

The Dominion

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dominion, *n.* 1. Control or the exercise of control. 2. A territory or sphere of influence; a realm. 3. One of the self-governing nations within the British Commonwealth.



Indymedia Argentina

Over 10,000 Argentinians protested the eviction of the Brukman factory in Buenos Aires on May Day.

Tommy Franks Charged With War Crimes

A Belgian lawyer and 19 Iraqis are charging US General Tommy Franks with war crimes under a Belgian law that allows citizens to charge foreigners for violations of international law. "We have a very specific case, with specific evidence," said Jan Fermon, the lawyer filing the suit.

Iraq Civilian Death Toll Jumps to 3700

According to numbers compiled from press reports by the Iraq Body Count Project, the number of recorded civilian deaths in the war on Iraq has exceeded 3700. Recent reports of more than 1400 deaths from 19 different Baghdad Hospitals were responsible for the sharp increase. Other recent causes of civilian casualties have been unexploded munitions from cluster bombs, which are often mistaken for food aid packages, and the US shooting of 15 people at a recent protest in Fallujah.

The project monitors the web sites of news agencies and major newspapers, and counts only reports that appear in more

than one source. When reports differ, a maximum and minimum number of reported deaths is recorded. The most recent maximum total was 4805.

Argentinians Protest Brukman Factory Evictions

Thousands of Argentinians have been staging continuous protests following the eviction of workers who had occupied the Brukman clothing factory in Buenos Aires. The men's clothing factory had been shut down two years ago by the owners during the height of Argentina's economic collapse, but was reopened by workers who were desperate for income.

The factory, along with over 200 others in Argentina, was run collectively by the workers until police locked the factory overnight and set up a blockade.

Over 10,000 attended a May Day protest at the factory, which ended with tear gas from the police and molotov cocktails from activists. On May 7th, several of the evicted workers staged a "sew-in" in the street outside the Brukman factory, making blankets and clothing

for victims of a flood disaster in southern Argentina.

US Task Force Abandons Search for Illegal Weapons

The 75th Exploitation Task Force, the group responsible for finding Weapons of Mass Destruction in post-war Iraq is preparing to discontinue their operations without having found any illegal weapons, according to sources quoted by the *Washing-*

ton Post. The sources partially blamed looting and burning for the lack of available evidence.

According to officials, the search will continue, but biologists, physicists, and other experts will be moved off-site until there is something for them to look at. "I don't think we'll find anything," one Army Captain commented, noting that any weapons would have disappeared in the post-war chaos by now.

Stop Ignoring the Congo, Says UN Human Rights Commissioner

United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights Sergio Vieira de Mello said that the international community has been ignoring atrocities in the Congolese civil war. De Mello said that additional peacekeeping troops were necessary to prevent further tragedies. . . .

For sources and additional reading: dominionpaper.ca

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Canada in Review

As the Canadian winter thaws in some parts of the country, and a bizarre confluence of international controversies recedes from the national press organs, Canadians find themselves with a dire lack of "news". Canada's contribution to the post-war Iraq and the Toronto centred SARS outbreak seem suddenly unimportant despite the fact they remain far from resolved. Our attention is drawn elsewhere, for better in the cases where light is now shone onto events of significance, for worse where shadows are now elongated covering moments of

"While the [NDP's] bill is unlikely to succeed (few Private Members Bills do) the subtext is clear – to position other parties as being against Democracy, a tough sell."

importance.

Canada's only national moderately progressive political party, and its newly minted leader Jack Layton, have unveiled their first campaign since opposing the war in Iraq stopped scoring any political points. The New Democratic Party (NDP) announced a campaign to bring Proportional Representation (PR) to Canada. The NDP announced that it will bring a bill before Parliament to hold a referendum on changing the electoral system to a PR system. While the bill is unlikely to succeed (few Private Members Bills do) the subtext is clear – to position other parties as being against Democracy, a tough sell. The NDP's campaign is in clear juxtaposition to the Liberal Party's coronation ceremony and handled effectively will position this as an election issue in a year to a year and half when the next federal election should be held.

