UnderCurrents
Journal of Critical Environmental Studies Volume 15 Spring 2006

Mobilizing Nature:
Militarism and the Environment

Cover: *Thumbpins* (detail), by Emily Hermant

UnderCurrents is an independent non-profit journal of critical environmental studies produced by students in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University. Since 1988 we have published creative and critical writing and artwork that explores the relationships between nature, society and self. We openly and explicitly provide space for discussions of environment which challenge the conventional boundaries and assumptions of academic and environmental discussion. *UnderCurrents* is produced annually by an editorial collective, which maintains non-hierarchical principles and a collaborative editing and publishing process.

See inside back cover for information on guidelines for submissions.

Orders and Editorial Correspondence:
Faculty of Environmental Studies
136C Health Nursing and Environmental Studies Building
4700 Keele Street, York University
Toronto, ON M3J 1P3
currents@yorku.ca
www.yorku.ca/currents

Editorial Collective: Pablo Bose, Bruce Erickson, Jennifer Gerrits, Jenny Kerber, Brent Kulba, Kathy Raddon

Editorial Assistants: Aileen Rapson, Niiti Simmonds

Design/Production: Bruce Erickson, Brent Kulba, Aileen Rapson, Niiti Simmonds

Printer: The Incredible Printing Company, North York, Ontario

Funding Support: The Graduate Environmental Studies Association, York University; Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University

Special Thanks To: Joni Seager, Dean, Faculty of Environmental Studies; Organizers of the Eco Art and Media Festival

Single Copies:
$7 for individuals, plus $3 postage and handling
Institutions, bookstores, and other commercial outlets in Canada, contact:
Disticor Distribution, Toronto, ON
(416) 968-6890

Back Issues Available:
Vol. 1 Human Interaction with the Natural Environment
Vol. 6 Queer Nature
Vol. 7 The Politics of Natural Space
Vol. 8 The Science of Nature
Vol. 11 trans/formations
Vol. 12 Political Natures
Vol. 13 Artifice/Artifact
Vol. 14 Nomad

UnderCurrents
ISSN 0843-7351

Contents

Text

Artwork

Editorial Essay

Questions such as "what is nature?" and "what is natural?" are confounding because, most often, positions that seek to describe nature are imbued with normative dimensions. Indeed, it is impossible to talk about what nature is without confronting ideas about what nature should be. At times, nature is a resource, an explanation for behaviour or an object of scientific inquiry. In other instances it is an inalienable common good or a pristine wilderness to be preserved, while for some it is an empty term into which diverse cultural meanings are inserted. These conflicting meanings suggest that, at every turn, nature is mobilized in the service of diverse political agendas; in any number of contexts, different things are asked of nature. This volume of *UnderCurrents*, Mobilizing Nature: Militarism and the Environment, is attentive to the connections between military mobilization and nature. The essays in this issue provide an opportunity to reflect on the often-contradictory understandings of how nature is both mobilized and militarized.

"(The) surge in militarism requires critical vigilance; in turn, this vigilance requires a broad curiosity."

Joni Seager

The events of the new millennium have made this reflection an increasingly necessary part of any environmental framework. Through the seemingly geographically limitless war on terror, the reliance on defence infrastructures in peacekeeping and disaster relief, the increasing scale of conflicts throughout the world, and the localized use of military technology as recreation, including Global Positioning Systems and satellite phones for remote wilderness trips, the militarization of the world is dependant upon using and representing nature.

Within this issue, Joni Seager's "Global Wildings" critiques the environmental impacts of military actions from an eco-feminist perspective and draws attention to militaries as untouchable agents of environmental catastrophe, which operate with impunity behind the façade of security and law. David Tough looks to Canada's history of military response to environmental disasters within our borders to deconstruct the image of the Canadian military as a heroic force. In "Operationalizing the State," Tough suggests that the Canadian state mobilizes an image of the earth as a tyrant that demands an efficient military response to save lives and nature, presenting an opportunity for the intervention of a benevolent military figure.

The militarization of nature, however, is not a recent phenomenon. William de-Jong-Lambert's piece, "Lysenko Lives," illustrates the similarities between the current American administration and Stalinist uses of science to control the proletariat. Lysenko's philosophy was about more than simply changing the physical face of the Soviet Union; it was about forcing an agenda that was driven by unsound science. In "Cabinda: Africa's Forgotten War," Jeff Shantz turns our attention to a decade's long but little-known conflict raging between the Angolan government and separatist factions of the Cabinan independence movement. While Angola secured formal independence from Portugal in 1975, Cabinan separatists have waged their own war of independence with little hope of similar autonomy.

Rounding out our attempt to see the process of mobilizing nature in a creative way, Emily Hermant's photo essays, "Textualising Militarism," including the cover image *Thumbpins* provide a unique artistic representation of militarism using an every-day object: the straight pin. The unique arrangement of these common objects provides a metaphor for military bureaucracy, and the loss of autonomy experienced by soldiers and civilians alike when caught in the grip of military action.

Volume 15 is itself a way of mobilizing nature from a critical and creative standpoint. It is through these textual and visual images that this issue of *UnderCurrents* seeks to provide readers with an empowering mosaic of literature from which to engage in their own activism and reflection. While the pieces in this issue do not exhaust all possible connections between militarism and the environment, they are an attempt to take up Seager's call to investigate militarism with a broad curiosity and all point to further areas of potential exploration.

Bruce Erickson, Jennifer Gerrits, Kathy Raddon, Aileen Rapson and Niiti Simmonds

In an Alley, by Katheryn Komorowski

Global Wildings

Joni Seager

Militaries are amongst the biggest global environmental players. Militaries are major environmental abusers. All militaries, everywhere, wreak environmental havoc — sometimes by accident, sometimes as "collateral damage," and often as predetermined strategy. Anywhere in the world, a military presence is virtually the single-most reliable predictor of environmental damage: wherever there is a military presence (whether a base, a war zone, a storage facility, or a testing facility), one will almost inevitably find environmental damage. From Subic Bay to Goose Bay, from the mountains of Afghanistan to the deserts of Kuwait, from Gagetown New Brunswick, to the South Pacific atoll of Kwajelein, the evidence of a largely unfettered environmental "wilding" by the world's militaries is overwhelming and inescapable. If every military-blighted site around the world were marked on a map with red tack-pins, the earth would look as though it had measles.

> "Militaries are privileged environmental vandals."

Militaries are privileged environmental vandals. Their daily operations are typically beyond the reach of civil law, and they are protected from public and governmental scrutiny, even in "democracies." When military bureaucrats are challenged or asked to explain themselves, they typically hide behind the "national security" cloak of secrecy and silence. In countries that are in the grip of martial law, militaries have an even more free and unhindered reign: with wide-ranging human rights abuses the norm under militarized regimes, environmental transgressions are often the least of the horrors for which critics try to hold militaries accountable, and thus even the fact that militaries are agents of major environmental degradation is often overlooked.

Even in Canada, a bit-player on the global military scene, militarism and the hyper-masculinism that typically accompanies it is becoming more entrenched, more intense, more accepted, and more a part of our everyday landscape and psyche than even a decade ago. Under pressure from the American administration, the Canadian government in 2006 is racing into full-dress militarism: increasing budgetary allocations for the military; silencing critics of Canadian overseas operations by saying it's "not appropriate" to question military strategy when there are active forces deployed in danger zones; widening the net of what is considered to be the purview of "national security" policies, issues that are thus removed from the public view.

This surge in militarism requires critical vigilance; in turn, this vigilance requires a broad curiosity. As a feminist, I believe that gendered analyses of militaries and militarism are particularly useful. The distinctive approach of feminism is to look for the workings of gender — the omnipresent if sometimes 'invisible hand' that shapes so much of the everyday world. The challenge for feminist environmental analysis is to assess whether environmental affairs may be "gendered," and, if so, to what extent such a gender imprint "matters." In examining an environmental event, process, or condition, we should ask whether gendered presumptions, roles, or actions are at work; and if so, whether gender is merely incidental — unattended baggage, as it were, on the environmental journey — or whether it is an instrumental or causal factor in explaining (indeed, shaping) the state of the environment. In thinking about militaries, which everywhere in the world are deeply masculinized bureaucracies (a fact that is little changed by the introduction of small percentages of women into some of the world's militaries) a robust feminist-environmentalist analysis seems particularly apt and timely.

Similarly, feminist, environmentalist, peace and anti-militarist activism share common ground – or could and should, to have greatest effect. The Faculty of Environmental Studies at York and outlets such as *UnderCurrents* offer opportunities to share ideas and lessons across disciplines and across organizing strategies.

Untitled, by Anna Morelatto

In the Town Hall Train Station, by Kathryn Komorowski

(terre) me up

by Aileen Rapson

rigidity conforms mindless souls,
mindless minds,
mindless bodies.

serving each other, serving a purpose
that is unquestionably noble?

noble is as noble does and nobility
and
d
e r o
st uct
I
n
make strange bedfellows.

innocent bystander by-stands
the erosion of eroding corpses,
(living) corpses,
corporal punishment.

punishing hands handle it carelessly, less care than nobility commands.
commanding comrades who victimize the victim in the name of peace,
fall into p
I e
C
E
S

Pieces like the once peaceful by stander, by-
standing the heavy feet (feat), fearfully gouging limbs,
limberly tearing roots from soil.

soiling themselves from
the careless tearing, tearfully joyous
in their demise;
diminishing

go ahead, terre me up.

Lysenko Lives?

by William deJong Lambert

When Trofim D. Lysenko took control of biology in the Soviet Union, The New York Times explained it would be "just as if we had to accept Republican or Democratic dictation in scientific reasoning, depending upon which of the two major parties happens to be in power" (New York Times 1948: E6). It was 1948 — the year of the Berlin Airlift, communist coup in Czechoslovakia, founding of Israel and launch of the Marshall Plan; the start of the Cold War. At a session of the Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences in Moscow Lysenko declared genetics was a fascist science practiced by worshippers of Wall Street. The "gene theory" had provided the rationale for racism, colonization and the exploitation of the working class. With the words—"The Central Committee of the Party has examined my report and approved it"—Lysenko launched a purge of genetics that would be termed "the most chilling passage in all the literature of Twentieth Century science" (Gould 1983: 135).

