

**The Effect of Climate Change on future Common Security and Defence
Policy (CSDP) Missions and Operations**

Essay

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Abstract

Climate change is gaining ever more attention. Alongside, the concern that climate change will negatively impact security is growing. This raises the question how the EU could and should approach the issue?

This essay addresses how climate change will affect future Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions and operations specifically. It does so by analysing what climate change is, which effects are anticipated from it, and what implications for security are expected from it.

Three challenges that climate change imposes on future CSDP missions and operations are addressed in the essay. Firstly, the to date unknown relationship between climate change and security underlines the need for further research on the issue. Secondly, the context-dependency of climate related problems emphasizes the necessity to pay particular attention to the issue within specific mission and operation planning. And thirdly, the interlinkage of climate change effects with human livelihood accentuates the growing importance of civil-military cooperation (CIMIC). Concludingly, some thoughts on the way forward are offered in the essay.

Keywords

Climate Change, CSDP, Missions, Operations, Security.

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2. Preface

As a former representative of the European Students' Union it is a particular honour for the author to participate in this Olympiad. It gives the author the opportunity to experience European cooperation in an entirely new context, within the military, and within security policy.

Thus, the 5th Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) Olympiad draws together three passions of the author: European cooperation, academic scholarship, and security policy. The Olympiad offers the great chance to first learn the basics of CSDP in the e-learning modules, and then try to contribute a small part to its advancement through the essay. Finally, it hopefully gives the author the chance to meet fellow aspiring officers, with the same passions, from all over Europe.

The essay topic is particularly close to the author's heart. Having written the master thesis of her civilian studies on the role of climate change for conflict, it poses a unique new challenge to explore the role that climate change will have on CSDP missions and operations.

It is the European Union's motto – United in Diversity – that has always inspired the author. Accordingly, it is her hope that this essay can be a pebble in building greater cohesion within the Union. Although climate change is one of the most complex challenges we are facing, it is the belief of the author that this challenge also harbours much potential for a stronger Union.

The author wishes to express her thanks to Col Assoc. Prof. Gell, PhD for the chance to participate, and to everyone involved in making this event possible.

3. Introduction

Climate change has gained more and more attention in recent years. ‘Green’ initiatives are present in almost every corner of policy. In September 2019 a ‘Global Climate Strike’ was able to mobilise several million people in over 100 countries.

At the same time, linking climate change to security has become increasingly popular. Two recent publications by the Austrian Armed Forces mention climate change as a serious threat to national security.^{1,2} The former High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) Javier Solana published an entire report on “*Climate Change and International Security*”.³ Even the former president of the United States, Barack Obama, stated in 2015 that “*climate change constitutes a serious threat to global security, an immediate risk to our national security.*”⁴ Climate change, here, is understood as a long-term, measurable change in the climate.⁵

From the perspective of the European Union (EU) it is therefore essential to take a look at the effect that climate change could have on its future security policy. This paper will look specifically at the effect that climate change could have onto the future CSDP missions and operations. CSDP missions and operations are a tool of the European Union’s Common Foreign and Security Policy to take action in conflicts and crises. While operations usually refer to military action, missions usually refer to civilian action.⁶

This essay will only consider the effects of climate change onto possible future missions and operations and the planning of these in general. It will not cover its effect onto the

¹ BMLV (2019). Effektive Landesverteidigung – ein Appell. [Effective defence – An appeal]. Vienna. Passim.

² BMLV (2019b). Unser Heer 2030. Die Antwort auf zukünftige Bedrohungen. [Austrian Armed Forces 2030 – The response to future threats]. Vienna. Passim.

³ Solana, J. (2008). Climate change and international security. Paper from the High Representative and the European Commission to the European Council. Brussels.

⁴ Homepage of the Washington Post (2015). Page Climate change is a ‘serious threat’ to U.S. national security, president says. URL: https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/climate-change-is-a-serious-threat-to-us-national-security-president-says/2015/05/20/83dfad56-ff2b-11e4-833c-a2de05b6b2a4_story.html. [7-11-19].

⁵ IPCC (2014). Summary for policymakers. In: Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability. Part A: Global and Sectoral Aspects. Contribution of Working Group II to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Field, C.B. et al (eds.). Cambridge University Press. P. 5.

