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Nimrod Muremi (Namibia), Kalaote Kalaote (Botswana), and Kirk Emerson (United States) identify steps for greater cooperation on the Okavango River Basin. (PHOTO: GEOFFREY DABELKO)

An Oasis in the Desert: Navigating Peace in the Okavango River Basin

By Anton Earle and Ariel Méndez

Anton Earle is the deputy head of the African Water Issues Research Unit. Ariel Méndez is a project assistant with the Environmental Change and Security Project.

One of the last unindustrialized rivers in the world, the Okavango River drops from its headwaters in Angola down to the wide, flat delta in Botswana, crossing Namibia's Caprivi Strip on its 1,100 km journey south to the Kalahari Desert (Nicol, 2003). This pristine environment is home to myriad species of animals and plants that have escaped the impact of modern industrial and municipal human development.

Yet the three basin states—Angola, Namibia, and Botswana—face pressing developmental needs that place demands on the fragile river environment, and, even more devastatingly, could raise the specter of conflict among these water users. As Angola emerges from over twenty-five years of civil war, the river could be the wellspring of new development in its battle-scarred southern region. But first, these three states must agree on how to balance their water needs. Not only could these negotiations prevent conflict, but the ongoing dialogue may also promote peace and regional integration in Southern Africa.

Instead of flowing into the sea, the Okavango discharges its fresh water into the Kalahari desert, fanning out over 15,800 km² during the flood season to form the largest inland delta in sub-Saharan Africa.¹ A maze of swamps and grasslands, the delta nurtures hundreds of varieties of birds, mammals, and fish, including zebras, lions, elephants, hippos, and giraffes.² The Okavango basin itself covers an area of some 413,550 km² across the three countries (Ashton & Neal, 2003). An estimated five hundred thousand people make their homes in the basin, and another few hundred thousand people displaced by Angola's civil war could potentially return to

the headwaters region over the next decade.³

In most of the basin, residents earn a living from small-scale farming, fishing, hunting, producing charcoal, and harvesting fruit, reeds, and timber; however, these activities are banned in areas that have been declared nature conservancies. Poverty and unemployment are rife, and are accompanied by other social ills such as alcohol abuse, illiteracy, and, most significantly, HIV/AIDS.⁴ Due to villages' isolation, lack of institutional capacity, and underlying poverty, services are inadequate or infrequent.

Delta Blues

As Angolan refugees return to the water-rich region formerly dominated by UNITA rebels, the country's priorities are "people, land mines, and then environment," according to Isidro Pinheiro, Angola's OKACOM commissioner.⁵ The civil war devastated Angola's communities, which suffer from starvation, lack basic infrastructure, and are infested with land mines and unexploded ordnance. However, water is relatively abundant in Angola, and using those resources could help it build a sustainable economy. Although the Angolan government views tourism as a way to improve its citizens' standard of living, attracting visitors to its portion of the basin will not be easy, as the war destroyed its transportation system, bushmeat hunting decimated indigenous animal life, and unexploded ordnance make the region nearly impenetrable. The Angolans need to generate livelihoods, clear land mines, and increase institutional capacity to make the region more hospitable for their citizens.

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Randall Tobias

The President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief: Stepping Up to the Global Challenge

December 11, 2003

At his first public speaking engagement, U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator Randall L. Tobias delineated President Bush's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, focusing on prevention, treatment, and stigma reduction. Tobias, who reports directly to Secretary of State Colin Powell, oversees all U.S. international assistance for AIDS and coordinates efforts of many U.S. agencies abroad. The following text is excerpted from his speech; his full remarks are available online at www.wilsoncenter.org/ecsp.



Randall Tobias
(PHOTO: DAVID
HAWXHURST)

I stand before you today as the first United States Global AIDS Coordinator, with the awesome responsibility—and the extreme privilege—of leading a five-year, \$15 billion effort to combat global AIDS. The president's plan represents the largest commitment ever by a single nation for an international health initiative.

As President Bush has stated, "In the face of preventable death and suffering, we have a moral duty to act, and we are acting." The president's five-year initiative is targeted to providing treatment medicines to at least 2 million HIV-positive individuals, preventing 7 million new HIV infections, and caring for 10 million people living with HIV/AIDS and orphans and other vulnerable children directly impacted by the disease.

The plan offers \$9 billion in funding to 14 target countries in Africa and the Caribbean, representing 50 percent of the world's population of people living with HIV/AIDS. I have visited in the last 60 days eight of those countries, and have seen firsthand the need to rapidly scale up the HIV/AIDS response. The plan also includes \$1 billion in contributions to the Global Fund, bringing total U.S. contributions to \$1.6 billion—more than one-third of all pledges to the fund to date. And it provides \$5 billion to continue our bilateral assistance to nearly 60 other countries worldwide.

The plan begins in fiscal year 2004 with well over \$2 billion in funding, steadily increasing to reach the total of \$15 billion over the five years. We will work with target countries to develop necessary infrastructure, and the technical and absorptive capacity, to use these funds effectively and efficiently in achieving results against HIV/AIDS, and will ramp up our funding

accordingly.

I've asked all of the departments and agencies to leave their uniforms at the door, to come together into a single United States government team. I've asked the U.S. ambassador in each focus country to take responsibility for pulling together all of the resources of our government in the development of an integrated plan to implement the president's initiative in that country, and to provide leadership to all elements of the U.S. government on the ground in making it happen. Our activities in this area will now be U.S. government programs, drawing on the strengths and capabilities of individuals and organizations in whatever ways make the most sense.

While the policy decisions and the strategic direction are my responsibilities, I feel strongly that the implementation of our programs must be field-driven, such that people on the scene can be responsive to the specific circumstances and available human and material resources in each country, and can leverage the innovations of field staff, communities, and others joining the fight against AIDS.

I am pleased to tell you that we have mechanisms in place that we hope will allow for the rapid expansion of existing effective, accountable, and sustainable prevention, care, and treatment programs already underway by groups who have produced results from their work in single or multiple countries. Proposals are now being accepted from organizations able to rapidly expand their existing activities in five target areas:

(1) HIV/AIDS prevention, through abstinence and behavior change for youth, intended to expand and strengthen primary prevention efforts;

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Jeffrey McKee

Sparing Nature: The Conflict Between Human Population Growth and Biodiversity

October 31, 2003

By Jennifer W. Kaczor

Jennifer W. Kaczor is a project associate with the Environmental Change and Security Project.

Since prehistoric times, human population growth has led to the extinction of other species. Although this trend existed tens of thousands of years ago, today it is accelerating at a dangerous pace: by 2020, the number of threatened species is estimated to increase by 7 percent. At a recent Wilson Center meeting, **Professor Jeffrey McKee** drew on his new book, *Sparing Nature*, and his training in paleoanthropology to examine the impact of the population boom on biodiversity conservation.

The Human Wedge

“Extinction is normal,” said McKee, pointing out that 99.9 percent of all species that ever lived are now extinct and that the earth replenishes its biodiversity every 1 to 10 million years. However, he claimed that today’s high population growth rate is more threatening to other species than ever before.

McKee noted, “Growth of population is having profound effects on biodiversity worldwide.” He dubbed humans’ capacity to displace other species the “human wedge.” According to McKee, high population growth rates make today’s human wedge much larger than that of prehistoric humans, increasing our threat to other species.

