Hans Günter Brauch, FU Berlin & AFES-PRESS Long-term Security Challenges for the Eastern Mediterranean

Mediterranean Security, Stability and Cooperation: Issue for Europe – Eastern Mediterranean Region Session III: Political and Security Partnership and its Influence on Stability in the Region Vienna, Austria 19 – 20 October 2003

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## 1. Middle East Conflict: Context of the Talk

Frank Pfetsch (2003) concluded based on Kosimo conflict data base: Mediterranean is a conflict prone and conflict intensive region: 1945-2001: 140 events: 19 wars, 72 violent, 49 nonviolent conflicts,

#### 2 of 4 conflict clusters are in the Eastern Mediterranean:

- Middle East (Israel Arab neighbours, incl. Palestinians): 35 conflicts (42%)
- \* Cyprus, disputes between Greece & Turkey: 14 conflicts

National, international confl. prevail, water conflicts minor

- \* Israel-Jordan: 2 sev. crises (1959-67, 1969-76), latent conflict (1977-94)
- Turkey, Syria, Iraq: water crisis on Euphrates & Tigris (1990-1999)

**Environmental impacts of conflicts & Env. scarcity as a conflict cause:** 

- > UNEP PCAU: Studies on Balkans, Occupied Palest. Territories, Iraq
- Focus: Environment security linkages as security challenges
- wide security concept: dimensions, referent objects, values at risk
- Iong-term environmental security challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks for the Eastern Mediterranean countries: 2015–2100

## 2. Narrow vs. Wide Security Concept

#### **Arnold Wolfers (1962): objective vs. subjective security:**

"Security, in an *objective sense*, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a *subjective sense*, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked."

Security perception depends on worldviews or traditions

- \* <u>Hobbessian</u> pessimist: *power* is the key category (narrow concept)
- \* Kantian optimist: international law and human rights are crucial
- Grotian pragmatist: cooperation is vital (wide security concept)

Security dimension⇒ ↓ Level of interaction	Mili- tary	Political	Economic	Environ- mental ↓	Societal
Human individual $\Rightarrow$				victim	
Societal/Community					
National	MENA	region			
International/Regional					
Global/Planetary ⇒				GEC	

## **Narrow Security Concepts in the Middle East**

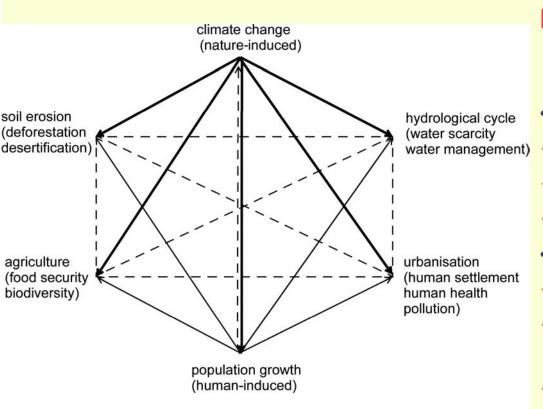
#### Mediterranean: competing concepts of territory & security

- Europe (EU): since 1990: wide security concept (dimensions), process of de-territorialisation (post-modern, post-national constellation)
- Middle East and in Eastern Mediterranean ("modern" sovereignty): adherence to a narrow national political and military security concept:
- Commonalities: Selim: Masreq countries; Kam: Israel; Aydin: Turkey
- Thesis: The narrow Hobbesian security concept used by the elites in the Eastern Mediterranean is a major constraint.

