

Executive Summary

LIVRE VERT DE LA DEFENSE

A policy paper on environmental security directed by

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Executive Summary of the *Livre Vert de la Défense*

5 Key Recommendations to the United Nations:

D) The *Livre Vert de la Défense*

The *Livre Vert de la Défense* (“Green Book on Defence”) is a French policy paper on environmental security published in February 2014. The project was directed by Senator Leila Aïchi, Vice President of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Commission of the French Senate. The paper represents a response to the near complete neglect of environmental security issues in the *Livre Blanc de la Défense et la Sécurité Nationale*, made public by French President Hollande in April 2013.¹ Senator Aïchi’s aim is to enhance the standing of environmental security in French and European strategic thinking by integrating the concept of “green defence”. The *Livre Vert* privileges a comprehensive approach to the threats and strategies it identifies, enhancing the paper’s international applicability in framing climate change as a global security risk. This Executive Summary presents the key facets and recommendations of the *Livre Vert*.²

Senator Aïchi’s paper represents a first step in building a common European policy on environmental security. While the European Union (EU) has been very active in fighting climate change and reducing greenhouse gas emissions, it has yet to develop a common strategic framework for a European “green defence”. Senator Aïchi hopes to mobilize support across the EU to elaborate a “*Livre Vert Européen de la*

- **Identify environmental degradation linked to climate change as one of the main threats to international security**, and create new categories under international law such as a “State facing acute environmental challenges” or the notion of “environmental refugee” to reinforce the legal base for global preventive action.
- Create a **specialized UN agency** on matters of environmental security that would **promote preventive action** to address the root causes of environmental problems.
- **Coordinate international civilian rescue operations** following natural disasters via the UN General Assembly, and, if the situation is critical, via the Security Council. Apply existing concepts such as “humanitarian intervention” or the “responsibility to protect” in the context of civilian rescue missions following natural disasters.
- **Increase the number of permanent seats on the UN Security Council** to make the institution more legitimate and representative of the changing balance of global power.
- **Institutionalise regular debate on environmental security** within the Security Council. As environmental threats become more acute over the next few decades, the Security Council will increasingly have to manage global security crises involving civil and inter-state conflicts over scarce resources, which might require UN peace-keeping operations.

¹ The “*Livre Blanc de la Défense et la Sécurité Nationale*” (White Book on Defence and National Security) is the French equivalent to the US National Security Strategy, setting the general guidelines of national foreign and defence policy. An updated version is published each time a new President is elected or sometimes after a President is re-elected.

² The Executive Summary was compiled by Arnault Barichella, Research Intern for Senator Leila Aïchi, who also contributed to the drafting of the *Livre Vert*.

Défense” (European Green Book on Defence) in cooperation with Member States and EU institutions. The first section of this summary will analyse the threats and risks presented in the *Livre Vert*, while the second section will present solutions targeted by this policy paper as the most viable responses in constructing a robust multilevel environmental security framework. Five key recommendations to enhance the UN’s capacity to manage global environmental security challenges are provided above; recommendations to the French government and the EU are provided in Annex One.

II) Environmental threats and risks.

1) Water scarcity.

The *Livre Vert* identifies water scarcity as a seminal environmental risk, with the potential to generate both civil and inter-state conflict. The book provides four main reasons as to why water is likely to become scarcer in the coming decades.³ First, uncontrolled demographic growth in many regions already exposed to tight water supplies, such as the Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa and parts of South-East Asia, means that water demand in those areas is increasingly outpacing supply. Second, certain countries facing water scarcity are poor and under-developed, relying on archaic agricultural techniques and inefficient water storage systems that are very wasteful. Third, strong economic growth in many developing countries, particularly the “BRICS”, has worsened regional water stress due to enhanced agricultural production, which consumes vast quantities of water. According to a report by the United Nations Development Programme, up to four billion people could face a form of water stress by 2030, a tenfold increase compared to 1995 when it was estimated that 400 million people suffered from water scarcity. Likewise, the report underlines that up to 90% of the population in the Middle East, North and Sub-Saharan Africa could be affected by water stress as early as 2030.⁴ Fourth, this situation is likely to be exacerbated by climate change, as regions already facing hot and dry climates could become exposed to harsher heat waves and droughts, further drying up water supplies.

The *Livre Vert* argues that in many parts of the world, virtual water trade and multilateral agreements are increasingly unable to contain tensions over access to shrinking water supplies. It underlines that this critical situation is already generating serious regional tensions that are likely to worsen in the coming decades. Examples include tensions between Ethiopia and Egypt over the Blue Nile Dam; Turkey, Iraq and Syria over the Euphrates River; Israel and Palestine over the West Bank mountain aquifer⁵; hostilities over control of the southern “Sudd” wetlands for the construction

³ *Livre Vert*, Chapitre 1: Risques et enjeux stratégiques pour la défense.