Growing Population, Accelerating Extinction

McKee theorized that changes in climate were largely responsible for extinctions that occurred prior to the emergence of *Homo erectus*, because early *Homo* and its predecessor, *Australopithecus*, were not large enough wedges to push out other species. In contrast, *Homo erectus* was physically larger and consumed more. As the fossil record demonstrates, other large mammal species competing with *Homo erectus* went extinct, and the number of extinc-

tions in South Africa, the Near East, Western Europe, and North America increased when *Homo erectus* entered these areas.

According to McKee, the advent of agriculture 10,000 years ago did not cause an explosion in human population, as claimed by some scientists. Instead, McKee’s calculations indicate that the population boom resulted simply from the predictable exponential growth of populations (i.e., the increase is proportional to what was already there). However, he did agree that agriculture sustained the population growth rate, which would have leveled off as the population overwhelmed the non-agricultural food supply. He asserted that agriculture increased the number of extinctions, as humans used natural resources to produce food for people, reducing biodiversity.

Today, McKee estimates that between one to 43 species go extinct every hour. Before humanity’s influence, extinction rates were dramatically lower: patterns discovered in Africa’s fossil record suggest that four large mammal species arose and four went extinct every 100,000 years. Due to human activity, animal and plant species now become extinct up to a thousand times faster than in prehistoric times.¹ For McKee, population density is directly tied to the number of threatened species in a region, and thus we should reduce current growth levels to lessen our negative impact on biodiversity.

Count Heads, Mind Your Feet

Claiming that conservation programs only protect small areas of the globe, McKee suggested an alternative plan: reduce human population growth through voluntary family planning and girls’ education to lessen humans’ impact on the



Jeffrey McKee
(PHOTO: DAVID
HAWXHURST)

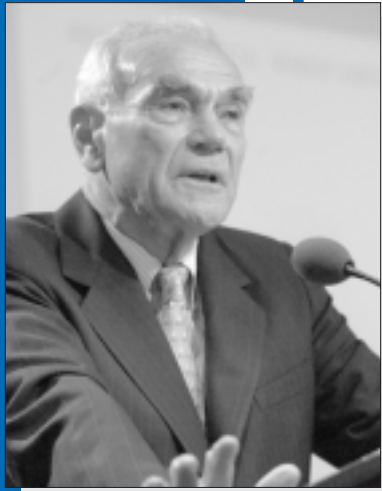
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Population Action International

The Security Demographic: Population and Civil Conflict After the Cold War

December 17, 2003

By Meaghan Parker



William H. Draper III
(PHOTO: DAVID
HAWXHURST)

Do trends in human population affect a country's chances of civil war? According to a new report from Population Action International (PAI), countries with a high number of young adults (at least 40 percent of the adult population between the ages of 15 and 29) were 2.3 times more likely to suffer a civil conflict during the 1990s. PAI, a policy advocacy group working to increase awareness and support of international family planning and reproductive health programs, also found that rapidly growing cities, scarcities of cropland and water, and HIV/AIDS may contribute significantly to the risk of deadly civil violence.

The Security Demographic

"Population growth exacerbates the problems of poverty and insecurity. Security is, of course, what we are all concerned about today," said PAI Council Member and former Director of the United Nations Development Programme **William H. Draper III**, welcoming the audience to the Wilson Center for the launch of *The Security Demographic*. In addition to **Dr. Richard P. Cincotta** and **Robert Engelman**, two of the report's authors, the program featured **Lt. General Claudia J. Kennedy (USA Ret.)**, formerly the deputy chief of staff for intelligence for the U.S. Army, and **Major General William Nash (USA Ret.)**, currently the director of the Council on Foreign Relations' Center for Preventive Action.

The Security Demographic examines the correlation between population and conflict after the Cold War, using newly updated and expanded data from the United Nations Population Division and the Uppsala Conflict Data Program to solve a demographic puzzle: do the dynamics of human population—rates of growth, age structure, and distribution—affect when and where warfare will break out? According to Cincotta and Engelman, the answer lies in the complex interplay of a country's birth and death rates as it undergoes what they call the "demographic transition."

The Demographic Transition

Co-author Robert Engelman, vice president for research at PAI, defined the demographic transition as "the shift of all populations...from high death and high birth rates to the low birth and low death rates that now characterize industrialized countries. The demographic transition initially boosts population and then stabilizes it." By comparing events of civil violence to a country's progress through the demographic transition, the authors found that those in the early phase were much more likely to experience conflict. Cincotta and Engelman dubbed this relationship the "security demographic."

Engelman noted that he was "not claiming in this work that demography is destiny...population does not kill people; to borrow a phrase, people kill people." He continued, "Population growth is not an inevitable force in human affairs; we can address it," observing that the "report offers a powerfully positive message: the entire world is moving through the demographic transition." Engelman advocated international development policies that would ensure that lower birth rates, rather than higher death rates, are the primary reason for slowing population growth. He closed by spotlighting one of report's recommendations:

Attend to the status, the needs, and the ambitions of girls and women worldwide. The evidence is overwhelming: when societies assure that girls are in school, when women who want to work have opportunities to work, and all people have access to the family planning and related reproductive health services that they seek, both birth rates and death rates fall. There are lots of reasons to pursue these policies. We believe that today we can add a new one: they contribute to a safer world for us all.

Stress Factors

Dr. Richard Cincotta, senior research associate at PAI, delved into the data behind the security demographic. After marshalling expert opinions, the authors isolated six demographic factors possibly related to civil violence: a high

proportion of young adults, rapid urban population growth, diminishing cropland and fresh water, AIDS-related demographic changes, differential growth of ethnic populations, and migration. Cincotta explained that he and Engelman did not address the last two factors because they lacked the regional and subnational data necessary to evaluate the effects of ethnicity and migration.

Of the remaining factors, Cincotta and Engelman found that the “youth bulge” (a high proportion of young adults) was most closely associated with the likelihood of a new outbreak of civil conflict. By itself, urbanization was a less powerful force, and lack of cropland and fresh water proved to be only weakly associated with conflict. But when coupled with a large youth bulge, countries with high levels of urbanization and scarce resources had a 40 percent probability of experiencing an outbreak of civil conflict during the 1990s. Despite their intuition, the researchers did not find a correlation between the effects of HIV/AIDS and civil violence. Cincotta hypothesized that while there is not enough demographic evidence to prove it now, some countries’ high death rate from HIV/AIDS will create an extreme youth bulge that may lead to future political volatility.

Illustrating his points with charts from *The Security Demographic*, Cincotta connected the youth bulge’s characteristic demographic profile to the onset of civil conflict in Colombia in 1971, Sri Lanka in 1985, Rwanda and Somalia in 1990, and Iraq today. Mapping the risk factors across the globe, he identified areas of high risk in Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, and the Pacific Islands, noting that the country-level data did not identify areas of subnational conflict, like that currently gripping India and Russia. Cincotta sees “glimmers of demographic hope” in the Islamic crescent, along with bright spots in Southeast Asia, the Caribbean, and South America, where some countries are moving through the demographic transition towards replacement-level fertility.

Soft Power

Like Engelman, Cincotta believes that foreign assistance programs that encourage progress through the demographic transition are part of the “soft power” the United States can use to improve security. “At PAI, we believe that if policymakers more fully understand the demographic transition, and if they can grasp the strategic implications of what we call the security demographic, those who drive our foreign policies could grow to appreciate just how powerful focused ‘soft power’ actually can be.”

General Kennedy, the first and only woman in the U.S. Army to reach the rank of three-star general, agreed, saying that if the military views conflict as a product of insecurity and deprivation, rather than the result of inherent aggression, “all sorts of actions can be taken” to reduce violence.