⁶ Cf.: EU Military Staff (2019). EU CSDP Missions and Operations for Human Security. Brussels. P. 1.

conduct of specific operations. This includes, for example, personal equipment to deal with extreme temperatures, security from extreme weather events not linked to the reason for the mission/operation. Including these concerns would go beyond the scope of this essay.

Countless documents were investigated for the content analysis in this essay, expanding and enhancing previously existing knowledge on the topic from the composition of a master thesis in Socio-ecological Economics titled “*Climate change as a driver of conflict?*”⁷, as to find scientifically valid answers to the research questions.

In order to research the issue at hand, this essay looks firstly at the current state of research on climate change and security of the EU policy and defines the research gap, from which the research questions will be derived. Secondly, after laying out the method used for the research conducted, the research results are presented. Finally, the results are discussed in the last section.

⁷ Zerzer, T. (2019). *Climate change as a driver of conflict? What resource access reveals about power struggles within the state*. Vienna University of Economics and Business. Master Thesis. Title page.

4. Current State of Research

This chapter reviews existing researches on climate change and the EU Common Security and Defence Policy. Although several studies have been done on the relationship between climate change and security in recent years, only few of them deal specifically with EU policy and CSDP actions on the issue. Those who do, often focus on the broader trend of linking the two, and on the development of the relationship between them.

The climate change and EU's security policy relationship is described as an "*unmet challenge*" by Youngs.⁸ He finds that although some policy documents on climate change and security exist in the EU, a clear path cannot yet be recognised, and particularly specific implementation is lacking behind.⁹ This finding is corroborated by a look at the Handbook on CSDP. Although climate change is mentioned a few times alongside other issues, no section is allocated to it specifically.¹⁰ However, the EU would have good preconditions to tackle the issue of climate change and security, another study finds. In a comparison of the European Union, the United Nations (UN), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Depledge and Feakin have argued that the EU has been "*far more receptive than the UN and NATO to the possibility of expanding the international security agenda to address non-traditional and transnational threats such as those linked to climate change.*"¹¹ They trace this trend back to a general security culture in the European Union that focuses more strongly on crisis management and conflict prevention.¹²

Furthermore, the authors see the EU in a unique position due to its ability to "*deploy the combination of civilian and military assets that are more likely needed to manage conflicts involving the environment.*"¹³ NATO – for example – does not have this capacity. The authors also note that so far, the EU member states "*have demonstrated a*

⁸ Cf.: Youngs, R. (2014). *Climate Change and EU Security Policy: An Unmet Challenge*. Lisbon. *Nação e Defesa*. No. 137. P. 100-117.

⁹ Cf.: *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Rehrl, J. (2017). *Handbook on CSDP. The Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union*. Vienna. Armed Forces Printing Centre. ISBN 978-92-95201-04-0. Third edition. *Passim*.

¹¹ Depledge, D. & Feakin, T. (2012). *Climate change and international institutions: implications for security*. Unknown location. *Climate Policy*, 12. P. 78.

¹² Cf.: *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.* P. 79.

considerable degree of unity”¹⁴ on climate change policy, as for example on their Climate and Energy Package and their stance within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). In this regard Hayes and Knox-Hayes even attest that climate change policy “*also functions to cement EU policy making authority because it is an issue that cannot be addressed at the level of individual member states.*”¹⁵ However, Depledge and Feakin point out that this unity might not be maintained, due to European countries’ diverse vulnerabilities to the consequences of climate change.¹⁶

Liberatore develops three scenarios of how the relationship between climate change, security, EU policy, and international governance could play out in the future.¹⁷ The three scenarios are termed “*Greening security*”¹⁸, “*The War on Climate Change*”¹⁹, and “*Much Ado about Nothing*”.²⁰ The first would be an increased awareness for climate change and its implications for security policy, the second a strong militarisation in the light of dreaded climate catastrophes, and the third a return to general disregard for climate concerns.²¹

Comparing civilian and military capacities for the response to climate change, the author states that the military could contribute in multiple ways. First, concerning emissions reduction, a military means could be to apply “*emission reduction targets to the military sector*”²², which is often exempt. Second, regarding adaption to climate change impacts, the military could contribute through disaster relief operations and threat analysis.²³ Beyond this, a concern is stated that “*the involvement of the military sector beyond analysis and targeted relief operations could prove counterproductive.*”²⁴

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Hayes, J. & Knox-Hayes, J. (2014). Security in climate change discourse: analyzing the divergence between US and EU approaches to policy. Unknown location. Global Environmental Politics. Vol. 14. P. 83.