> "Lysenko believed that any living thing could be made to survive in any environment...it only needed to acquire the char acteristics required to do so."

In the aftermath geneticists were forced to recant and genetic research was halted. Even samples of the fruit fly, Drosophila melanogaster — the focus of genetic research at the time — were ordered destroyed by drowning in boiling water. A personality cult quickly developed around Lysenko: his portrait was hung at every scientific institute, and the Moscow philharmonic added a hymn honoring him to its repertoire.

Lysenko believed that any living thing could be made to survive in any environment, it only needed to acquire the characteristics required to do so. His theory was based on Lamarckism: that organisms evolve in direct response to the conditions of their environment, as acquired characteristics are inherited. By grafting melons onto squash you could grow them in the bitter climate around Moscow, by soaking and freezing the seeds of winter wheat you could transform it into spring wheat, trees should be planted in clusters so that they could cooperate, rather than compete, for light and nourishment. The weaker would sacrifice themselves for the stronger.

Lysenko was put in charge of the great Stalin Plan for the Transformation of Nature which, it was promised, would heat Siberia and turn the deserts of Central Asia into a blooming garden. Lysenko's recommendations proved useless, costly, and by the time of Stalin's death in 1953 the plan had been abandoned. But Lysenko continued on, insisting mankind can discipline and control evolution in nature to serve the proletariat.

Lysenko's success could only have happened in a place like the Soviet Union under Stalin. Those who knew better were afraid to speak up and Lysenko's career lasted until he was removed from power along with Khrushchev in 1965. "Lysenkoism" became a term to describe tyranny and charlatanism in science — something that happened in irrational totalitarian societies. Further evidence for this belief followed from Chernobyl to the Aral Sea, and the connection seemed clear: political oppression extends beyond people — it also destroys the environment where they live.

The irony though is that even as genetic research was banned, every Soviet school child learned about Darwinian evolution. Charles Darwin was a hero — the first who'd developed a truly convincing materialist theory of the development of life on Earth. In the United States the situation was the opposite: more publications in genetic research came out of the U.S. than any other country, but Darwinian evolution was banned from public schools.

Today the Soviet Union is gone, replaced by a Russia slipping towards dictatorship — but genetic research has been restored for decades. Meanwhile in the United States Darwinism is again being challenged in public schools from Kansas to Pennsylvania, and the President denies global warming despite the flooding in New Orleans. When the government proposes digging for oil in Alaska to make up for failed war in Iraq it seems worth asking whether Lysenkoism isn't something that can happen here too.

References

"Lysenko Again to the Fore," *New York Times*. August 22, 1948: E6.

Steven Jay Gould, *Hen's Teeth and Horse's Toes*. New York: Norton, 1983.

Armistice

by Lynn Harrigan

Two by two they board the ark
nails clacking against the wooden plank
tails wagging

Whiskers twitch and tickle past
bellies that brush the ground
slow hips lumber
propelled by a deep warning roar from behind

Once inside they take their places
straw beds are blanketed with striped fur here
sharp quills over there

As the boat rocks and rain beats against the roof
there is no room for *food chain*
only dreamless sleep heartbeat against heartbeat

Untitled, Anna Morellato

Everywhere Flies the American Flag

by Suzanne Roberts

I. The publico rattled along,
bounced over pot holes,
locals called out their stop:
Tex-Ah-Co. We veered
past McDonalds, pulled over
to the gas station just
long enough for the men
to get off the bus.
A pregnant woman held on
to an open window, she wore
a Wal-Mart nametag:
Esmeralda in tidy black letters
under the blue star.
At her stop, we swerved
around a gas tanker
to the shoulder of the highway.
The driver yelled, ¡Tonto!
Esmeralda stepped out
to a cacophony of exhaust fumes,
tires on asphalt, the sound of horns.
We took off again, nearly
knocked a woman off a bicycle.
The man next to me
fingered the sign of the cross
over a sunken chest,
whispered, Por el amor
del Dios. The little girl
on his lap cuddled
a blonde baby doll.
The driver turned back
to look at us, asked,
Donde you want to go?

II. We arrived to the ferry,
crossed the bluest waters,
bent palms shook their heads
against a hazy morning sky.
At the dock in Culebra,
taxi drivers shouted from cars,
Flamenco Beach, Playa Soldado.
Crazy Joann pushed her way
through the ferry crowd,
she held a Cuba Libre
with two straws in one hand,
and shook a miniature plastic
American flag with the other.
Tropical-print Bermuda shorts
showed tanned skin, hanging
loose over old legs
like the craggy hide
of an elephant seal.
Paper umbrellas twirled pink
and yellow from her faded straw hat.
Before she broke into song—
"California" by Phantom Planet—
she told us This ain't no paradise.
I ought to know. Wear a shirt
or you'll get a ticket. Swim
at your own risk. Watch out
for rusting Army tanks.
And don't touch the coral,
there's unexploded bombs
down there, thanks to us,
the good old US of A.
Use the buddy system
or you'll beee soh-reee—
California, here I come,
Right back where I started from…

III. She's right, you know—
In the rain forest, coquies sing
each to each, but beneath
the quiet sea, the bombas wait.

Mapping the Furnace Room

by Asher Ghaffar

1 When he was a child he had a passion for mapping the house, the earth: archaeology, de stratifying and stratifying. Imagining maps in his cobbled mind. He walked around the block with a question in his mind that had been bottled in the furnace of the house. A question like "who am I, here?" and upon arriving at the same point on the block, the same question would blaze up. An inflammatory question forged in the furnace of his house when he went to fill a pitcher with distilled water and clambered over a mountain of photo albums to arrive at the distiller.

At one point in my little brother's dreams, I went back to Thunder Bay. I was terrified at arriving in an absent place, a buried gable. This would add another scale to an already bat-like existence, where stumbling was the same as walking through the heat of another place. If one kept oneself open this long, the heat would either sear them, or the cold would make the bones release stories. Either way there would be stories.

*

The furnace room was where we kept distilled water, picture albums, newspaper clipping of father topping his class in Pakistan, but never getting a job because he wasn't white enough in Pakistan. He was no gentleman, bric a brac from Britain, old clocks, telephones. The floor was cold and uninviting and there were skis and imaginary mountains as soon as he walked in — objects could yearn in absence and have an independent life when doors closed those doors could be an opening in another room: a hinge unhinge another place. Dogs could still run in dreams when their paws twitched; the furnace could die and when it did there would be a fight and in the argument a landscape vast as an atom — a disappearance into white maps — or there could be the tropics. And we could love white. And we could act our parts and slightly change our names, but those lost letters now are living in another room unhinged, where there is no furnace and the heat could kill you.

2 We never arrived, having never left. And always we would leave a door open to a past, to a bullock cart, to a servant, to congenial conversations in the living room. The grammar is still there, but the words would be for our children to figure. We never taught them a mater tongue. We never tongued them. We weaned them in white.

*

Already space is auditory, clacking hinges, a furnace humming in the morning, bamboo frames (somewhere else). Already space is a mackerel slipping from fingers back into sugar cane clattering, hexing the way that a sentence could move if it remembered. A word dismembered is a new member of the family. Plates underneath the earth could quake or cleave and forge another signature over and over again. We shift from India to Pakistan to Canada. There are scattered clothes of a dead brother whose name we must archive at some point. There are sounds that twist and wind, arriving nowhere.

3 Father says something like: I should have one more wrinkle, but I desired immortality, before that I had noble intensions to send money home. In 1947 I was a child. In 1947, I gave a speech for the formation of a new country. In 1947 I will never grow old. In 1947 I killed a Hindu. In 1947 I may have thrown a knife in the Indus. The Indus eats away the shore, an autoimmune disease. I release dead bodies from my mouth who were killed on a train to Jalandhar to Amritsar. There was confusion — now I am.

*

Someone tried to get on a train to Pakistan and he was shot dead with his leg left dangling from the platform. These are portraits now draped in white linen and the snow covers my tracks. I am a detour to another room. I could unwalk and unwalking could mean mapping backwards. If I let the snow melt I'll find my feet. Winged, perhaps.

Introduction to a Home

by Asher Ghaffar

He wants to invent a home where borders blur into surrounding prairie, river, anatomical maps. He wants to live in many places at once, but preferably in one place. He is tunneling through a past that is coded in other organs which refuse to speak. If they speak, they speak backwards and he refuses to arrange. At the Wagha border is both sanity and madness. Home emerges from simultaneous pasts intersecting and creating homes that never were, but here in this space, it is possible to build another home every morning: to unimagine the border that is locked now. When Amritsar and Lahore were simply signs; the wrought iron gate and a parade were seething tension underground, in the marble floored room of an Englishman. Within the body is coded meaning, the flight of bats:

> Blind and blindfolded sighted human subjects were in fact able to learn to use echolocation to detect objects in their environment.

The tongue map navigates by echolocation. History is sensed blindfolded by nocturnal sounds, by re/collections. (Here) at this border there are shavings of lost sentences, dispersed when his Father's home was lost and there was no home to arrive to.

Home is where wrought iron can melt into mirages or finally open if you have your documentation. He has a Pakistani passport. They will not let him cross. His Father is on the other side.

He was diagnosed with Crohn's Disease last year and a part was cut while he slept. An anatomical map.

> As noted earlier, although the etiology of Crohn's disease is obscure…The result is the thinning of the bowel wall.

The identification of a story began from disassociation and ended by incision. The water still flows through this country, backwards you might say. How do the tone deaf, tongue deaf move? Wrought iron gates can melt into mirages, into poetry, fiction, a border that is fluid. Wrought iron gates can melt into a language estranged from disuse. The attempt to tell a story can provide leverage to a maimed sail somewhere on the Atlantic, or at the border, in this nocturnal room about to become a space.