“Investing in family planning, in girls’ education, and encouraging economic development and opportunity for women is not just one of those ideals that comes out of the milk of human kindness...it’s good for all of us.”

—LT. GENERAL CLAUDIA J. KENNEDY
(USA RET.)

She noted that “investing in family planning, in girls’ education, and encouraging economic development and opportunity for women is not just one of those ideals that comes out of the milk of human kindness...it’s good for all of us.” Praising the report as “a great service to mankind,” Kennedy said, “Mere understanding of the security demographic will go a long way to helping the United States set some priorities that make sense for our long-term

good.”

General William Nash, who served as regional administrator for the United Nations in southern Kosovo, contrasted traditional “targeted” prevention, which is aimed at specific, near-term conflicts, with methods that address poverty, population, and health issues to reach the sources of conflict. Calling it “my life’s work,” Nash declared that understanding the demographic transition is “absolutely critical” to a global systemic approach to conflict prevention. ■

The full report is available at www.population-action.org/resources/publications/securitydemographic/index.htm.

Book Review

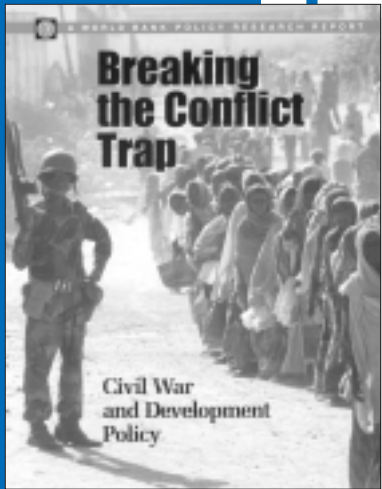
Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy

By Paul Collier, V.L. Elliott, Håvard Hegre, Anke Hoeffler,
Marta Reynal-Querol, and Nicholas Sambanis

Washington, D.C.: World Bank and Oxford University Press, 2003. 221 pages.

Reviewed by Colin H. Kahl

Colin H. Kahl is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Minnesota and a consultant for the Political Instability Task Force. His current research focuses on a broad range of international security issues, including civil and ethnic wars.



In 1999, the World Bank Group began a research program under the direction of Paul Collier to study the economics of civil war, crime, and violence. The program produced many widely-circulated papers (e.g., Collier, 1999; Collier, 2000; Collier & Hoeffler, 2002) that form the foundation of the new book *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy* (Collier et al., 2003).

Although the authors draw the bulk of their conclusions regarding the consequences, causes, and solutions of civil war from statistical studies, they manage to present evidence and arguments in an easily digestible fashion. Researchers looking for detailed data and models will be disappointed (the book includes only tables, figures, and references to earlier studies), but readers seeking a compelling analysis of the implications of this research will be more than satisfied with this volume.

Conflict Traps and Neighborhood Effects

In Part I, Collier et al. contend that civil wars typically create “a persisting legacy of poverty and misery” (20). Wars directly damage critical infrastructure, investor confidence, and social capital; individuals are driven from their homes, and diseases such as HIV/AIDS and malaria thrive among military personnel and vulnerable populations. More indirectly, war undermines the economy, as money is shifted from productive investments into military budgets. Together, these effects cripple the ability of already-marginalized countries to develop, creating a “conflict trap” in which countries repeatedly fall back into civil war, despite attempts to escape.

Compounding the problem, civil wars’ devastating costs are rarely contained within the afflicted country’s borders. At the regional level, civil wars create destabilizing “neighborhood effects.” Regional refugee crises, like those arising from recent conflicts in Central Africa, often impose large economic burdens on neighboring countries and contribute to the spread of infectious diseases like HIV/AIDS and malaria. The harmful effects of civil war ripple outwards, leading to escalating arms races, trade disruptions, and loss of investor confidence in entire regions. Globally, civil wars contribute to both the illegal drug trade (e.g., Colombia and Afghanistan) and the international HIV/AIDS pandemic (e.g., Uganda), and war-torn countries are at risk of becoming havens and recruiting grounds for international terrorist networks (e.g., Afghanistan). *Breaking the Conflict Trap* argues compellingly that the international community has a stake in preventing and settling civil wars, even if they occur in countries that do not appear to be strategically important.

The Causes of Civil War

In Part II, Collier et al. identify the principal drivers of civil war as low economic growth, dependence on natural resource exports, and prior civil conflicts:

The key root cause of conflict is the failure of development. Countries with low, stagnant, and unequally distributed per capita incomes that have remained dependent on primary commodities for their exports face dangerously high risks of prolonged conflict. In the

absence of economic development, neither good political institutions, nor ethnic and religious homogeneity, nor high military spending provide significant defenses against large-scale violence. Once a country has stumbled into conflict, powerful forces—the conflict trap—tend to lock it into a syndrome of further conflict (53-54).

Seeking to debunk the notion that most conflicts arise from ethnic and religious divisions, the authors argue that the relationship between ethnicity and conflict is more complicated than conventional wisdom suggests, and present evidence that countries with high levels of ethnic and religious heterogeneity are actually less likely to experience bloodshed than homogenous countries. The risks increase substantially, however, if one group holds an absolute majority over several smaller groups (which presumably fear perpetual domination), or if a society is split into two equal but polarized groups.

Policy Recommendations

Part III recommends policies that address the economic roots of civil war: Collier et al. urge the international community to use foreign aid and market access to promote economic diversification, limit corruption, strengthen political reform, and reduce excessive military spending. However, as Nicholas Stern, senior vice president and chief economist at the World Bank, writes in the book's forward, the authors "place particular emphasis on improving the international governance of natural resources" (x). To minimize the destabilizing effects of dependence on natural resources, Collier et al. argue that policies such as emergency grants and risk mitigation mechanisms should be utilized to cushion vulnerable countries against adverse price shocks.

In addition, the authors strongly endorse actions that limit the ability of rebel groups to profit from natural resources, such as the Kimberley Process for tracking diamonds, by reducing the incentive to seize resources and use them to finance

conflict. Finally, the authors call on governments and corporations to endorse greater transparency and enhance international scrutiny of their natural resource revenue streams and policies; these efforts might rein in corruption and discourage rebels from exaggerating their profits from captured resources.

Collier et al. also identify other proposals to maintain peace, such as deploying credible third-party peacekeepers, and helping some demobilized troops return to normal economic activity while combining others in a newly unified national military. Once peace is established, Collier et al. argue that international aid should gradually increase to promote economic growth and more inclusive social policies, but should not necessarily encourage a fast transition to democracy, which can be destabilizing. International aid agencies should seek the appropriate mix and sequence of policies that minimize the likelihood that countries will fall back into turmoil.

Abundance vs. Scarcity

Breaking the Conflict Trap's World Bank pedigree suggests that it is likely to be influential, and we should applaud the authors for showing that civil wars are significant threats to development and international security, not just humanitarian crises or regional headaches. To the degree that it inspires increased efforts to prevent and resolve conflicts, the book will have performed a great service.

