

**Strengthening Euro-Mediterranean Relations.  
Emerging Dynamics, Challenges and their  
Potential Implications for the Mashreq**

**Sharm El-Sheikh, 6 & 7 October 2008**

**Soft Security Risks in the Euro-Mediterranean Area:  
What Justification for Increased Securitization?**

**Hans Günter Brauch**

PD (Adj. Prof.), Free University of Berlin

Senior Fellow, Institute on Environment and Human Security of the  
United Nations University (UNU-EHS)

Peace Research and European Security Studies (AFES-PRESS)

Editor, Hexagon Series on Human, Environmental Security and Peace





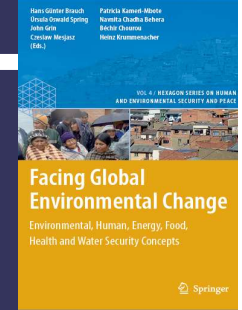
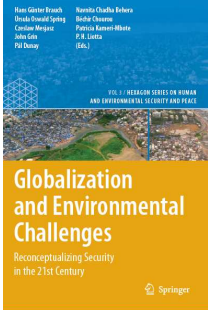
# 1. Introduction

- Ambassador Somaya Saad (Egypt) worried in 1991:
  - That wealthy countries in the North can afford to care about the environment and will undermine the international legal principle of sovereignty in the name of a higher goal called *environmental security*. The principle of sovereignty, from the perspective of the South, provides some defense against exploitation by recognizing each state, no matter how weak in capabilities, as the legitimate authority for control over the resources within its borders.
- **Is this worry still justified? Did perception change?**
- **Is the debate on securitization of non-military challenges a new effort by the North to undermine the sovereignty of the South and to justify interventions into internal affairs?**
- **Context of Responsibility to Protect?**



## 2. Receptualization of Security: Relevance for Mashreq?

- What does Securitization mean? Concept was created by Ole Waever (Copenhagen) in 1995 and applied by the Copenhagen School of Security Studies (Buzan/Waever/de Wilde (1998 and 2008/2009))
- **Securitization**: discursive & political process through which an inter-subjective understanding is constructed within a political community to treat something as an **existential threat** to a **valued referent object**, and to enable a **call for urgent and exceptional measures** to deal with the threat.
- **'Referent object'** (that is threatened and holds a general claim on 'having to survive', e.g. the **state, environment or liberal values**),
- **'Securitizing actor'** (who makes the claim – speech act – of pointing to an existential threat to referent object thereby legitimizing extraordinary measures, often but not necessarily to be carried out by the actor), and
- **Who manages to securitize what under what conditions & how?**
- **It is not up to analysts to settle the 'what is security?'** question – widening or narrowing– but more usefully one can study this as an open, empirical, political and historical question.
- **'Audience'** (have to be convinced in order for the speech act to be successful in the sense of opening the door to extraordinary measures).
- **What are the effects of this?** How does the politics of a given issue change when it shifts from being a normal political issue to becoming ascribed the urgency, priority and drama of 'a matter of security'.



# 2.1. Widening, Deepening and Sectorialization of Security Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabilities & Risks

Security dimension ⇒ ↓ Level of interaction	Military	Political	Economic	Environmental ↓	Societal
Human individual Human security ⇒			Food security Health security	<b>Cause &amp; Victim</b>	Food & Health security
Societal, community security				↓↑	
<b>National security</b>	During Cold War Shrinking (in USA since 2001)		Energy security	↓↑	Food & health security
International and Regional security			Water security	↓↑	Water security
Global and planetary security ⇒				<b>GEC</b>	



# 3. Positions of Egypt on Human Security at UNGA, 22 May 2008

Ref. object	Goals & values	Nature of threat?	Policy agenda
<b>Individuals</b> <b>peoples</b> <b>state to provide security</b>	Debate in UNGA on nonintervention, development and human rights, <b>Human development</b> <b>health education</b> , protection of women & children, Human development dignity	<b>Natural &amp; environmental disasters</b> , <b>climate change</b> , nuclear disasters, acquisition & stockpiling of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, landmines, illicit trade with small & light weapons, <b>Integrated approach to food Security</b>	Human rights, development <b>environment (climate change, Disasters)</b>