> Open the gate and enter an Islamic city; enter Lahore/ Enter his mother's imagination/ She showed off her chocolate éclair on Napier road when a crow swooped down and took it/ Enter children splashing and playing in puddles and a goat walking off to slaughter/ (But not before) this August rain/ (not before) the shepard is soaked right through to skin/ (Not before) he wipes glistening drops off a mane. Now retreat, now detours/ into a maze of alleys in Peshawar.

Before the Partition, his Mother was in New Delhi and she has gratefully forgotten that she was born in India. His Father's door remains on a hinge.- Leave the door open, we'll not be coming back. Take this knife. Divide if you must; the Indus will testify. How to enter that world? This requires another organ of speech. Part of his intestine was sloughed off. It is that part which is speaking.

Witness

by Lynn Harrigan

Driving down a country road
elated by the sun's warmth and rolling corn fields
I glimpse an old woman shuffling down a gravel lane
toward the roadside mailbox
a red coat thrown over her housedress

Rising through the dust of distant memory
a little girl dark hair spilling over the shoulders of
her red jacket unbuttoned and flapping
as she flies beneath rifles through Warsaw streets
into a deserted apartment building disappearing beneath a bed

She reappears in a wheelbarrow full of lifeless bodies rag doll twisted

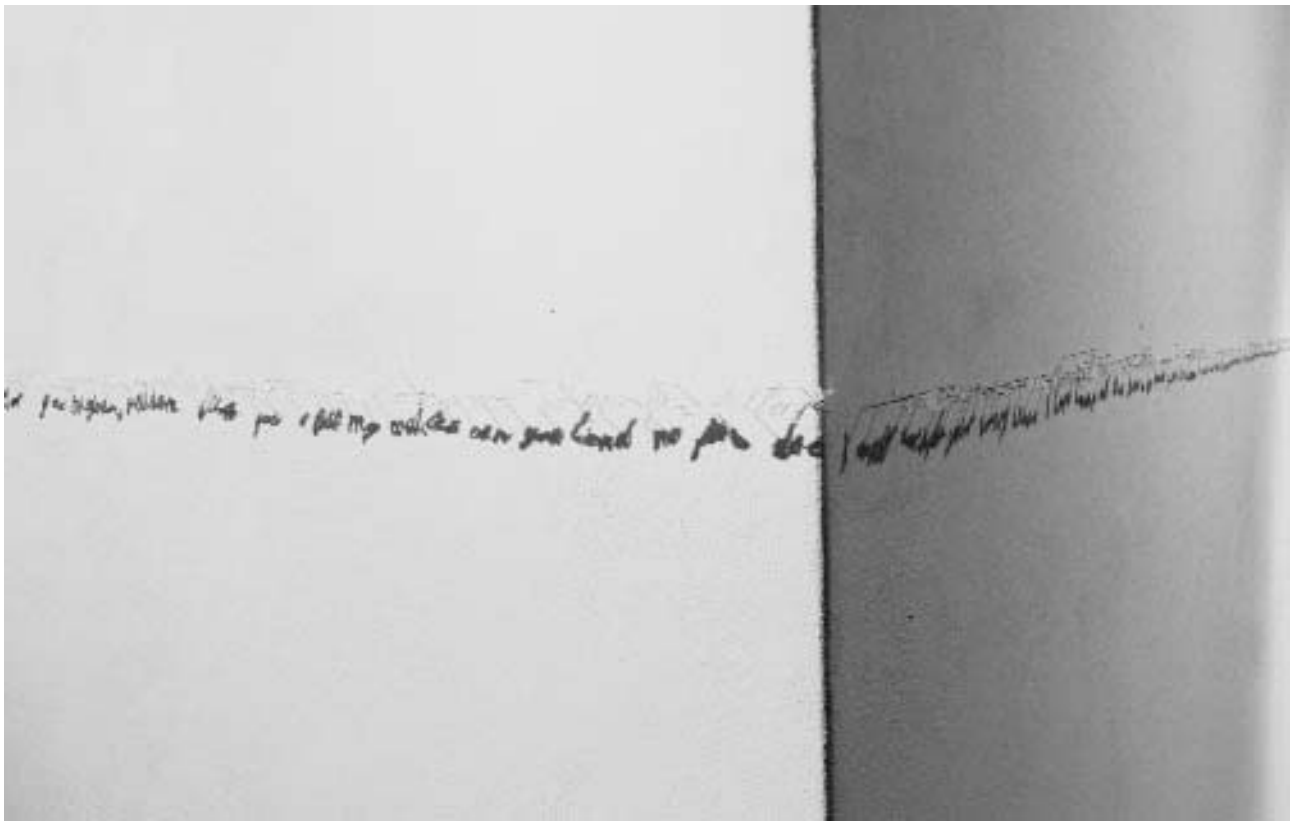
In the careless rush toward burial the red jacket flutters and
this idyllic morning splits wide open

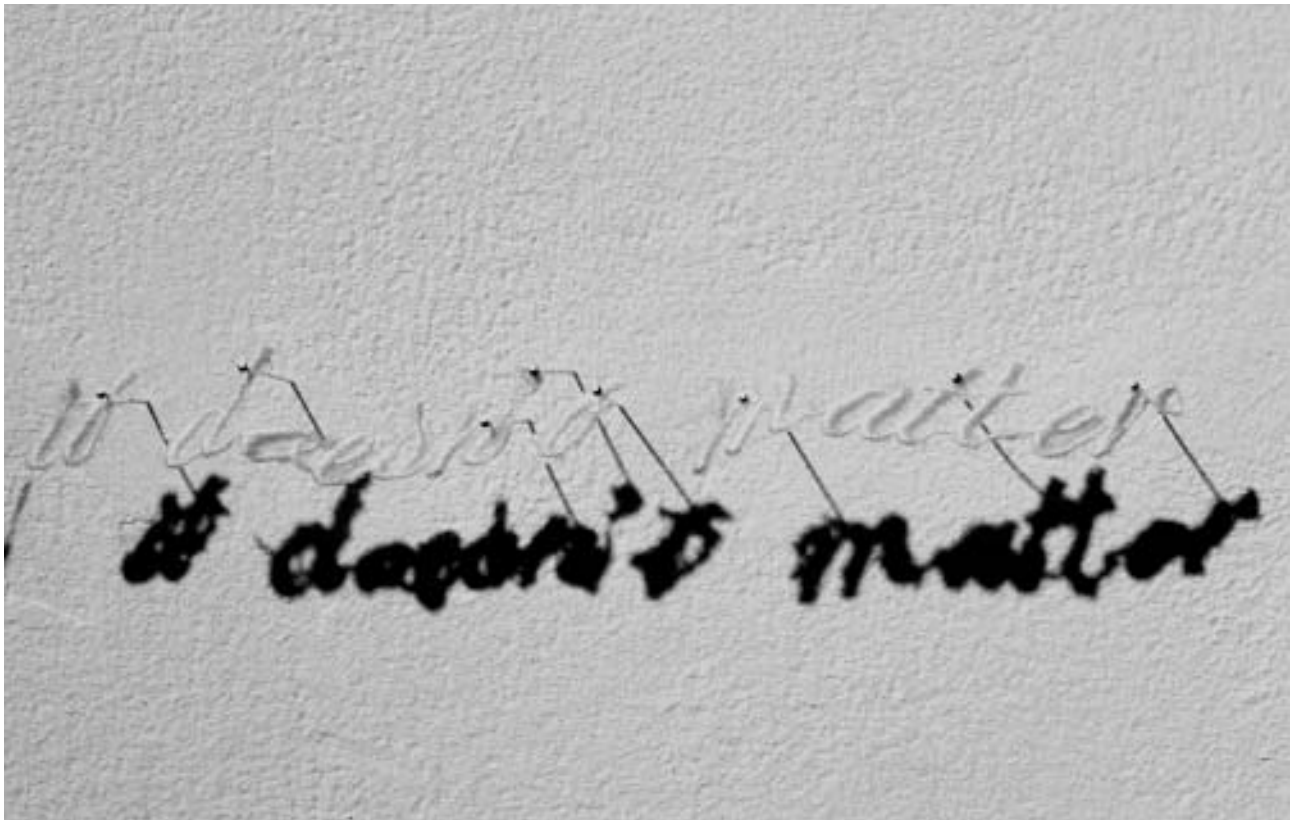
In the Succulent Garden, by Katherine Komorowski