That said, *Breaking the Conflict Trap* is not without its problems, especially in its assessment of the causes of civil wars. The authors' conclusion that poor economic conditions

"Breaking the Conflict Trap argues compellingly that the international community has a stake in preventing and settling civil wars, even if they occur in countries that do not appear to be strategically important."

and prior conflicts make countries prone to further conflict reinforces the findings of other prominent quantitative studies (e.g., Goldstone et al., 2000). More controversially, they claim that dependence on natural resources, as measured by the percentage of GDP stemming from primary commodity exports, increases the risk of civil war in two ways: first, dependence limits economic diversification, increases vulnerability to external price shocks, and

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BREAKING THE CONFLICT TRAP

(continued from page 7)

contributes to corruption and other forms of bad governance, and thus increases incentives for rebellion; this could be called the “resource curse” (Ross, 1999). Second, the existence of valuable natural resources can encourage attempts by rebel organizations to secede or hijack the state as a means of controlling their revenue streams, which is sometimes called the “honey pot” effect (de Soysa, 2000). Even when seizing the honey pot is not the principal motivation, Collier et al. argue that natural resources fuel civil wars by financing rebel activities.

According to some (including at times the authors), these findings suggest that an abundance (or greater endowment) of natural resources is the problem, which is the inverse of the popular neo-Malthusian claim that scarcity drives conflict (see also Pearce, 2002). This interpretation is unpersuasive, since the data only measures levels of dependence, not abundance or scarcity, or trends towards one or the other. Moreover, even when resources are locally abundant, scarcity at the global level makes certain natural resources valuable, generating resource curses and honey pots. No one would fight over oil, diamonds, coltan, gold, copper, timber, or illegal drugs if they were not globally scarce (even if, as with diamonds or drugs, scarcity is an artifact of industry practices or government regulations). Thus, the abundance versus scarcity dichotomy is false, and Collier et al.’s work could be interpreted as broadly supporting the neo-Malthusian position (e.g., Klare, 2001; Renner, 2002).

Resources Without Differences, Greed Without Grievances

The authors’ analysis is limited by their tendency to lump all natural resources together, which is problematic because natural resources have different characteristics and potential for conflict (Le Billon, 2001). Valuable minerals and timber, for example, are much more likely than agriculture to produce resource curses because governments typically own such resources or otherwise control the bulk of their revenue streams (Karl, 1997; Ross, 2001). Likewise, honey pots drive conflicts when natural resources are highly concentrated or otherwise easily seized and controlled by rebel organizations; therefore, minerals and timber are more likely to produce conflict than diffuse resources such as cropland or freshwater.

Also problematic is Collier et al.’s propensity to view greed as the principal motivation underlying natural resources’ role in civil war. Although the authors are careful to emphasize that civil wars arise

from a combination of greed and grievance, they do not explore the relationship between natural resources and grievances. This is a serious oversight, considering the prevalence of grievance-based arguments in the literature on eco-violence. Indeed, a significant number of case studies show that environmental degradation and economic dislocations caused by resource extraction often lead to greater support for rebel organizations (e.g., Homer-Dixon, 1999; Renner, 2002). For example, copper mining in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, created environmental and socioeconomic problems that contributed to rebellion; the principal motivation was not to seize the honey pot but to stop or destroy it (Böge, 1992; Renner, 2002). Similarly, deforestation and its related problems, such as soil erosion and landlessness, encouraged many peasants in the Philippines to back communist guerrillas during the 1970s and 1980s; they were not driven by the desire for logging revenues, but rather by grievances arising from unsustainable logging and agricultural practices (Kahl, 2000, chap. 3).

Collier et al.’s conclusions and policy recommendations regarding natural resources are, at best, incomplete; to fill in the gaps, the authors should disaggregate natural resources and study their varying effects. In addition, the policies outlined in *Breaking the Conflict Trap* will be insufficient unless they also include methods to prevent or mitigate the causes and harmful side effects of resource consumption and extraction.

Bottom-Up Bias

In general, *Breaking the Conflict Trap* suffers from a “bottom-up” bias: the authors assume that all three major risk factors associated with civil war (poor economic conditions, natural resource dependence, and prior conflict) direct violence upwards toward the government or sideways toward other groups. Obviously, many conflicts play out this way; nevertheless, in many other situations (e.g., the former Yugoslavia, Russia, Kenya, Rwanda, and Zimbabwe), large-scale violence and civil war are initiated or exacerbated by threatened political leaders who instigate bloodshed between social groups to preserve or expand their political power (Brown, 2001; De Figueiredo & Weingast, 1999; Kahl, 1998; Kaufman, 2001; Snyder, 2000). The risk factors identified by Collier et al. could threaten the viability of a regime and thus trigger these types of top-down conflicts, but the authors largely ignore



Colin H. Kahl
(PHOTO: DAVID
HAWXHURST)

this possibility; preventing state elites from instigating conflict may require a very different mix of policies. Moreover, some rebellions may be justifiable responses to repressive regimes; in this context, policies designed to suppress potential rebellions may strengthen the hands of ruthless leaders, lead-

“Even when resources are locally abundant, scarcity at the global level makes certain natural resources valuable, generating resource curses and honey pots. No one would fight over oil, diamonds, coltan, gold, copper, timber, or illegal drugs if they were not globally scarce.”

ing to greater hardship over the long run.

Despite these shortcomings, *Breaking the Conflict Trap* is essential reading; the book addresses the most important security challenge of the post-Cold War era with a powerful combination of data, theory, and policy recommendations. The earlier studies upon which the book is based have already gained a large audience in policymaking and academic circles. This influence will certainly broaden now that the findings have been brought together and lucidly presented in this volume. ■

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From the Field

Serving the Stewards: Improving Reproductive Health and Protecting the Amazonian Rainforest

By Caryl Feldacker

Caryl Feldacker, a University of Michigan Population Fellow, worked with Management Sciences for Health in Manicoré, Brazil, from March 2003 to January 2004. She was responsible for increasing community buy-in, strengthening partnerships, and building capacity within the human and environmental health sectors. She has an undergraduate degree from the University of Pennsylvania and a master's degree from Tulane University School of Public Health and Tropical Medicine. Caryl is now working with the Population Council in Corumba, Brazil.

The Amazonas region of Brazil provides 20 percent of the world's fresh water, contains 60 percent of its tropical forests, and hosts 50 percent of the planet's biodiversity. Yet, poor living conditions make this tropical paradise hazardous to the health of its human inhabitants. Poverty, malnutrition, disease, and population growth lead to imprudent land usage that exhausts natural resources and imperils human survival. But an integrated population-environment program can temper the volatile combination of vulnerable people and threatened ecosystems, by educating health care workers and adolescents about reproductive health, encouraging sustainable resource use, and empowering women through economic opportunities.

Manicoré: Poverty in the Heart of Beauty

The municipality of Manicoré is located in the middle of the Amazon jungle, three days by boat or 90 minutes by white-knuckle flight from the nearest large city, Manaus. Seventeen thousand people live in town, and 23,000 inhabit 225 small villages along seven main rivers. The second largest municipality in the state of Amazonas, Manicoré occupies an area the size of Denmark. People move around the region primarily by boat; seasonal roads reach only 10 percent of the rural population.

Although Brazil is often thought of as a middle-income country, Amazonas is one of its poorest states, and its rural communities are some of Brazil's most impoverished. Official health statistics, which are notoriously under-reported, indicate that over 50 percent of Manicoré's pregnant women receive little or no

prenatal care, and die in childbirth at the third highest rate in the state. Prostitution is particularly prevalent among young girls, contributing to the high number of adolescent pregnancies: over 30 percent of the region's children are born to women under 18. Sexually transmitted diseases are common, and, although Manicoré lacks testing facilities, HIV/AIDS infection rates are apparently rising.

