

lesser extent on intrastate threats and criminal activities.⁷ In certain forms, the environment has always been a part of the traditional understanding of national security, such as how military activities influence the environment. The question of whether environmental stress can contribute to or bring about armed conflict, however, has not tended to be a strong traditional element in national security considerations. This question allows us to enlarge our understanding of what constitutes national security, but to a considerably lesser degree than demanded by the very broad definition discussed earlier. It is important to note that in both the broad and what we may call the "environmentally enhanced" narrower definition of national security, the environmental context applies to more than interstate violence. Depending on the nature of the environmental stress, i.e., global or local, the effect of the stress could arise sub-nationally or even more locally. Consequently, the prospect of acute environmental stress in a more restricted locality generating a violent response cannot be excluded. The environmental stress-national security linkage moves the focus of attention away from largely interstate conflict, to a more balanced concern with intrastate/interstate conflicts.

3. The Reversed Role: Violence and the Environment

While environmental stress may contribute to military violence, the reverse is also true. Military violence and the preparation for the use of violence contributes to environmental stress. This is true for both interstate and intrastate armed conflicts. During the twentieth century, military forces in the developed world have principally been maintained for use against external enemies. This is less true for the role of the military in the developing countries. In the developing countries, the military has played a larger role in domestic political activities, including the military takeovers in such countries as Chile, Indonesia and Uganda. From the environmental perspective, military violence may have local as well as potentially global effects.

Military violence and the environment are linked in three major ways.⁸ First, national defence requires expenditure on military goods and services. This is the well known "swords into ploughshares" dilemma, the notion that military expenditure could

⁷The archetype for traditional national security was the Cold War. From the NATO perspective, this meant national security concerns associated with the threat of an expansionist Soviet Union.

⁸See Daniel Deudney, "The Case Against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security," Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 1990, Vol. 19, No.3.