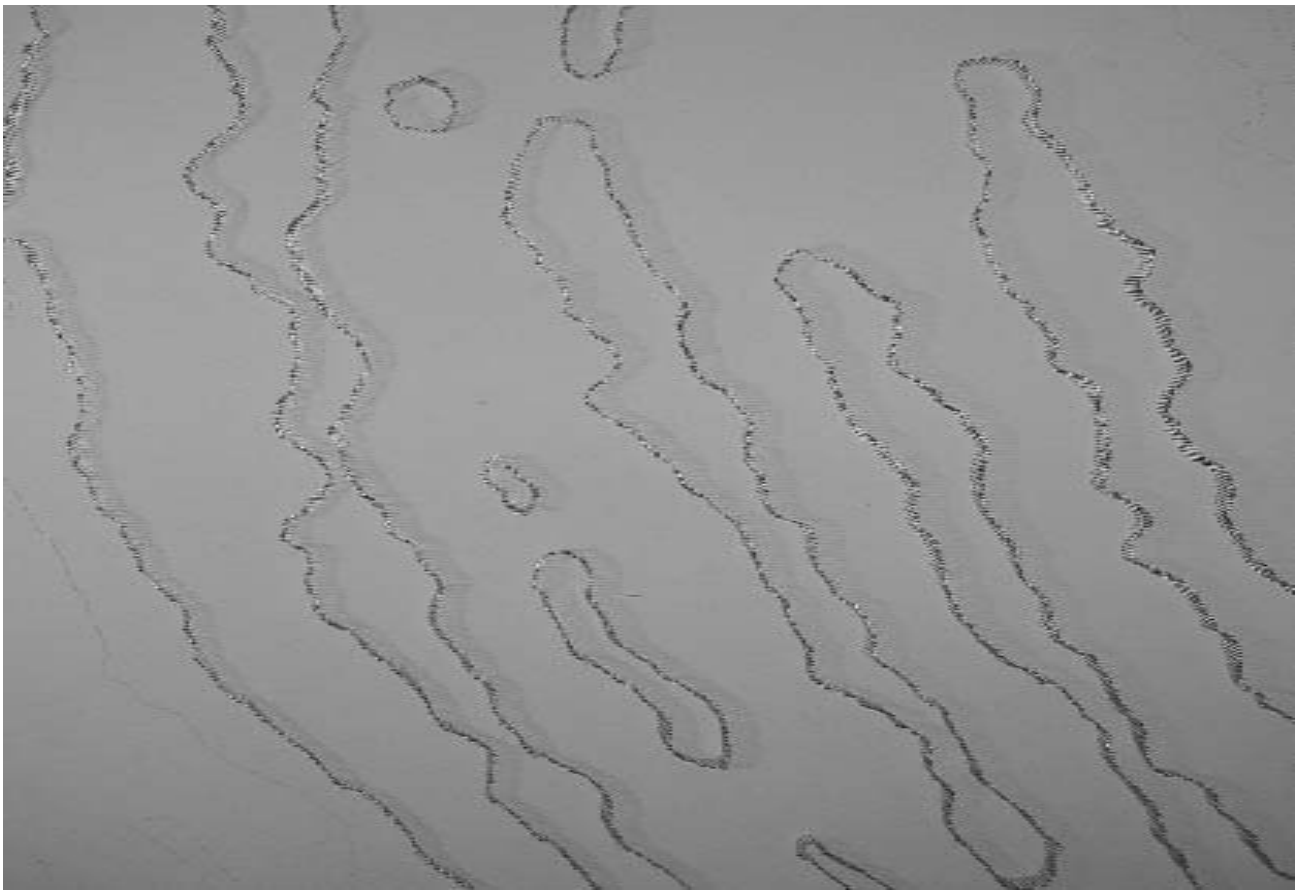
the lies project, 2004 2005

by Emily Hermant

This first work in the series is grounded by the idea that our world is made up of lies of all shapes, sizes, and persuasions, and that in fact these constructs bind our universe together. I began by collecting hundreds of donated lies at lying booths set up around Montreal. I then embroidered these in white stitch on white silk, in a font designed from handwriting. My interest in using the stitch was to weave the ephemeral quality of the lies, both materially and metaphorically, and to give the lies a life and immediacy through texture and image. I then treated the embroideries chemically, dissolving the silk fabric — their support — leaving behind only the stitch. The embroideries were then pinned, in single file, a string of lies just off the walls of a gallery. I lit them from behind and above, creating a prominent shadow from each embroidered lie. The shadow cast is more visible to the eye than the white embroidery against the white wall, challenging how we read "truth." I have since explored how to translate the tactile qualities of the project onto the Internet, in a web version of the lies project. www.theliesproject.com




it doesn't matter

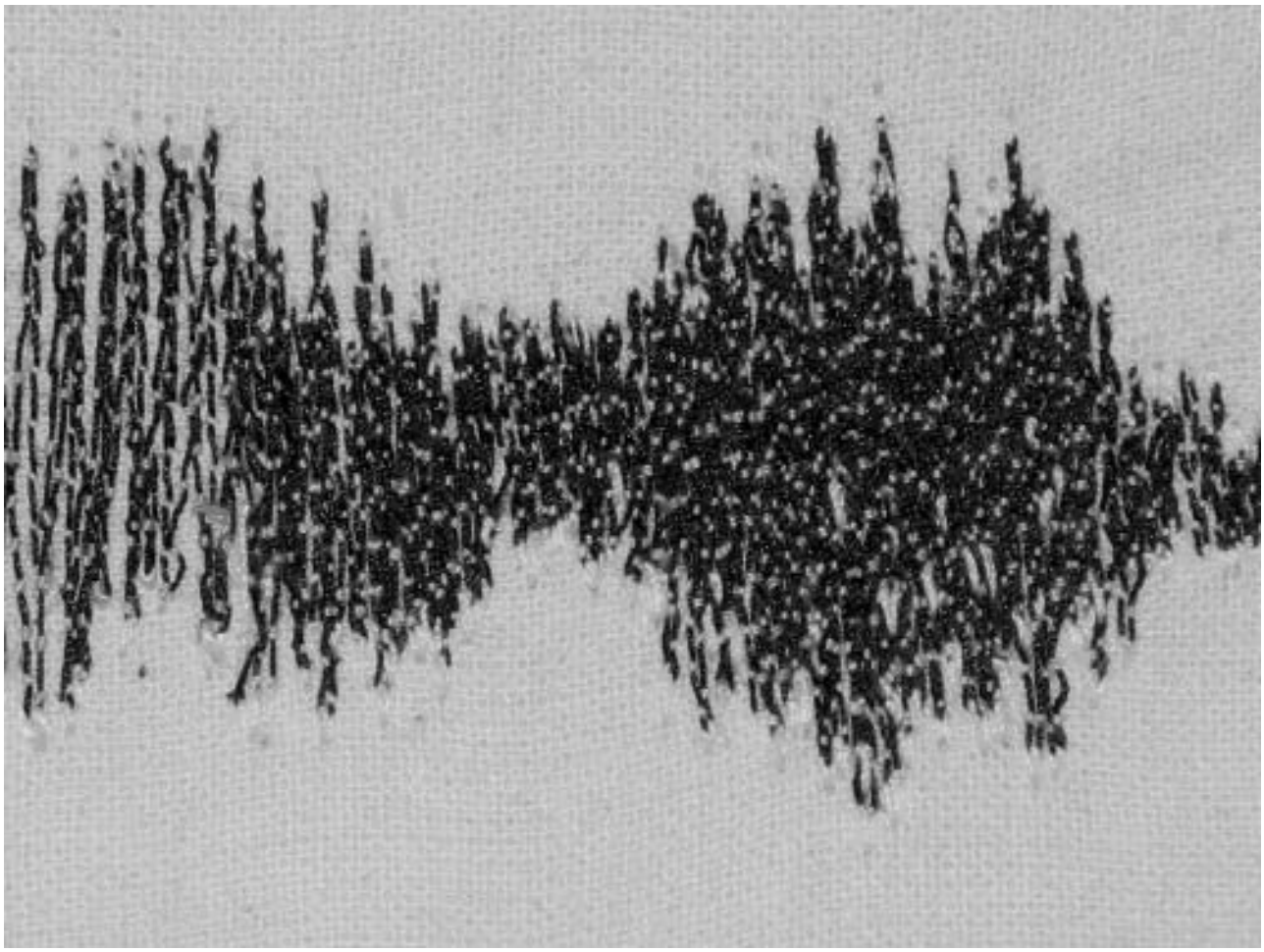


thumbpins, 2005 2006

by Emily Hermant

In this project, I ask: are we at war for control of our security, our privacy, our identity? I began by using the fingerprint to intervene in the public sphere. I enlarged my own thumbprint and began leaving a silkscreened version of it in public spaces such as windows, and bus shelters. I went on to create silkscreened textiles with the thumbprint pattern, using an army green camouflage motif.

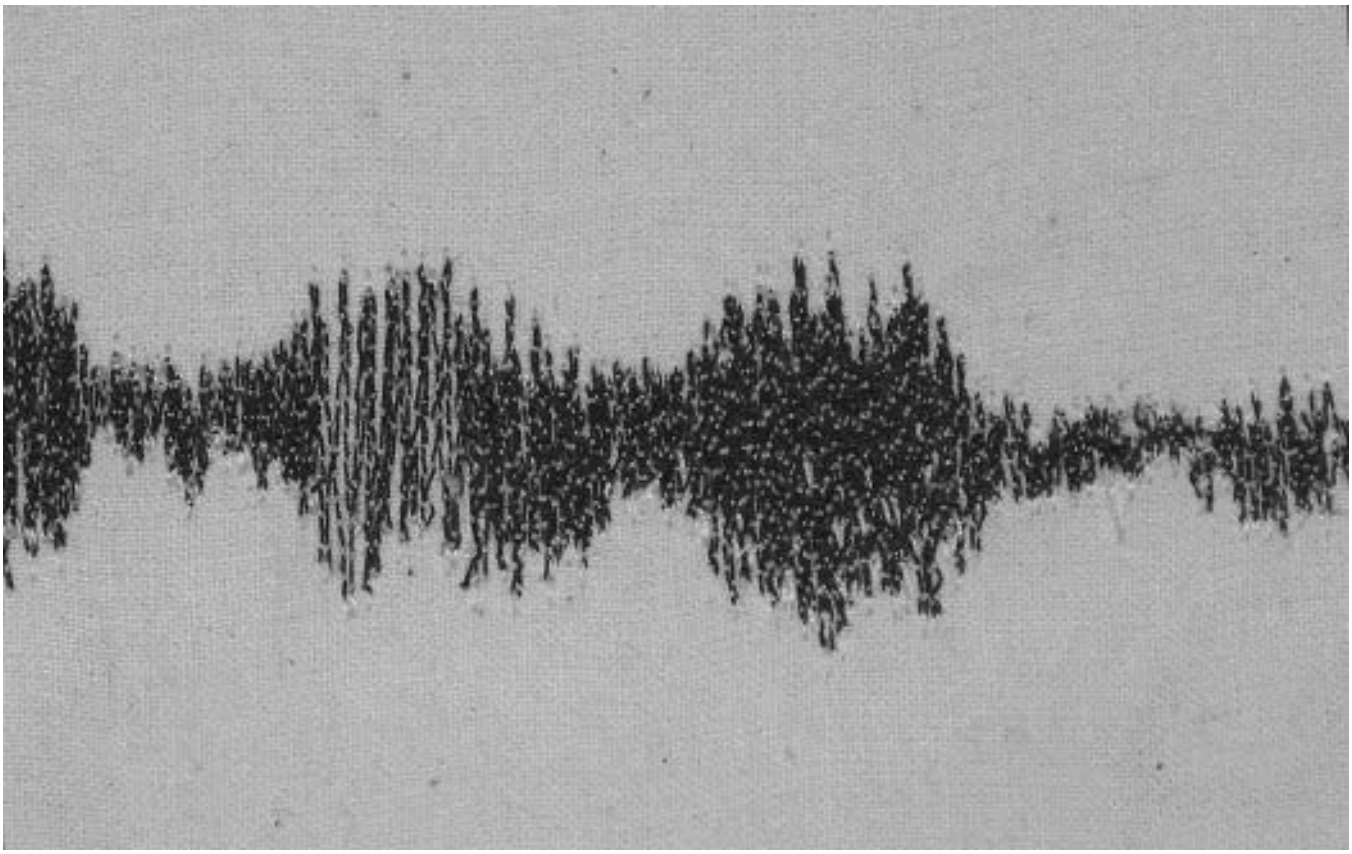
The thumbpins project that followed further explores ideas of militarism, surveillance, and the environment. Straight pins are placed side by side and row by row, like soldiers preparing for battle, following the oversized outline of a thumbprint. The pin placement is reminiscent of mapping and military strategy: the pin-pointing of location, the tracking and control of the human body. The installation is gigantic in size, yet meticulously detailed, allowing the viewer to observe the whole pattern of this map of my body from afar, while noticing up-close its invasively detailed construction from straight pins.