Poverty, accompanied by poor health and environmental degradation, is pervasive; most families live on less than \$3 per day. Manicoré's residents have few economic opportunities, outside of subsistence agriculture, government service, or small-scale extraction of forest products like Brazil nuts, rubber, fruits, and tree oils. The employment outlook for women and adolescents is even bleaker; prostitution and drugs provide money for some, while others seek work outside the region.

Planting the Seeds: An Integrated Approach

Management Sciences for Health (MSH), a non-governmental, non-profit health organization, was invited to Manicoré in 2001 by a green-certified lumber company to provide technical support for a health survey, which was part of the company's stakeholder appraisal of communities in its concession. Not surprisingly, the diagnostic survey deemed access to health care, health training, and infrastructure inadequate. In 2002, MSH launched a successful, small-scale maternal health initiative funded by the World Bank, and in March 2003, MSH expanded upon the work of that initiative by placing me in Manicoré to implement its first population-environment project.

Our innovative pilot program sought to educate adolescents about reproductive health, promote environmental conservation, and strengthen community economic development, especially for



Children in Biliba jumping into the Rio Manicoré at sunset (PHOTO: CARYL FELDACKER)

women and youth. We strove to: 1) educate community health promoters about reproductive health care for adolescents, and provide them with communication tools to reach adolescents effectively; 2) mobilize a group of rural educators to convey health information using creative activities like theater and music that engage youth and help them communicate effectively with their peers; and 3) establish sustainable, income-generating projects that encourage self-sufficiency, provide satisfaction, and increase financial opportunities. By addressing the community's diverse needs, the program endeavored to reach more people and improve the overall health of the population and the fragile ecosystem in which they live.

Nuts and Bolts: Health Care and Handicrafts

Health workers in Manicoré are hungry to increase their knowledge and improve their skills. Working with the municipal Ministry of Health, I started a training program for community health agents in 84 rural communities. I led interactive and participatory sessions with a small group of Manicoré-based health agents. As most health agents are political appointees, not health professionals, it was challenging to create effective training activities that addressed their varying levels of interest and ability. While some health agents attended state-sponsored health education sessions and had years of rural health experience, other agents were illiterate and had little background in public health. Therefore, the training sessions encouraged participation by using group activities, such as picture-based dialogue and oral presentations. These monthly courses were the first training sessions that rural agents were required to attend.

I also conducted monthly training sessions on reproductive health for technicians at all three municipal health centers in Manicoré. Participation was high, as these meetings occurred during the normal workday and were supported by the

centers' nurses and doctors. At my first session, I used a banana to demonstrate how to put on a condom correctly. My demonstration freed the technicians to express their beliefs and ask questions about contraception.

I worked closely with Projeto Arara, a local non-governmental organization comprised of urban health agents fighting HIV/AIDS. As adequate and accurate information on adolescent health was not available, we drafted a simple survey to assess high school students' health behavior, views on the environment, and reproductive health knowledge. In 2004, members of Projeto Arara will lead interactive sessions on reproductive health at area high schools, including such topics as contraception, postponing sexual debut, HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections, self-esteem, and possibly environment. To increase these sessions' effectiveness, I offered the agents public speaking training to give them the self-assurance they need to work with adolescents. Recognizing

the value of health education, the urban health agents have increased their visits to the high schools from once a semester to once a month.

Together with Manicoré's agricultural cooperative, I initiated a handicraft project that promotes women's economic empowerment and the sustainable use of natural resources and, by requiring all of the participants to attend reproductive health classes, also encourages sustainable fertility. A core group of 20

women uses natural and recycled materials to weave baskets, carve Brazil nut shells into owls and napkin holders, and recycle thick metal cans into inventive animal designs. However, developing products that are both sustainable and marketable was not easy: early attempts produced dolls made from plastic ribbon, recycled-paper hats, and sequin-covered nuts—sustainable, yes, but hard to sell. A \$5,000 start-up grant allowed us to seek technical assistance with designing handicrafts,

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AMAZONIAN RAINFOREST

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producing honey, and marketing these products.¹ Now, some of the new products are both environmentally friendly and economically viable. In January 2004, the handicraft association finalized its first sales agreement with an upscale store in Manaus, which will offer for sale the cooperative's brightly-painted mobiles of Amazonian animals, candleholders made from native nut shells, and imaginative, recycled-metal magnets.

Family Tree: Private and Public Partners

One of our key partners, regional plywood manufacturer Gethal Amazonas, is certified by the Forest Stewardship Council, which assures that Gethal's products are made from timber harvested in an environmentally responsible, socially beneficial, and economically viable way. Gethal provided transportation and communication services for MSH, and collaborated with us to develop activities in 12 communities bordering Gethal's lumber concession. MSH enhanced the benefits for Gethal's employees and other residents by training local health agents and midwives. This public-private partnership, MSH's first, was a new approach for community development in Manicoré.

Our key environmental partner, the National Council of Rubber Tappers (Conselho Nacional dos Seringueiros, known as CNS), has organized local cooperatives of extractivists (workers that sustainably harvest non-timber forest products) in over 20 rural communities. Founded by the Amazonian environmental activist Chico Mendes, CNS works to improve the economic situation of its rural constituents by expanding their harvest to include collecting Brazil nuts, honey, and fruits. In Manicoré, CNS is responsible for organizing the honey cooperative, orchestrating technical work-

shops to improve quality, and seeking access to markets. CNS also houses the handicraft cooperative and provides administrative and communication support for its daily activities.

I also involved local and regional governmental agencies in the design and implementation of these projects, including a local branch of the national environment agency (IBAMA), the regional agricultural and fisheries agency (IDAM), and Manicoré's municipal government and its secretariats of health, sanitation, and agriculture. Maintaining these partnerships could be stressful. For example, to reach consensus in Manicoré I needed the backing of both the mayor and the Catholic Church—

ancient adversaries that compete for the loyalty of Manicoré's residents with old-fashioned bullying and flamboyant festivals. I lobbied, persuaded, and flattered Manicoré's religious and political elites to gain their acceptance, carefully targeting my approach: with the mayor, I spoke about family planning, adolescent reproductive health programs, and sex education in the schools. With the priest, I emphasized maternal health, hygiene, and income-generating projects. Maintaining the support of these key players was a constant challenge but was absolutely necessary to make progress in Manicoré.

Knock on Wood: Goals and Challenges

We sought to improve adolescents' knowledge of reproductive health, increase access to health information in rural communities, and develop a sustainable business producing and selling local handicrafts and non-timber forest resources. Although we were able to make small changes and begin working towards our goals, MSH was unable to obtain sufficient funding, and the project ended in early January 2004. In the short time I worked in Manicoré, the urban and rural health agents received training on reproductive health, childhood illness, first aid, prenatal care, and nutrition, and also took home individual copies of educational guides to STIs/HIV/AIDS. In addition, the handicraft project is off to a successful start, and the participants are dedicated to producing sustainable and profitable goods.

As the first year of my fellowship ended, I learned some important lessons about working in remote regions. Reaching rural communities is far more costly and time-consuming than working in urban areas, and it is difficult to convince donors that small populations are worthy of large investments of time and money. I still believe that improving the health and economic status of the stewards of the Amazon would not only benefit them, but would also help conserve one of the world's natural wonders and richest ecosystems. Although I do not know if I will ever return, my partners, such as Gethal Amazonas and the municipality of Manicoré, will continue building on this foundation to improve the health of the environment and the people of the Amazon. ■

Notes

¹The grant was provided through the Population-Environment Fellows Program's P-E Small Grants Initiative (funded by the Packard Foundation).



