Morales deliberates on the implications of this role vis-à-vis a U.S. that is increasingly concerned about its energy security future. What's more, Wenran Jiang's portrait of a restless China that is ever more active in the Canadian oil and gas market presents an interesting juxtaposition on the balancing act of Canadian energy integration with our key trade partner, the U.S., versus relations with an emerging China, and what these mean for Canada-U.S. and Canada-China relations generally. Marie

Bernard-Meunier offers an interesting counter as well with her chapter on Europe, stating that “the weight of its big neighbour and the quick rise of emerging markets should not prevent Canada from realizing that keeping Europe off the screen is simply wrong.” Tough choices and important decisions await us everywhere.

A third theme in *Minorities and Priorities* pertains to “third country” issues. These issues stem from the appreciation that Canada’s primary relationship is with the U.S. and that our actions in other countries should be designed to make them congruent with U.S. interests. Thus, suggests Christopher Sands, we demonstrate to the Americans that we are more useful as a sovereign partner than as a U.S. sub-federal entity such as California. Sands goes further: “Through its successes internationally, Canada can go on the offensive and earn political capital in Washington that can be used to defend Canadian interests in the domestic and bilateral realms.” A good example of Sands’s more general analytical point is made in Yasmine Shamsie’s essay on Haiti, where it is clear that a deeper Canadian presence (which might be in our own interest) would be congruent with U.S. interests as well.

However, while viewing third-country issues as a primer to influence the U.S. and simultaneously protect our sovereignty, the book does come up short in exploring the possibility of third-country issues beyond the lens of the Canada-U.S. relationship alone. Jiang possibly attempts to correct this in noting that Canada should strategically engage China to play a larger role in Afghanistan. In spite of inevitable U.S. interest in such a move, the starting point for Canadian engagement with China is China itself. One can imagine the possibility of Canada deepening engagement with other emerging markets such as India and Brazil on third-country issues such as the provision of affordable HIV/AIDS drugs to common countries, as well as reinforcing relations with other nations (perhaps European, as Bernard-Meunier suggests) on third-country issues such as aid to our African development partners. Unfortunately, *Minorities and Priorities* generally remains silent on these sorts of possibilities.

The final theme in the book is diversity. On the “cultural” front, Nelson Michaud provides an interesting account of Quebec’s arrangement with the federal government to represent itself at UNESCO. Others such as Jiang and Shamsie describe, albeit briefly, the role of the Chinese and Haitian diasporas (respectively) in Canadian engagement with China and Haiti. More generally, migration issues are also mentioned in passing by Roy Culpepper, where his focus is primarily on the ironic policy dilemma faced when Canada, on the one hand, seeks to assist countries in their health sector development and, on the other, poaches their health professionals for our own gain.

The notion of diversity in Canadian discourse these days usually connotes “ethnic” diversity. In my view, however, taking a broader perspective leads one to other significant dimensions of diversity such as Canada’s geographical diversity and its implications for foreign policy. For example, the growing importance of Alberta’s tar sands and more generally western Canada’s oil and gas capabilities, as shown by Morales, are having a direct impact on Canada’s ability to create a coherent

national policy on cutting global greenhouse gases and meeting Kyoto targets, as illustrated by Daniel Schwanen in his contribution. Adding further twists to this saga are our natural gas reserves in the Arctic, the fact that energy infrastructure is along a north-south corridor to the U.S. (as opposed to west-east across Canada) and that some parts of the country are apparently better placed economically and geographically to reduce greenhouse gas emissions than others (for example, Quebec versus Alberta, as pointed out by Schwanen). The policy question this raises in my mind, then, is how to balance Canada’s continued economic growth sustainably by further integrating with the U.S., supplying emerging markets such as China, contending with our domestic energy needs and simultaneously cutting greenhouse gas emissions. What, moreover, does the oil of western Canada mean for the active representation of these provinces (in particular Alberta) in international forums? Approaching diversity from a “cultural” perspective alone carries the risk of neglecting these salient issues.