That very same Liberal leadership race is proceeding with all the purpose of a three toed sloth on land. Former Finance Minister Paul Martin is "challenged" by John Manley and Sheila Copps. While Prime Minister Chretien would have it otherwise there seems to be little doubt as to the outcome. In fact, little has been interesting since Manley's comment that few consider Copps "a real challenger", except for disclosures of the candidates' financial backers. When Manley revealed his backers they read like a laundry list of lobbyists and corporate backers. Democracy Watch, a public interest group, says of Manley's disclosures, "many of the donations place the Deputy Prime Minister in an apparent breach of ethics rules." Democracy Watch noted that Martin and Copps continue to offer their donors the option of contributing anonymously through blind trusts.

The financial square dance of the Liberal Party's leadership candidates comes as a split opens the party over election finance reform legislation. Liberal Party President Stephen LeDrew, recently visited opposition parties in an effort to amend the bill. The Bill would see corporate and labour union donations to national political parties banned and limited to \$1,000 to individual ridings. LeDrew claims this would put the Liberal Party in severe financial constraints, despite provi-



johnmanley.ca

John Manley: funded by a laundry list of lobbyists and corporate backers.

sions in the bill which would provide public funding to make up the shortfall. Several Liberal MPs oppose the bill, but like LeDrew, they are supporters of Martin whose public spat with the PM continues to harm the public work of Parliament. The bill will likely pass even without full Liberal support in the Commons as it is broadly supported by both the NDP and Bloc Quebecois.

Campaign finance restrictions are also making news in Manitoba where the NDP government is seeking re-election in the first provincial elections

"This week the Liberal government joined the US in its WTO challenge of European rules that ban the import of Genetically Modified Foods. Essentially, Canada's position is now to dictate the European diet."

since major restrictions on campaigning were imposed. While it appears the NDP will win a second straight majority government what is most striking is the tenor of the campaign. With restrictions in place on corporate and union donations, as well as on campaign advertising, the campaigns of all three parties are less visible. Most hurt by the new law seem to be the provincial Tories, who are reportedly \$400,000 in debt.

In the midst of all this politicking, other movements are afoot. Economically, Canada's position is clouded in the face of stumbling US economic trends forecasted for years. The Canadian dollar hit more than 73 cents US for the first time since 1997. This predictably sent investors scrambling and vacationers cheering. Employment and price indicators remain steady in Canada with only small increases in unemployment and

the price of consumer products.

Naturally ignoring economic news, the Liberal party seems set to announce major changes to the criminality of marijuana. Two of the most prominent features of the Cannabis Reform Bill are the decriminalization of driving while under the influence of marijuana and differentiated, lower fines for young people caught in possession of marijuana.

The government has also announced changes to some international policy. This week the Liberal government joined the US in its WTO challenge of European rules that ban the import of Genetically Modified Foods. Essentially, Canada's position is now to dictate the European diet. Additionally, Foreign Affairs Minister Bill Graham announced, Canada would seek to join the US in pursuing a missile defense shield. This ends long speculation that the government's initial policy was in fact not a policy, but merely a position, to be changed.

As these stories disappear in a haze of smoky backrooms, tinged green, we should not forget that the insurance industry has started to deny life insurance to Canadians traveling to Asian countries with suspected SARS cases. And we thought the SARS scare was over.

Noel Baldwin

Regional Headlines:

Fishing disputes heat up • New Brunswick election called • Manitoba goes to the polls June 3 • Eves shuns democracy, prepares for election, OCAP three trial declared mistrial • No spring election in Saskatchewan • BC NDP blast Liberals for two years of destruction • Nunavut suicide rate continues to climb. . . .

For full regional news, and an annotated version of Canada in Review, visit dominionpaper.ca

Mother's Day

"Arise, then, women of this day!
Arise all women who have
hearts, whether your baptism
be that of water or of fears!
Say firmly: 'We will not have
great questions decided by
irrelevant agencies,
'Our husbands shall not come to
us reeking with carnage, for
caresses and applause.
'Our sons shall not be taken
from us to unlearn all that
we have been able to teach
them of charity, mercy, and
patience.
'We women of one country will
be too tender of those of
another country to allow our
sons to be trained to injure
theirs.'
From the bosom of the dev-
astated earth a voice goes
up with our own. It says,
'Disarm, Disarm!'
The sword of murder is not the
balance of justice! Blood does
not wipe out dishonor nor
violence indicate possession.
As men have often forsaken the
plow and the anvil at the sum-
mons of war, let women now
leave all that may be left of
home for a great and earnest
day of counsel.
Let them meet first, as women,
to bewail and commemorate
the dead.
Let them then solemnly take
counsel with each other as
the means whereby the great
human family can live in
peace,
And each bearing after her own
time the sacred impress, not
of Caesar, but of God.'"