¹⁶ Depledge, D. & Feakin, T. (2012). Op. cit. P. 78.

¹⁷ Liberatore, A. (2013). Climate Change, Security and Peace: The Role of the European Union. Brussels. Review of European Studies. Vol. 5. No. 3. P. 91f.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid. Table. P. 92.

²² Ibid. Table. P. 90.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid, P. 90.

The article touches briefly on the role that climate change could have specifically for “*future CSDP strategy and missions*.”²⁵ It comes to the conclusion that “*mainstreaming*”²⁶ climate change into CSDP missions is a possibility, as this could “*enhance effectiveness of such missions as compared to cases where climate change was not addressed while being possibly relevant*.”²⁷ However, only a brief section is accorded to this issue.

Overall, research on the role of climate change for security and defence policy in the EU has been focussing mostly on the broader link between climate change and CSDP. Particularly the civil and military competences of the EU put it in a unique position to respond to security implications of climate change. Threat analysis is viewed as a prime competence that the military can bring to the table. However, when it comes to the effects of climate change for CSDP missions and operations, little can be found.

²⁵ Ibid. P. 90.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid. P. 91.

5. Research Gap

*“The EU is in a unique position to respond to the impacts of climate change on international security, given its leading role in development, global climate policy and the wide array of tools and instruments at its disposal.”*²⁸ This quotation by the former High Representative on CFSP Javier Solana shows the unique opportunity at the EU’s hand. However, scientifically founded answers are needed if this endeavour is to be successful.

The previous chapter has shown that some research has been done on the role of climate change for the EU Common Security and Defence Policy. Authors have focused on the current state of EU security policy regarding the challenges of climate change, the development of this policy field, and its possible future scenarios. What has not been dealt with in detail is the effect which climate change will have on future CSDP missions and operations specifically. This research gap will be treated in this essay. The resulting research questions are presented in the next chapter.

²⁸ Solana, J. (2008). Op. cit. P. 3.

6. Research Question

The key question which is answered in this paper is:

What effect will climate change have for future Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions and operations?

For improved understanding, the author answers the following sub-questions regarding the role of climate change for CSDP missions and operations:

- 1) What is climate change?
- 2) Which are the effects of climate change?
- 3) Which are the effects of climate change specifically on conflict?

7. Methodology

This chapter describes the research process used for this essay. Hereinafter, the figure 1 below gives an overview about the process.