#### Table: Expanded Concepts of Security (© Bjørn Møller, 2003)

Label	Reference object	Value at risk	Source(s) of threat
National security	The State	Territ. integrity	State, substate act.
Societal security	Societal groups	Nat. identity	Nations, migrants
Human security	Individ., mankind	Survival	Nature,state,global.
Environmental s.	Ecosystem	Sustainability	Mankind

#### 3. Wider Security Focus: Non-military Challenges

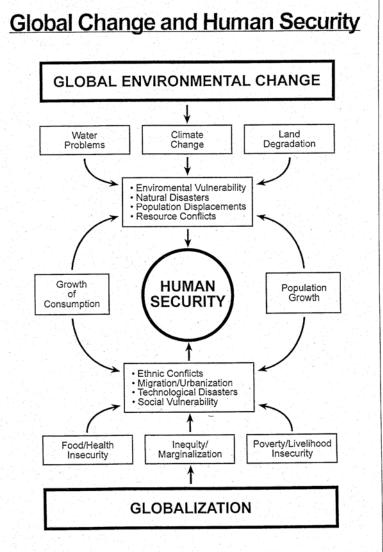


- → complex interaction among four structural factors: urbanisation, water scarcity, soil erosion and desertification and food scarcity and agricultural policy

Environmental security in the Middle East is affected by Global Environm. Change

- Human-induced factors
- Population growth
- Orbanisation
- Food & Agriculture
- Nature & human-induced
- \* Air: Global climate change
- Soil: deforestation, degradation, desertification
- Water: hydrological cycle, pollution, scarcity
- Economic production & consumption patterns (impacts of economic globalisation) on Global Environmental Change (GEC).

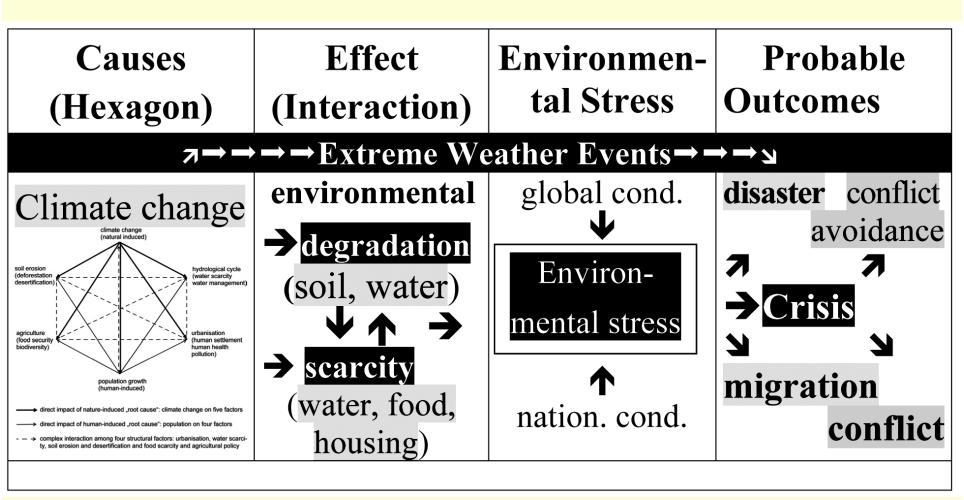
## 4. Dual Global Challenge: GEC & Globalisation



Human Security Perspective

- referent: individual & mankind
- value at risk: human survival
- \* threat: nature, GEC & globalisation
- GEC > environm. vulnerability
   > disaster > migration > scarcity
- Globalisation > inequity > social or societal vulnerability
- Key questions for Middle East
- How will GEC & globalisation affect the individual, society, countries?
- Is human survival at risk, for whom?
- Can the environmental security challenges (GEC) be solved by hard security concepts and means?

#### 5. Model: Global Environmental Challenges, Environmental Stress & Fatal Outcomes



## 5.1 Population Growth: Eastern Mediterranean

Table 3: UN Population Projection (Rev. 2000), mio.Source: UN Populations Division: World Population Prospects. 2000 Rev.