⁴ *Livre Vert*, 31 (taken from the 2009 United Nations Development Programme Report: “Communication and Influence”).

⁵ The *Livre Vert* points out that the 1967 “Six Day War”, particularly the conflict between Israel and Jordan, was at least partly triggered by competition over water supply.

of the “Jonglei” canal; and, more seriously, tensions between India and Pakistan, both of which are nuclear powers, over access to the Indus River.⁶ The *Livre Vert* underlines the potential for water scarcity to trigger internal conflicts and, eventually, state collapse.

2) Food scarcity.

The second principle environmental risk identified by the *Livre Vert* relates to food scarcity. There is a strong emphasis on the direct link between problems of water scarcity and food scarcity. Agriculture is very dependent on a large supply of water, and represents more than two thirds (close to 70%) of global fresh water consumption.⁷ Most of the food consumed globally derives either directly or indirectly from agriculture, particularly in developing countries. The *Livre Vert* agrees with current scholarly opinion that an increase in water scarcity will have dire consequences on global food supply. This is also related to the gradual depletion of groundwater supplies and aquifers for large agricultural producing regions due to over-exploitation.

Nevertheless, the *Livre Vert* underlines that food scarcity is not only the result of water scarcity. It is also linked to strong economic and demographic growth in many developing countries that is sharply increasing global demand. The UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimates that if current trends continue, global food demand may increase by as much as 70% by 2050, requiring a production increase of nearly 100%.⁸ This is leading to over-exploitation of agricultural soils, which are gradually becoming exhausted until they can no longer yield any more crops. This situation is likely to be exacerbated by climate change, particularly in regions such as the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa, where agriculture is being damaged by longer heat waves and droughts, or South East Asia due to an increase in the frequency of floods and storms.

Like water scarcity, the *Livre Vert* underlines the potential for food scarcity to trigger major insecurity. It points to the food riots of 2007-8 in as many as 61 countries as a contemporary example of how food scarcity can be a primary trigger for disruption, threatening fragile states with internal collapse. The *Livre Vert* also underlines the potential for food scarcity to trigger tensions and conflict not just internally, but also between states, particularly in relation to fishing rights. Seafood is essential to nutritional habits across the world and the problem of overfishing is global

⁶ Pervez Musharraf, the former president of Pakistan, underlined in his thesis at the Royal College of Defense Studies in London that one of the main underlying causes of the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan was tensions over the distribution of the Indus River and its tributaries. See: http://www.strategicforesight.com/media_inner.php?id=342#.U1zf9q2SxhQ

⁷ *Livre Vert*, 30.

⁸ National Intelligence Council (2013), *Natural Resources in 2020, 2030 and 2040: Implications for the United States*, 11.

in scale, but in some regions, such as South-East Asia, the situation is becoming particularly severe. For many South East Asian nations, fishing is not only a central part of ancestral dietary customs, but also serves as the local economic backbone in coastal regions. As a result, overfishing in the South China Sea has been responsible for depleting fish stocks to such a critical level that bitter disputes between China and its neighbours have emerged over the right to exploit the remaining fish stocks. The *Livre Vert* underlines that the increasingly dire scarcity of global fish supplies could result in “fish wars” in the not too distant future.⁹

3) Primary natural resource scarcity.

The third main environmental risk identified by the *Livre Vert* relates to scarcity of primary natural resources such as petrol, gas and coal, possibly resulting in a global energy crisis. The dynamics behind this trend are similar to those driving water and food scarcity, involving at the same time strong demographic and economic growth in many developing countries, particularly China and the other rising BRICS. The *Livre Vert* underlines that global consumption of fossil fuels has increased exponentially over the last couple of decades. From 1960 to 2010, oil and coal consumption has tripled, while natural gas consumption has quadrupled.¹⁰ The International Energy Agency (IEA) predicts that if current trends continue, global energy demand will increase by 50% before 2035, with fossil fuels continuing to provide 80% of the energy supply.¹¹

The *Livre Vert* emphasises that such tendencies are straining fossil fuel reserves around the world. Already, several major conventional reserves have reached their “peak”, defined as “the point at which half the total oil (or gas) known to have existed in a field or a country has been consumed, beyond which extraction goes into irreversible decline”.¹² The *Livre Vert* argues that technological breakthroughs allowing for the extraction of oil and gas using unconventional techniques¹³ are merely palliating global fossil fuel scarcity, and that global demand for energy is still increasing faster than supply. It supports the idea of a global energy crisis in the not too distant future, and emphasises that tensions are already growing between and within countries over access to dwindling fossil fuel reserves.

⁹ *Ibid.* The *Livre Vert* points out that the idea of “fish wars”, similarly to “water wars”, is contested and not universally accepted, although there is no question that tensions between countries are growing over this issue.

