

Continent

Major Conflicts

Minor Conflicts

Europe

Russia (Chechnya)
Yugoslavia (Kosovo)

Russia (Dagestan)

Middle East

West Bank and Gaza
Turkey (Kurdistan)

Asia

n State; Shan State)

Figure 2. Food Security, Civil Conflicts, and Child Mortality, 1990-96



Table 3. Agricultural Losses and Capital Flows in Conflict-Affected Sub-Saharan African Countries (\$ billion, current value)

	1980 to 1989	1990 to 1997
Losses	31.2	21.9
Official Development Assistance	50.8	65.7
Foreign Direct Investment	6.0	14.0

Source: FAO (2000b)

malnutrition in developing countries between 1970 and 1995. Increased food availability and female education together accounted for nearly 70 percent of the reduction (Smith & Haddad, 2000). But populations in war-torn countries instead suffer from decreased access to both education and food.

Land Mines

Even after wars have ceased, landmines planted during conflict continue to exact high costs in terms of human life, economic and social development, and agricultural production.² Mines are frequently planted

War-induced reductions in food production mean income losses and reduced access to food for a large portion of the population, with a heavy impact on the poorest households.

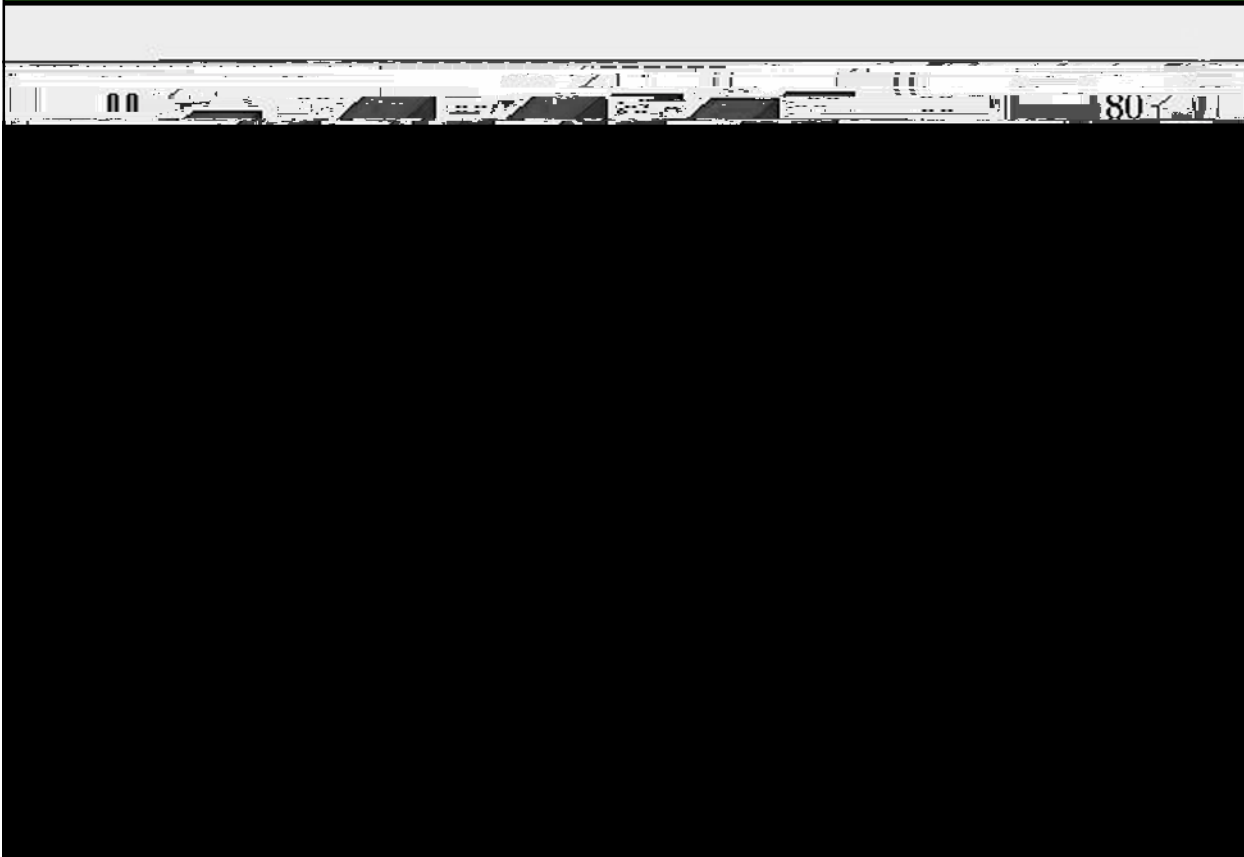
in rural areas, limiting access to farmland, roads, drinking water, and sources of firewood. Safe removal of 60 to 70 million unexploded landmines from 70

