

JOINTLY PRESENT

# TWENTY YEARS AFTER THE COMING ANARCHY

ASSESSING THE LEGACY OF ROBERT D. KAPLAN'S 1994 ANALYSIS

> WORKSHOP

February 8, 2014

Balsillie School of International  
Affairs, Room 142

67 Erb Street West,  
CIGI Campus, Waterloo

**DATE/TIME**

8:30 – 9:00am	Coffee, light snacks, registration
9:00 – 9:10am	Welcome Remarks: Dr. Simon Dalby, BSIA
9:10 – 9:30am	Thomas Homer-Dixon, BSIA
9:30 – 10:45am	<b>PANEL 1 – JOURNALISM AND FOREIGN POLICY REPORTING</b> Panel Chair: Simon Dalby, BSIA <i>Speakers:</i> <b>Kevin Dunn</b> , Department of Political Science, Hobart and William Smith Colleges <b>Cleo Paskal</b> , Energy, Environment and Resources Department, Chatham House
10:45 – 11:00am	Coffee Break
11:00 – 12:30pm	<b>PANEL 2 – FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICIES</b> Panel Chair: Alistair Edgar, ACUNS and LCMSDS <i>Speakers:</i> <b>Geoff Dabelko</b> , Voinovich School of Leadership and Public Affairs, Ohio University <b>Lucie Edwards</b> , BSIA
12:30 – 1:30pm	Lunch Break
1:30 – 3:00pm	<b>PANEL 3 – REPERCUSSIONS AND DEVELOPMENTS ON THE GROUND</b> Panel Chair: TBC <i>Speakers:</i> <b>Elizabeth Hartmann</b> , Population and Development Program, Hampshire College
3:00 – 4:00pm	<b>RESPONSES, REFLECTIONS AND FOLLOW-ON</b> Panel Chair: Simon Dalby, BSIA  <i>Thanks &amp; Closing Remarks:</i> Alistair Edgar

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## Workshop Rationale

Ideas matter. Following Samuel Huntington's 1993 Foreign Affairs article "The Clash of Civilizations?" - and the failed US military intervention in that year against the warlords in Mogadishu, Somalia - Robert D. Kaplan's February 1994 essay in *The Atlantic* quickly became a definitive work informing and shaping the impressions, and the policy choices, of many Western government leaders and officials. President Bill Clinton reportedly had US Department of State Undersecretary for Global Affairs Tim Wirth fax copies of "The Coming Anarchy" to every US embassy around the world. The US experiences in Somalia, and the 'Afro-pessimism' of Kaplan's analysis, were powerful influences - amongst others - behind President Clinton's refusal to become engaged in any attempt to intervene to prevent or to stop the Rwanda genocide that took place in April-July 1994.

Canadian and other Western European governments as well as the United Nations followed suit in distributing Kaplan's piece, which again (arguably) informed these governments' and international organizations' policy thinking as well as scholarly and media analyses.

Also like Huntington's article and subsequent book, Kaplan's ideas and analysis spawned an industry of counter-arguments and criticisms of various kinds. Our proposed Workshop will avoid engaging at the micro-level with these often deeply divisive pro- and anti-Kaplan arguments. Instead, at a broader level, on the twentieth anniversary of its publication, our intention is to bring together relevant experts who can reflect carefully and substantively on how the ideas and the debates generated by "The Coming Anarchy" shaped, affected and perhaps precluded policy choices and behaviors - in Western capitals, in international organizations, NGOs and elsewhere, and for several of these experts directly in their own work.

These reflections will be undertaken from three directions:

- (a) The foreign policy and security dimensions of US, Canadian and other states' or organizations' policies;
- (b) Media coverage of Africa, and of the environment and climate change; and
- (c) Practical developments in particular places highlighted in the essay, especially Sierra Leone but also Africa more generally.