—**Julia Ward Howe**
"Mother's Day Proclamation"
1857. Ward was one of the first
proponents of modern Mother's
Day.

Looters, Arsonists and Apathy

"I found myself at the Ministry
of Oil, assiduously guarded by
US troops, some of whom were
holding clothes over their

mouths because of the clouds of
smoke swirling down on them
from the neighbouring Ministry
of Agricultural Irrigation.

Hard to believe, isn't it,
that they were unaware that
someone was setting fire to the
next building? Then I spotted
another fire, just lit, three kilo-
metres away.

I drove to the scene to
find flames curling out of all
the windows of the Ministry of
Higher Education's Department
of Computer Science.

And right next to it, perched
on a wall, was a US Marine, who
said he was guarding a neigh-
bouring hospital and didn't
know who had lit the next-door
fire because "you can't look
everywhere at once".

Now I'm sure the marine
was not being facetious or dis-
honest - should the Americans
not believe this story, he was
Corporal Ted Nyholm of the 3rd
Regiment, 4th Marines and, yes,
I called his fiancée Jessica in
the States for him to pass on
his love - but something is
terribly wrong when American
soldiers are ordered to simply
watch vast government minist-
ries being burned by mobs and
do nothing about it."

—**Robert Fisk**,
"Iraq's war of liberation from
the Americans is about to begin"
The Independent
May 2, 2003

We're on a Road Map to Nowhere

"The Road Map announces
that this time "the destination is
a final and comprehensive set-
tlement of the Israel-Palestin-
ian conflict by 2005". To check
if it offers anything concrete in
this direction, it is necessary to
first get clear regarding what the
conflict is about. From Israeli
discourse one might get the
impression that it is about the
right of return: the Palestinians
are trying to undermine the
mere existence of the state of
Israel with the demand to allow
their refugees to return, and
they are trying to achieve that

with terror. It seems that it was
forgotten that in practice this is
a simple and classical conflict
over land and resources (water).
The Road Map document as well
manifests complete absence of
any territorial dimension.

The demands from the Pal-
estinians are clear: to establish a
government that will be defined
by the U. S. as democratic, to
form three security forces which
will be defined by Israel as reli-
able, and to crush terror. Once
these demands are fulfilled, the
third phase is to begin, at which
the occupation will miraculously
end. But the document doesn't
put any demands on Israel at
this third phase. Most Israelis
understand that there is no way
to end the occupation and the
conflict without the Israeli army
leaving the territories and the
dismantlement of settlements.
But these basic concepts are not
even hinted at in the document,
which only mentions freezing
the settlements and dismantling
new outposts, already the first
stage."

—**Tanya Reinhart**
"The guaranteed failure of the
Road Map"
Yediot Aharonot
14 May 2003

The Mismeasure of Civilization

"We hear over and over
again that Islam has failed, that
it is in crisis. The claims always
involve comparing Islam to
something else, though to what
is often unclear. If 'failed' just
means 'hasn't kept up with the
West', Islam has indeed failed.
So has every other culture,
except to the extent it has
Westernized. And if a culture
fails whenever it falls behind
the economic or technological
front runners, Italian culture
has failed in relation to Japa-
nese or American culture.

But if 'failed' means some-
thing else, what is that? Bernard
Lewis says: "In the course of
the twentieth century it became
abundantly clear that things had
gone badly wrong in the Middle



Indymedia Israel
**Palestinians and Jews protest
Israel's construction of a \$100
million "security wall".**

East--and, indeed, in all the
lands of Islam. Compared with
Christendom, its rival for more
than a millennium, the world of
Islam had become poor, weak,
and ignorant." He also tells us
that "Arab" nations rank poorly
on a scale of "economic free-
dom".

Even if we knew whether
we were comparing the West or
Christendom with The Middle
East or the Arab World or the
Muslim World, the terms of the
comparison would be uncertain.
[...]

One should attempt some
degree of objectivity when com-
paring cultures: if one cannot
entirely avoid applying one's
own values, one can at least rely
only on their most nearly uncon-
troversial, universal elements.
This means avoiding even such
apparently undoctrinaire mea-
sures as 'average annual income'
(also a Lewis yardstick). What's
more important, after all, the
average or the minimum? What
if the average rises only because
the rich get richer, despite
immense suffering at the bottom
of the scale? Western values
oblige us to measure the success
of society in genuinely moral
rather than ideological terms."