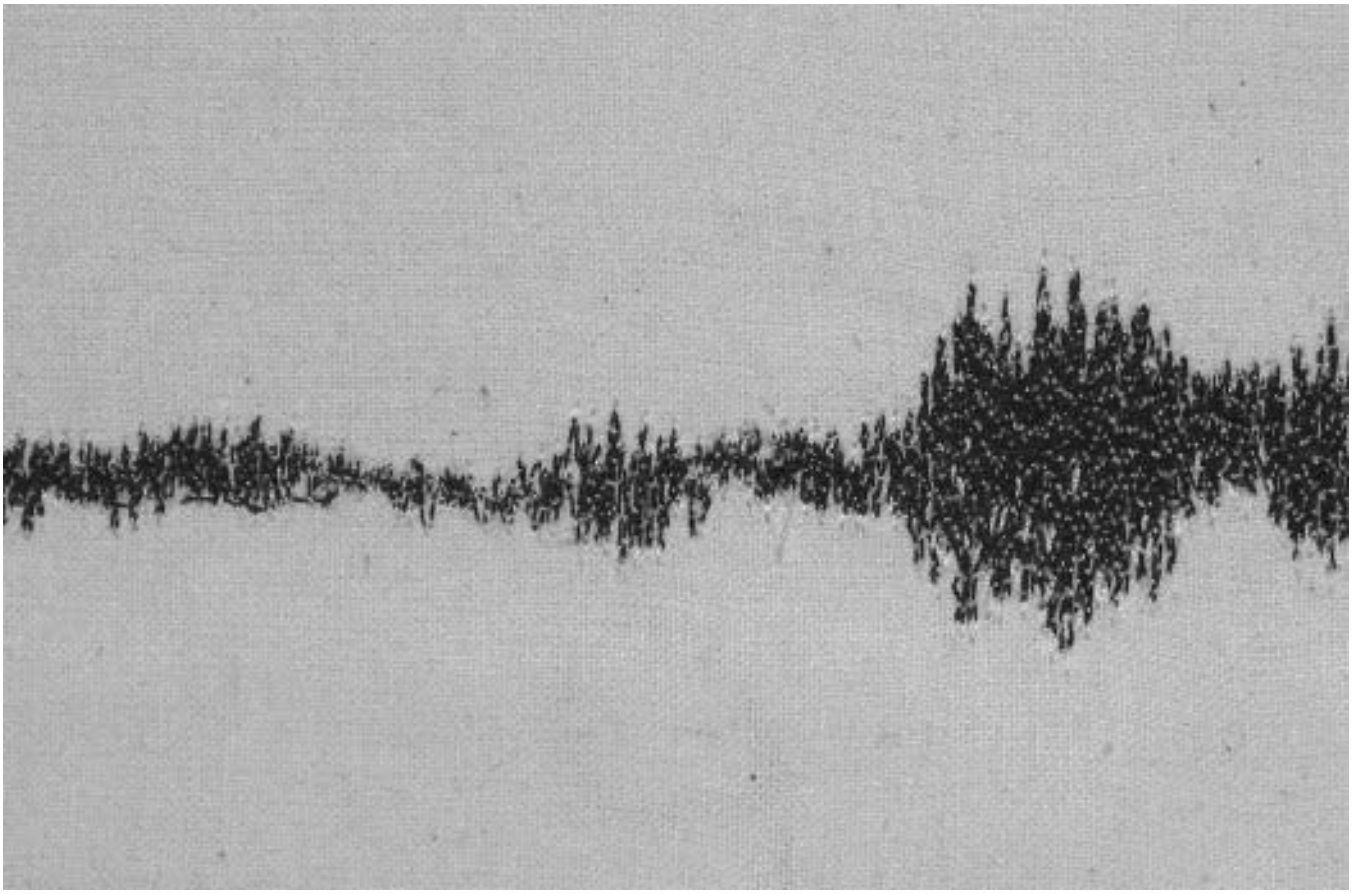


if these textiles could speak, 2006 (in progress)

by Emily Hermant

In this project, I examine issues of intimacy and surveillance and their relationship to sound and silence through textile production. I began by tapping my own phone, and recording phone conversations with willing intimates. I then used textiles to record these intimate conversations by embroidering the sound waves onto cloth. In this project, I am very deliberately my own surveiller. I am interested in the effect of surveillance and technology on intimacy and the relationship between public and private environments. What is security? How does knowingly being under surveillance affect my environment?





Operationalizing the State:
Notes on Military Responses to Environmental Disasters

by David Tough

Over the past decade, Canadians have seen our armed forces increasingly deployed in response to environmental disasters. In 1996, the Saguenay River in eastern Quebec flooded, destroying homes in the region and bursting hydroelectric dams. In 1996 the Red River overflowed its banks, flooding large areas of central Manitoba; the largest Canadian military force deployed since the Korean War (8400 personnel) was sent in to contain the flood and deliver emergency supplies under Operation Assistance. In response to the Ice Storm in 1998, which left millions of Canadians in Quebec and eastern Ontario without power, the Department of National Defence launched Operation Recuperation, which it called "the largest deployment of troops ever to serve on Canadian soil in response to a natural disaster" (www.forces-gc.ca/site/operations/recuperation_e.asp). Climate change and the growing incidence of extreme weather mean we have most likely not seen the last of this new humanitarian role for the military.

To many Canadians, military responses to environmental disasters have become an important part of our public life and our sense of nationhood and shared citizenship. Beyond their direct purpose of enforcing the continuation of basic human capabilities (access to food, shelter and clean water) when normal civilian infrastructure is threatened or destroyed, these interventions play a key symbolic role as the embodiment of our national mythology of mutual concern at a time when the direct institutional expressions of that mutual concern (universal health care, provincial equalization, social assistance) are being undermined. The symbolic nationalist role that humanitarian military deployments play in Canada is particularly strong in contrast to the United States, where the sense of shared risk seems to be much less deeply entrenched. But the proliferation of humanitarian military deployment in Canada – and, more crucially, the nationalist and collectivist cultural value we attach to that deployment – needs to be studied. What conception of government does it validate? To what extent is that conception opposed to the prevailing values of the privatized neo-liberal state? In other words, does the valuation of humanitarian military deployment point us towards a generous and democratic vision of citizenship, or away? The sections that follow offer a very preliminary way of beginning that investigation.

The Environment as Military Theatre

Paul Virilio, in his little book *Popular Defense and Ecological Struggles*, examines the history of military power and its relation to civilian politics. Although the title might suggest otherwise, Virilio treats the environment less as a locus of politics itself than as a theatre, a terrain upon which military power is performed. Even the rare instances in which he does grant the environment power are quickly brought into step with the relentless march of Virilio's argument about military politics. He writes, for example, that

> Ecological catastrophes are only terrifying for civilians. For the military, they are but a simulation of chaos, and consequently a subject of study and an opportunity for large-scale maneuvers in open terrain, beyond the constraints of national boundaries. (1990: 65-66)

For the military, that is, the environmental disaster is just another operation; its humanitarian role notwithstanding, the military is still a conquering force, Virilio says, despite the "old illusion" that "the military which no longer fights but 'helps' society is peaceful, and that the military institution can even be beneficial, once it stops attacking" (36). This illusion, for Virilio, is a simple inversion of the actual situation: the military that helps society is at war; the military institution, even when it stops attacking, is harmful – all the more so "as the political state dies out" and, separated from "the historical conceptualizer and from

national and other ideologies, [military action] becomes once more a pure operation, a phenomenon without true intelligence" (66).

The Military and Civil Society in Canada

The role of the military in our own history and our own genealogy of the state has been poorly understood and poorly theorized – largely thanks to cultural theorists and cultural historians abandoning the field of military history to ideologues and war-mongers. But the military has been a key institution in shaping Canadian political life. As the historian W. J. Eccles was fond of pointing out, "war, and the threat of war, was one of the great staples of the Canadian economy" (in Dorland 1997: 12) throughout much of its history. Canada began as an absolutist, fully militarized state under the French Crown, and, after falling to the British Crown in 1763, developed under conditions of war or imminent war at least until Confederation in 1867.

Although much is made (as it should be) of the development of responsible government in the 19th century and the slow process of democratization in the 20th, the colony's military past and the absolutist concept of the state that is rooted in that past have meant that Canada has developed what Michael Dorland has called "a weak civil society in its differentiation of the political, the economic and the cultural" (1997: 9). Alongside the development of democratic institutions of governance, that is, "the contemporary Canadian state remained an absolutist state" in its culture of "bureaucratic rationality" – which has had "grievous consequences for the development of Canadian public life" (9).