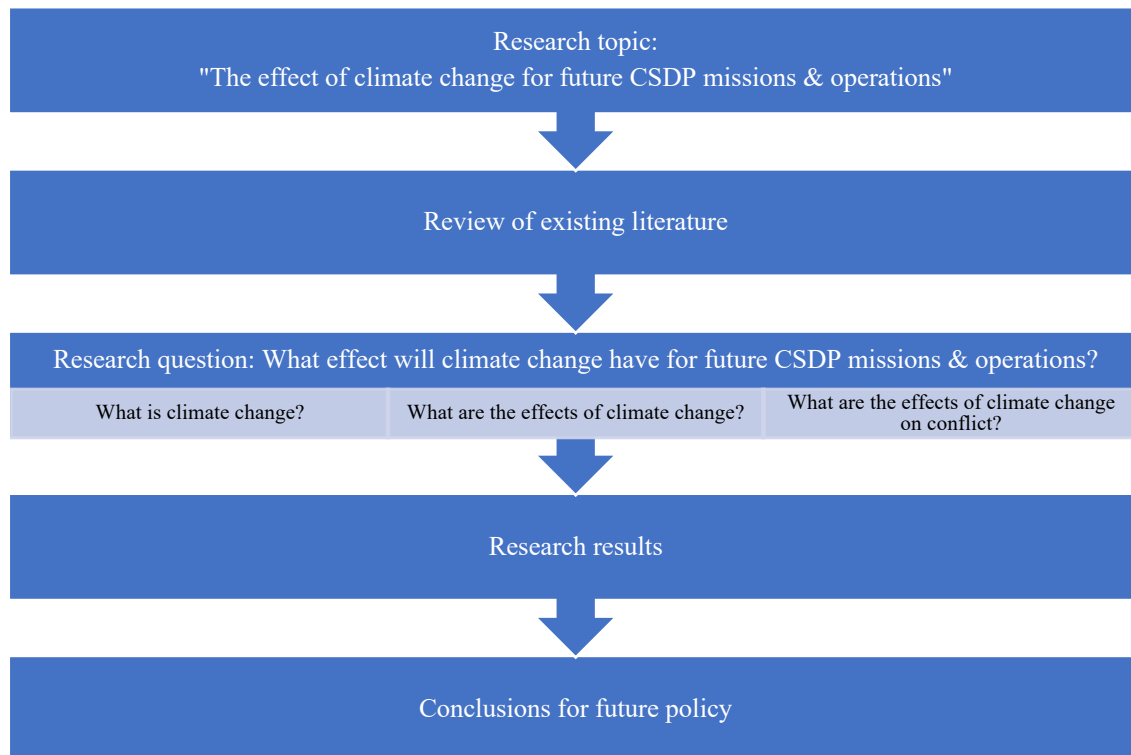


Figure 1: Research Process.²⁹

First, the research topic was chosen from the list of essay topics provided. Subsequently, a review of existing research on the topic was conducted. From this, the research gap was derived, and the research questions were developed. In order to answer the research questions, existing documents on climate change, its effects, and its relation to security were analysed using the method of content analysis. This cumulated in the research results. Finally, conclusions for the future policy on CSDP missions and operations were derived from the results.

²⁹ Figure created by the author.

8. Research and Results of Research

This chapter answers the three sub-research questions, in order to be able to answer the main research question. First, it is explained what climate change is and what its roots are, followed by what its anticipated effects are, and finally what effects on security can be expected.

8.1 Climate Change

This sub-chapter covers what climate change is and what is known about its causes. Although climate change is currently receiving much attention, it is rarely discussed what is exactly meant by it.

The IPCC defines climate change as *“a change in the state of the climate that can be identified (e.g., by using statistical tests) by changes in the mean and/or the variability of its properties, and that persists for an extended period, typically decades or longer.”*³⁰ Such changes in climate can be observed in the atmosphere, in the ocean, in the cryosphere,³¹ in the sea level, and in carbon cycles.³² The report finds that many warming trends since the 1950s are unprecedented in decades and some even millennia and that the *“atmosphere and ocean have warmed, the amounts of snow and ice have diminished, sea level has risen, and the concentrations of greenhouse gases have increased.”*³³

Concerning the causes of climate change, it is important to differentiate between natural climate change and anthropogenic climate change. Natural climate change occurs due to internal variability of the climatic system, in time frames of decades and longer. Causes can include changes in solar radiation or volcanic activity. Natural climate change must be differentiated from climate variability, which refers to short term trends, e.g. the El Niño.³⁴ Anthropogenic, or human-induced, climate change refers to the warming trend

³⁰ IPCC (2014). Op. cit. P. 5.

³¹ Remark of the author: Earth surfaces that are permanently frozen.

³² Cf.: IPCC (2013). Summary for Policymakers. In: Climate Change 2013: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Stocker, T.F., et al (eds.). Cambridge University Press. P. 4-14. Passim.

³³ Ibid. P. 4.

³⁴ Cf.: Homepage of The Conversation (2019). Page Climate explained: how much of climate change is natural? How much is man-made?. URL: <http://theconversation.com/climate-explained-how-much-of-climate-change-is-natural-how-much-is-man-made-123604>. [24-11-19].

that can be traced back to human action, most prominently carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions. The IPCC finds that approximately 1° of global temperature increase compared to pre-industrial levels is attributable to human action.³⁵

Although climatic changes and variability occur naturally, it can be expected that the climate will change more rapidly in the coming years due to human action. The next sub-chapter addresses how this will impact human life.

8.2 The Effects of Climate Change

This sub-chapter discusses possible effects of climate change on human life. Climate change affects a variety of factors that directly impact human livelihood, from ecosystems, to extreme weather events, to food security.