—**Michael Neumann**
"Has Islam Failed?"
Counterpunch.org
May 11, 2003

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Reading is a regular sampling
of articles around the web. To
read the full articles, or to sug-
gest one for the next issue, visit
dominionpaper.ca

“A Dream Only American Power Can Inspire”

The Project for the New American Century’s vision of global military dominance

by Dru Oja Jay

Critics of US foreign policy no longer need to make the argument that the US is trying to undermine the UN and international law, while making active use of global military dominance; the Project for the New American Century is doing it for them. Founded in 1997 on the premise that “too few political leaders today are making the case for [American] global leadership”, the Project for the New American Century (PNAC) is a right wing, Washington-based think tank committed to “promoting the idea that American leadership is good both for America and for the world.”

What makes the Project different from other think tanks and foundations is the amount of direct influence it wields. Signatories of the organization’s 1997 “statement of principles” include high-profile positions within government—current Vice President Dick Cheney, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, Jeb Bush (George W’s brother)—as well as prominent neoconservatives Francis Fukuyama, Steve Forbes, Norman Podhoretz, Dan Quayle and William Kristol.

What does increased “American leadership” consist of? The Project has made the case for its comprehensive vision of global governance through a series of open letters to the president and high-profile op/ed articles, which are available at newamericancentury.org.

Most prominently, PNAC explicitly insists that the UN and international law do not govern, but are simply means by which specific action can gain legitimacy. But they also contend that such an approach to the UN is already widely agreed upon by members the American elite. In an Washington Post op/ed, Robert Kagan argued that “to most American multilateralists the U.N. Security Council is not the final authority. It’s like a blue-ribbon commission. If it makes the right recommendation, it strengthens your case. If

not, you can always ignore it.”

Indeed, PNAC is in this case not much different from Bill Clinton, who declared that the US would act “multilaterally when possible but unilaterally when necessary.” PNAC and the Bush Administration differ only to the extent to which they have shed any veneer of multilateral intention.

But PNAC’s vision of “global American leadership” goes beyond the mere denial of limits on American power. In almost every article or publication that bears its name, PNAC insists on massive increases in defense spending. “Rebuilding America’s Defenses,” a 75 page report authored by PNAC members in 2000, calls for raising US defense spending to “a minimum level of 3.5 to 3.8 percent of gross domestic product, adding \$15 billion to \$20 billion to total defense spending annually.” The year following September 11, the Bush Administration has shown increased enthusiasm for PNAC’s plan, calling for a \$48 billion defense budget increase in 2002.

At the time the report was written, the US already outspent Russia—the closest military power—by a factor of six to one. And yet in PNAC’s reports and articles, hugely increased defense spending is never presented as anything less than crucial. Their reasoning is twofold. First, if the US allows its global

military dominance to slip, then powers such as Russia, China or North Korea will grab more regional power, leading to a decline in US dominance worldwide. The extra \$20-\$40 billion per year in defense spending will go to developing technologies to keep the US military able to “fight and decisively win multiple, simultaneous major theater wars”, proactively overshadowing regional sovereignty. Secondly, they insist, American power is necessary for maintaining US interests globally. Not surprisingly, US interests are equated with the well being of all other countries on the planet.

At issue is what various PNAC members describe as the “American Peace,” or, in a direct reference to the Roman Empire, the Pax Americana. The authors of “Rebuilding America’s Defenses” write, “at current budget levels, a [military] modernization or transformation strategy is in danger of becoming a ‘no-war’ strategy. While the American peace might not come to a catastrophic end, it would quickly begin to unravel; the result would be much the same in time.” In other words, if the US does not maintain the clear global dominance it continues to possess in the post-Cold

War years, then the international order will collapse back into regional spheres of influence; India, Europe, Russia, Iran, North Korea, and China will attempt to carve out their own regional niches, unless American military power is there to stop them.

For PNAC, rebuilding US military power involves at least three main objectives. First, an “increase in active-duty strength from 1.4 million to 1.6 million,” which would enable the US to better fight and win the aforementioned “multiple, simultaneous theater wars” in addition to performing “constabulary” duties associated with shaping the security environment in critical regions.”