¹⁰ British Petroleum, *Statistical Review of World Energy 2013*. See: <http://www.bp.com/en/global/corporate/about-bp/energy-economics/statistical-review-of-world-energy-2013.html>

¹¹ 2013 NIC report on Natural Resources, p.16.

¹² Vidal J. (2005), “The end of oil is closer than you think”, *The Guardian*. See: <http://www.theguardian.com/science/2005/apr/21/oilandpetrol.news>

¹³ Such new unconventional extraction techniques are often referred to as the shale oil and gas revolution.

The *Livre Vert* points to the recent escalation of international tensions over access to primary resources in the global commons.¹⁴ The melting of parts of the Arctic ice sheet linked to global warming has made it possible for the first time to exploit vast reserves of hydrocarbons. The US Geological survey estimates that up to 22% of global oil and gas reserves could be located beneath the Arctic.¹⁵ This has prompted countries bordering the Arctic Circle, including Canada, Russia, the United States and the Scandinavian nations, to make competing claims to territorial and economic rights over Arctic resources. Likewise, the *Livre Vert* highlights that international competition over access to offshore gas and oil located in the high seas and oceans has increased over the last decade. The heightened tensions between China and its South East Asian neighbours over islands in the South China Sea thought to contain vast offshore fossil fuel reserves, vital for supporting the region's economic growth, are a good example.

4) Sea level rise and an increase in extreme weather events.

The *Livre Vert* posits that climate change will not only exacerbate resource scarcity and potentially trigger conflict, but also trigger many other significant threats to international security. A foremost example is sea level rise stemming from global warming. There is increasing evidence that sea level rise is being caused by increased mean surface temperatures due both to thermal expansion of ocean and sea waters (as water warms, it expands), and the melting of the world's main glaciers such as Greenland, the Arctic and Antarctica.¹⁶ As a result, the 2007 IPCC report predicts an increase in global mean sea level between 18 and 59 cm by 2100 due to thermal expansion, and from 28 to 79 cm due to the melting of global ice sheets.¹⁷ However, the *Livre Vert* insists that IPCC reports and many other analyses on the topic are too conservative and have consistently under-estimated the impact of sea level rise. It relies on other more alarmist projections such as the 2010 report by the US National Research Council, which suggests global sea levels could rise by 2 metres up to 2100.¹⁸ The *Livre Vert* emphasises that all coastal areas are likely to face at least some of the potentially devastating consequences of sea level rise, while some small island nations may disappear altogether.

Furthermore, the *Livre Vert* underlines that climate change is also likely to result in a sharp increase in the intensity and frequency of storms, hurricanes, heat waves and

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 28.

¹⁵ US Congressional Hearing (2009), *Strategic Importance of the Arctic in US Policy*, p.15. See: http://www.fas.org/irp/congress/2009_hr/arctic.pdf

¹⁶ It should be noted there is still scientific disagreement over the extent to which climate change will result in the melting of the world's glaciers.

¹⁷ Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2007), *Fourth Assessment Report*.

¹⁸ National Research Council of the National Academies (2010), *America's Climate Choices: Panel on Advancing the Science of Climate Change*, Board on Atmospheric Sciences and Climate, Division on Earth and Life Studies.

droughts. While the issue is still being debated, many scientists now agree that global warming is probably one of the main factors responsible for the multiplication of extreme weather events observed over the last couple of decades. The *Livre Vert* also highlights that severe heat waves, already impacting parts of the world with arid climates such as the Middle East or sub-Saharan Africa, may spread to temperate regions such as Europe. Several IPCC climate models predict that the 2003 European summer heat wave that killed over 35,000 people could become the average summer temperature by 2050. This would cause a sharp increase of droughts, wild fires and other types of risks linked to higher temperatures.

The *Livre Vert* emphasises that the combination of all environmental risks outlined above is likely to result in substantive numbers of global climate refugees. While there is still disagreement on this matter, policy papers such as the 2009 Report by the UN Secretary-General on environmental security, estimate that climate change could result in between 50 to 350 million refugees by 2050.¹⁹ The *Livre Vert* posits that current analyses are too conservative. It underlines that the aggregate impact of environmental degradation could result in up to 1 billion climate refugees by the end of this century if current trends continue unabated.²⁰ Already fragile countries could become overwhelmed and unable to deal with millions of displaced citizens, leading to significant internal disruption and even state collapse. Neighbouring countries might feel threatened by invading swarms of climate refugees and come to rely on military force to protect their borders, potentially leading to inter-state conflict.