A broader perspective on diversity, however, also reveals where the book is weakest. While the discussions on Quebec, Haiti, China, immigration policy and, to a certain extent, development do raise some pertinent issues such as the role of

Who has the right to be heard or to be directly involved in foreign policy, when Canadians supposedly have equal rights?

provinces, diasporas and migration in Canadian foreign policy, with the general exception of the chapter on Quebec, these issues are treated superficially and often come out flat. For example, nowhere does the book investigate in detail the impact diasporas are actually making on the countries from which they originate (or the tools available for them to do so), let alone the influence they are having on our government here at home. This is particularly significant because the consultation and involvement of diasporas in foreign policy may be (and, arguably, is) perceived by some in the foreign policy establishment as constituting a “hijacking” of Canadian “national interests” by specific ethnic groups, and thus a growing source of fear. This is a subject that urgently needs discussion. Second, the editors treat diasporas and Quebec as though they are internally homogenous when in fact they are diverse and complex. The book seems to operate from the assumption that place of origin or possibly language equals one’s only identity; there is no nuanced definition of who constitutes Quebec (the province? *la nation*?) or diasporas. Third, perhaps most poignantly, is the total absence of discussion on the role of our aboriginal peoples and their active involvement in foreign policy. This is particularly striking because our aboriginal peoples have been fighting long and hard on the international stage on landmark foreign policy issues such as the UN’s Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and circumpolar affairs, amongst others. In my view, for a book that is concerned with the constitution of priorities, it is imperative to include an aboriginal perspective in the compilation in order to answer this question: Are the government’s priorities generally in sync with the priorities of our aboriginal peoples, whom the government is unequivocally supposed

to represent? For example, while the Canadian government may choose to invest billions of dollars in Arctic sovereignty initiatives, does this in fact constitute the priority of the Inuit? Would the Inuit, for example, prefer to see that money invested in combating climate change, which is arguably having a greater discernable impact on Inuit well-being in the North?

Resting content in a superficial treatment of diversity issues has other very important ramifications as well. For instance, the very fact that the book lumps Quebec and diasporas into “cultural minorities” obfuscates what some may see as genuine differences between the constitution of historical diversity in Canada (the so-called “founding nations”) and immigrant diversity, let alone the geographical diversity mentioned above, and the implications of these dimensions for foreign policy. One can see the importance of this, for example, when considering questions such as who has the right to be heard or to be directly involved in foreign policy, when Canadians supposedly have equal rights? Whose claims take precedence over others? What does the involvement of minorities mean and who legitimately represents whom? And do we risk halving our horizons in foreign policy by seeing diversity through the lens of homogenizing, unique identities such as “Quebec,” the “Haitian diaspora” or, more recently, “Muslim,” when in fact people such as me have multiple identities and affiliations—that is, a pluralism of identity (global, Canadian, Ontarian, Indian, African, East African, Tanzanian,

Kenyan, Zambian, Muslim, immigrant, male, heterosexual, a long-distance runner, a believer in gay and lesbian rights, etc.)? These questions are particularly important when it is understood that reasoning and choice are relevant for identity and, furthermore, that Canada is and will increasingly become more diverse, especially from the standpoint of immigrant diversity, in a globalizing, post-September 11 world that is presenting new opportunities and challenges.¹

To be fair, the editors do note that “one of the original ideas was to examine the role of minority groups in the making of Canadian foreign policy. This theme will have to await a future volume.” Somehow, this does not inspire confidence. I do hope the editors can take a broader view of diversity and its relationship with foreign policy when they set out to develop the anticipated volume. For now, I would highly recommend *Minorities and Priorities* for those readers seeking to contemplate the actual and possible roles of Canada’s parliamentary minorities in foreign policy (particularly Mr. Harper’s) as well as the state of the art on Canadian foreign policy issues. For those desiring a deeper understanding of the role of “cultural minorities” or diversity generally in foreign policy beyond the superficial, with the general exception of Quebec, I would suggest holding off a little while.

In the meantime, it will be interesting to observe what outcomes result as the cautious lion and his minority continue to navigate the diverse plains of Canadian foreign (and domestic) policy. □

Note

¹ On the relevance of reasoning and choice to identity, see, for example, Amartya Sen, *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny* (W.W. Norton and Company, New York, 2006).