	1850	1900	1950	2000	2025	2050	1950- 2050	2000- 2050
Jordan	0.25	0.3	1.24	4.91	7.19	11.71	10.47	6.80
Israel			1.26	6.04	8.49	10.07	8.81	4.03
OPT	0.35	0.5	1.01	3.19	7.15	11.82	10.82	8.63
Lebanon	0.35	0.5	1.44	3.50	4.58	5.02	3.58	1.52
Syria	1.5	1.75	3.50	16.19	27.41	36.35	32.85	20.16
Turkey	10.0	13.0	20.81	55.67	86.61	98,82	78.01	43.15
East. Med.	12.45	16.05	29.25	89.50	141.43	173.88	144.53	84.28
S. Europe	83.0	103.5	132.9	177.3		154.1	+21.2	-23.24

## **5.2 Urbanisation in the Eastern Mediterranean**

Table 4: World Urbanization Prospects (Rev. 2001),% Source: UN Populations Division: World Population Prospects (2002)

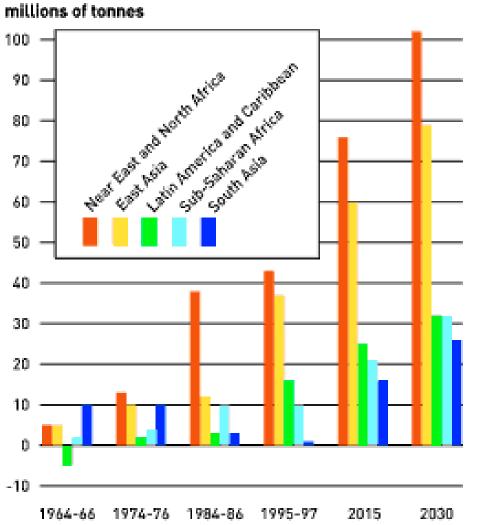
	1950	1960	1980	2000	2010	2020	2030
Jordan	35.9	50.9	60.2	78.7	80.1	82.2	84.4
Israel	64.6	77.0	88.6	91.6	93.0	93.9	94.6
Palestine	37.3	44.0	61.1	66.8	70.0	73.5	76.9
Lebanon	22.7	39.6	73.7	89.7	92.1	93.1	93.9
Syria	30.6	36.8	46.7	51.4	55.4	60.6	65.6
Turkey	21.3	29.7	43.8	65.8	69.9	73.7	77.0
West Asia	26.7	35.0	51.7	64.7	67.2	69.8	72.4
Asia	17.4	20.8	26.9	37.5	43.0	48.7	54.1

## **5.3 Food Security in the MENA Region**

Table 5:Cereal balance for the MENA, all cereals (1964-2030).

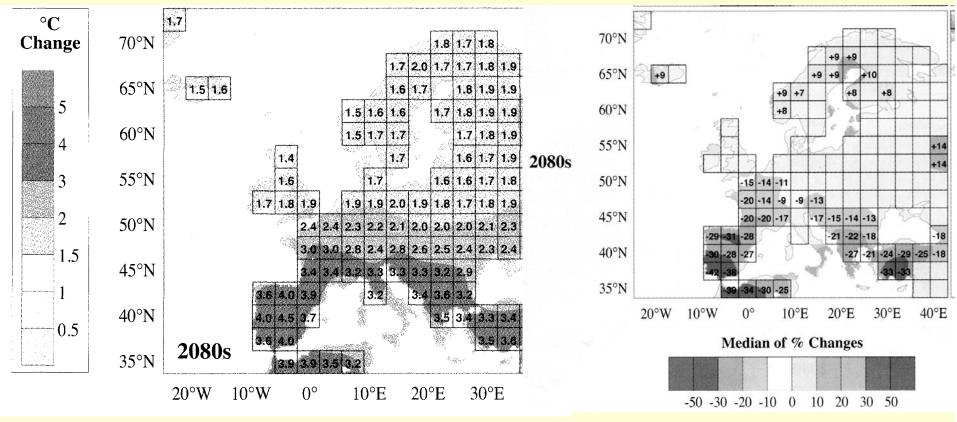
	Demand				Demand Pro- Net duc- tra-				Self suf-	Growth rates, % p.a			
	Per o (k	aput g)		otal tons)	tion	de	fic. rate	Time	Dem and	Pro- duc-	Po- pula		
19	food	All uses	food	All uses			%	19 /20		tion	tion		
64/66	174	292	28	47	40	- 5	86	67-97	3.6	2.4	2.7		
74/76	190	307	40	64	55	- 13	85	77-97	3.1	2.7	2.7		
84/86	203	365	56	100	65	-38	65	87-97	2.1	2.0	2.4		
95/97	208	357	75	129	84	-43	65	'95- 1 <b>5</b>	2.0	1.4	1.9		
2015	209	359	108	186	110	-85	56	·15- 30	1.5	1.2	1.4		
2030	205	367	130	232	131	-116	54	<b>'95-'</b> 30	1.8	1.3	1.7		