Second, missile defense is central to continued American dominance. The notion of “mutually assured destruction”, whereby countries that possess nuclear weapons can “assure” that anyone who attacks them will suffer a nuclear annihilation, is unacceptable. To PNAC, this places an unacceptable limit on American power. “Without [ballistic missile defenses], weak states operating small arsenals of crude ballistic missiles, armed with basic nuclear warheads or other weapons of mass destruc-



Donald Rumsfeld greeting Saddam Hussein in 1983: the Project for the New American Century advocated invading Iraq before it was stylish.

tion, will be a in a strong position to deter the United States from using conventional force, no matter the technological or other advantages we may enjoy.” The US would be left unable to attack who it chooses, when it chooses.

Third, PNAC advocates funding research into assessing the threat and potential uses of new technology (“cyber warfare”), and the development of new weapons. In the case of nuclear weapons, the influence of PNAC on the current Administration’s policy is clear. In addition to keeping an arsenal of hundreds of nuclear warheads (to ensure the destruction of anyone who attacks the US directly), new “tiny nukes” have recently been developed for the stated purpose of targeting deep underground bunkers, though their use in deterring smaller attacks and adding another facet to US military might are also well documented. The plans for these developments were clearly laid out in PNAC’s 2000 report, and given the significance of using nuclear weapons as anything other than a deterrent, the degree of influence PNAC wields is all too clear.

PNAC does not stop at nukes on the battlefield, however; biological weapons are also newly in-bounds when American power is at stake. The authors of “Rebuilding” write: “advanced forms of biological warfare that can ‘target’ specific genotypes may transform biological warfare from the realm of terror to a politically useful tool.” The simultaneous, casual willingness to develop biological weapons, target civilians based on their race, and use terror to maintain global US dominance could be dismissed as the rantings of deranged right-wing wackos, were it not for PNAC’s clear power and influence.

But PNAC is adamant that it does not merely advocate US power for its own sake. The writings of William Kristol, Robert Kagan, Gary Schmitt, and the official PNAC reports make constant reference to “moral clarity”, American principles,

democracy, and freedom. The American “commitments” and “global responsibilities” are invoked repeatedly in reference to US military activities overseas.

PNAC’s justification for American dominance seems to be based on the use of overwhelming American power for moral ends that are in the



Faces of the New American Century: Vice President Dick Cheney, Weekly Standard editor William Kristol, and Francis Fukuyama.

interest of everyone’s security and economic well-being. PNAC advocates using US power “to spread democratic principles and deter and defeat the opponents of our civilization.” A “safer future” can be built if the US “promotes democracy in the Arab world as an antidote to radical Islam”. “This is not a crusade. It’s a foreign policy of enlightened self-interest.”

Since Sept 11, this vision of foreign policy has gained a new legitimacy. Last January, Robert Kagan wrote, “must we wait for another attack, perhaps involving these awful weapons, before we use our power and influence to compel change?” As in Afghanistan and Iraq, it is no longer enough to “spread democratic principles”; they must now be instilled, if not imposed directly through military force.

The definition of democ-

ocracy employed in US foreign policy, however, is a particular one. Democracy is desirable to the extent that it is synonymous with a free market economy open to foreign (read: US) investment. Democratic states that are dependent on the US for much their economic well being are, in turn, also much more likely to side with the US

“Advanced forms of biological warfare that can ‘target’ specific genotypes may transform biological warfare from the realm of terror to a politically useful tool.”

—PNAC



Whitehouse.gov, Television Archive

on international issues.

In this respect, PNAC’s ascent does not represent a shift from the foreign policies of Reagan or Clinton. As they write in their “Statement of Principles”, “such a Reaganite policy of military strength and moral clarity may not be fashionable today. But it is necessary if the United States is to build on the successes of this past century and to ensure our security and our greatness in the next.”

The “enlightened self interest” approach to foreign policy does not, then, preclude terrorizing people who choose a path other than Washington-approved liberal democracy, or supporting dictators who are willing to align with US interests. Iraqis, for example, still remember seeing Donald Rumsfeld shake hands with Saddam Hussein when the US mended

relations with Iraq in time to supply Hussein with weapons and funding for the duration of the Iran-Iraq war.

More recently, early PNAC member Paul Wolfowitz expressed dismay that Turkey’s Military did not play enough of a “leadership role” when the overwhelming popular opposition to hosting US troops resulted in a Parliamentary vote against allowing access to the US.