Managing the Public

One of the truisms of the popular opposition to neo-liberal globalization is that the global ascendancy of free-market capitalism has meant a withering of the state, particularly in countries like Canada that once boasted deeply entrenched if not altogether generous commitments to public welfare. While the state's redistributive functions have been withered, more precise critics of neo-liberalism have pointed out that this paradigm entails more of a transformation of the state than a shrinkage. It is obvious, as Stephen Brooks says, that "economic and social interventionism has been curtailed" (2003: 137).

But in certain spheres of activity a "strong state" has been retained. Strong government is necessary to uphold authority in society – which clearly implies a role for the state in defence of the institution of private property and, perhaps, of institutions such as the family (Brooks 2003: 137).

But even this phenomena of the state as a blunt force object with which to strike back against demands on it by the disenfranchised is only half of the recent transformation of government. In fact, the state as expert manager of economy and society, rather than being destroyed, has been transformed. This phenomenon, which has been called the New Public Management (NPM), entails a reorganization of the public service from enlightened reflection to recognizable actions and results, and from long-term planning to short-term projects (Tupper 2003).

New Public Management's model of executive power as action and results, not as reflection - as doing rather than thinking – is also the essence of the military ethos. The military is the absolute embodiment of the depoliticized executive power NPM imagines itself to be. Certainly there is some truth to the popular view that NPM is an intrusion of corporate values into public administration, but the narrow focus on executive action, which appears to come from the business world, is as much an inheritance of the military as of business. New Public Management, from this perspective, is in fact indigenous to the public sector, but a public sector that predates the rise of liberalism and democracy. It reflects a public ideology left over from the absolute state, freed from under the dissipating shadow of democracy and civil society. NPM makes government active – and unreflective – again. It operationalizes it. It makes it do things. Like the military, NPM is the operationalized state, freed from its reliance on politics, on ideology, on reflection.

The Earth as Constitution

The despotism of the militarized state is all the more absolute when it is allied with the more abstract despotism of the environment itself, and the seemingly inarguable demands it makes on our civil society. In the case of environmental dis-

> "To many Canadians, military responses to environmental disasters have become an important part of our public life and our sense of nationhood and shared citizenship"

asters or, even more, in the case of long-term environmental apocalypse (like climate change) there is no place for a rational position against executive action, for even the entertaining of critical reflection on what the response should be. This effect seems not to be disturbing to leftists, even though the same argument used by rightists about the inescapable 'realities' of the market are rightly seen as being in bad faith. If it is true that a key difference is that the demands of the environment are more real than the demands of the market, it is also true that this very fact makes the environment even more of an absolute ruler than the economy.

"In other words, does the valuation of humanitarian military deployment point us towards a generous and democratic vision of citizenship, or away?"

The Earth, that is, is an inescapable imperative: a good more concrete than the public good and more unitary (because non-partisan) and more authoritative (because 'natural') than the traditional political goods – a wealthy society, an equitable society, a just society, a free society. Along with this displacement of traditional political goods, the environment and the absolute state effect together a more fundamental reorientation of politics: the disintegration of politics based on precedent, on the rule of law, on the history of the legitimate exercise of power. The impending ecological catastrophes, in the absence of an imaginative and multifaceted defense of humanism and political freedom, will spell the absolute despotism of a putrefying ideology that was born with the iconization of the image of the Earth. While the shock of seeing the Earth whole and vulnerable for the first time from space is widely credited with kick-starting a new environmental consciousness, it's important to remember that "photographs [of the Earth] were only possible as a result of military technology" (Wilson 1991: 167). When we look at the image of the Earth, we see a despot through a despot's eyes.

Military responses to environmental disasters may make us feel good, and may take the place of the social state as it disintegrates before our eyes. But, to the extent that they aren't critically unpacked as politically meaningful cultural phenomena, they bode very badly for the future of democratic citizenship in this country. A truly generous politic requires a strong state, but more importantly it requires a state that is open and reflective, that governs with the riddle of social justice steadfastly unsolved. Anything less is a despot – a horror we do ourselves an injustice by our worship of it.

References

Brooks, Steven. Canadian Democracy: An Introduction. Don Mills: Oxford, 2003.

Dorland, Michael. "'The Expected Tradition': Innis, State Rationality and the Governmentalisation of Communication." Topia #1 Spring 1997.

McBride, Stephen. *Paradigm Shift: Globalization and the Canadian State*. Halifax: Fernwood, 2001.

Tupper, Allan. "New Public Management and Canadian Politics." *Reinventing Canada: Politics of the 21st Century*. Edited by Janine Brodie and Linda Trimble. Toronto: Pearson Education Canada, 2003.

Virilio, Paul. *Popular Defense and Ecological Struggles*. Translated by Mark Polizzotti. New York: Semiotext(e), 1990.

Wilson, Alexander. *The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 1991.

Cabinda: Africa's Forgotten War

by Jeff Shantz

With the cessation of conflict between the Angolan government and UNITA (União Nacional para a Independencia Total de Angola) militias, in April 2002, attention turned to the ongoing separatist conflict in Cabinda. An oil-rich enclave separated from the rest of Angola by a slender strip of territory of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Cabinda has been the site of a decades-long war of independence between the Angolan government and various separatist factions, a struggle that has been called "Africa's forgotten war." Approximately 30,000 people have lost their lives in almost 30 years of struggles for independence. Despite the severe humanitarian crisis, access to the enclave has been largely closed to all but those who work in the oil industry.

Cabinda's massive oil wealth has made the enclave an essential contributor to Angola's national economy as well as a much contested site. Cabinda's oil fields generate approximately sixty percent of Angola's oil. The province accounts for the majority of Angolan oil revenues that contribute 42 percent of gross national product and 90 percent of the state budget. Cabinda's offshore deposit, Block Zero, is among the world's most lucrative oil fields and the cornerstone of Angola's petroleum industry. Concession rights to Block Zero were initially granted in 1957 and exploration began shortly thereafter. Since production started in 1968, Block Zero has produced more than two billion barrels of oil. By 1983 Gulf Oil had invested $1.3 billion in the Cabindan operation, accounting for 90 per cent of Angola's foreign exchange.

The 1980s and 1990s saw substantial new investments in development and were a period of increased production. Oil exports from the enclave stood at $2.5 billion in 1997. By 2000, Angola's production was almost 800,000 barrels per day, almost six times 1980's levels. This placed Angola behind only Nigeria as the largest oil producer in Sub-Saharan Africa.

During the period of Angolan independence struggles, Cabindan oil provided Portugal with a major source of revenues to finance its wars against the independence movement in the colonies. Taxes and royalties from Gulf's operations provided almost half of the military budget of the Portuguese administration in the early 1970s. Since independence oil revenues have flowed to the Angolan government which has similarly relied on the resource to fund its struggles against Cabindan separatists.

Chevron Texaco (which bought Gulf) has dominated the province's development from its near-colonial operational base at Malongo. The company's complex, including oil storage depots, a residential area for Chevron employees and a small refinery, is set apart from the rest of Cabinda and guarded by private security companies. Local staff do not live within the settlement and there is much resentment over disparities in living standards. This has fueled much local resentment regarding exploitation of the area's vast resources by outsiders.

Cabindans have been deeply critical of the role of oil companies in the region. In 1999 an oil spill near the Malonga base severely damaged fish stocks. Cabindan fishers have sought compensation for destruction caused by oil spills but have only received $2000 (US) in compensation from Chevron Texaco and this was paid to only 10 per cent of the fishers. In addition to spills, ongoing pollution from regular production has also been identified as contributing to reduced fish stocks.

Cabinda's relationship with Angola has been a point of great conflict since the time of colonial rule. The territory was linked politically to Angola in the Treaty of Simulambuco of 1885, which acknowledged Cabinda's distinct status as an enclave. Cabinda was governed by Portugal as a separate colony until 1956 when it was incorporated into Angola and brought under direct authority of the Portuguese Governor General of Angola. Despite its administrative connection to Angola, Cabinda has remained geographically, linguistically and ethnically linked with what are now Congo-Brazzavile and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Many Cabindans have long maintained that theirs is an autonomous territory and separatists insist that Cabinda should have been granted its own independence following the end of Portuguese colonial rule.

The first independence movement, the Movement for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (MLEC) was founded in 1960, the year of

emergence of armed struggle against Portuguese rule in Angola. Two other groups, the Committee for Action and Union of Cabinda (CAUNC) and the Maiombe Alliance (ALLIAMA), emerged around the same time. In 1963 the three movements combined to form the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC).

FLEC was excluded from participation in the April 1974 Alvor talks between the Portuguese colonial authorities and three Angolan nationalist groups, the MPLA, FNLA and UNITA, which set the stage for Angolan independence. Article three of the Alvor Accord, signed in January 1975, maintained that Cabinda would remain an integral part of Angola. FLEC appealed to the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations, but, receiving no satisfaction, took up armed struggle against the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola) government of Angola. The ensuing guerrilla war saw attacks on government troops stationed in Angola and the occasional kidnapping of Chevron employees. During the 1980s FLEC split over strategic differences to form FLEC-FAC, the main armed faction of FLEC, and FLEC-Renovada. FLEC-FAC has maintained some armed activities but was severely weakened by the overthrow of their patron, Zaire's president Mobutu Sese Seko, in 1996.

"Cabindan fishers have sought compensation for destruction caused by oil spills but have only received $2000 (US) in compensation from Chevron Texaco..."

The talks between the Angolan government and UNITA during 1991-92 that culminated in the signing of the Bicesse Accords also excluded the Cabindan separatists. Left out of the peace agreement they continued the war in the enclave. Once again, in 1994, a new peace agreement, the Lusaka Protocal, failed to include the Cabindan separatists, meaning that fighting continued unabated. FLEC-FAC did not participate in a 2002 conference on the constitutional future of Angola that was held in Angola and which discussed such matters of importance to Cabindans as local autonomy, decentralization and constitutional reform.

Meetings throughout the 1990s between the various Cabindan independence groups and the Angolan government brought no resolution to the conflict. The Angolan government's involvement in the civil wars in the DRC and the Republic of Congo rendered those countries unavailable as bases of operation for the Cabindan rebels. Since the 1990s the Angolan government has begun to address Cabindan grievances concerning the lack of infrastructure and development in the province. To date, only 10 percent of oil revenues are returned to the province. Cabinda's oil wealth has ensured that the Angolan government, like the Portuguese before them, would never willingly grant independence to the enclave.