## 5.4 FAO (2000) Increase in Cereal Imports



- Net cereal imports in developing countries millions of tonnes
  • FAO: 4 March 2003, Rome World's population will be better fed by 2030, but hundreds of
  - World's population will be better fed by 2030, but hundreds of millions of people in developing countries will remain chronically hungry.
  - Parts of South Asia may be in a difficult position and much of sub-Saharan Africa will not be significantly better off than at present in the absence of concerted action by all concerned.
  - Number of hungry people is expected to decline from 800 million today to 440 million in 2030. The target of the World Food Summit (1996) to reduce the number of hungry by half by 2015, will not be met by 2030.

## 5.4 Climate Change Impacts in Mediterranean



Mean Temperature Change for Summer in 2080s (WG II, p. 651) Mean Precipitation Change for Summer in 2080s (WG II, p. 652) Source: IPCC: Climate Change 2001, WG II: Impacts (p. 651-652) No specific climate change models for Eastern Mediterranean.

#### 5.5. Effects of Climate Change for Egypt & Nile Delta



Population: 6 100 000 Cropland (Km<sup>2</sup>): 4 500

Population: 3 800 000



#### **Climate Change Impacts for Egypt:**

- Nil Delta: 50cm, 2 mio. persons,214.000 jobs
- Temperature for Cairo to 2060: + 4°C
- SSR (cereals): 1990-2060: 60% → 10%
- Decline in yield of wheat (by 2050: -18%)

#### **Climate trends in Mediterranean by 2080**

- Higher temperature increase in summer
- Decline of precipitation in summer.

#### Population Growth in Med. (2000-2050):

- North (Südeuropa: P,E,F,I Gr): 23 Mio.
- South (MENA-Region): + 181 Mio.

**MENA: Increase in Food Insecurity** 

- FAO 2002: 1995-2030: +150% (42≻116 Mio.t)
  - SSR: 1964: 86%, 1995: 65%, 2030: 54%

#### **Dramatic Increase in Cereal Imports**

• Due to population growth & climate ch.

## 5.6. Soil Erosion and Desertification



#### **Climate change impacts(2100)**

- temperature increases (2.5-4.5°C)
- Sea-level rises (SLR)
- uncertainty on precipiatation
- heat waves & droughts increase
- urbanisation increase temp.&SLR
- Desertification increase in max. temperat. & reduce precipitation
- climate change impacts may intensify desertification
- decline in agricultural yields (cereals)

High sensitivity of ecological and social systems to climate change in ME. "There is clear evidence of potentially serious impacts throughout the Mediterranean region, with the most acute impacts being felt south of the socio-economic divide in Africa and the Near East."

> High environmental and societal vulnerability of Eastern Med. region

Low adaptive capacity and limited mitigation efforts (due to ME conflict)
 UNEP warned in 1990: "[it] is likely that the impact of climate change will first be felt in the Mediterranean water resource system."