For all these reasons, the *Livre Vert* argues that it is essential for the international community to recognize that climate change is not just a mere “threat multiplier”, but represents a primary threat that can trigger major disruption in and of itself. The *Livre Vert* points to this consistent under-estimation of environmental risks as one of the main reasons why finding global solutions has been so problematic, as these risks are still not taken seriously enough. Therefore, one of the main contributions of the *Livre Vert* to the field of environmental security is to raise the standing of environmental issues to that of primary threats and triggers of insecurity, instead of treating them as secondary “threat multipliers”.

III) Strategies and Policy recommendations.

1) Placing environmental security at the heart of military strategic planning.

The *Livre Vert* proposes first of all to place environmental security issues at the heart of military planning and defence, as environmental issues are still too often

¹⁹ United Nations Secretary-General (2009), Report to the General Assembly, Sixty-fourth session, Item 114 of the provisional agenda, *Climate Change and its possible security implications*, p.15.

²⁰ *Livre Vert*, 33.

neglected in national security and military strategies. It points to the near complete lack of consideration for environmental security in the 2013 French *Livre Blanc*, where it occupies only half a page due to the fact that scientific uncertainties remain about the real impact of climate change.²¹ This neglect stands in contrast to the approach of other powers, such as the United States, the United Kingdom or Germany. For example, the 2010 US Quadrennial Defence Review devotes an entire section to matters of environmental security.²²

The *Livre Vert* underlines that France is lagging behind on environmental security, and proposes several strategies that would allow France to become a model for “green defence”. France would need to create an institution for dialogue and consultation between the defence/military establishment and the environmental party. This could take the form of a ministry entirely devoted to environmental security that would be linked to the ministry of defence, a far-reaching proposal. It also recommends the commissioning of a parliamentary report on how to develop and apply the concept of “green defence” in the context of the French military.²³

The *Livre Vert* acknowledges that the concept of environmental security has been developing over the last decade, but argues that other analyses do not go far enough. For instance, even in countries such as the UK and the US where environmental threats are taken more seriously, they are still not an integral part of military reports and school curricula. The *Livre Vert* proposes both to create specialised “green defence” training in military academies, as well as to systematically integrate a section on environmental security in military strategic planning documents.

At the European level, the *Livre Vert* underlines that the European Security Strategy still does not place environmental security on the same level as issues such as terrorism or cybersecurity, even if more consideration was given in the 2008 update.²⁴ Thus, it proposes the elaboration of a “Livre Vert Européen de la Défense”, to be written in collaboration between member states, the Commission, the European Parliament and the External Action Service. This would help position environmental security at the heart of the EU’s “Common Security and Defence Policy”.²⁵

At the international level, progress has been made with the adoption by the UN General Assembly of a resolution in June 2009 explicitly recognising that climate change has security implications.²⁶ Nevertheless, the *Livre Vert* argues that UN institutions still do not take environmental security seriously enough. Many countries continue to consider environmental issues to be economic and social matters, and

²¹ *Livre Blanc: Défense et Sécurité Nationale* (2013), La Documentation Française, p.46.

²² Department of Defense of the United States (2010), *Quadrennial Defense Review Report*, p.84-88.

²³ *Livre Vert*, 111.

²⁴ European Security Strategy (2003), *A Secure Europe in a Better World - Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy* (2008), *Providing Security in a Changing World*.

²⁵ *Livre Vert*, Partie 2: les missions de la défense: la nécessaire mutation de l’armée nationale vers une défense européenne et internationale.

²⁶ Resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations 63/28: Climate change and its possible security implications, Sixty-third session, Agenda item 107, 11 June 2009.

reject the idea of associating them with international security.²⁷ Hence, the *Livre Vert* recommends that France and other EU member states use their influence within the UN system to push for a new resolution by the General Assembly that identifies environmental degradation linked to climate change as one of the main threats to international security.²⁸

2) Greater use of preventive action to tackle the root causes of environmental degradation.

The *Livre Vert* focuses on preventive action and diplomacy to forestall environmental conflicts before they emerge. Like many current policy analyses, this policy paper is critical of international interventions post-Cold War, underlining that excessive military action has shown its limits.²⁹ As a result, the *Livre Vert* argues for more diplomacy and preventive action to resolve the root causes of conflicts before they emerge, thus averting the need for intervention later on. This is especially true for environmental threats, whose origins are often linked to conflicts over the sharing of resources, which should be addressed through diplomacy and dialogue.

The *Livre Vert* outlines several proposals for reinforcing preventive action at the national level. First, it recommends strengthening Parliamentary oversight over defence. It criticizes current procedures in countries such as France or the United States, where the executive does not need Parliamentary approval for launching a military operation abroad. The *Livre Vert* argues that this often leads to abuse and lack of transparency, as was the case with the 2003 US invasion of Iraq. Stronger Parliamentary supervision over defence would help to contain the risk of unilateral military intervention, reinforcing preventive action and diplomacy.³⁰ Second, the *Livre Vert* proposes to create a section entirely devoted to conflict prevention within the ministry for environmental security described above that would work in close cooperation with the Ministry of Defence.