A massive sweep of the enclave by Angolan forces in October 2002, targeted at driving secessionists out of Cabinda, destroyed FLEC-FAC's main base and forced many independence fighters to abandon the guerrilla struggle. By the end of the year the army had also captured the main base of FLEC-Renovada causing the group to cease operations. The 2002 offensive which militarily defeated FLEC left its leaders in exile and renewed government hopes for an end to the lengthy conflict. A meeting in July 2003 between Angolan authorities and Ranque Franque, FLEC co-founder and leader, further raised hopes that a negotiated settlement was on the horizon. While the military defeat left FLEC leaders willing to negotiate a settlement, any successful outcome of peace talks will depend in part on whether civil society groups, rather than only the FLEC leaders, take part in the process. Civil society groups have demanded a ceasefire, improved rights and conditions for local oil workers, and the end of human rights violations by the Angolan army, which carried out atrocities against civilian populations.

Calls by the separatists for Portugal to intervene and establish a transitional government have been rejected by the Portuguese government which views the conflict as an internal Angolan issue. Similarly, FLEC calls for a referendum on independence, similar to the one held in East Timor and supervised by the United Nations, in which only Cabindans would vote, have been rejected by the government which argues that all Angolans should vote on an issue of national importance. While Cabindans still desire independence, many would now settle for autonomy, some form of which the Angolan government has claimed it would be willing to negotiate.

References

Ebinger, Charles, K. "External Intervention in Internal War: The Politics and Diplomacy of the Angolan Civil War." *Orbis*. 1976. 20(3): 669-700.

Hodges, Tony. *Angola: From Afro-Stalinism to Petro-Diamond Capitalism*. Oxford and Bloomington: James Currey and Indiana University Press, 2001.

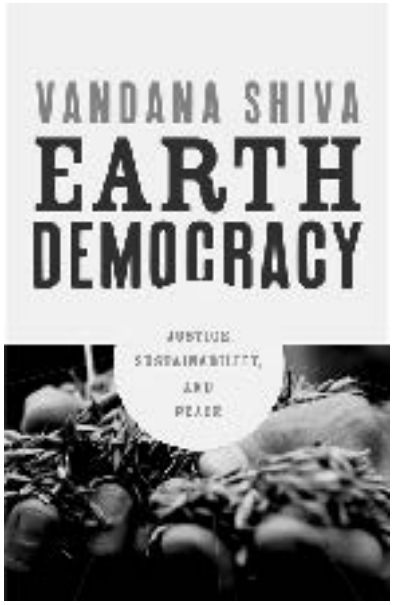
Maier, Karl. *Angola: Promises and Lies*. Rivonia: William Waterman, 1996.

Martin, Phyllis. "The Cabinda Connection: An Historical Perspective." *African Affairs*. 1977. 76(302): 47-59.

Porto, João Gomes. "Cabinda: Notes on a Soon to be Forgotten War." *African Security Analysis Ocassional Paper*, August 2003, 4.

Wright, George. *The Destruction of a Nation: United States' Policy Toward Angola since 1945*. London: Pluto Press, 1997.

Reviews



Earth Democracy: Justice, Sustainability and Peace. Vandana Shiva, *Cambridge:* South End Press, 2005. 205 pp. ISBN 0 89608 745 X $15.00 Soft Cover

Reviewed by Salimah Vaiya

The seemingly paradoxical idea that the earth is ours and yet we do not own it is at the heart of Vandana Shiva's compelling new book *Earth Democracy*. Vandana Shiva is a contemporary intellectual and activist: founder of the Navdana movement for biodiversity, director of the Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Natural Resource Policy, and leading critic of globalization. *Earth Democracy* is a new addition to Shiva's growing number of books critiquing the neo-liberal world order and advocating an alternative. It is a great read for those who would like an introduction to the structures of neo-liberalism and suggestions for alternatives.

Shiva relies on a Ghandian perspective of people's relationship with the earth and with one another. She articulates this perspective through the concept of Earth Democracy. According to Shiva the key concepts of Earth Democracy are to recognize the intrinsic worth of all species and cultures and to sustain the earth and maintain all living creatures' access to the resources that they need for sustenance.

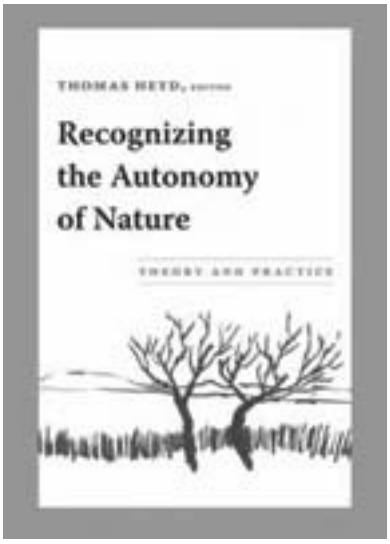
In "Living Economies," the second chapter, Shiva contends "WTO rules are not just about trade. They determine how food is produced, who controls food production" (35). She tackles Hardin's classical neo-liberal argument, regarding the tragedy of the commons, which argues that the commons need to be privatized in order to be sustained. Instead she supports a contextualized worldview that recognizes the history of colonization and argues that the role of the state is to protect the public trust and that land should be collectively owned, not individually.

In "Living Democracies" Shiva urges citizens "to reclaim their freedom," and "to reinvent democracy" (74). She fleshes out her argument against the neo-liberal order by examining the Washington Consensus. The Washington Consensus fails to account for diversity at various levels; moreover it is not able to recognize the economic and social costs of implementation.

In "Living Cultures" Shiva discusses WTO policies on farming that have led to a trend of farmer suicides. She also undertakes a gender analysis and observes that female feticide has increased within the educated class in India. She associates this with the increase in value placed on individuality and material wealth. In making the connections between imperialism and patriarchy she asserts that "men can pretend that those whom they exploit and who support them, are dependent on them. Patriarchy presents women as dependents. Imperialism projects itself as liberator – the colonized are dependent on the empire for freedom and liberation" (113-114).

In the final chapter, "Earth Democracy in Action," Shiva warns that developing countries need to learn from the mistakes of the industrialized world, especially with regard to food production. She argues against the cookie cutter approach employed by international monetary institutions. "Industrial food is cheaper not because it is efficient – but because it is supported by subsidies and externalizes all costs – the wars, the diseases, the environmental destruction, the cultural decay, the social disintegration" (164). She reminds us that certain things were not meant to be excludable: everyone needs access to basic resources, with the number of resources varying according to one's needs.

Shiva attempts to clarify and coalesce a number of important but potentially dry topics. Occasionally, it can appear that she is tangential. Nevertheless, the book is a solid and nuanced approach to globalization and biopiracy and a must read for anyone interested in an introduction to this field.



Recognizing the Autonomy of Nature: Theory and Practice, Thomas Heyd, ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005. 230 pp. ISBN 0 231 136606 4.

Reviewed by Cheryl Lousely

The deep ecology versus social ecology versus ecofeminism debates of the 1980s resurface in this slim collection of environmental philosophy. In this round, the deep ecology position stakes its ground under the label "autonomy of nature" and pits itself against postmodern social constructionists. But once again, despite the inclusion of an incisive essay by Val Plumwood, feminist arguments and considerations are largely disregarded by the other authors—to the detriment of the whole exercise.

Recognizing the Autonomy of Nature is a conversation in print that began with a conference held in Newfoundland in 1997. Several of the essays have been published in similar form elsewhere, but the book does more than gather together a set of essays. The book sets out to describe and debate the validity and usefulness of the concept of nature's autonomy for environmental ethics and practice, especially ecological restoration.

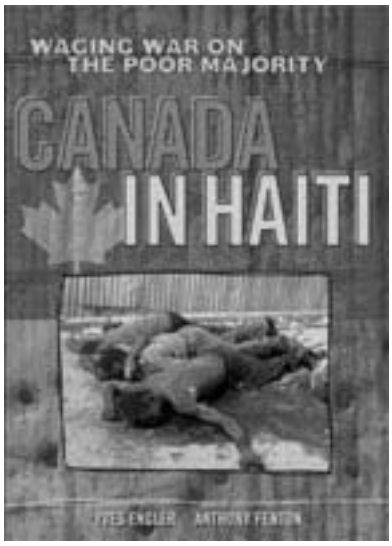
In his introduction, Thomas Heyd defines autonomy as "the capacity for ruling one's self" (5) and applies this humanist conception to nature by extrapolating its sense of a unified subject to other entities that appear to maintain their structure or integrity over time. Keekok Lee adds the notion of "self-generating," or coming into existence without human action or influence (54). A plant, for example, need not be conceived in terms of having a conscious or reasoning "self" to be understood as emerging and existing independently of humans. Both philosophers disregard the psychoanalytic literature that questions the unity of the human subject to argue that recognition of self-generation and self-maintenance will allow nonhuman entities to be given ethical consideration.

Following these introductory definitions, the remaining essays largely accept the premise that "nature" must be recognized as "autonomous" and debate the extent to which recognizing autonomy requires humans to adopt a hands-off approach. The responses range from Eric Katz's absolute non-interventionist stance to William Throop and Beth Vickers's cautious embrace of community-focused agriculture, to Andrew Light's and Mark Woods's slightly different arguments for ecological restoration as a well-intentioned best effort for a non-dominating interaction with nature.

The exceptions are the essay by Val Plumwood and the concluding response by William Jordan III, both of which raise concerns about overemphasizing autonomy and neglecting dependency, interrelationship, and fluidity over time and across space. For Plumwood, the question of how our physical landscapes have been shaped by humans (i.e. what others call the loss of nature's autonomy) is only one part of the picture. Working from a feminist standpoint, Plumwood argues that there is also the issue of "backgrounding," whereby insufficient recognition is given to the work of women, people of colour, and manual labourers in producing what is often considered "nature" and to the role that ecological processes and nonhuman bodies play in seemingly "human" constructions. As Plumwood writes, "The idea that human life takes place in a self-enclosed, completely humanized space that is somehow independent of an inessential sphere of nature, which exists in a remote space 'somewhere else,' might be seen as the foundational delusion of the West" (44).