## 5.7. Water Scarcity in the Middle East



FAO: of 21 c. water-scarcity, 12 are in NE 11 MENA c. fresh water: 220 m3/cap. Jordan, 330 m3/cap. OPT, 2,000 m3/cap. Turkey,Syria. *K. Khosh-Chashm*: Most extreme water crisis is Gaza (15 gallons, US: 800 gall. or 1: 53). Estimate: a drop of 50% in ann. cap. Ren. Water: 1995 and 2025 in MENA countries.

Water	Israel	Jordan	West Bank				
Supply	1987-1991 (million c.m)						
Normal	1,950	900	650				
drought	1,600	700-750	450-550				
Demand	Pro	jected incr	ease				
1987-91	2,100	800	125				
2020	2,800	1,800	530				
Source: He	lena Lindblon	n 1995; Low	vi 1992.				

## 5.8. Water Demand Forecasts: 1990-2025

#### Water in Arab Masreq (-2025)

#### Total withdrawal p. cap. m3/yr/cap.

Countries	1990	C. 1	<b>C.</b> 2	C. 3
Egypt	1095	758	818	1782
Jordan/WB	112	74	90	139
Lebanon	274	188	201	459
Syria	270	139	162	304
Iraq	2367	986	986	2530

#### Source: P. Rogers: Water in the Arab World (1994: 306-7) projection for 2025

- C 1: without income effects (bcm/yr)
- C 2: with income effects (bcm/yr)

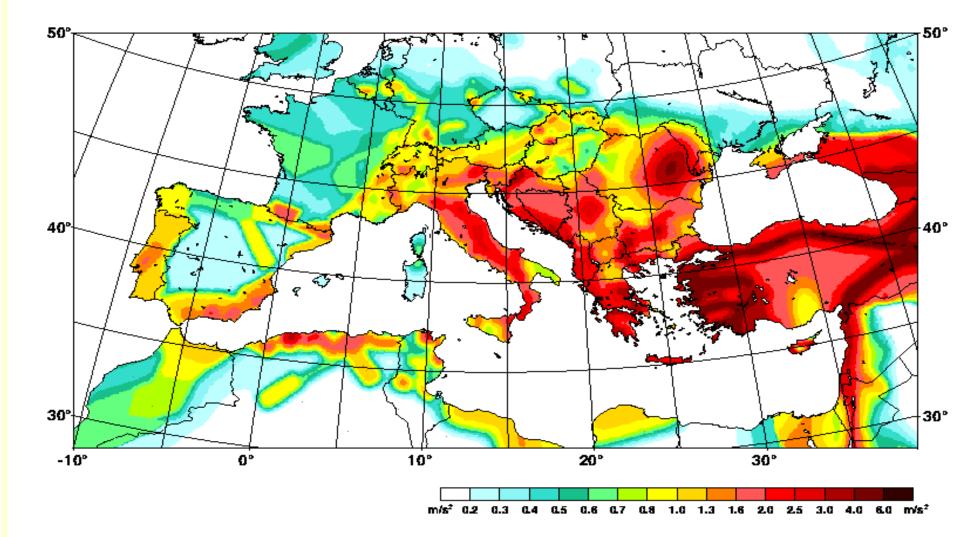
**C 3**: with inc. effects,+ 3% increase agric.

#### Water situation in Jordan

Year	Supply	Demand	Deficit (Mcm/y)
1995	882	1,104	222
2000	960	1,257	297
2005	1,169	1,407	238
2010	1,206	1,457	251
2015	1,225	1,550	325
2020	1,250	1,658	408

Source: Semide: Water in Jordan Water resourc.: surface w. (Jordan), groundwater, waste water (for irrig.), Future solution: desalination