The handicraft cooperative makes decorative items out of Brazil nuts. (PHOTO: CARYL FELDACKER)

OKAVANGO RIVER BASIN

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As the only exploitable perennial river running through the nations of Namibia and Botswana, the Okavango is under demand by both countries (Turton, Ashton, & Cloete, 2003). Namibia, one of the most arid countries in Southern Africa, sees the river as a source for municipal, industrial, and agricultural uses, and national leaders are considering building a 250 km pipeline to bring a small portion of the river's flow to the capital city of Windhoek to increase its supplies of freshwater. According to Namibia's Ministry of Agriculture, 250,000 people outside the Kavango region will need future access to water from the Okavango to sustain their socioeconomic activities (Pinheiro, Gabaake, & Heyns, 2003). Not that Namibians in the Kavango region enjoy socioeconomic stability: over 70 percent are unemployed, and three quarters of the region's households spend over 60 percent of their income on food.

Botswana's leaders want to preserve the delta's status quo to increase tourism; in 1996, Botswana unilaterally registered the delta as a Ramsar Wetland of International Importance without consulting its upstream neighbors.⁶ Botswana's conservation efforts have limited inhabitants' traditional hunting, farming, and fishing rights, so now many rely on income from providing services to tourists who visit the upscale lodges located in the delta. Although Botswana earns significant revenue from these lodges, local communities have not received a concomitant increase in living standards; many villages lack basic health care and educational opportunities.

Navigating Peace in the Okavango

Despite pursuing mixed and sometimes contradictory objectives, the Okavango River Basin users have not resorted to violence to control this valuable resource; instead, the three states have made a concerted effort to manage their competing demands. In 1994, the governments of Botswana, Angola, and Namibia agreed to form the Permanent Okavango River Basin Water Commission, known as OKACOM, to manage the river basin. Due to vast distances and lack of transportation in the region, OKACOM can only officially meet once a year; some representatives must travel for

three days to attend.

In October 2003, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars' Environmental Change and Security Project (ECSP), Green Cross International, and the African Water Issues Research Unit convened a meeting in the Okavango Delta to discuss OKACOM's progress and identify the major challenges facing cooperation in the basin. Representatives from each member state,

regional researchers, local stakeholders, and tourism operators met with members of ECSP's Navigating Peace Water Working Group on the Future of Water Conflict and Cooperation.⁷ This small group is comprised of international experts on water and conflict resolution.

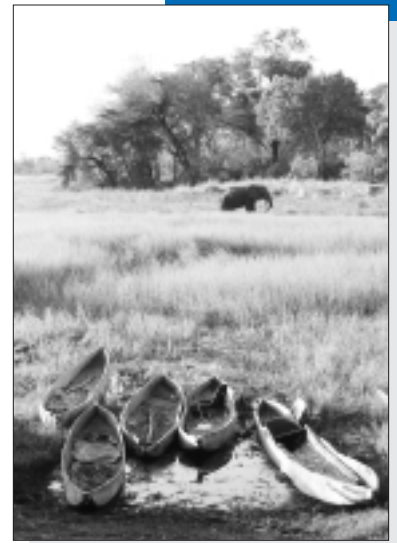
"Benefit-sharing would allow Angola to exchange its water rights for help with its pressing issues like relocating displaced people and removing land mines and unexploded ordnance."

Sharing Water, Sharing Benefits

The conference had three objectives:

- Strengthen the stakeholders' unity of purpose regarding sustainable development;
- Shift the focus away from sharing water and towards sharing water's benefits; and
- Understand the gaps and overlaps in terms of current and planned development initiatives in the basin.

Although this meeting was small in size, stakeholders from all major groups participated—national and local government leaders, NGOs, research organizations, community leaders, and the tourism industry. The interaction allowed delegates to share ideas and gain an understanding of each other's challenges. For example, national government representatives explained their need to balance international treaty obligations with infrastructure improvements, while community leaders conveyed the challenges of forging a sustainable livelihood. Local communities in Botswana that depend upon the delta for their livelihoods often violate the provisions of international conservation treaties and agreements that ban traditional farming, harvesting, and other activities. Inhabitants are frequently unaware of the



Local guides choose the mokoro, a traditional dugout canoe, to bring tourists closer to wildlife in the Okavango Delta. (PHOTO: GEOFFREY DABELKO)

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OKAVANGO RIVER BASIN

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treaties, so they are caught between the desires of the government to promote development for their citizens and to adhere to treaties supported by powerful international NGOs. A Motswana attending the meeting described the situation with a local saying: “When two elephants are fighting, it is the grass that suffers.”

At the meeting, government representatives confirmed their desire to institutionalize community participation in the OKACOM process. This state and civil society cooperation represents a major shift away from the top-down approach prevalent during much of the region’s history and in other river basins. OKACOM receives critical input from the community through the Okavango River Basin-wide Forum, which was established in 2002 as a parallel institution to OKACOM to give residents of riverside villages a voice in managing the river basin. However, the difficulty of convening the commissioners and the forum is a significant barrier to reaching a shared vision of

environmentally sustainable development. The group proposed that OKACOM form a secretariat that will produce and translate reports to further the institution’s development, and also discussed the feasibility of collecting revenue from tourism to help fund it. In addition, government officials affirmed their willingness and interest in collaborating

with district and village councils on a range of small-scale projects.

This new level of trust and understanding allows the water users in the basin to move away from a model of strict water rights to one of basin-wide “benefit-sharing.” The group discussed creating a trans-frontier wildlife park for tourists, along with other methods of sharing tourist-related revenue. Tourists would move freely among the three basin states within the park’s confines, thus experiencing a variety of habitats and spreading revenues around the region. The park would bring more than just money: increasing the amount of protected territory might decrease the pressures on the animal population in Botswana. In addition, Angola’s newly formed Ministry of Environmental Affairs has proposed that former combatants be hired as

game wardens. Benefit-sharing would allow Angola to exchange its water rights for help with its pressing issues like relocating displaced people and removing land mines and unexploded ordnance. For example, Botswana could assist Angola’s reconstruction in return for an assured flow quantity on the Okavango.

Despite the complex web of their divergent goals and relationships, the participants demonstrated that conflict is not an inevitable byproduct of sharing resources, and that by collaborating to manage the basin, they can improve the livelihoods of their citizens and contribute to the development of peace in post-war Angola. The members of ECSP’s working group are incorporating the lessons from their experience in the Okavango River Basin into their ongoing efforts to identify policy alternatives for successful river basin management. These policy observations on the future of water conflict and cooperation, to be published in late 2004, will target both donors and basin stakeholders. ■

Notes

¹ “The area of the Okavango Delta fluctuates between 6,000 and 8,000 km² during the dry season to 15,860 km² during the flood season” (Turton, Ashton, & Cloete, 2003, page 20).

² The delta also has 650 species of birds, 208 aquatic and semi-aquatic species of plants, 675 herbs and grasses, and 195 woody species (Jansen & Madzwamuse, 2003).

³ Due to the war, it is difficult to accurately assess the basin’s population; this estimate is based on the following figures: 163,000 people in Namibia, 88,000 in Botswana, and 350,000 in Angola, with the possibility of more returning as the peace holds (Mendelsohn & el Obeid, in press).

⁴ Thirty-nine percent of Botswana’s adults (ages 15-49) are living with HIV/AIDS (UNDP, 2003).

⁵ Statement made at the ECSP Navigating Peace Water Working Group meeting at Oddballs Camp, Botswana, in October 2003.