At the European level, the *Livre Vert* recognises that the European External Action Service (EEAS) has been active in preventive diplomacy. However, it is critical of what it terms insufficient preventive action for environmental crises, arguing that the EU has tended to focus instead on diplomacy for high profile tension points such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or Iran's nuclear program.³¹ The *Livre Vert* proposes to create an office entirely dedicated to preventive action for environmental

²⁷ Security Council Holds First-Ever Debate on Impact of Climate Change on Peace and Security - Some Delegations Raise Doubts Regarding the Council's Role on Issue. See: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc9000.doc.htm>

²⁸ *Livre Vert*, Partie 2: les missions de la défense: la nécessaire mutation de l'armée nationale vers une défense européenne et internationale.

²⁹ Seybolt T. B. (2008), *Humanitarian Military Interventions: The Conditions for Success and Failure*, Oxford University Press.

³⁰ *Livre Vert*, Partie 2, section 2.4.3.2 : Le renforcement du contrôle parlementaire des opérations internationales.

³¹ *Livre Vert*, Partie 2, Section 2.1.2: La prévention des conflits, voie pour une relance de l'Europe de la défense.

security issues within the EEAS, and relies on the fact that preventive action enjoys a strong legal base in the EU Treaties.³² Moreover, as with the national level, the *Livre Vert* argues that reinforcing the European Parliament's powers of oversight over EU external relations can strengthen preventive action. For example, it proposes to transform the current Sub-Committee on Security and Defence into a full standing committee in the European Parliament.³³

At the international level, the *Livre Vert* welcomes the progress that has been made over the last two decades in reinforcing preventive action within the UN system, for example the creation in 2005 of a new UN Peacebuilding Commission (PBC). Nevertheless, it argues that such initiatives are also insufficient because they do not focus enough on issues of environmental security. Thus, the *Livre Vert* recommends that France, together with other EU member states, submit a resolution to the UN General Assembly for creating new categories under international law such as a "State facing acute environmental challenges" or the notion of "environmental refuge" to reinforce the legal base for global preventive action.³⁴ Second, it suggests the creation of a specialized UN agency on matters of environmental security (particularly for climate refugees) that would rely on preventive action to address the root causes of environmental problems.³⁵

However, it should be noted that the *Livre Vert* does not rule out the use of force as a last resort if all other options have failed.³⁶ Preventive action cannot always succeed, and environmental degradation and resource scarcity are likely to enhance tensions that may result in civil or inter-state conflict. The main difference between the *Livre Vert* and other policy papers is that the strategic focus of "green defence" is on preventive action, whereas it represents just one policy option amongst others in the 2013 French *Livre Blanc* or the 2010 US National Security Strategy, for example.

3) Reinforcing the civilian capacity of the military to handle an increase in extreme weather events.

The *Livre Vert* highlights the need to develop the civilian potential of the military for responding to natural disasters, since hard military power will be of little use in dealing with a climate change-induced increase in extreme weather events such as hurricanes, floods or droughts. It argues that civilian rescue missions by the military

³² Article 42 TEU: *The Union may use them (operational capacity provided by member states) on missions for peacekeeping, conflict prevention and strengthening international security in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.*

Article 43 TEU: *The tasks referred to in Article 42(1) ... shall include joint disarmament operations ... conflict prevention and peacekeeping tasks.* (Author's emphasis).

³³ *Livre Vert*, 111.

³⁴ *Livre Vert*, 111.

³⁵ *Ibid.* Partie 2: les missions de la défense: la nécessaire mutation de l'armée nationale vers une défense européenne et internationale.

³⁶ *Livre Vert*, Partie 2: les missions de la défense: la nécessaire mutation de l'armée nationale vers une défense européenne et internationale.

offer the most appropriate framework for protecting populations from natural disasters. Soldiers are trained and equipped for handling difficult weather conditions, and can be rapidly dispatched in large numbers to remote locations.³⁷ The *Livre Vert* argues that national militaries must be better prepared for an increase in civilian rescue missions both domestically and abroad, when the scale of destruction caused by natural disasters has overwhelmed local authorities.