PNAC signatory Eliot Abrams, who pled guilty to two counts perjury after he lied to Congress about the Iran-Contra affair but was pardoned by George Bush Sr. and hired as “Senior Director for Democracy, Human Rights, and International Operations” by George Bush Jr. is another example of selectively democratic tendencies that PNAC inherits from the Reagan years. Abrams was central to the US training and funding of right-wing paramilitary groups in El Salvador, to which a UN truth commission attributed the majority of 22,000 atrocities that took place in the 1980s. According to reports published by *the Observer*, Abrams was involved in the attempted coup in Venezuela last year (another example of a democracy not being in line with US interests). No doubt, the members of PNAC are sincere when they speak of democracy being in US interests, but it is presumably more so when the country is bombed and occupied by American troops.

Despite frequent references to “rule of law”, PNAC is singularly opposed to any limits placed on US power, including international law. In this, however, they are hardly unique; no one in the US elite is interested in considering the possibility of US generals or presidents being charged with war crimes, or the possibility of paying reparations to countries bombed and forgotten. PNAC itself emphasizes the underlying consensus about US global dominance; where they differ is in the extreme to which they are eager to take such dominance, and in their will to declare this eagerness willingly.

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Whose Forests?

The threat of corporate control of Canadian Crown Land

by Hillary Lindsay

"Few British Columbians are aware that the BC Liberal government is poised right now to institute what may be the most sweeping anti-environmental forestry legislation in the province's history."

—Ken Wu,
Western Canada
Wilderness Committee

"[The corporations] basically want to tie the hands of the New Brunswick government, in terms of managing the Crown lands to serve the common good, so as to place it more squarely in the service of private corporate interests."

—David Coon,
Conservation Council of
New Brunswick

The transformation of public forests into clear-cuts and tree farms is nothing new in Canada. A government guarantee to corporations that this will continue to be the case is new. Provincial governments in both New Brunswick and British Columbia are considering policies that would effectively eliminate the public's control of public lands and place it in the hands of the forest industry.

The stage is set for corporations to make a grab for control of Crown forests. According to the Supreme Court of Canada, Crown lands are held in trust by the federal and provincial governments for the benefit of all people, including those not yet born. Yet vast areas of Crown forest in Canada are managed by a handful of companies, according to a report written by the Global Forest Watch. The 2000 report entitled: *Canada's Forests At A Crossroads* states that "These corporations – because of the revenues and jobs they control – are in a position to significantly influence provincial forest policies." Public demand



Maintaining habitats, establishing protected areas or community forests and protecting watersheds could require that government compensate corporations, if new agreements are signed.

for more sustainable forestry and the growing momentum behind First Nations land claims are threatening the forest industry's ability to clear-cut at will. Corporations argue that in order to secure investments, they will need certainty of future timber supplies, and they are looking to government policies for a guarantee.

In New Brunswick on December 11th 2002, a public report was released based on a study commissioned by the provincial government and New Brunswick Forest Products Association. The report, entitled *A Blueprint for the Future*, recommends, "A timber supply objective should be set for each license area that would be binding on the Government and on the licensee."

According to David Coon, Policy Director at the Conservation Council of New Brunswick, the implications of implementing this recommendation are enormous, "Binding targets would simply mean that it could be prohibitively expensive for the Province to: require old mixed wood or hardwood habitats be maintained; to establish community forests; to establish licenses for First Nations; to establish new protected areas; to provide further protection to

our watersheds." Essentially, any new initiative decided upon for financial, social or environmental reasons, that affected the timber supply from *public* land, would require government to compensate corporations.

In British Columbia, the forest industry is hoping for similar guarantees. The Provincial Government released a discussion paper on January 22nd 2003 called *A Working Forest For British Columbia*. Under the Working Forest proposal, virtually all forest outside of protected areas is opened up for logging, and backtracking on this decision is made extremely difficult. The paper proposes zones "... with unique administrative provisions, to minimize potential shifts to other uses." Ken Wu, of the Western Canada Wilderness Committee says that, "[The Working Forest] would essentially weight timber extraction, under law, as the first priority in government land use decisions...and would eliminate the public's options on public lands."

According to Ken Wu, when it comes to the fate of public forests, the private sector has a disproportionately large influence on the government: "It took well over a decade, since the beginning of the 1990s, to increase

the amount of protection for BC's productive forests from 3% to 8%. This required thousands of volunteer hours at endless stakeholder meetings, literally tons of letters written, the building of mass social movements and the arrest of over a thousand concerned citizens at civil disobedience protests around the province. Yet in a few short weeks of 'public review' the Liberals plan to give away the other 90% of public forests to logging companies."