# 4. Temperature Increases & Sea Level Rise (IPCC, III: 2001, IV: 2007)

## Climate Change Impacts: Temperature & Sea level Rise

- ❖ Global average temperature rise in 20<sup>th</sup> century: **+ 0.6°C**

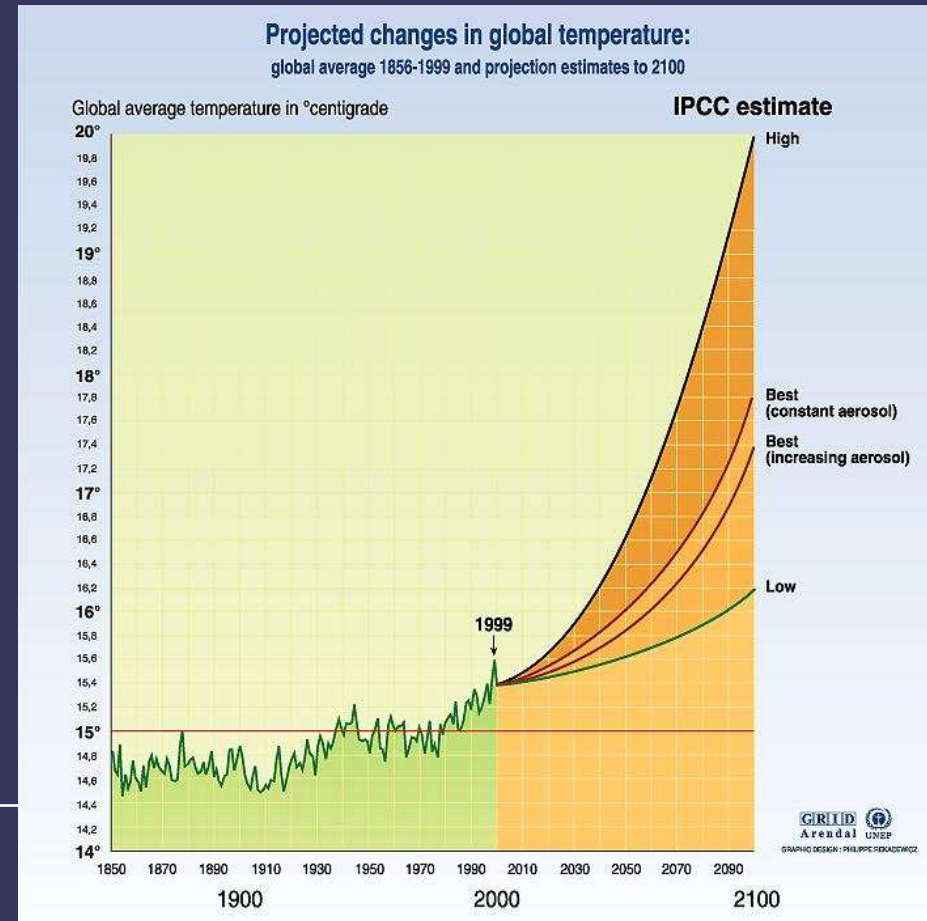
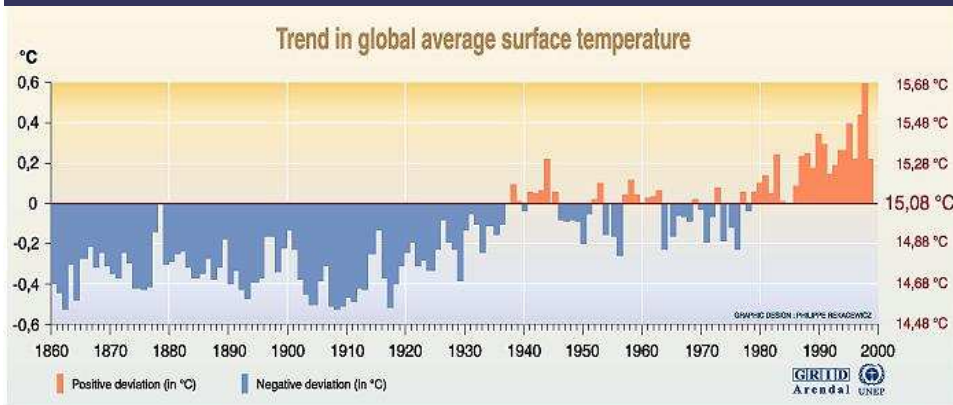
### Projected temperature rise:

- ❖ **TAR (1990-2100): +1.4-5.8°C**
- ❖ **AR4 (07): +1.1-6.4 (1.8-4)°C**

Sources: IPCC 1990, 1995, 2001, '07

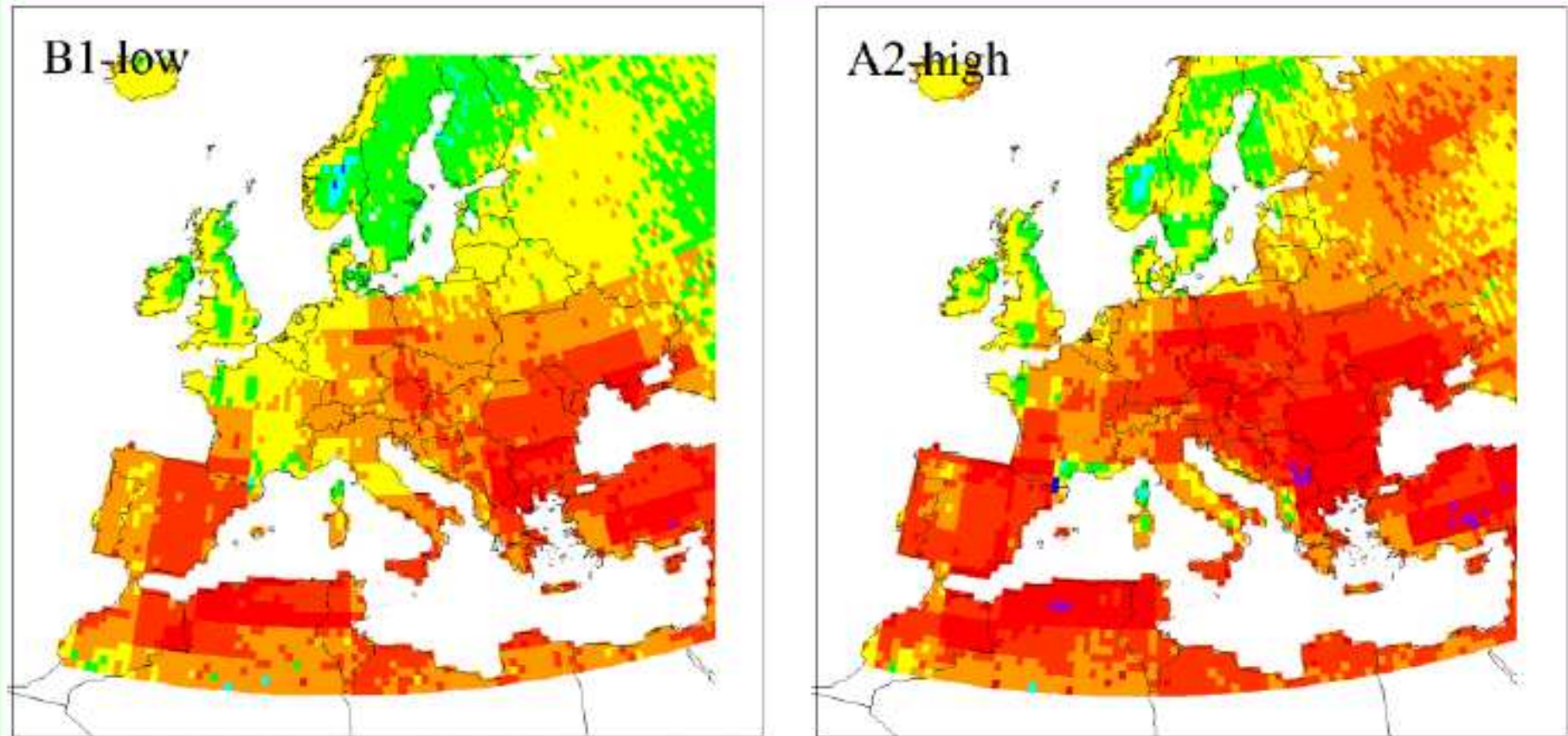
### Sea level Rise:

- ❖ 20<sup>th</sup> cent.: **+0,1-0,2 metres**
- ❖ **TAR: 21st century: 9-88 cm**
- ❖ **AR4 (2000-2100): 18-59 cm**



# 4.1. Water Availability 2050

(M. Parry, IPCC, London, 2005)



% change

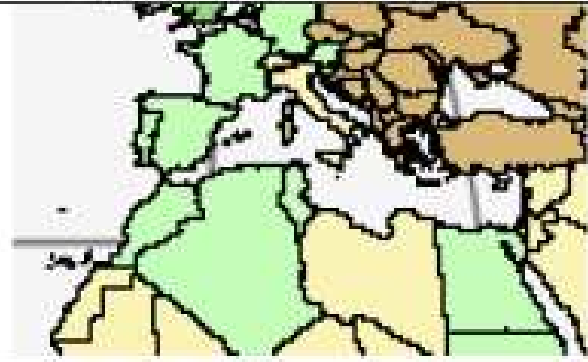




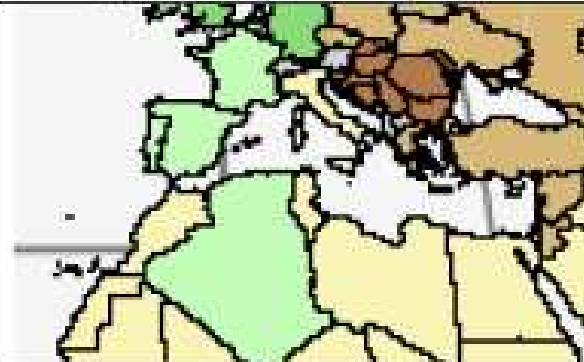
# 4.2. Climate Change and Food Security

Source: WBGU 2006

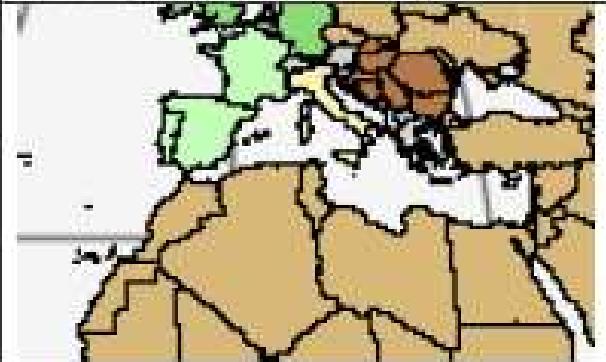
5A: Food security by 2020 (2010-2039) (HADCM3 GGal)



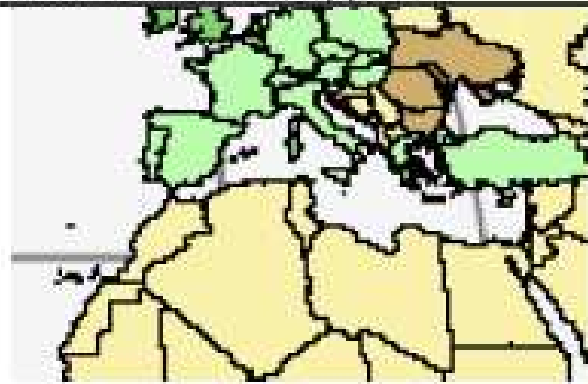
5B: Food security by 2050 2040-2069 (HADCM3 GGal)



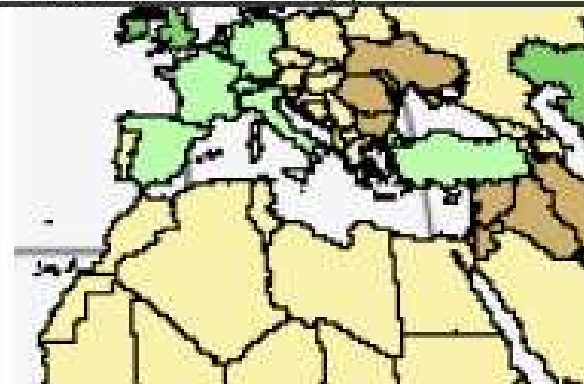
5C: Food security by 2080 2070-2099 (HADCM3 GGal)