As Canadians now are beginning to debate the assumptions and ideas that may (or may not) inform current foreign policy choices being promoted in Ottawa; as we continue to see and hear divisive debates about the meaning and effects of events such as the so-called 'Arab Spring'; and as governments and civil society attempt through the United Nations to set out a 'Post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda', reflecting on the legacy of Kaplan's ideas is an ideal opportunity to think about how and why particular ideas or views of 'the other' and of related priorities and challenges in the world around us matter.

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## Biographical Notes On Speakers (Alphabetical order)

### GEOFF DABELKO

Geoffrey D. Dabelko is director of the Ohio University Voinovich School Environmental Studies program. He joined the School in August 2012 and was previously director of the Woodrow Wilson Center's Environmental Change and Security Program, a nonpartisan research-policy forum on environment, population, health, development, and security issues. He is also an adjunct professor at the Monterey Institute of International Studies. For the past 20 plus years, he has brought together policymakers, practitioners, journalists, and scholars grappling with complex links among environment, population, development, conflict, and security. His current research focuses on climate change, natural resources, and security as well as environmental pathways to confidence building and peacebuilding, with a special emphasis on water resources.

Geoff has held prior positions with the Council on Foreign Relations, Foreign Policy and Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. He currently leads two Wilson Center efforts supported by USAID: the Health, Environment, Livelihoods, Population, and Security (HELPS) Project and the Resources for Peace Project. Geoff is co-editor with Ken Conca of *Environmental Peacemaking and Green Planet Blues: Four Decades of Global Environmental Politics* (4th edition). He is an IPCC lead author for the 5th assessment (Working Group II, Chapter 12), and member of the UN Environment Programme's Expert Advisory Group on Environment, Conflict, and Peacebuilding. He holds an AB in political science from Duke University and a Ph.D. in government and politics from the University of Maryland.

### SIMON DALBY

Simon Dalby is a CIGI Chair in the Political Economy of Climate Change and Professor of Geography and Environmental Studies at Wilfrid Laurier University. His published research deals with climate change, political ecology, geopolitics, global security, environmental change, militarization and the spatial dimensions of governance. He is co-editor of *Rethinking Geopolitics* (Routledge 1998), *The Geopolitics Reader* (Routledge 1998, 2006), the journal *Geopolitics*, and author of *Creating the Second Cold War* (Pinter and Guilford, 1990), *Environmental Security* (University of Minnesota Press, 2002) and *Security and Environmental Change* (Polity, 2009).

Simon Dalby was educated at Trinity College Dublin, the University of Victoria and holds a Ph.D. from Simon Fraser University. Before joining the Balsillie School he was Professor of Geography, Environmental Studies and Political Economy at Carleton University in Ottawa.

### KEVIN DUNN

Kevin Dunn is Associate Professor of Political Science at Hobart and William Smith Colleges, where he has taught since 2001. He serves as Chair of the Global Development Section of the ISA. Previous teaching positions included at Boston University, Boston College Chestnut Hill, St. Anselm College and Tufts University. He is the author of *Imaging the Congo: Constructing and contesting identity in international relations*, forthcoming from Palgrave. Kevin's current research interests focus on the African Great Lakes Region - Uganda, Rwanda, Congo, Burundi and Tanzania.

### LUCIE EDWARDS

Lucie Edwards is a doctoral candidate at the Balsillie School of International Affairs and an instructor in foreign policy at the University of Waterloo. Her primary research interest is the use of science and technology for the poor, with a particular focus on initiatives to support the "bottom billion" in Africa and South Asia. She retired from the Department of Foreign Affairs in 2009. Her last assignment in a 34-year foreign service career was as Chief Strategist. Overseas, she served as Canadian High Commissioner to India (2003-06), South Africa (1999-2003) and Kenya (1993-95). Throughout her career she has specialized in international development, with a particular interest in food security and rural poverty in Africa and South Asia. She currently serves on the board of Partners in Health Canada.