But the famine experience of Ethiopia in the 1980s demonstrated that improvements in famine early warning are not sufficient to ensure the successful prevention or mitigation of both famines and the possibility that denial of access to food will ignite conflict. Governments must be both capable and politically willing (a) to monitor and assess the resulting information and then intervene, (b) to identify regions and localities where food is lacking, (c) to import food in the form of aid or trade, and (d) to administer programs of relief where food access is severely restricted. This need for responsible political action was raised as well in reviews of famine vulnerability in Africa during the 1980s, which demonstrated convincingly that both the political will to protect food security as well as good governance were necessary for early warning and response to

Mathematical models developed for a U.S. government study identified high infant mortality—the variable that most efficiently reflects a country's overall quality of material life—as the single most efficient variable for explaining conflicts between 1955 and 1994. Along with trade openness and regime type, infant mortality

emergency needs have claimed ever-larger slices of this aid because of the proliferation of crises. In 1996, emergency assistance came to 9.5 percent of all worldwide development aid, compared to 3.5 percent in 1987. Forty-one percent of food aid tonnage in 1996 was devoted to emergency relief, as opposed to 10 percent in the 1970s (OECD, 1998-2000; WFP, 2000). Emergency aid is usually necessary to save lives once a crisis occurs. But the relative and absolute reduction

Figure 3. Trends in Aid Funding, 1980-82 to 1995-97 (millions of 1995 US \$)



favor growth but also on the construction of social contexts that promote social justice (De Soysa & Gleditsch, 1999; Kerr & Kolavilli, 1999).

It has been argued that Green Revolution technologies, which tended to benefit first the better-off farmers in many Asian communities, also benefited many rural poor people through lower food prices and increased employment opportunities on and off the farm (Kerr & Kolavilli, 1999). In the Indian states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu, agricultural and rural development programs have been coupled with extensive social programs and investment in human resources. In Maharashtra, social programs include state-funded public works employment—programs implemented whenever the danger of famine arises. Such interventions that do not privilege the already-privileged can reduce tensions and arguably have forestalled the types of food riots still prevalent in India as late as 1974. And as an alternative to such Green

Worldwide official development assistance from the principal developed-country donors dropped 21 percent over 1992-97.

Revolution or bio-revolution agricultural development strategies, some agroecologists (including those working in conflict-prone areas) are supporting farmer-led efforts to replace chemical-intensive with alternative agroecological farming methods. Ecological, economic, and sociocultural factors are combined in this holistic approach (Thrupp, 1998; Thrupp, 2000; and Altieri, 1995).

When international, national, and local government or non-government policies and projects make equity an important consideration in rural development or relief activities, it can make an enormous difference in the effectiveness of such activities (De Soysa & Gleditsch, 1999; Drèze & Sen, 1989). In the case of relief-to-development activities in conflict-prone situations, policymakers can also promote agricultural and other programs that foster or demand cooperation among rival communities or community groups—thus avoiding the kinds of negative competition for development aid that analysts have cited as one of the causes leading to violence in

examining how better to link emergency aid programs to longer-term development efforts. Many developing country governments have enhanced their emergency response capabilities. The participation of civil society—and especially of the affected communities in such activities—is critical. More positive scenarios

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