5D: Food security by 2080 2070-2099 (HADCM2), CO<sub>2</sub> Stabilisation at 550ppmv



5E: Food security by 2080: 2070-2099 (HADCM2), CO<sub>2</sub> Stabilisation at 750ppmv



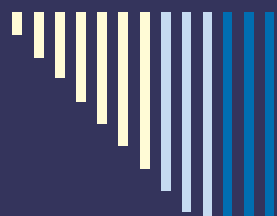
5F: Food security by 2080: 2070-2099 (HADCM2 IS92a), CO<sub>2</sub> unmitigated



potential yield change [%]







## 4.3. Mohamed El Raey, Alexandria: Impact of Sea Level Rise in Alexandria

Year Sector	2010 SLR = 18 CM	2025 SLR= 30 CM	2050 SLR= 50 CM
Area loss (km <sup>2</sup> )	11.4	19.0	31.7
Population displaced x 1000	252	545	1512
Loss of employment			
a- Agriculture	1.370	3.205	8.812
b- Tourism	5.737	12.323	33.919
c- Industry	24.400	54.936	151.200
Total loss of Employmentx1000	32.507	70.465	195.443

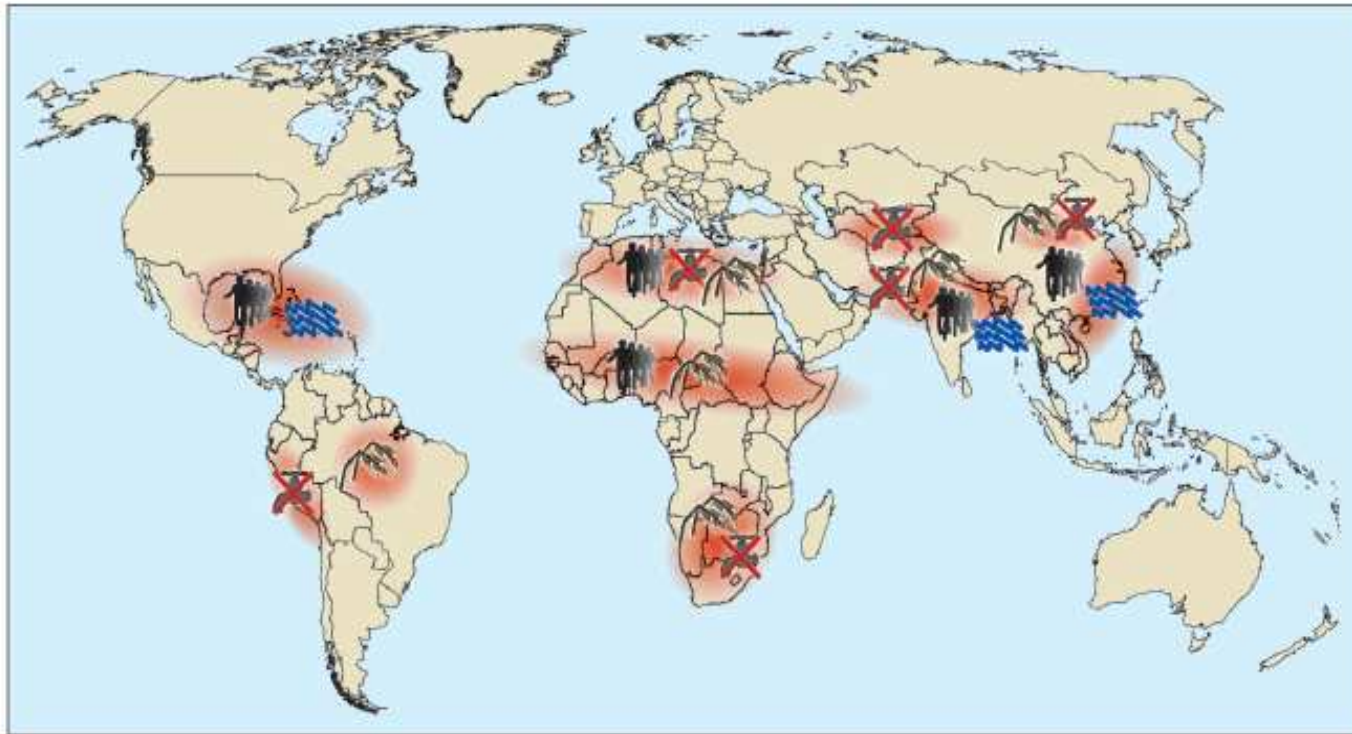


## 5. GEC Posing Environmental Security Dangers: EU Paper (2008)

- **WBGU Report: Climate Change as a Security Risk (2008)** climate-induced **security risks** will manifest themselves from around 2025 – 2040.
- **German FM Steinmeier** called for a preventive environmental diplomacy & a resource-oriented industrial policy in the Near and Middle East “where ecological questions have become issues of survival and security.”
- **14 March 2008: EU Council & Commission Paper: Climate Change & Security:**
  - “Climate change ... as a threat multiplier which exacerbates existing trends, tensions and instability” that “threatens to overburden states and regions which are already fragile and conflict prone.”
  - The EU paper lists seven major international security threats posed by climate change: i) **conflict over resources**; ii) **economic damage and risk to coastal cities and critical infrastructure**; iii) loss of territory and border disputes; iv) **environmentally-induced migration**; v) situations of fragility and radicalization; vi) tension over energy supply; and vii) pressure on international governance.
  - Geographical examples where these threats may materialize: a) **Africa**, b) **Middle East**, c) South Asia, d) Central Asia, e) Latin America and Caribbean, and f) Arctic.

# 5.1. Regional Security Challenges & Risks due to Global Climate Change

Figure 4.7: Regional hotspots and security risks associated with climate change. Source: WBGU (2008: 4). Reprinted with permission.



## Conflict constellations in selected hotspots



Climate-induced degradation of freshwater resources