For example, crop yields are influenced by climate change more negatively than positively.³⁶ This raises concerns for food security. Food production is expected to be severely impacted in South America and Australia, as shown in the figure 2 below. Furthermore, extreme weather events such as cyclones, droughts and floods, are expected to increase as a consequence of climate change.³⁷ These can result in consequences severely affecting human livelihood, which “*include alteration of ecosystems, disruption of food production and water supply, damage to infrastructure and settlements, morbidity and mortality, and consequences for mental health and human well-being.*”³⁸

However, it is important to note that not all regions and not all populations are equally vulnerable to the consequences of climate change. The IPCC finds that “*differences in vulnerability and exposure arise from non-climatic factors and from multidimensional inequalities often produced by uneven development processes.*”³⁹ Nonetheless, the consequences of climate change are expected to affect livelihood everywhere in one way

³⁵ Cf.: IPCC (2018). Summary for Policymakers. In: Global Warming of 1.5°C. An IPCC Special Report on the impacts of global warming of 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels and related global greenhouse gas emission pathways, in the context of strengthening the global response to the threat of climate change, sustainable development, and efforts to eradicate poverty. Masson-Delmotte, V. et al (eds.). Unknown location. In Press. P. 6.

³⁶ Cf.: IPCC (2014). Op. cit. P. 4.

³⁷ Cf.: Ibid. P. 6.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

or another. The figure below gives an overview of likely impacts in different regions and the confidence in their attribution to climate change.

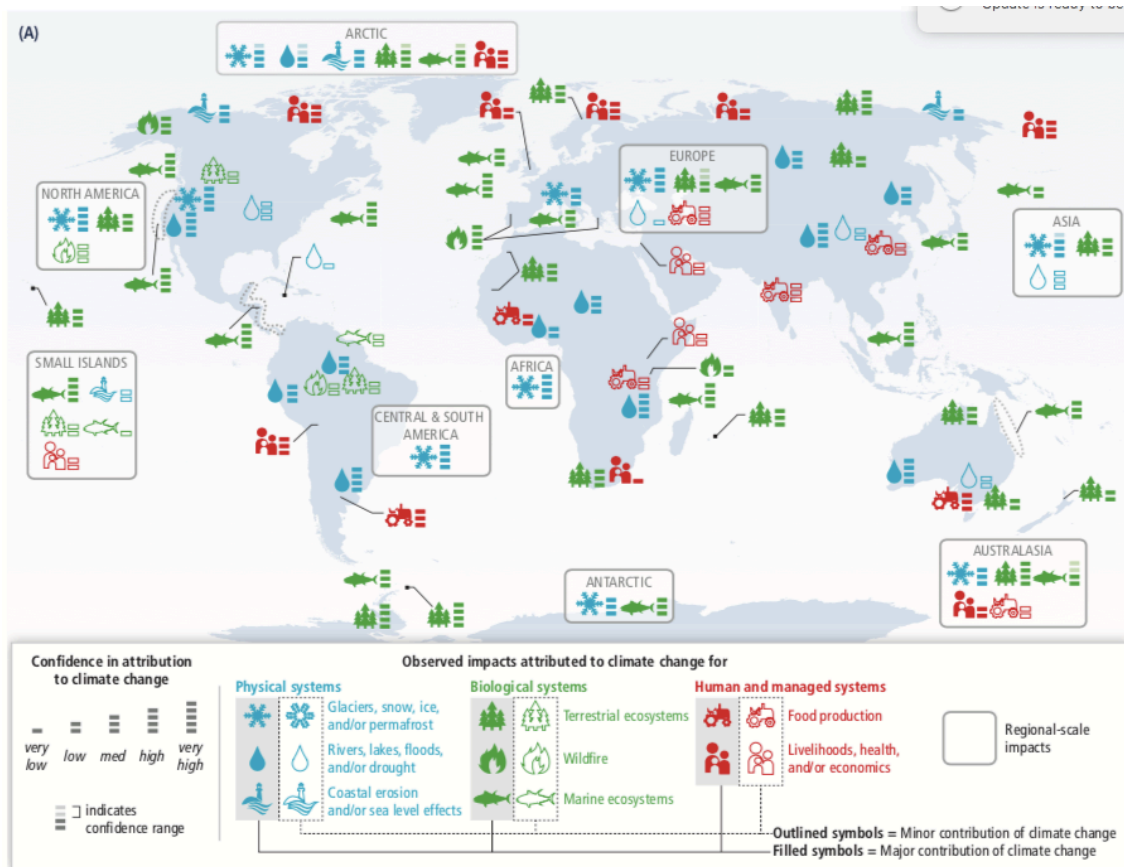


Figure 2: Patterns of impacts in recent decades attributed to climate change.⁴⁰

The consequences of climate change can look very differently. On the one hand, a warmer climate can lead to resource shortages in some regions. For example, water shortages due to droughts are feared in some regions. On the other hand, new sources are expected to be made accessible through climate change in other regions, as is anticipated in the Arctic through ice melting.