To argue for a notion of nature's autonomy that sets it aside as a remote space outside human influence (as several of the essays do) perpetuates this delusional premise. But unlike Donna Haraway, Plumwood is reticent to give up on the concept of nature, or its cultural legacy as a sign of difference or "unassimilated otherness" (49). Some recognition of the limits of the human (i.e. the autonomy of the nonhuman) is necessary to expose backgrounding. However, as several of the essays unwittingly reveal, recognizing nature as autonomous does not necessarily rectify the problem of backgrounding. Much like Haraway (I would argue), Plumwood suggests that it is in recognizing the agency of context-specific human and nonhuman actors that the delusions of the humanist subject are corrected.

The collection concludes with Jordan's essay, "Autonomy, Restoration, and the Law of Nature." Like Plumwood, Jordan insists on an understanding of autonomy that points to relationship with others. Jordan uses this embedded version of autonomy to make a strong argument against the stance of non-intervention, which he terms an illusory "disengagement" (194). Non-intervention relies on a notion of nature that is static (i.e. antievolutionary), fragmentary, and isolated (i.e. nonecological); neglects to account for how "nature" may re-engage "us" through acts such as forest fires; and, ultimately, offers an ethical dead-end or disengagement, which denies the value of understandings that emerge from physical and emotional engagement with the nonhuman. Jordan's chapter disappoints, however, in recommending a "studied indifference to human interests" be taken as the guiding principle for ecological restoration (202), thereby perpetuating the collection's overall indifference to social justice.



Canada in Haiti: Waging War on the Poor Majority. Yves Engler and Anthony Fenton.
Vancouver: Red Fernwood Publishing 2005. 120pp.
ISBN 1 55266 168 7
Soft cover $14.95

Reviewed by Jennifer Gerrits

The story of Haiti is one of resistance, of a spirit that exists inside us all, to assert our essential humanity.

The Canadian government often portrays itself as something of a humanitarian agency, and the posting of five hundred Canadian soldiers in Haiti in 2004 has been depicted as such by the nation's mainstream media. Combining extensive historical research with an account of the causes of Haiti's most recent political and social unrest, *Canada in Haiti: Waging War on the Poor Majority* critiques Canada's role in quashing an act of democracy. The democratically elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide, while the clear choice of the Haitian people, was unpopular amongst Haiti's moneyed minority and nations that supported Haiti financially, including Canada, France and the United States. As Engler and Fenton's central argument makes clear, those who opposed the Aristide government feared a shift in power from one of colonial domination to one which sought to represent the needs of the poor majority.

Engler and Fenton masterfully situate current investigative journalism within the context of Haitian history, swiftly exposing continuing attitudes of colonial hegemony on the part of Canada, the United States and France towards the Western hemisphere's poorest nation. The removal of democratically elected Jean-Bertrand Aristide from Haiti on February 29, 2004 by American forces while Canadian soldiers guarded the airport in Port-au-Prince calls into question Canada's role in the domestic politics of other nations. To the majority of Haitians, the overthrow of the Aristide government was not an act of benevolence, but was rather, the central act in a covert campaign of destabilization "waged by foreign powers" troubled by a government that sought a better life for the downtrodden (12).

The work raises the spectre of Neo-colonialist attitudes which seemingly continue from the early sixteenth century when the Spanish first captured Africans to work as slaves in the island's plantations. "We are angry," write Engler and Fenton, "that our tax dollars have been spent to overthrow a fledgling democracy and to promote an illegal government that engages in massive human rights violations; We demand that the Canadian government be a force for good…by leaving Haitians to shape their own political, social, and economic realities" (10).

Although intent on drawing attention to the political upheaval encouraged by First World nations masquerading as peacekeepers, Engler and Fenton acknowledge that there were considerable problems in Haiti prior to the overthrow of the Aristide government. They then illustrate that Aristide's Lavalas party was in part responsible for these ills: "Haiti was neither without violence nor poverty prior to the coup...Most institutions that existed were fragile and prone to mismanagement...Haiti's justice system was weak, corrupt and repressive" (82). While these troubles were serious, Engler and Fenton make clear that Haitian peace activists regard Canada's role in reducing the unrest in their country to be nothing short of a fiasco, expressing "deep disappointment about Canadian involvement in the undermining of Haitian democracy"(86). Further, Engler and Fenton report that the deposing of the Lavalas government was followed in short succession by the violent destruction of the mass transportation system and other social programs which it had initiated.

Canada in Haiti is then, a work of interest to a wide audience, to anyone apprehensive of the failings of both the Canadian government and the national media in keeping the Canadian public appraised of the genuine progress of democracy in Haiti. As such, this book is a valuable addition to post-colonial discourse.

Contributors

William deJong Lambert has recently finished his Ph.D. with a concentration in History at Columbia University. His dissertation, funded by a Fulbright grant, was on the topic of Lysenkoism in Poland. William also served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Poland from 1992-1994 and in Madagascar from 1994-1996.

Jennifer Gerrits is a PhD student in the Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University.

Asher Ghaffar is an MES student. The two poems he submitted were part of an undergraduate thesis, parts of which have been published in journals such as *Chowrangi*. He would like to thank Frank Davey (and many other professors) for tolerating his endless stream of emails during the period that he became his own other. He looks forward to a future career in pogo-sticking up anonymous mountains.

Lynn Harrigan is a poet and teacher living in Toronto. *Moon Sea Crossing* (Black Moss Press 2005) is her first book of poetry. Her most recent work has involved collaboration with visual artists and musicians. Current projects include: Aqua Reliquia and Oblique Poetries. Lynn is the editor of the arts magazine *iPOP PiNG* and writes a weekly column for *THE AMBiENT PiNG* newsletter. More information is available at www.lynnharrigan.com.

Emily Hermant is a Montreal interdisciplinary artist whose installations have merged new media, textile art and interactivity to explore issues around privacy and the body, public space and militarisation.

Kathryn Komorowski is in her 4th year of Environmental Studies with a concentration in Environment and Culture. She has recently returned from a year on Exchange at Monash University in Melbourne, Australia and has always had a passion for photography. She looks forward to graduation and a life full of glorious possibilities, especially when equipped with her ENVS degree.

Cheryl Lousley defended her doctoral dissertation, *Subject/Matter: Environmental Thought and Contemporary Literature in English in Canada*, in April 2006 at the Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University. She currently teaches at Wilfrid Laurier University.

Anna Morellato is a part time homemaker and photography student at Ryerson University. Her heros include Martha Stewart and Chris Buck. In her spare time, Anna enjoys folding laundry and giving free psychological advice to her friends.

Aileen Rapson has just completed her undergraduate degree in Environmental Studies at York University, and will be returning to York to do her Masters degree in the fall. Her focus is on the interconnections between urban ecological restoration, protected areas management, and social perceptions of nature.

Suzanne Roberts' poetry has been published or is forthcoming in *ZYZZYVA*, *The California Quarterly*, *Spillway*, *The Hurricane Review*, *The Adirondack Review*, *Branches Quarterly*, and *The Banyan Review*. Suzanne is an English instructor at Lake Tahoe Community College and a PhD candidate at the University of Nevada, Reno in Literature and the Environment.

Joni Seager is Dean of the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University in Toronto. Her research interests include work on the global status of women, international environmental policy, and feminist environmental analysis. She is active in the effort to redefine "security" in human and environmental terms, including serving as a member of the Scientific Steering Committee for the Global Environmental Change and Human Security Project (GECHS) of the International Human Dimensions Programme on Global Environmental Change.

Jeff Shantz is finishing his Ph.D. in Sociology at York University. He is also a longtime member of the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty and co-host of the Anti-Poverty Report on community radio station CHRY 105.5 FM. Jeff's writings have appeared in journals such as *Feminist Review* and *Capital and Class* as well as several anthologies.

David Tough is a recent graduate of the Frost Centre for Canadian Studies and Native Studies at Trent University and soon to be a PhD student in History at Carleton University. His work is on the cultural and intellectual history of politics in twentieth-century Canada, and he has work forthcoming in the *Journal of Canadian Studies*.

Salimah Vaiya is a first year Masters Student in Environmental Studies student at York University. She holds a (Honors) BA in Political Science from Concordia University. She is an admirer of Vandana Shiva and Ken Saro Wiwa who have taken up political challenges in order to protect both their cultural and natural environments.

UnderCurrents
volume 16

Planning, Culture and Space

The UnderCurrents editorial collective invites visual and textual contributions for our upcoming volume entitled Planning, Culture and Space. The collective is seeking written and artistic work which critically explores the wide variety of practices and theories shaping, maintaining and reconstucting the meaning, value and logic of space. This means not only the planning of urban forms and environmental landscapes, but also the cultural, ideological, political, economic and technological terrains that organize and delimit space.

Possible topics include, but are not limited to:

- The city and the country
- Wilderness in the city
- Gentrification
- Urban "decay" and urban "renewal"
- The regulation of public space
- Frontiers
- Environmental racism and environmental justice
- Intimacy, pleasure and public space
- Cyber space
- "alternative" or reclaimed spaces
- Neoliberalism and the public university
- Autonomous movements and the commons
- Privacy, surveillance and boundaries
- Transnationalism and transborder networks

Untitled, by Jen Gerrits

Electronic submissions preferred. Include name, address, brief bio, email and phone number. Please submit artwork in b&w, at least 5x7, 600 dpi, .tiff files, and text in .doc to currents@yorku.ca. Deadline for submissions: **October 1, 2006.**

The Collective will work closely with authors whose work has been selected. *UnderCurrents* policy encourages authors to avoid the use of discriminatory disourse (eg. racist, sexist, homophobic, etc.). Please visit www.yorku.ca/currents for more information.

nature

mobili

military

ze

environmen

intervent

ion