Climate-induced decline in food production



Hotspot



Climate-induced increase in storm and flood disasters



Environmentally-induced migration

## Security-related challenges in MENA region:

- ❑ Water scarcity to rise due to demand increase and supply decline
- ❑ Rising food deficits
- ❑ Rising environmentally induced migration



## 5.2. EU Paper: Climate Change Impacts for the MENA region

### EU paper argues that climate change is fuelling threats.

- Most vulnerable regions to climate change, e.g. North Africa & Middle East,
- Migratory pressure at EU 's borders & political instability and conflicts could increase.

### 1. Africa:

- In North Africa & Sahel, increasing drought, water scarcity & land overuse will degrade soils & could lead to a loss of 75% of arable, rain-fed land. The Nile Delta could be at risk from both sea-level rise & salinisation in agricultural areas while 12 to 15% of arable land could be lost through sea-level rise in this century with 5 million people affected by 2050.
- Droughts are contributing to poor harvests, leading to food insecurity in several areas with millions of people expected to face food shortages.
- Migration in this region, but also migration from other regions through Northern Africa to reach Europe (transit migration) is likely to intensify.
- In Africa, and elsewhere, climate change is expected to have a negative effect on health, in particular due to the spread of vectorborne diseases further aggravating tensions.

### 2. Middle East:

- Water systems in Middle East are under intense stress. Roughly two-thirds of the Arab world depends on sources outside their borders for water.
- Existing tensions over access to water are almost certain to intensify in this region leading to further political instability with detrimental implications for Europe's energy security and other interests.



## 6. Socio-Economic Consequences Posing Security Risks

- Increasing food import needs due demand increase (population growth) and declining supply (water, soil)
- Increasing world prices for cereals: food riots of 2008!
- Urbanization will rapidly progress further
  - Cairo: is now a most densely populated mega-city
- Transmigration will rise:
  - from Sub-Saharan Africa and from upstream Nile countries
  - Transmigration from South Asia
- Does this pose security challenges or risks for Masreq states? Is this securitized by governments in Masreq?