The *Livre Vert* argues that current initiatives to prepare the military in this way are insufficient, as was demonstrated by the US army's belated and inadequate response to hurricane Katrina that devastated the city of New Orleans in 2006.³⁸ This is because these units are created on an ad-hoc base for temporary missions when natural disasters hit the country, and then return to their regular military activities after the crisis has abated. By contrast, the *Livre Vert* proposes to create permanent units within national militaries entirely dedicated to and specifically trained for civilian rescue missions in areas hit by natural disasters, both at home and abroad. It also outlines ways to combine the joint deployment of such "green special forces" with other conventional sections of the military, such as the air force, navy and ground forces. It explains that an effective response to natural disasters will require joint operations from many different sections of the military, each of which can contribute a different but complementary type of effort.³⁹ The *Livre Vert* also underlines that current evolutionary trends in many modern militaries, which prioritize qualitative advanced technology over the number of soldiers and machinery, is not compatible with the needs of a "green defence". Civilian rescue missions following natural disasters do not require advanced missile technologies, but depend on large numbers of troops, ships and airplanes, as was demonstrated by the mobilization of over 100 000 soldiers following the tsunami that hit Japan in 2011.⁴⁰

The *Livre Vert* posits that the EU is ideally positioned to engage in civilian rescue missions abroad in response to natural disasters, as most of the CSDP's missions already focus on civilian tasks.⁴¹ Moreover, the legal base for civilian missions in the EU Treaties is strong.⁴² Thus, the *Livre Vert* proposes to rely on this solid base for EU civilian operations and apply it to situations of humanitarian assistance following natural disasters. The *Livre Vert* emphasises that, while EU member states agreed to create a rapid reaction force for handling natural disasters by the end of 2014, they decided to separate it from the CSDP framework, which is likely

³⁷ *Livre Vert*, Partie 2, Section 2.2: La mission d'assistance en situation de catastrophe naturelle.

³⁸ *Livre Vert*, 53.

³⁹ *Ibid.* Partie 3 : les défis posés à l'armée de demain.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 100.

⁴¹ By 2010, the EU had embarked on a total of 27 missions in 16 countries on 3 different continents, and 15 of these missions have focused on civilian objectives such as of post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction.

⁴² Article 42 TEU: *The common security and defence policy ... shall provide the Union with an operational capacity drawing on civilian and military assets.*

Article 43 TEU: *The Union may use civilian means ... (including) humanitarian and rescue tasks ... military advice and assistance tasks.* (Author's emphasis).

to compromise its effectiveness. This is because member states are to contribute and manage their own logistical support without a strong mechanism to coordinate them. By contrast, the *Livre Vert* proposes to create a rapid reaction corps fully integrated into the CSDP and specialized in civilian rescue missions following natural disasters, both on the European territory and abroad, fully coordinated and managed by the EEAS.⁴³

At the international level, the *Livre Vert* suggests the possibility of relying on existing principles such as the concepts of “humanitarian intervention” or the “responsibility to protect”, but apply them in the context of civilian rescue missions following natural disasters. Both notions are contentious as they potentially intrude on national sovereignty, which continues to be a pillar of international law. Critics accuse these missions of hiding the reality of self-interested interventions in pursuit of national interests.⁴⁴ However, civilian rescue missions linked to environmental crises do not involve waging war to remove an indigenous regime, but focus on assisting populations, often at the express demand of local authorities. The *Livre Vert* implies that international civilian rescue operations to help countries suffering from natural disasters should be coordinated by the UN General Assembly, and, if the situation is critical, by the Security Council, in conformity with international law. Environmental issues are currently the purview of the UN Economic and Social Council, and many countries are opposed to extending them to the Security Council, which focuses on global security matters.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the Security Council has already passed resolutions to provide police and military assistance to protect humanitarian assistance efforts following natural disasters in places such as Haiti, so the aim would be to reinforce its implication in natural disaster relief.⁴⁶

4) Moving beyond a state-centric view of security.

The *Livre Vert* advocates the need to move beyond a state-centric conception of security and adopt a transnational, possibly even a supranational, strategic framework. It argues that a state-centric conception of security is increasingly inappropriate given the rapidly changing context of world politics in the 21st century. Globalization has accelerated over the last few decades, and the planet is becoming a single interdependent community.⁴⁷ The increasing pace of globalization, with enhanced transnational movements of people, goods, capital, ideas and knowledge, is both a source of opportunity as well the origin of new transnational security threats and risks.

⁴³ *Livre Vert*, 52.

⁴⁴ Baylis J., Smith S. and Owens P. (2011), *The Globalization of World Politics* (5th edition), Oxford University Press, Chapter 31: Humanitarian intervention in world politics.

⁴⁵ Security Council Holds First Ever Debate on Impact of Climate Change - Some Delegations Raise Doubts Regarding Council's Role on Issue. See: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sc9000.doc.htm>

⁴⁶ United Nations Security Council Resolution 1908, adopted on the 19th of January 2010.

⁴⁷ *Livre Vert*, Partie 1, Section 1.1: L'interdépendance croissante d'un monde en pleine mutation.

This renders a state-centric conception of security increasingly inappropriate for addressing new threats stemming from global interdependence.