In any case, severe impacts on human livelihood are expected from changing climatic conditions. This induces some to fear an increase of violent conflict as a consequence. The next chapter addresses whether there is a significant basis for this concern.

⁴⁰ Ibid. P. 7.

8.3 Climate Change and Conflict

This sub-chapter assesses the existing evidence for a possible relationship between climate change and conflict. While some studies try to establish a quantitative link between climate change and conflict, they are also strongly contested. Furthermore, specific case studies, e.g. on Syria, show how a focus on climate change can obscure other more relevant factors.

In a review of 50 quantitative surveys on the relationship between climate change and violent conflict Hsiang and Burke conclude that “*climate’s influence on security persists in both historical and modern periods, is generalizable to populations around the globe, arises from climatic events that are both rapid and gradual, and influences numerous types of conflict that range across all spatial scales.*”⁴¹

However, studies like this are strongly contested. As one limitation Buhaug names the “*inability to capture and quantify very complex causal linkages that span long time periods, or vary greatly in the temporal dimension between cases and involve many intermediate steps.*”⁴² Another review of existing literature on the climate and conflict link finds that “*long-term effects of climate change on conflict necessarily imply a complex causal chain, the elements of which are hard to isolate and detect in a systematic, quantitative manner.*”⁴³

What is more, some studies find that in some cases increasing resource scarcity has in fact lead to more cooperation.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, Abrahams notes that “*the potential of climate change as a factor in peacebuilding has not received much attention when compared with climate change’s role as a driver of conflict.*”⁴⁵ However, a closer look at these cases could facilitate methods of conflict prevention and resolution.

⁴¹ Hsiang, S.M. & Burke, M. (2014). Climate, conflict, and social stability: what does the evidence say? Unknown location. *Climatic Change*. Vol 123. P. 52.

⁴² Buhaug, H. (2015). Climate–conflict research. Some reflections on the way forward. Unknown location. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*. Vol 6(3). P. 270.

⁴³ Theisen, O. M. & Gleditsch, N. P. & Buhaug, H. (2013). Is climate change a driver of armed conflict?. Unknown location. *Climatic change*. Vol 117(3). P. 615.

⁴⁴ Abrahams, D. & Carr, E. R. (2017). Understanding the connections between climate change and conflict: contributions from geography and political ecology. Unknown location. *Current Climate Change Reports*. Vol. 3(4). Passim.

⁴⁵ Ibid. P. 238.

A further problem of focusing on climate change as a driver of a specific conflict is that other, more relevant factors may be obscured. The ongoing civil war in Syria is frequently presented to make the point about climate change and conflict. The hypothesis is that a drought due to climate change has led to water scarcity, which in turn sparked unrests. On a closer look however, it becomes obvious that water access was more severely impacted by a rise in the price of diesel fuel, needed for groundwater pumps, and by the generally decreasing groundwater level.^{46,47}

The relationship between climate change and conflict is far from being resolved. Problems arise due to the immense complexity of climate change impacts and of social conflicts on the one hand, due to conceptual flaws on the other hand. It is exactly this uncertainty that needs to be taken into account when considering future CSDP missions and operations under the aspect of climate change, as it will be laid out in the next chapter.

⁴⁶ De Châtel, F. (2014). The role of drought and climate change in the Syrian uprising: Untangling the triggers of the revolution. Unknown location. *Middle Eastern Studies*. Vol. 50(4). Passim.

⁴⁷ Zerzer, T. (2019). *Op. cit.* Passim.

9. Discussion of Results and personal Conclusions

In this chapter, the results are summarised, the main research question is answered, and the findings are discussed.

9.1 Results

Here, the answers to the sub-questions are summarised and the main question is answered.