## 7. Why Securitization of GEC Impacts and Consequences?

- Different notions of security in North and South lead to different „securitization moves“ by governments.
  - Securitization of climate change impacts → change in the perception of the security threat and enemy?
  - **Enemy is us:** our consumption of hydrocarbons and to accumulated greenhouse gases in atmosphere?
  - **Does this matter?** Is this security relevant? Does it affect the survival of the population and future generations? This is a matter of national elite perception!
- 
- It is up to the governments to securitize GEC or not?

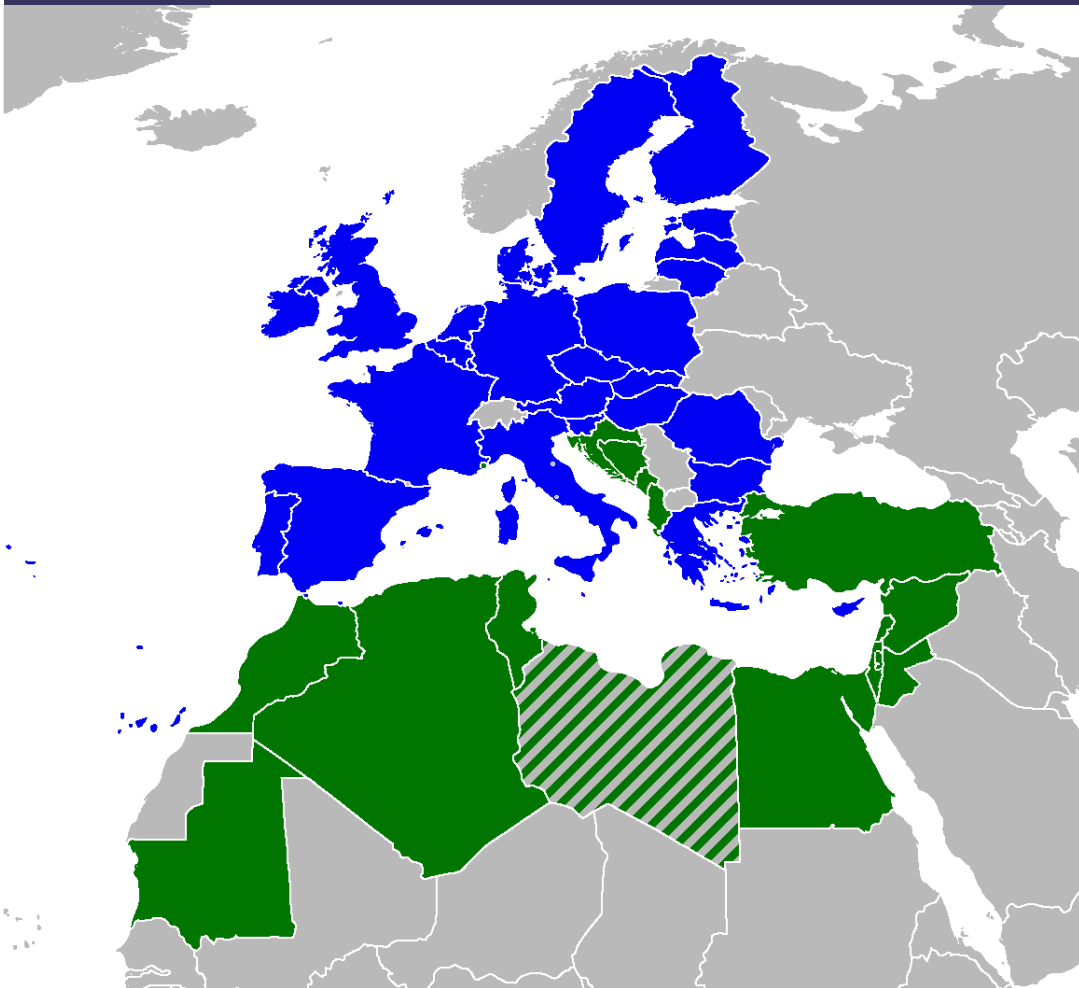


## 8. Soft Security Risks Require Cooperative Responses

- ❑ These soft security risks cannot be solved by armies?
- ❑ Access to water and flow of the Nile water is a matter of life and survival for Egypt: a security issue!
- ❑ Dramatic changes in precipitation in Ethiopia, Kenya, Ruanda, Burundi could challenge Egypt's survival.
- ❑ Goal of proactive security strategies: cooperation in enhancing coping capacities and resilience for adaptation and mitigation by non-military means!
- ❑ E.g. by desalination with renewable energy sources  
(wind, solar thermal electricity generation, etc.)