The *Livre Vert* stresses that climate change is a quintessentially global threat, as increasing temperatures, greenhouse gas emissions, or sea level rise do not stop at national boundaries.⁴⁸ While scientists underline that the impact of climate change will vary from region to region, there is growing consensus that all nations around the world will suffer from its effects. Thus, any concerted attempt to effectively address future environmental challenges must concentrate on solutions at the regional and global level, in addition to solutions at the national and local levels.

5) Strengthening regional integration.

Due to its emphasis on the need to move beyond a state-centric conception of security, the *Livre Vert* supports the strengthening of regional integration, particularly on matters of defence. It welcomes the progress that has been made in Europe since the Maastricht Treaty in creating the EU's "Common Foreign and Security Policy" (CFSP) as well as the "Common Security and Defence Policy" (CSDP). Nevertheless, the *Livre Vert* argues that the current framework for EU external relations needs to be reinforced. Although the Lisbon Treaty expanded the range of possible missions, the *Livre Vert* argues that the Petersberg Tasks remain "minimalist" and are inadequate, since they are mostly based on humanitarian and "soft security" tasks.⁴⁹

Reinforcing EU integration for external relations is becoming urgent since Europe is surrounded by several very unstable regions. These include North Africa and the Middle East, which have been seriously destabilised by the Arab Spring, and also Eastern Europe and the Caucasus, with Russian interventionism in Georgia and the Ukraine. Both situations have highlighted the inadequacy of the EU's current structure for foreign policy, because it was only able to offer civilian "soft security" assistance. This led large member states such as France, the UK, Germany or Poland to assume core military and diplomatic responsibilities instead.

The *Livre Vert* argues that France, as the principal military power in continental Europe, should lead efforts to reinforce European defence cooperation. This could start with the strengthening of defence partnership agreements such as the Lancaster House Treaties (2010) between France and United Kingdom, or the so-called "Weimar triangle" between France, Germany and Poland, recently extended to Spain and Italy.⁵⁰ This core group of countries could initiate enhanced cooperation in the management of logistical means for transport and refuelling for air and sea, the buying of military

⁴⁸ *Livre Vert*, Partie 1, Section 1.2.1 Le changement climatique : une donnée stratégique pour la défense.

⁴⁹ *Livre Vert*, Partie 2, Section 2.6.2.2.1 Les missions de Petersberg: un cadre à dépasser.

The "Petersberg tasks" have been enshrined into EU law with Article 17 and 42 TEU, and include: humanitarian and rescue tasks, conflict prevention and peace-keeping tasks, joint disarmament operations, military advice and assistance tasks and post-conflict stabilisation tasks.

⁵⁰ *Livre Vert*, Partie 2, Section 2.6.3.2 Les alliances et engagements militaires de la France.

equipment, and establish common training centres for soldiers. Such initiatives could then be integrated into the CSDP, expanding into new areas such as a common maritime surveillance policy, closer coordination of air defence and space policies (the EU's Galileo satellite program), and greater cooperation on cybersecurity.⁵¹ Finally, it explains that common EU defence structures must be supported by more integration of European industries and markets for security and military equipment, in order to guarantee technological and strategic autonomy.⁵²

The *Livre Vert* argues that the framework for EU external relations is weak precisely because it continues to rely exclusively on intergovernmental cooperation and unanimity in the European Council.⁵³ It underlines that the changing nature of world politics in the 21st century means that only a federal European Union has the capacity to assert a strong voice on the world stage. Environmental threats linked to climate change render it urgent to engage in a “federal leap forward”.⁵⁴ The *Livre Vert* argues that individual member states will not have the capacity to handle on their own the potentially devastating effects of global warming. Only Europe as a whole has enough weight and sufficient resources both to protect Europe and play a major role in international environmental security crises. This will be difficult to achieve as long as the EU continues to be bogged down by internal divisions stemming from the need to achieve unanimity. This was lethal for the EU during the 2009 world climate summit at Copenhagen, where it was largely bypassed and ignored by other powers such as the United States and China.⁵⁵

The *Livre Vert* outlines far-reaching proposals to create a federal European defence structure, the first step in the establishment of a federal European Union.⁵⁶ It believes the project of an EU “green defence” can help to infuse a new dynamic for European integration and provide a springboard for a “federal leap forward”. First, it recommends reinforcing the powers of the High Representative by turning the position into a federal European minister of external relations. This would involve the transformation of the European External Action Service into a federal European ministry of foreign affairs and defence, placed above national ministries and with the power to set the agenda for the EU as a whole.⁵⁷ Second, it proposes the creation of a

⁵¹ *Livre Vert*, Partie 2, Section 2.5.1.3 Pour un plan d'engagement des Etats membres en matière de défense commune - Livre Blanc (2013), Chapitre 5, Partie B. La France dans l'Union Européenne.

⁵² *Livre Vert*, Partie 3 : les défis posés à l'armée de demain - Livre Blanc (2013), Chapitre 7, Partie E. L'industrie de défense et de sécurité.

