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Security and Environment in the Mediterranean: Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflicts edited by Hans Guenter Brauch, P. H. Liotta, Antonio Marquina, Paul E. Rogers, and Mohammad El-Sayed Selim. New York: Springer-Verlag, 2003. 1136 pp., U.S. \$159.00 (hardcover) (ISBN 3-540-40107-5).

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This book needs our full attention and a significant amount of our time to thoroughly read its more than 1,000 pages; therefore, the editors take on no common task, and the reader must be selective or risk neglecting important aspects and contributions. It is not easy to escape this latter trap. In substance, this is a reference book on a subject of high quality; therefore, the editors, together with the contributors, should be praised for their production.

The Mediterranean was, is, and will remain the cradle of civilization and conflicting interests. Because this region encompasses security issues on three continents, the Mediterranean became the epicenter of world politics after September 11. All major international organizations have dealt with the Mediterranean in one way or another. In his preface to this volume, Hon. Lord Robinson, former NATO secretary-general, refers to the Mediterranean Dialogue, which was launched by NATO in 1994. The secretary-general of the League of Arab States, Hon. Amre Moussa, emphasizes, *inter alia*, the great importance the League places on its relations with Europe, particularly the European Union (EU) and southern Europe. Peter Liotta, one of the editors, refers to the situation of the planet in terms of environmental mutilation and the beginning of the new century through verses, to which the merits of philosophical attitude can be added. Jonathan Dean advocates moderation among the major currents of civilizations and greater diffusion of education as a prerequisite to downgrading fanaticism and ignorance. The latter two, if accompanied by poverty, constitute an explosive social bomb. Doctor Kamal S. Abu Jaber, president of the Higher Media Council of Jordan, concludes that there is a need for redefining traditional security and that "transitionality has taken much longer in the Arab world than anywhere else on the globe." Sir Crispin Tickell presents perhaps the most global view on the subject, emphasizing that "there are no magic solutions to the problems of conflict in the Mediterranean or elsewhere."

The introduction, which is written by three of the five editors, emphasizes the interdisciplinary and intercultural approach of the book. One merit of the book is its success in blending views of scholars and practitioners. The following six nonmilitary factors provide the backbone of the research: population growth, climate change, desertification, water, food, and urbanization. The links among these factors are not well

known although they all fall within the basic needs concept, which was officially launched by the International Labor Office in 1976 but never tackled in a holistic way. As the well-known Greek urban planner Doxiadis (1972) mentioned in "Anthropocosmos: The World of Man,"

man's space is just the rust of the earth consisting of the five elements which shape man and are shaped by him (her), nature in which (s)he lives, man himself, society he has formed, the shells (or structures) which he builds and the networks he constructs.

Neglecting any of these five elements of anthropocosmos will upset the whole system and conflict, which constitutes a major focus of this volume, will emerge.

One of the stated aims of the book is "to challenge some prevailing mind-sets, to remove barriers of misconception, and to contribute to a holistic learning that crises and conflicts will affect present and future generations in the Mediterranean." On human rights, a useful yet somewhat outdated table (Table 27.3, p. 504) on the Mediterranean countries as parties to environmental and human rights treaties is included. Another issue that is not explicitly mentioned in the book (at least in the index) concerns the special zones along the Black Sea to which the Mediterranean belongs: Red Sea, Arab/Persian Gulf, Baltic Sea, and North Sea (cf. Carsin & Chassard-Bouchaud, 1998). It should be noted that the Mediterranean covers parts of the EU (25 countries) and 10 non-European countries, all of which participate in the EuroMed Process (EMP). The exception is Libya, which has been an observer of the EMP since the third meeting of the EuroMediterranean ministers in Stuttgart in 1999.

In Part I, the introduction lays out regional conflicts and measures for preventing them. Michael Lund easily attracts the attention of the reader because of the present international circumstances. His policy toolbox for conflict prevention is very interesting (Box 4.3).

In Part II, an issue that is not well known to the larger readership, the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue, is discussed. Five chapters are devoted to this issue, although only the last chapter covers "the security concept of the European Union for the Mediterranean." In this context, one must remember that 9 years have passed and the EMP or Barcelona Process has survived in spite of obvious difficulties and strains. The future of the EMP is difficult to predict, but it might finally prove to be a useful framework for stability and cooperation if the countries along the Mediterranean coasts decide to cooperate fully and leave aside national aspirations.