A great deal of government money and time has been put into answering the questions and concerns of industry. According to David Coon, however, several questions remain unanswered: "What are our ecological and social objectives for Crown lands? How can Crown lands be managed to maintain healthy forest ecosystems that sustain all plants and animals, soils, and waters? How can Crown lands be managed to honour aboriginal and treaty rights? How can Crown lands be managed to build stronger rural communities, provide secure livelihoods, and more equitably share the wealth they generate?" Unless Canadians manage to make their government listen, it will be up to industry to decide whether or not these questions are heard. •••

Writing Canada

by J.P. Loosemore

In a letter to the Irish critic and writer James Stern dated February 22, 1970, Australian novelist Patrick White (1912-1990) wrote the following astonishing pair of sentences:

"How lucky the Irish are, and the American Jews, in having those rich tormented backgrounds to draw on; here we are, the bloody Australians, with nothing, having to conjure rabbits out of the air. As a writer I'd like to have been almost anything rather than an Australian — even a New Zealander or a South African (I must say being a Canadian wouldn't have much to offer)."

And so, it is a consolation to the Anglo-Saxon writer confronting the 'Great Australian Emptiness', where 'the march of material ugliness does not raise a quiver from the average nerves' (*Prodigal Son*), that at least he wasn't born in *Canada*. Canada is consigned to the parentheses.

If White's casual envy of those with 'rich tormented backgrounds' negates the cost of human suffering, nevertheless, one understands his frustration; it is a frustration shared by many artists of diverse ancestry native to one of the so-called settler colonies. Expatriate literature written in Canada accounts for some of the country's best writing. The native artist, however, by which I mean any artist born in Canada, faces a certain predicament. Where to turn for texture and material, under the burden of rootlessness? That burden, as burdens go, is enviable from the perspective of, say, a persecuted Muslim from Gujarat; but there is a cultural

price to pay for our comfort. Pico Iyer, whose enthusiasm for our country is intriguing, has likened Canada, in particular Toronto, to a hotel, and of course it is a fact to be celebrated that this country is a hotel, a haven,



John Haney

a harbour where people of every description, from here and elsewhere, can pursue their lives and work in relative peace. But there is a point at which you cannot *live* in a hotel. You need a home.

Wherever he goes, the novelist Raja Rao (who has lived in France and America and who, interestingly, sometimes writes in an Indian language called Kannada), knows that he is a Brahmin Indian. India is at least as fragmented and 'multicultural' as Canada, yet it is possible for someone like Rao to

assert a conviction of identity to which most Canadians, of whatever ancestry, would not be able to relate. The experience of imperial hegemony, after all, has been very different in Canada than in India, or indeed anywhere in Southeast Asia or Africa or the Caribbean. At the time of independence, what sort of national identity could we have proclaimed? The people who had built up traditions and mythologies on this continent had been all but exterminated. In truth, there is a rich and tormented background to this country. Just ask the Ahnishinahbæó'jibway.

Whatever one makes of these problems, Rao's case is instructive, for he reminds us, in an interview with Feroza Jussawalla and Reed Way Dasenbrock, that a writer's first duty is not to cultural markers or even to communication but to experience and to language. Whether she finds a language true to her, and by extension our, experience through expressive realism or something more experimental, a

Canadian writer must struggle with these questions of identity, while keeping language as one of her central preoccupations. In whatever direction our writers choose to go, one recalls with a glad heart that as an Australian with a deep ambivalence toward his country, a country so much like Canada, Patrick White managed to create some of the twentieth century's greatest fiction.