⁵³ For example, member states insisted on including two Declarations as annexes of the Lisbon treaty to emphasise that the new provisions on EU external relations do not affect national competence to carry out their own independent foreign and defence policies. See Declarations 13 and 14 annexed to the Final Act of the Intergovernmental Conference, which adopted the Lisbon Treaty, signed on 13 December 2007, Official Journal C 115, 9.5.2008, p.343.

⁵⁴ *Livre Vert*, 74.

⁵⁵ Hill C. and Smith M. (2011), *International Relations and the European Union* (2nd edition), Oxford University Press, Chapter 15: The Challenge of the Environment, Energy and Climate Change.

⁵⁶ *Livre Vert*, 73.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 76-77.

federal European army under the authority of the EEAS, merging all national militaries into a single unit capable of being deployed in operations around the world.

Furthermore, the *Livre Vert* emphasises that the strengthening of a common European defence is not compatible with the integrated command structure of NATO, where the United States enjoys a dominant influence. It argues that more than twenty years after the ending of the Cold War, the rationale for NATO's continued existence is questionable.⁵⁸ This is especially true now that President Obama has enhanced the strategic pivot towards East Asia begun by his predecessors, and is gradually disengaging from Europe. Moreover, given that the crisis between Cyprus and Turkey is still on going, there remains a tension between Cyprus' membership in the EU and Turkey's membership of NATO. This implies the need to enhance the distinction between the two alliance systems.⁵⁹ For all these reasons, the *Livre Vert* suggests that it is now time for European countries to assume their own defence independently from the United States. It supports the creation of a strong EU defence structure outside of NATO.

6) Reinforcing global governance mechanisms.

The *Livre Vert* underlines that regional integration in matters of defence and foreign policy, while essential, will not be sufficient on its own. Since climate change is a truly global threat, the strengthening of regional institutions is a first step, which then needs to be combined with the reinforcing of global governance within the UN framework. Only through a concerted effort from the international community as a whole can there be any hope of finding lasting solutions to global environmental problems. The *Livre Vert* argues that while the UN remains the only legitimate framework for global governance, its current institutional mechanisms are inadequate and need to be reinforced.

The *Livre Vert* recommends an increase in the number of permanent seats in the UN Security Council to include new members such as Germany, Japan, India or Brazil. There is also a need to make the Security Council representative of all regions in the world, as currently there are no permanent members from Africa or the Middle East. This would make the institution more legitimate and representative of the changing balance of global power.⁶⁰ Moreover, the *Livre Vert* stresses that as environmental threats become more acute over the next few decades, the Security Council will increasingly have to manage global security crises involving civil and inter-state conflicts over scarce resources, which might require UN peace-keeping operations. While the Security Council held its first debate on environmental security on the 17th of April 2007, this remains an exceptional occurrence. The *Livre Vert*

⁵⁸ *Livre Vert*, Partie 2, Section 2.5.1 L'objectif d'une Europe assumant la défense de son territoire.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 85.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

emphasises the need to institutionalise more regular debates on environmental security within the Security Council.

Annex One

5 Key Recommendations to the French government:

- Create a Ministry entirely devoted to environmental security.
- Create specialised “green defence” training in military academies, and systematically integrate a section on environmental security in military strategic planning.
- Reinforce Parliamentary control over foreign military interventions and over matters relating to defence in general.
- Create permanent units within national militaries entirely dedicated to and specifically trained for civilian rescue missions in areas hit by natural disasters, both at home and abroad.
- Broaden the concept of national security and embrace a transnational, possibly even a supranational, strategic framework, given that climate change is a quintessentially global threat.

5 Key Recommendations to the European Union:

- Prepare a European “Green Book on Defence” in cooperation between national member states and EU institutions.
- Create an office entirely dedicated to preventive action for environmental security issues within the EEAS and transform the current Sub-Committee on Security and Defence into a full standing committee in the European Parliament.
- Create a rapid reaction corps fully integrated into the CSDP and specialized in civilian rescue missions following natural disasters, both on the European territory and abroad, fully coordinated and managed by the EEAS.
- Over the short run, reinforce bilateral and multilateral cooperation between EU member states on matters of defence, including common training centres for soldiers, a common maritime surveillance policy, closer coordination of air defence and space policies, greater cooperation on cybersecurity, and more integration of European industries and markets for security and military equipment. Such initiatives can later be fully integrated into the CSDP.
- Over the long run, environmental threats linked to climate change render it urgent to engage in a “federal leap forward”. This would involve transforming the European External Action Service into a federal European ministry of foreign affairs and defence, placed above national ministries and with the power to set the agenda for the EU as a whole, and creating a federal European army under the authority of the EEAS, capable of being deployed in operations around the world.

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