9.1.1 Results of the Sub-research Questions

Climate change is a change in the state of the climate that can be identified, e.g. by measuring the temperature of the atmosphere or the ocean, or the size of ice caps. While climate change can occur naturally, there is strong evidence that the effects are aggravated by human action.

The effects of climate change are highly complex and depend on the interaction of countless factors. Nonetheless it is expected that climate change will result in an increase of extreme weather events, have negative impacts on crop yields, and will overall pose considerable challenges for human livelihood.

In spite of these findings, so far, no clear link between the climate change and any conflict could be established. While climate change could lead to a conflict in some cases, it can lead to more cooperation in others. The embeddedness of all climate related struggles in people's everyday lives and their livelihood makes any effect of climate change strongly context dependent. In some cases, narrowing the focus on climate change can obscure other more pressing factors for conflicts.

9.1.2. The Effect of Climate Change on future CSDP Missions and Operations

It is exactly this uncertainty that needs to be taken into account when considering the effect of climate change for future CSDP missions and operations. Much more research is needed for a better understanding of the role that climate change can play for a conflict. Particularly, there is a need for research which is able to take the specific context into

consideration and can explain causal mechanisms. Special attention should also be given to cases where resource scarcity contributed to peace building.

The context dependency of the consequences of climate change is another factor that needs to be considered concerning future CSDP missions and operations. This means that in any mission or operation where climate change could play a role, the background needs to be particularly well explored.

Finally, consequences result from the fact that the effects of climate change are always interwoven with people's livelihood. Where climate change will play a role, it will usually have an effect on the lives of civilians. This means that civil-military cooperation (CIMIC) will become ever more important in the upcoming years.

9.2 Personal Conclusions

The research in this essay revealed that to address the effect of climate change for future CSDP missions and operations three tasks are necessary. Firstly, further research on the relationship between climate change and conflict in general is needed. Secondly, in mission or operation planning, special attention needs to be given to the issue. And thirdly, CIMIC will be particularly relevant.

The question left is: How can this be implemented? Three fields of action come to mind. Concerning the first issue, a solution would be to implement a coherent research strategy on the topic within the CSDP governance. Secondly, it would be advisable to integrate climate change considerations systematically into mission and operation planning where the EU is involved. And thirdly, it will become necessary to expand already existing CIMIC-capacities within the armed forces.

In the chapter "*Current State of Research*" previous findings by other authors were discussed, namely that the implementation is lacking behind,⁴⁸ that the EU has a unique capacity to link civilian and military means,⁴⁹ and that climate change policy is a field where EU policy making authority is established.⁵⁰ To pick up on these findings, the steps

⁴⁸ Youngs, R. (2014). Op. cit. Passim.

⁴⁹ Cf.: Depledge, D. & Feakin, T. (2012). Op. cit. P. 78.

⁵⁰ Cf.: Hayes, J. & Knox-Hayes, J. (2014). Op. cit. P. 83.

forward proposed in this essay would represent a chance to overcome the lack of implementation, to take advantage of the EU's strengths, and to reinforce its authority.

In times of Brexit and migration crisis, where national tendencies are on the rise, proactively addressing the possible security implications of climate change could pose an opportunity for the EU to show that we truly are United in Diversity.

10. Annexes

10.1 List of Abbreviations

BMLV Bundesministerium für Landesverteidigung [Federal Ministry of Defence]

CFSP Common Foreign and Security Policy

CIMIC Civil-Military Cooperation

CO₂ Carbon Dioxide

CSDP Common Security and Defense Policy

EU European Union

IPCC International Panel on Climate Change

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

UN United Nations

UNFCCC United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

10.2 List of Figures

Figure Number:	Description:	Page:
1	Research Process.	
2	Patterns of impacts in recent decades attributed to climate change.	