## 6. Fatal Outcomes: Earthquakes in the Med.



## **6.1 Fatalities of Disasters in the Eastern Med.**

#### Table 9: Fatalities of Natural Disasters (1975-2001)

	Total			Drought E		Earthq	Earthquakes		Floods		Storms	
	Ev	Killed	Affect (000)	Kill.	Aff. 000	Killed	Affect (000)	Kill.	Aff. 000	Kil	Aff.	
Israel	11	31	2,029	-	_	-	-	11	1	3	410	
Jordan	11	47	349,0	-	330	-	-	17	18,0	11	200	
Leban.	4	45	105,6	-	-	-	_	-	1,5	25	104,	
OPT	1	-	943	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Syria	5	115	662,2	-	658	-	-	27	172	-	-	
Turkey	63	27,375	2,580	-	-	26,087	2,377	450	92,2	31	3	
East M.	95	27,613	3,700	0	988	26,087	2,377	505	112,9	70	104,	
Total M.	485	43,728	22,145	0	10 m	35,735	35,735	4374	2,153,	608	3,697	

## **6.2. Vulnerability of Cities to Earthquakes**

City	1950	1960	1975	1990	2000	2010	2015
Athens	1.8	2.2	2.7	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.1
Istanbul	1.08	1.74	3.60	6.54	9.45	11.84	12.49
Ankara	0.54	0.87	1.71	2.54	3.20	3.85	4.08
Izmir	0.48	0.66	1.05	1.74	2.41	3.01	3.20
Cairo	2.41	3.71	6.08	8.57	10.55	12.66	13.75
Alexandria	1.04	1.50	2.24	3.21	4.11	5.05	5.53
Tel-Aviv	0.42	0.74	1.21	1.80	2.18	2.52	2.63
Amman	0.09	0.22	0.50	0.96	1.43	1.97	2.21
Beirut	0.34	0.56	1.06	1.58	2.06	2.37	2.47
Damascus	0.37	0.58	1.12	1.80	2.34	3.07	3.50
Aleppo	0.32	0.48	0.88	1.54	2.17	2.92	3.31

## 6.3. Migration Trends in the Mediterranean

#### Table 10: Net migration rates in the Med. (Zlotnik, 2003:599)

Region	1950-60	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90	1990-2000					
	Net number of migrants per year (thousands)									
Mediterranean	-2,765	-4,097	-2,127	-839	369					
NW Mediter.	-1,521	-761	1,079	337	2,124					
NE Mediter.	-823	-1,162	-71	-162	-888					
East. Medit.	576	-406	-1,295	-506	921					
South. Medit.	-997	-1,769	-1,840	-508	-1,788					
		N	et migration	rate						
Mediterranean	-1.1	-1.4	-0.6	-0.2	0.1					
NW Mediter.	-1.2	-0.5	0.7	0.2	1.3					
NE Mediter.	-2.4	-3.1	-0.2	-0.4	-2.0					
East. Medit.	1.7	-0.9	-2.3	-0.7	1.0					
South. Medit.	-2.0	-2.8	-2.3	-0.5	-1.4					

## 7. Security Relevance of these Challenges

- CIA Report: Global Trends 2015 (Dec. 2000) pointed for ME to 2 of these trends: population growth & water scarcity as U.S. national and international security threats.
- Policy relevance depends on worldview & security concept
- Hobbessian pessimists and narrow security concept ignore or downplay these environmental challenges.
- Kantians: point to democratic, human rights deficits.
- Grotian pragmatist: agenda-setting & cooperative strategy.
- Narrow national security perspective: State, power and territorial integrity and ethnic & religious identity matter.
- Conclusion: Worldview & mindset of elites is a major impediment to perceive these non-military security challenges
- These Challenges cannot be solved with power & "hard" security & with military means. They require cooperation!

# 8. Policy Suggestions for the Eastern Mediterranean Region



- Hexagon: Six structural early warning indicators
- Outcomes: Earthquakes, heatwaves and drought
- Unresolved conflicts: im pediment to cooperation
- Climate Change: global task of post-Kyoto regime
- Population: national task of reproductive health
- Urbanisation: planning
- Soil, water & food: need reg., nat. & local sustain -able policy efforts!

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