Following this overview is the first substantial case study of the book, Richard Matthew's "People, Scarcity and Violence in Pakistan." This material is familiar to readers of *ECSP Report* because it closely follows Matthew's analysis of Pakistan in that journal's issue 7; however, because the article has little to say about forests, conflict, and conservation, it seems misplaced here. Charles Victor Barber's detailed analysis of Indonesia ("Forests, Fires and Confrontation in Indonesia"), the book's next substantial case study, is very much about forests—specifically, their destruction as a result of the policies of the Suharto government and the failure of the post-Suharto regime to deal with illegal logging and related local conflicts. The scale of the destruction and the viciousness of the conflicts Barber details suggest that drastic
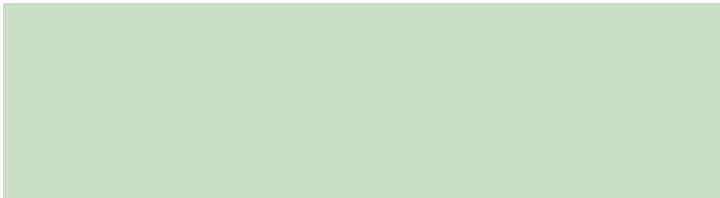
rounds off the substantive contributions to *Conserving the Peace*. Oglethorpe et al. attempt to summarize current such conservation efforts as well as what governments, nongovernmental organizations, and IUCN can do in such situations as those discussed in these case studies. Monitoring and information provision are important, but it is also clear that IUCN is not a peacekeeping organization. Trying to accomplish such an

> **If the presentation of *Conserving the Peace* is Sou**

overview in under twenty pages is most ambitious. So, too, is the editors' attempt to provide conclusions, a summary of findings, and recommendations to the whole volume in the last sixteen pages. And why the last policy brief is situated immediately after the book's conclusion but before the conclusion's endnotes is simply puzzling.

Some of *Conserving the Peace's* individual chapters are strong and useful analyses, even if they do not share much in terms of approach, conceptual frameworks, or assumptions. However, the most obvious weakness of the book is in the design and layout of its material. Some chapters have references at the end; other sources are presented in cumulatively numbered endnotes that are interspersed at various places in the text. The first two notes are actually footnotes at the bottom of the preparatory pages. But note 3 referring to the opening quote on page 4 in the introduction actually turns out to be endnote 3 on page 24.

The Richard Matthew chapter on Pakistan includes a list of references and selected readings as well as endnotes; but then two "briefs"—which have no apparent connections to Pakistan—are interposed between the references and notes for this chapter. If all this sounds confusing, it is. Some chapters use numbered headings; others don't. These inconsistencies—coupled with multiple fonts, highlighted text to emphasize issues, and a too-frequent use of headers—yield a difficult-to-read volume that dilutes its own message.

The use of issue boxes and summary recommendations at the end of *Conserving the Peace* make its conclusion especially awkward to read at a point where clarity is needed most. Given the difficulties presented by the arrangement of material, an index would also have helped—but none is provided. If the book's presentation is intended as some clever postmodern textual trick to offer material in an innovative manner, it fails miserably. If it is instead an attempt to retain the diversity of perspectives and the original "voice" of the contributing authors, then it is at the cost of coherence in the finished product. *Conserving the Peace* is in stark contrast to the normal clarity of lead editor Richard Matthew's scholarly style and obscures the utility of its case studies—those of Indonesia and Hurricane Mitch in particular—as analyses of the relationships between environment and conflict. If, as the book's conclusion suggests, IUCN and IISD plan subsequent volumes to *Conserving the Peace*, these books will need clear editorial direction and consistency of presentation if they are to be effective at either analysis or policy prescription.

While *Conserving the Peace* is disjointed and focused mostly on the local and the specific, *Trade, Aid and Security* is short, succinct, and deals with the large scale of aid and world trade. Adding security into this topical mix demonstrates that conventional discussions of international trade and aid neglect a number of important considerations.

Contrary to the assumptions of many economic policymakers, aid and trade do not necessarily support either political stability or human security. Illegal trade—such as smuggled timber and other natural resources—sometimes directly supports violence and instability. Aid is still frequently tied to the purchase of goods and services from donor countries; it might also be restricted to large-scale infrastructure projects that disrupt environments and their peoples and lead to insecurity. Small-scale projects that provide social services in unspectacular but substantive ways are frequently much more important in improving the security of poor people in the South than either trade or aid. Halle, Switzer, and Winkler's suggestion that the World Trade Organization should grapple with the security implications of its policies is interesting and useful: such a move would

recognize global political matters in terms now unavoidable after the events of September 11.