10.3 List of Literature

10.3.1 Articles and Theses

- 1 Abrahams, D. & Carr, E. R. (2017). Understanding the connections between climate change and conflict: contributions from geography and political ecology. Unknown location. *Current Climate Change Reports*. Vol. 3. No. 4.
- 2 BMLV (2019). *Effektive Landesverteidigung – ein Appell*. [Translated into English: *Effective Defense – an Appeal*]. Vienna. Austrian Federal Ministry of Defense.
- 3 BMLV (2019b). *Unser Heer 2030. Die Antwort auf zukünftige Bedrohungen*. [Translated into English: *Austrian Armed Forces 2030. The answer to future threats*]. Vienna. Austrian Federal Ministry of Defense.
- 4 Buhaug, H. (2015). Climate–conflict research: some reflections on the way forward. Unknown location. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*. Vol 6. No. 3.
- 5 De Châtel, F. (2014). The role of drought and climate change in the Syrian uprising: Untangling the triggers of the revolution. Unknown location. *Middle Eastern Studies*. Vol. 50. No. 4.
- 6 Depledge, D. & Feakin, T. (2012). Climate change and international institutions: implications for security. Unknown location. *Climate Policy*. Vol. 12.
- 7 EU Military Staff (2019). *EU CSDP Missions and Operations for Human Security*. Brussels.
- 8 Hayes, J. & Knox-Hayes, J. (2014). Security in climate change discourse: analyzing the divergence between US and EU approaches to policy. Unknown location. *Global Environmental Politics*. Vol. 14. No. 2.
- 9 Hsiang, S.M. & Burke, M. (2014). Climate, conflict, and social stability: what does the evidence say?. Unknown location. *Climatic Change*. Vol 123.
- 10 Liberatore, A. (2013). Climate change, security and peace: the role of the European Union. Brussels. *Review of European Studies*. Vol. 5. No. 3.

- 11 Theisen, O. M. & Gleditsch, N. P. & Buhaug, H. (2013). Is climate change a driver of armed conflict?. Unknown location. *Climatic change*. Vol 117(3).
- 12 Solana, J. (2008). Climate change and international security. Paper from the High Representative and the European Commission to the European Council. Brussels.
- 13 Youngs, R. (2014). Climate change and EU security policy: an unmet challenge. Lisbon. *Nação e Defesa*. No. 137.
- 14 Zerzer, T. (2019). Climate change as a driver of conflict?. What resource access reveals about power struggles within the state. Vienna University of Economics and Business. Master Thesis.

10.3.2 Books and Reports

- 1 IPCC (2013). Summary for Policymakers. In: *Climate Change 2013: The Physical Science Basis. Contribution of Working Group I to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*. Stocker, T.F. et al (eds.). Cambridge University Press.
- 2 IPCC (2014). Summary for policymakers. In: *Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability. Part A: Global and Sectoral Aspects. Contribution of Working Group II to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*. Field, C.B. et al (eds.). Cambridge University Press.
- 3 IPCC (2018). Summary for Policymakers. In: *Global Warming of 1.5°C. An IPCC Special Report on the impacts of global warming of 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels and related global greenhouse gas emission pathways, in the context of strengthening the global response to the threat of climate change, sustainable development, and efforts to eradicate poverty*. Masson-Delmotte, V. et al (eds.). Unknown location. In Press.
- 4 Rehr, J. (2017). *Handbook on CSDP. The Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union*. Vienna. Armed Forces Printing Centre. ISBN 978-92-95201-04-0. Third edition.

10.3.3 Internet

- 1 Homepage of The Conversation (2019). Page Climate explained: how much of climate change is natural? How much is man-made?. URL: <http://theconversation.com/climate-explained-how-much-of-climate-change-is-natural-how-much-is-man-made-123604>. [24-11-19].
- 2 Homepage of Washington Post (2015). Page Climate change is a ‘serious threat’ to U.S. national security, president says. URL: https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/climate-change-is-a-serious-threat-to-us-national-security-president-says/2015/05/20/83dfad56-ff2b-11e4-833c-a2de05b6b2a4_story.html. [7-11-19].

11. Affidavit

I declare that I have written the present essay independently and on my own. I have clearly marked any language or ideas borrowed from other sources as not my own and documented their sources. The essay does not contain any work that I have handed in or have had graded as a previous scientific paper earlier on.

I am aware that any failure to do so constitutes plagiarism. Plagiarism is the presentation of another person's thoughts or words as if they were my own – even if I summarise, paraphrase, condense, cut, rearrange, or otherwise alter them.

I am aware of the consequences and sanctions plagiarism entails. Among others, consequences may include nullification of the essay, exclusion from participation in the CSDP Olympiad. These consequences also apply retrospectively, i.e. if plagiarism is discovered after the essay has been accepted and graded. I am fully aware of the scope of these consequences.



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(OCdt Tinja Zerzer)

Wiener Neustadt, Austria in December 2019