One of the most interesting chapters of the book is written by Brauch and included in Part III, "American vs. European Perspectives on Mediterranean (Environmental) Security Policy." He reiterates the fact that

"the importance and understanding of 'democracy' and 'human rights' in Islamic and Western societies differ, a factor that has been ignored in many Kantian studies of democratization" (p. 249). He also notes the contributions of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Western European Union Assembly, and the NATO Parliamentary Assembly on Mediterranean Security issues. Furthermore, the UN secretary-general's Millennium Report contributes to a broad security concept approach. The author concludes that focusing on the structural causes of conflict should be part of a longer term strategy to undercut terrorist activities.

Globalization could not be absent from such a broad spectrum of research on the Mediterranean. Czeslav Mesjasz examines the interpretations of globalization and its effects on political and military security. Resource and energy security, which involves population growth, is also a sensitive issue.

Peter Liotta revisits the concepts of military and environmental security in the EuroMediterranean region. Insecurity, according to Liotta, influenced the recognition that "*risk* was as much a driving force in the guarantees of basic security as the absence of fear or the desire to be free to make choices on behalf of the collective good" (p. 303). Risk, *inter alia*, involves the ability to expose oneself to damage during the process of change. The author concludes that "we simply must run the risk of ignoring the challenges that lie ahead."

Antonio Marquina favors security partnership in the Mediterranean, a policy that goes beyond cooperative security and mainly refers to reducing the threat of interstate violence and replacing concepts such as deterrence. The proposed partenariat of security covers both the northern and southern Mediterranean and thus needs a permanent institution. However, its implementation must be, according to the author, incremental and integrated in the overall EuroMediterranean process.

Part IV discusses views of the southern and southeastern Mediterranean on security issues that are presented by authors coming from Maghreb, Mashreq, Turkey, and Israel. Part V of the book is more specialized and covers issues on missiles and the problems arising from terrorism and organized crime, which are often linked with security and migration and have dominated the agendas of the latest EU European Councils. Migration is particularly well presented by Catherine Withold de Wende (Chapter 23), who starts from the historical background and proceeds to differentiate migration as an international and internal security issue. The role of external factors and the effect of policies and measures on uninformed or external actors are necessary to create a complete picture. Southern Mediterranean countries need migration for internal economic and political reasons. By decreasing migration, the stress of unemployment on both countries increases and a vicious circle starts.

There must be a clear legal framework on the part of the EU that is uniform for all the member-states along with clearly defined rules for entrance (health certificates, penal records of the migrants, etc.) and humanitarian will from the receiving countries (Papademetriou, 2003). Migration is a great challenge for the receiving societies. It threatens their social web and requires new infrastructure that, in substance, is also an indirect security issue. The management of migration is one of the challenges of this century and, according to de Wende, the flow will increase, thereby favoring true cooperation between the North and South, a win-win approach that is not easy.

Part VI includes three essays on conceptualizing environmental security for the Mediterranean region by Stacy D. VanDeveer, Colin H. Kahl, and Nils Petter Gleditsch. According to VanDeveer, "environmental politics generally encompasses multiple conceptions of risk and a host of local, national, regional, and global scale concerns." Security conceptions differ in every region, and geographical factors play a cardinal role. For example, Malaysia's security is more important for Singapore than for Belgium. Differences in conceptualization are likely to prolong tensions on the interpretation of the issue of environmental security in the Mediterranean. Colin Kahl argues that demographic and environmental stresses produce three interrelated strains on societies: renewable resource scarcity, economic marginalizations, and important shifts in a country's demographic composition. Finally, Gleditsch agrees with Kahl in that such problems can be solved by the states that develop appropriate institutions to manage societal and cultural conflicts.

The environmental consequences of war in the Mediterranean during the past 60 years are presented in a very interesting Part VII. Hans Guenter Brauch (Chapter 27) concludes with proposals on cooperation in demining technologies and joint training exercises and development projects. Mohamed Kadry Side supplies the next chapter on landmines of El Alamein in Egypt during World War II, and Pekka Haavisto adds a contribution on UN Environment Program involvement with post-conflict assessments. There is no doubt that wars produce environmental stress and move populations from their homes, thereby doubling the damage.