# 9. Towards a MEHSEC Initiative for Coping with GEC



## Mediterranean Environmental 6 Human Initiative:

- Address longer-term environmental dimension of human security posed by GEC: water, soil & climate change
- Address causes & regional impacts of GEC
- Framework of the Mediterranean Union
- Partners: MU (leader), EU, UN, UNEP, UNDP, OSCE, Arab League, WMO, IPCC





## 9.2. Tasks of MEHSEC Initiative

- **The proposed MEHSEC INITIATIVE** addresses soft non-military, environmentally-induced security threats, challenges vulnerabilities and risks for the Euro-Mediterranean that are projected to evolve by 2025, 2050 and 2100 that **cannot be solved with military means**.
- They can only be overcome by a **forward-looking, proactive, functional cooperation** that requires knowledge creation (e.g. regional climate change scenarios for the Mediterranean (Mediterranean climate impact assessment)).
- **Initiative should coordinate global & regional organizations**
  - to analyse, assess available research and develop joint cooperative adaptation and mitigation measures (**Diagnosis**)
  - to develop cooperative measures dealing with societal consequences, including environmentally-induced forced migration (**Response Strategy**)
  - Address food security challenges & risks that may lead to hunger & food riots, domestic conflicts & only in the worst case in violent conflicts.
  - Goal: **preventive diplomacy and conflict avoidance** by addressing root causes of conflicts:
    - **Sustainability first Scenario** of UNEP's GEO-4 Report (2007)
    - **proactive global and regional scenarios** suggested in final report of the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (2005).



## 10. Conclusions: Is Securitization of GEC justified?

- If GEC & climate change are an **existential threat** that enables a **call for urgent and exceptional measures** to deal with the threat than it is well justified for securitization.
- But this depends on the **governments & elites (securitizing actor)** that may publicly address or ignore these environmental and human “security” challenges & risks!
- These “securitization moves” in the North have been misperceived in the South! **Differences are narrowing!!**
- **MEDHUMENSEC** could contribute to raise policy awareness on the nature of the risks to the survival of the people in the Maghreb and Masreq & launch countermeasures!!

# Hexagon Series: Volumes I - IV

Hans Günter Brauch  
P. H. Liotta  
Antonio Marquina  
Paul F. Rogers  
Mohammad El-Sayed Selim  
Editors

## Security and Environment in the Mediterranean

Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflicts



## Hexagon Series on Human, Environmental Security and Peace (HESP)

## Water Resources in the Middle East

From Political Water Issues to Transboundary Cooperation

H. G. Brauch  
U. Oswald Spring  
C. Mesjasz  
J. Grin  
P. Dunay

N. Chadha Behera  
B. Chourou  
P. Kameri-Mbote  
P. H. Liotta  
(Eds.)

VOL 3 / HEXAGON SERIES ON HUMAN AND ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY AND PEACE

## Globalization and Environmental Challenges

Reconceptualizing Security in the 21st Century



Hans Günter Brauch  
Úrsula Oswald Spring  
John Grin  
Czesław Mesjasz  
(Eds.)

Patricia Kameri-Mbote  
Navmita Chadha Behera  
Béchir Chourou  
Helnz Kruppenacher

VOL 4 / HEXAGON SERIES ON HUMAN AND ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY AND PEACE

## Facing Global Environmental Change

Environmental, Human, Energy, Food, Health and Water Security Concepts



A satellite-style map of the Mediterranean region, showing the sea in dark blue, the Balkans in green, and the Middle East in tan. The text is overlaid on the map.

**Thank you for your attention  
and patience.**

**Text for download at:**

**[http://www.afes-press.de/html/download\\_hgb.html](http://www.afes-press.de/html/download_hgb.html)**

**Send your comments to:  
brauch@onlinehome.de**