This working paper—which might well be termed a policy brief—offers a useful challenge to the simplistic assumption that trade is necessarily beneficial. Neither governments nor conventional trade policy analysts might welcome its advocacy for the extension of security themes into the agenda of trade organizations, but *Trade, Aid, and Security* makes the case for such inclusion in a readable, well-referenced discussion. Future IISD/IUCN collaborations should make more explicit the link among conservation, security, conflict, and international trade. The growing literature on resource wars in particular makes such discussions timely and necessary if the larger contexts of human insecurity are to be effectively woven into the analysis of environmental security.

is professor and chair of the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at Carleton University in Ottawa. He is author of Environmental Security *(University of Minnesota, 2002).*

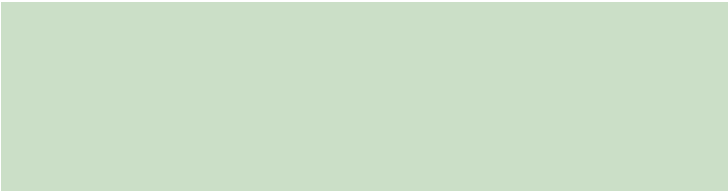## Environmental Security

By Simon Dalby
Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002. 312 pages.

Reviewed by **Keith Krause**

Environmental Security, Simon Dalby's most recent book, is an interesting contribution to the ever-expanding debate on the meaning and importance of the environment for contemporary security analysis. However, Dalby's point of departure here is much broader than prominent contributions to the debate by such scholars as Thomas Homer-Dixon (1999) or J0o8h548.4a8lsalysi -0.0014.18 T681 Tw [(5])-5607 Thionm1.2 TD'aneen]TJ 14.1.1886 J 14 cr0so3.2irlrarS

imposed on these states by consumption patterns in the North.

Equally important are Dalby's repeated reminders of the widespread impact of colonialism and "the colonial imagination" on the environment-security nexus. In a quick review of a large literature, he captures under this umbrella of the "colonial imagination" phenomena as diverse as Northern notions of the park and ecotourism, the impact of resource-extraction industries on local political dynamics, and the "colonial

assumptions" in many environmentalists' vision of indigenous peoples. Dalby's logic is clear and often compelling, although at times one wonders about the adequacy of the idea of "colonialism" as a catch-all for such disparate phenomena.

But in terms of understanding environmental security, Dalby usefully deploys these concepts in order to "globalize" environmental security debates, placing the work of scholars such as Homer-Dixon, for example, within a broader context that links the political economy of African conflicts to Northern lifestyles and choices. "Conflict goods" such as diamonds, coltan, or tropical timber often become the objects of violent contestation in such places as Angola, Sierra Leone, or the Democratic Republic of Congo. "Greed" replaces "grievance" (to use Paul Collier's term) as a motivation for warfare. The greed is linked to specific patterns of global trade, and it also has a destructive environmental consequences. Rampant deforestation in Indonesia—conducted in the name of nation-building—is an excellent example of this dynamic.

Dalby constantly reminds us that there are not two worlds—a zone of peace and a zone of turmoil—but one world, with its different parts interacting in complex ways. Certainly, ecologists and students of globalization would share his view that a state-centric vision of world politics focused on

qualified, and then restated in another form.

But taken as a whole, *Environmental Security* is a serious attempt to grapple with the broader issues that arise from any attempt to understand modern society's relationship to the environment, and to the threats and insecurities emerging from the complex (and misleadingly dichotomous) interaction of man and nature. In the end, one is left pessimistic about the prospects for breaking out of many of the ecological traps Dalby identifies. As he puts it, "accelerating attempts to manage planet Earth using technocratic, centralized modes of control…may simply exacerbate existing trends" (page 145). Perhaps the

Western vision that gave birth to the modern political community—liberal, free, and capitalist—inevitably carries the seeds of its own destruction.

_____ is professor of international politics at the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, and director of its Programme in Strategic and International Security Studies. He is also co-editor of Critical Security Studies *(University of Minnesota, 1997) and of*

Barnett, Jon (2001). *The meaning of environmental security.* London: Zed Books.

Homer-Dixon, Thomas (1999). *Environment, scarcity and violence.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kaplan, Robert. (2000). *The coming anarchy: Shattering the dreams of the cold war.* New York: Random House.

(with one exception) have extensive backgrounds with the U.S. Defense or State Departments. They do not demonstrate much familiarity with the academic literature and make no attempts to respond to familiar methodological concerns about case study selection or competing explanations that emphasize social variables. They cite military leaders such as Zinni and Tommy Franks as authorities, and draw heavily on their own field experiences to make their arguments. As such, the case studies will seem formulaic and uncritical to some readers. But

Environmental Security and Global Stability has another goal than contributing to the academic literature.