Part VIII deals with population growth and climate change in the region. Population has become a cardinal issue studied by governmental and NGO institutions, including universities and research institutions like the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis in Austria. The section on environmental security in the Mediterranean includes three chapters: two on climate change and one on the population situation in the region during the past 50 years (Hania Zlotnik, Chapter 33). D. Giorgas deals with the sensitive issue of sea-level rise due to climate change and, more specifically, the increase of greenhouse

gas emissions. The rise of the sea is one aspect of the impact on coastal zones; the other is desertification in the Mediterranean and Middle East and North Africa regions. This subject is examined in Part IX. The severe desertification prospects of southern Europe and particularly Spain become apparent from these chapters. Desertification is linked with population and land use changes and salination of the soil. Water issues are therefore of paramount importance and directly affect the overall environmental security of the Mediterranean region.

Water accord in the perennial Middle East peace process, Turkish/Syrian relations, and the Nile basin in Part X of the book are viewed as issues for cooperation rather than conflict. The Middle East is covered by John Anthony Allan and Ines Dombrowsky. Branko Bosnjakovic examines the issue of shared groundwater and the role of UN agencies in the planned project for the Mediterranean. He considers this project, which involves three (Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia, Economic Commission for Europe, and Economic Commission for Africa) of the five regional commissions of the UN and the three continents sharing the Mediterranean, to be positive in terms of security.

Food security dominates Part XI, but only Chapter 48 is devoted to the important issue of urbanization. Alexandratos concludes that "the risk of shortages in developing countries food markets that might put in jeopardy food security in the Med region seems not to be particularly high." Given the need for water in agriculture, the author considers that the Mediterranean countries facing economic water scarcity must manage their needs on the basis of those proposed for the year 2025. Urbanization plays an important role in such developments in which the existing infrastructure is put in jeopardy. Professor Chourou argues that the EMP will likely lead to a result that is opposite from the aim. It may threaten the survival of the non-EU Mediterranean countries by aggravating a problem that is already confronting most of them, namely securing food and water for their growing populations. The difference in population growth between the northern and southern Mediterranean favors the latter. The tendency to export human resources, causing a brain drain from the south, must also be considered.

Natural disasters and forest fire disasters are the subjects of Part XII. Given the seismic zones of the region and forest destruction by fires, this is a particularly sensitive issue for the Mediterranean. Brauch, in examining the former, presents impressive statistics with maps for the past 10 years and refers to the UN efforts that recently transformed the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction to the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction, which targets the management of risk. He stresses the need for strengthening international cooperation among all stakeholders concerned. Chapter 50 focuses on existing measures against fires such as the Mediterranean Disaster Information Network

and the South East European Fire Management Network. Agreements for fire emergency management on a bilateral or multilateral basis are the result of these arguments.

The last two chapters cover the conclusions and outlook for the 21st century. Three of the editors are involved in this work. Throughout the whole volume, the contributions of Brauch led to the realization of this very useful book. The volume of work done and read may have led to the omission of proper credit to a number of authors. Springer, the publisher, has once again provided an excellent volume that presents the prospects of the 21st century for policy makers in need of guidance. From this point of view, the Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development may serve as a guide. Despite its setbacks and complex nature, multilateralism can provide a stable basis for the future of environmental security in the Mediterranean. However, such an approach must not disregard the fundamental differences between EU, Arab, and southeastern European countries on national sovereignty. The need for cooperation among policy makers and scientists is without doubt. "Environmental security deals with one dimension (links between environment and security), while human security requires also poverty alleviation, freedom and justice through multilateral cooperation" (p. 923). These goals lie within the millennium perspectives of the UN.

As confirmed during the 2003 Climate Conference in Milan, environment and politics are inextricably linked, and, thus, the population developments around the coasts of the Mediterranean will have a decisive impact in the years ahead. Land use, including management of natural resources, is of cardinal importance for the whole Mediterranean. In terms of geopolitics and the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea constitute a whole. Therefore, it is somewhat surprising that the latter two are not included in the index of the book and that interesting volumes of the Advanced Workshops of NATO are missing from the bibliography.

In our view, the book fulfills its scope, which is to sensitize the readers to the challenges and risks ahead. It thus contributes to a better understanding of the issues and possible resolutions of various problems associated with the Mediterranean.

—Yannis N. Kinnas
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