⁶ Under the Ramsar convention, which promotes international awareness and cooperation in the conservation of threatened wetland ecosystems, contracting parties that share a site or its inflowing rivers must participate in the conservation and wise use of the designated site. “Thus, while the Okavango Delta is physically located in Botswana, as a contracting party to the convention, Namibia is also obliged in terms of the Ramsar convention to contribute to conservation efforts since some 3% of the water that enters the Okavango Delta originates within Namibia’s borders” (Ashton & Neal, 2003, page 43).



The Okavango River Basin adapted from Pinheiro, Gabaake & Heyns (2003)

⁷ The Navigating Peace initiative is made possible by support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Visit www.wilsoncenter.org/ecsp for more information.

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Navigating Peace: Generating New Thinking About Water

ECSP's initiative **Navigating Peace: Forging New Water Partnerships** brings together diverse individuals in three working groups to generate policy alternatives in these areas:

- Balancing water's economic and social value, so that it can be provided equitably, efficiently, and universally (Water Working Group I).
- Analyzing conflict and cooperation over shared water resources (Water Working Group II).
- Building dialogue and cooperation between the United States and China—their governments and NGOs—using lessons from waterconflict resolution (Water Working Group III).

Water Working Group I

In 2003, Water Working Group I consulted with representatives from the private sector, the United Nations, and the State Department to discuss the economic value of water. The working group members have identified three paper topics:

- Develop an economic model for full benefit accounting of water-related services, including health benefits, time benefits (especially for women), and environmental benefits (by Dr. John Hoehn).
- Identify case studies for adapting indigenous water management technologies to develop local capacity for water management (by Scott Whiteford).
- Define and understand the costs and benefits of smaller-scale interventions (such as installing hardware) to provide drinking water and sanitation to rural residents of developing countries (author to be determined).

Water Working Group III

Over the last year, the eight members of Water Working Group III traveled to Tucson, Beijing, and Washington, D.C., to meet with academics, policymakers, NGOs, lawyers, and river basin administrators to share ideas on water conflict resolution strategies. The working group members are preparing papers outlining policy alternatives on the following topics:

- *Water Knows No Boundaries: River Basin Commissions and Conflict Resolution in the United States and China* (by Irene Brooks and Liu Hongxia).
- *NGO Strategies to Achieve River Protection and Restoration Goals in China and the United States* (by Yu Xiubo and Liz Birnbaum).
- *Emerging U.S. Lessons in Environmental Conflict Resolution and Collaborative Problem Solving: Possible Applications to China's Water Conflicts* (by Michael Eng and Ma Jun).
- *Interbasin Transfers as a Water Conflict Resolution Mechanism in the United States and China: The Yellow River/Hai Basin Transfers and the San Juan Chama Project* (by Wang Xuejun and Jay Stein).

Project News

➤ ECSP is pleased to announce the addition of two new staff members: **Nelia Forest** as project assistant and **Meaghan Parker** as writer/editor. Ms. Forest received a master's degree in environmental planning and a master's degree in geography from the University of California, Berkeley. Her responsibilities include assisting with event planning and execution, financial tracking, and purchasing.

Prior to joining ECSP, Ms. Parker was manager of research and internal communications for PPL Global, LLC, the development and international operating subsidiary of PPL Corporation. Her responsibilities include editing ECSP's publications and coordinating the project's communications strategy. Ms. Parker replaces Robert Lalasz, who left ECSP to become senior writer for the *Washington City Paper*. We wish Bob all the best in his new position!

➤ The current round of multilateral trade negotiations has stalled because developed countries failed to make far reaching proposals to open agricultural markets, according to a new report from ECSP Senior Policy Scholar **William Krist**. *Making Doha a Developmental Round* extensively reviews developing countries' demands that the U.S., the European Union, and other developed countries reduce trade-distorting subsidies. Krist argues that negotiators must understand what the least-developed countries are seeking, and then craft negotiating packages that not only meet these demands but also pass muster with Congress and the private sector.

Making Doha a Developmental Round is available at www.wilsoncenter.org/ecsp.



➤ **Xie Zhenhua**, the minister of China's State Environmental Protection Administration, sparked a candid and lively discussion at a December 9 meeting of the China Environment Forum. Minister Xie suspended his formal speech in

favor of a frank dialogue about China's environmental challenges and the role of NGOs, industry, and international assistance in addressing China's growing pollution problems and ecological degradation. Minister Xie strongly supports the work of China's environmental NGOs,

which have close working relationships with government entities. In contrast, U.S. NGOs often use confrontational methods to promote conservation, according to Andrew Fahlund of American Rivers, who described the cooperative strategies and pressure tactics employed by his group to protect U.S. rivers for nearly 30 years.

➤ **Jennifer L. Turner** and **Timothy Hildebrandt** of ECSP's China Environment Forum were featured in the November/December 2003 issue of *The China Business Review*, which examined the links between business and environment. Turner's piece "Cultivating Environmental NGO-Business Partnerships" asserts that international businesses operating in China could develop better relationships with local communities and improve their environmental practices by supporting the activities of environmental NGOs. Hildebrandt's "Making Green in Beijing" looks at opportunities for environmental businesses in the years leading up to 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing.

➤ *Dialogue*, the Woodrow Wilson Center's award-winning weekly radio program, has recently featured a number of ECSP speakers and scholars: **Sandra Postel** discussed her book *Rivers for Life: Managing Water for People and Nature*; **Jeffrey McKee**, author of *Sparing Nature: The Conflict Between Human Population Growth and Earth's Biodiversity*, spoke about the role of population growth in species extinction; ECSP Senior Scholar **John Sewell** debated the question, "How Dangerous is Poverty?"; and ECSP Public Policy Scholar **Fred Meyerson** examined population growth in the United States. To listen to past *Dialogue* programs, visit www.wilsoncenter.org/dialogue.

➤ ECSP Director **Geoffrey Dabelko** recently gave three speeches in four days. Ten Pew Fellows in International Journalism attended Dabelko's "Water War or Water Peace?" presentation in Washington, D.C., on January 20 and asked probing questions about water and conflict around the globe. The Pew International Journalism Program seeks to improve the coverage of international issues in the U.S. media.

On January 23 and 24 in Florida, Dabelko spoke about environmental change and international security as part of Florida Atlantic Univer-

sity's Presidential Symposia on national security and the American presidency; other speakers include Eleanor Clift and Susan Eisenhower. Using examples such as Florida's water shortages and Haiti's environmental degradation, Dabelko connected environmental conditions like resource scarcity and climate change to security concerns in the United States and abroad.

➤ ECSP recently hosted two meetings on **state failure and political instability**. On January 30, Pulitzer Prize-winning author **Jared Diamond** argued that population growth and environmental degradation are clearly linked to state failure. Diamond described how once-flourishing island communities in the South Pacific disintegrated due to the unsustainable use of natural resources. According to Diamond, modern societies must address their environmental problems, or they will also experience political instability, communal violence, and economic crisis.

On February 5, **Jack Goldstone, Robert Bates, and Colin Kahl** of the Political Instability Task Force (formerly known as the State Failure Task Force) presented an overview of the fourth phase of its efforts to develop a global statistical model for assessing states' vulnerability to political instability. The speakers also provided details on an additional sub-Saharan Africa model and on the role of population and environment variables in their work.

For summaries of these and other meetings, please visit ECSP's website at www.wilsoncenter.org/ecsp.