In the co-authored introduction to the book, editor Max Manwaring (a retired U.S. Army colonel) and retired ambassador Frank McNeill more or less assume the gist of Homer-Dixon's familiar analysis: that the relationship between environmental stress and conflict is both significant and likely to intensify in the years ahead. As Manwaring puts it in the Preface, "[t]he cumulative political, economic, social, and security costs of environmental degradation…will cancel out the growth from unconstrained exploitation. In the global security arena, the results are tension, instability, violence, and possibly state failure" (page xii).

Manwaring and McNeill do disagree, however, with Homer-Dixon's 011 Tc confliobalig endd Mcpreva35.6(T*)-3ffudiecin t 0.0178 Tc 671378 eac 0gTJ 1.7s.038 Tc w (Envi…wi82971 -1.2 TD 0)-23.bal Stability possibly stat13Pr

degradation will worsen during the next decade; he also suggests that multilateral cooperation will be required to meet the challenges this degradation will create. The very general character of these claims makes them difficult to dispute, but also of little interest to the environmental security community. Darci Glass-Royal and Ray Simmons then add a case study of the Panama Canal watershed ("A Micro Look at Latin America: Security Implications of Panama's Environmental Problems") in which they argue that canal expansion is taking a toll on the watershed, which could cause conflict in the future. Glass-Royal and Simmons do not discuss the mechanism for this outcome, however, and hence their conclusion must also be regarded as very speculative.

The final case study (Stephen Kiser's "Water: The Hydraulic Parameter of Conflict in the Jordan River Basin") tackles the well-known problem of the Jordan River basin. Kiser is guarded in his analysis, suggesting that "water use is simply one of many tensions between the peoples of the Jordan River basin" (page 149). His analysis tends to confirm the findings of Miriam Lowi, Aaron Wolf, and others who contend that Middle East instability and conflict is largely grounded in historical, political, and social factors. Water problems may complicate matters, or be addressed cooperatively behind the scenes; in either case, however, they are not at the root of the region's security concerns.

While the case studies do not add to the theoretical framework of the field, Manwaring's conclusion to the book ("The Environment as a Global Stability-Security Issue") develops a concept of environmental security that is interesting insofar as it reflects the post Cold War perspectives of very senior—albeit now retired—U.S. military personnel. Manwaring argues that many parts of the world face high levels of instability—a condition, he asserts, that is affected by environmental degradation. And as local, state, and regional instability escalate, Manwaring adds, stability will become a global issue with security implications for every country (especially, given its preeminence on the world stage, for the United States).

In other words, Manwaring moves away from the focus on very localized manifestations of environmental stress and conflict that are typical of the field, and worries about the environmental dimension of instability at the global level. It is by virtue of its destabilizing *planetary* impact that environmental stress becomes a national security issue for the United States.

At the root of the problem, Manwaring argues, lie the difficulties many states have faced in establishing adequate governance institutions. The absence of these institutions, he asserts, enables environmental degradation and a host of other destabilizing forces to grow. The ultimate solution "is to construct stability and a sustainable peace on the foundation of a carefully thought-out, holistic, long-term, phased planning and implementation process"—which must include addressing environmental problems (page 179).

In short, a world of well-governed, environmentally sustainable states will also be a stable and safe world. But unless the United States leads on this issue, Manwaring concludes, existing problems are likely to persist and increase, leading to even greater instability and conflict than we are experiencing today.

Overall, *Environmental Change and Global Stability* is an interesting window into how the concept of environmental security is being used by some influential U.S. military thinkers. But how central the concept is to the U.S. drive to maintain military predominance in a complex, dynamic, fast-paced world is not clear. At the very least, the spirit of this book—"let's build a better world"—is at odds with the current U.S. military move towards greater reliance on covert operations and special forces. In any case, the volume will be of interest to anyone concerned with these tensions. As it does not make a significant theoretical contribution to the field and for the most part covers familiar ground, it will be of less interest to a broader readership.

. is an associate professor at the University of California-Irvine and director of the Global Environmental Change and Human Security Research Office (www.gechs.uci.edu). His recent books include Contested Grounds *(SUNY*

References

Butts, Kent. (1999). "The case for DOD involvement in environmental security." In Daniel Deudney & Richard Matthew (Eds.), *Contested grounds: Security and conflict in the new environmental politics* (pages 109-126). Albany: SUNY Press.

Dalby, Simon. (1994). "The politics of environmental security." In Jyrki Kakonen (Ed.), *Green security or militarized environment* (pages 25-54). Brookfield: Dartmouth Publishing.

Deudney, Daniel. (1990). "The case against linking environmental degradation and national security." *Millennium 19*, 461-76.