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### ELIZABETH HARTMANN

Betsy Hartmann is Director of the Population and Development Program and Professor of Development Studies at Hampshire College. She writes and speaks on the intersections of international population, development, environment and peace issues in journalistic, policy and scholarly venues. Her recent research focuses on the securitization of climate change especially in reference to Africa. She is currently writing a book on apocalyptic thinking in the U.S. entitled *Apocalypse Forever: Nature, Empire and the American Dream*. She is the author of the feminist classic, *Reproductive Rights and Wrongs: The Global Politics of Population Control*, co-author of *A Quiet Violence: View from a Bangladesh Village* and co-editor of the anthology, *Making Threats: Biofears and Environmental Anxieties*. Her political thrillers *Deadly Election* and *The Truth about Fire* focus on the threat posed by the Far Right in the United States and Europe. Dr. Hartmann received her BA in South Asian Studies from Yale University, and her PhD in Development Studies from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

### THOMAS HOMER-DIXON

Thomas Homer-Dixon holds the Centre for International Governance Innovation Chair of Global Systems at the Balsillie School of International Affairs in Waterloo, Canada. He is a Professor in the Department of Political Science in the Faculty of Arts, with a cross-appointment to the School of Environment, Enterprise, and Development in the Faculty of Environment, University of Waterloo.

Recently, his research has focused on threats to global security in the 21st century (including climate change and energy scarcity) and on how societies innovate in response to complex economic, ecological, and technological change. His work is highly interdisciplinary, drawing on political science, economics, environmental studies, geography, cognitive science, social psychology, and complex systems theory. Dr. Homer-Dixon teaches courses on environmental security, energy and society, global security governance, causes of violent conflict, international relations theory, research methods, philosophy of social science, and complexity theory.

His scholarly writings have appeared in *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Security*, *Ambio*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Population and Development Review*, and the *Journal of Environment and Development*. He has written for non-academic audiences in *Foreign Policy*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Scientific American*, *The New York Times*, *the Washington Post*, and the *Financial Times*. He has spoken about his work to academic and general audiences around the world and has consulted to senior levels of government in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom.

His books include *The Upside of Down: Catastrophe, Creativity, and the Renewal of Civilization* (Knopf, Island Press, 2006; Text, 2007); *The Ingenuity Gap* (Knopf, Jonathan Cape, 2000); and *Environment, Scarcity, and Violence* (Princeton, 1999). Edited books include *Carbon Shift: How Peak Oil and the Climate Crisis Will Change Canada*, co-edited with Nick Garrison (Random House Canada, 2009), and *Ecoviolence: Links among Environment, Population, and Security*, co-edited with Jessica Blitt (Rowman & Littlefield, 1998).

### CLEO PASKAL

Geostrategic analyst Cleo Paskal is an Associate Fellow in the Energy, Environment and Resources department at Chatham House, London, as well as Adjunct Faculty in the Department of Geopolitics, Manipal University, India. She researches the increasingly strategic confluence of changes in the '3 geos' (geopolitical, geoeconomic, and geophysical changes). For example, an increasingly geopolitically and geoeconomically strong China, combined with geophysical changes in the far North, have resulted in the new dynamic of China as a nascent Arctic power - something only possible because of the epochal changes in all '3 geos'. She also researches similar dynamic '3 geos' nodes in the Indo-Pacific, the US and Europe.

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Cleo has guest lectured at universities on most continents, including Cambridge University, Northwestern University, the London School of Economics and Auckland University. She has consulted for, or briefed, a wide range of stakeholders including: the US Department of Energy, US Army War College, UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Royal College of Defence Studies (UK), National Defence College (India), the German Foreign Office, EU, the heads of major corporations, and security professionals from over 30 countries. Cleo has contributed to, among many others, *The World Today*, *Sunday Times (UK)*, *The Telegraph (UK)*, *Australian Financial Review*, *International Affairs*, *Journal of International Security Affairs*, and the *BBC*. She is a *Huffington Post* columnist. Her book *Global Warring: How Environmental, Economic, and Political Crises Will Redraw the World Map* (Macmillan, 2010) won multiple awards. Her most recent book is the bestselling *Spielball Erde* (Random House, 2012), co-authored with German tv anchorman Claus Kleber.