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New Media



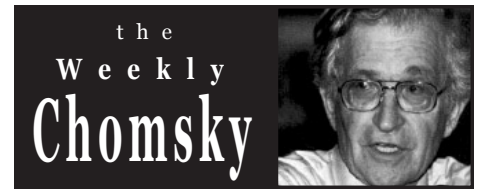
One Hundred Demons

by Lynda Barry

Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 2002 (comic; hardcover)

Devotees of Barry's work marvel at her remarkable ability to recall and create authentic details of modern North American childhood. Sometimes funny, sometimes hauntingly sad, sometimes frightening and often full of heartfelt joy, Barry's comics are masterful. The design of *One Hundred Demons* is colourful, dense and intimate, giving the sense that one is stepping straight into Barry's private journal. Each story in the book is based around one of Barry's own demons: wretched boy-friends, dancing, hate, San Francisco, 'girlness', even the American presidential election of 2000. She has declared this series of comics to be an exercise in 'autobiographical fiction', an idealistic mixture of truth and fiction. These comics are good for what ails the adult who doesn't remember his or her youth being like *Full House*. Barry's drawings are childlike, simple and expressive. Although many may not grasp the particular charm of her artwork, the writing is spectacular. In fact, Barry has also produced acclaimed novels, spoken word pieces, and dramatic pieces. Be on the lookout for Barry's syndicated weekly comic strip, *Ernie Pook's Comeek*.

—Heather Meek



The following excerpt is from Noam Chomsky's essay "Confronting the Empire," originally published by Z Magazine. "The Weekly Chomsky" appears weekly on dominionpaper.ca.

Evidently, the likely increase of terror and proliferation of WMD is of limited concern to planners in Washington, in the context of their real priorities. Without too much difficulty, one can think of reasons why this might be the case, not very attractive ones.

The nature of the threats was dramatically underscored last October, at the summit meeting in Havana on the 40th anniversary of the Cuban missile crisis, attended by key participants from Russia, the US, and Cuba. Planners knew at the

"The world was saved from nuclear devastation by one Russian submarine captain."

time that they had the fate of the world in their hands, but new information released at the Havana summit was truly startling. We learned that the world was saved from nuclear devastation by one Russian submarine captain, Vasily Arkhipov, who blocked an order to fire nuclear missiles when Russian submarines were attacked by US destroyers near Kennedy's "quarantine" line. Had Arkhipov agreed, the nuclear launch would have almost certainly set off an interchange that could have "destroyed the Northern hemisphere," as Eisenhower had warned.

The dreadful revelation is particularly timely because of the circumstances: the roots of the missile crisis lay in international terrorism aimed at "regime change," two concepts very much in the news today. US terrorist attacks against Cuba began shortly after Castro took power, and were sharply escalated by Kennedy, leading to a very plausible fear of invasion, as Robert McNamara has acknowledged. Kennedy resumed the terrorist war immediately after the crisis was over; terrorist actions against Cuba, based in the US, peaked in the late 1970s continued 20 years later. Putting aside any judgment about the behavior of the participants in the missile crisis, the new discoveries demonstrate with brilliant clarity the terrible and unanticipated risks of attacks on a "much weaker enemy" aimed at "regime change" – risks to survival, it is no exaggeration to say. . . .

What is the Dominion?

We admit it: the easiest label to place on the Dominion is that of "progressive alternative newspaper, with aspirations of national distribution." Sort of. While there are more than enough right-wing or "moderate" papers in Canada, the narrowing ideological range hurts the quality of debate on all points of the political spectrum.

But the Dominion aims for more than to report the news with a left wing spin, to counteract the sensibilities of the businessmen and advertisers who run the vast majority of Canadian papers. What we're after is *to understand*: not just that something is the case, but *why*. Surprisingly little journalism takes this imperative seriously.

Journalists today are under a lot of pressure; many are required to deliver more than one story per day. This fact, combined with a quick look at the sensibili-

ties of the people who do the hiring (the Editor-in-Chief of Canada's less-right-wing national newspaper once compared Maude Barlow to Joseph Stalin), can help us understand why Canadian papers overwhelmingly choose to run three stories about what some MP said at a press conference over one story explaining why they said it. As the aforementioned Editor-in-Chief recently wrote: "if it happens every day, it ain't news."

We beg to differ. Or maybe we think that journalism should be primarily about understanding and only secondarily about "news".

Traditionally, and with noteworthy exceptions, newspapers are owned and heavily influenced by the uber-rich. We'd like to shift that influence over to our readers, starting by asking you to have a direct role in defining what news and issues are important. And

later on, by injecting a bit of democracy into decisions about how the paper should be run, and what our advertising policy will be.

But whether that happens depends on how our little experiment plays out.

By giving away each issue of the Dominion in digital form for anyone to print and redistribute, we hope to create a channel for a different kind of journalism to find an audience, while amplifying the voices of people who are already doing good work.

Visit dominionpaper.ca for ways to contribute, distribute, or enlighten.

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