➤ **Green Planet Blues is now for sale!** The revised and updated third edition of *Green Planet Blues: Environmental Politics from Stockholm to Johannesburg* brings together classic readings and important new material on global environmental politics. Edited by **Ken Conca** and ECSP's Geoffrey

Dabelko, *Green Planet Blues* examines international environmental controversies from many viewpoints, ranging from elite political actors and intergovernmental organizations to social-movement activists and citizens around the world.

The third edition features new material on globalization and the environment, the World Bank, the WTO, "stakeholder" approaches to international environmental cooperation, and the

2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development. Each section has been supplemented with critical thinking exercises, and a book-related web site provides links to suggested readings and internet resources. To purchase *Green Planet Blues*, please visit www.perseusbooksgroup.com.

Upcoming Events

➤ **Happy Anniversary to ECSP!** Since 1994, ECSP has explored the connections among environmental change, water, population, and health, and their links to conflict, human insecurity, and foreign policy. ECSP is planning to celebrate its anniversary with a special edition of its flagship report, among other events.

➤ This year, ECSP is planning to release a special report on **HIV/AIDS and developing-country militaries**. Contributors include **Rodger Yeager** and **Stuart Kingma** of the Civil-Military Alliance to Combat HIV & AIDS and **Captain Stephen Talugende** (left), a Ugandan army officer living with HIV/AIDS.



➤ Along with Population Action International (PAI) and the Heinz Center for Science, Economics and the Environment, ECSP is planning a series of meetings on **population and biodiversity**. **Thomas Lovejoy** of the Heinz Center and **Amy Coen** of PAI are co-chairing this effort to increase communication, deepen understanding, and foster collaboration between the population and conservation communities. ECSP intends to invite high-profile speakers to the Wilson Center in a directed program designed to bring these important topics to policymakers, practitioners, and scholars. ■

ECSP News

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environmental change & security project

RANDALL TOBIAS

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(2) Rapid expansion of antiretroviral therapy programs for HIV-infected persons, including the provision of technical assistance to develop indigenous capacity to continue antiretroviral therapy programs;

(3) The provision of expert guidance and technical assistance to ministries of health and national blood transfusion services for the rapid development and strengthening of safe blood programs;

(4) Support to orphans and vulnerable children affected by HIV/AIDS; and

(5) Programs to reduce transmission by unsafe medical practices, including in particular the promotion of safe medical injection practices.

“The president’s plan represents the largest commitment ever by a single nation for an international health initiative.”

—RANDALL TOBIAS

Without intervention, experts predict that over 85 million people will be infected worldwide by 2010, with a loss of human life to AIDS totaling 100 million by 2020. In partnership with govern-

ments, non-governmental organizations, and multilateral institutions, we can maximize our efforts and make real gains in the fight against HIV/AIDS, a fight in which every battle won is measured in lives saved, families held intact, nations moving forward

with development, and the future secured.

President Bush has said that “the advance of freedom and hope is challenged by the spread of AIDS.” All who join in the worldwide campaign against AIDS serve on the frontlines of freedom and hope. I look forward to serving with you. ■

JEFFREY MCKEE

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environment.

McKee noted that some ecologists oppose this view because they regard an individual’s consumption pattern, or ecological footprint, as more significant than the sheer number of people. However, he pointed out that a country’s gross national product, a measure of its consumption, is not correlated to the number of threatened species. He suggested that poor countries have a direct impact on species extinction, whereas developed countries’ consumption patterns indirectly impact biodiversity. McKee closed his talk with a maxim that summed up his position on the relative effects of population growth and consumption patterns: “Count heads, mind your feet.”

Charity Should Begin at Home

In the lively discussion that followed, a participant posited that by using simple correlations to blame the global South, McKee was shielding developed nations and industrialized economies from responsibility for species extinction. “Charity should begin at home,” McKee responded, agreeing that developed countries should reduce their consumption of natural resources.

Another questioner observed that while extinction was a global crisis, population policies and politics tended to be local issues. In response, McKee promoted policies focused on education, community decision-making, empowerment for women, and direct access to contraceptives and family plan-

ning materials. He also advocated the removal of the global gag rule.

Integrating Population with Conservation

Some participants pointed out that measuring conservation by the number of threatened species might not be politically popular, particularly in developing countries. In response, McKee reiterated his claim that without reducing population growth, conservation would not make a difference. Noting that resource-rich countries contain a large number of the world’s poor, another audience member suggested that improving governance is just as vital as family planning to reducing people’s impact on biodiversity.

In light of the evidence presented by McKee, an attendee recommended that environmental and population organizations, and their funding agencies, take a multi-sectoral approach to fight extinction’s disturbing trend. Acknowledging that coordinating these activities would be a tremendous organizational challenge, he recommended that conservationists carry out a gap analysis to determine how to allocate money to population organizations to promote family planning. ■

Notes

¹ Cincotta, Richard P. & Robert Engelman. (2000). *Nature’s place: Human population and the future of biodiversity*. Washington, D.C.: Population Action International.

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EDITOR

Meaghan Parker

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Richard Thomas

PHOTOGRAPHS

David Hawxhurst
Geoffrey D. Dabelko
Caryl Feldacker

ECSP STAFF:

Geoffrey D. Dabelko
Nelia Forest
Timothy Hildebrandt
Jennifer Kaczor
Ariel Méndez
Meaghan Parker
Richard Thomas
Jennifer Turner

Environmental Change and
Security Project
The Woodrow Wilson Center
One Woodrow Wilson Plaza
1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20004-3027
Tel: 202-691-4130
Fax: 202-691-4184
E-mail: ecsp@si.edu
www.wilsoncenter.org/ecsp

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Environmental Change and Security Project Report 9

➔ Should global poverty be considered a U.S. national security issue? According to President Bush, poverty in the developing world should be a security concern for the United States. However, some analysts feel that the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have diverted resources away from efforts to fight global poverty. Others caution that the relationship between poverty and terrorism is not so simple.

The ninth issue of the *Environmental Change and Security Report* features five expert commentaries on this connection. **Jeffrey D. Sachs** of Columbia University writes, "In many cases, the linkages from economic collapse to state failure to U.S. military engagements could not be clearer." Warns **Vincent Ferraro** of Mount Holyoke College: "The weaknesses of poor states could destabilize the entire international system...Rich and poor nations are locked together in a mutual hostage situation." However, **Carol Lancaster** of Georgetown University asserts, "Poverty does not produce terrorists. And eliminating poverty is not likely to eliminate terrorism."

The *Report* also examines population's impact on the environment. Renowned primate researcher **Jane Goodall** describes the damage inflicted by migrating refugees and unsustainable development on the Gombe National Park in Tanzania, and dis-

cusses how The Jane Goodall Institute is addressing the problem by improving the lives of people around the park and Central Africa as a whole. **Frederick A.B. Meyerson** and **Susan Gibbs** examine challenges facing the emerging field of population-environment studies, from "summit fatigue" to recent changes in public and private giving.

ECSP Report 9 also takes a look at water policy in Southern Africa, where increasing scarcity contributes to regional tensions. Author **Anthony Turton** of the University of Pretoria argues that transparency could lead to cooperation: "Data imbalances increase power disparities within river basins, acting as fundamental drivers of conflict." And, **Adil Najam** of Tufts University contributes a South Asian perspective on environmental stress and violence, provocatively arguing that analysts' focus on violent conflict has obscured

another lethal relationship: "The wrong end of a smokestack can be as much of a security concern to humans as the barrel of a gun."

ECSP Report 9 is available at www.wilsoncenter.org/ecsp. ■



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