take action!

SECURITY AND CLIMATE CHANGE

CAN WE BE SECURE IN A CLIMATE THAT CANNOT SUPPORT LIFE?

MOST OF US ACCEPT THE FUNDAMENTAL NOTION THAT THE CLIMATE IS CHANGING; we are already starting to experience "extreme weather" which has been wreaking havoc around the world. It is entirely possible that the planet may not be able to sustain the current population in years to come.

This has myriad implications for our "security" — for each community, each country, and for our world. On this, everyone does agree. In 2007, a group of retired generals and admirals reported that the effects of the warming trend were likely to cause: inter-state conflict over vital resources, such as fresh water; political turmoil and extremism within nations; food shortages; and mass migrations. As they put it, "Climate change acts as a threat multiplier for instability in the most volatile regions of the world."[1]

As major institutions come to realize the profoundly destabilizing effects of climate change, they also come to accept the imperative for immediate, and sometimes drastic, action. Upon accepting the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Al Gore called on the nations of the world to mobilize to avert climate disaster "with a sense of urgency and shared resolve that has previously been seen only when nations have mobilized for war."

"Climate change has the potential to be one of the greatest national security challenges that this or any other generation of policy makers is likely to confront."[3]

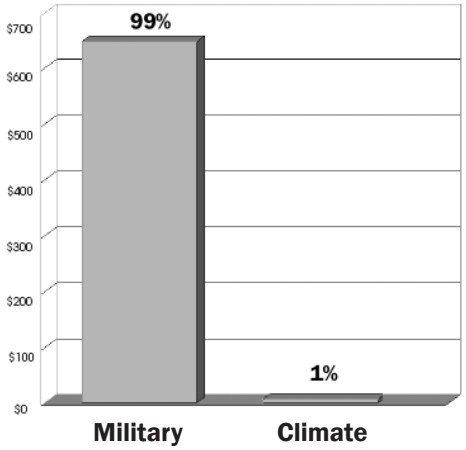
Indeed, American military institutions — the Pentagon and the intelligence community — have endorsed this martial analogy, and have set about analyzing the national security consequences of changes in the world's climate.

If we do regard this as a "war" — to ensure our security and save the world from increasingly grim scenarios — you would expect to find that our country would be devoting substantial resources to winning. At the very least, to holding the line at current levels of greenhouse emissions...

You would be wrong. Instead, these same military institutions continue to funnel the vast resources at their command into short-term and entirely political conflicts. In Fiscal Year 2008, 99% of federal security dollars went to the military; a scant 1% went to climate change programs. If you consider the relative magnitude of the problems, *this is simply not enough*. As a report from the Institute for Policy Studies notes, "Terrorism is a serious problem. It doesn't surround us. The effects of climate change, on the other hand, will."[2]

We believe this must change — if we are to sustain not only our own security, but life on the planet. We believe it's time to change the priorities in our federal budget — away from military solutions, and toward real security. The challenge of climate change is part of this shift.

FY 2008 Federal Spending: Military Security vs. Climate Security



GET CONNECTED!

Check out great online resources.

WiLL web site: **www.willwand.org**

WAND Education Fund web site: **www.WANDEducationFund.org**

WiLL WAND 2008

WiLL is a national, non-partisan network of women state legislators who work together to influence federal policy and budget priorities.

State Sen. Nan Grogan Orrock (GA),
WiLL President
Christina Cernansky,
WiLL Washington Associate
Susan Shaer, *WAND Executive Director*

National WAND Office
691 Massachusetts Ave.
Arlington, MA 02476
781.643.6740 | peace@wand.org
Washington Office
322 4th St., NE • Washington, DC 20002
202.544.5055 | will@wand.org
WiLL President's Office
250 Georgia Avenue SE • Atlanta, GA 30312
404.524.5999 | willpres@wand.org

Save the date!

2009 WiLL/WAND CONFERENCE

October 4 - 6, 2009 • Washington, DC

WHO WILL FEEL THE EFFECTS MOST SHARPLY? THE MOST VULNERABLE

As the temperature rises (a global average temperature increase of 1.30F over the twentieth century), the effects ripple throughout the world. But it's increasingly clear that the poorest countries are feeling the effects first, and hardest. Not only do these countries have the fewest resources to cope with the threats (including more extreme weather events, prolonged droughts, and sea-level rise), they are in the most precarious position.

For example, 40% of the world's population gets at least half its drinking water from the summer melt of mountain glaciers — and these are rapidly disappearing. As water becomes scarcer, food production is threatened, and disease and hunger follow. Vulnerable states in Africa and Asia could quickly see a flood of migrants to richer countries.[4] (Indeed, conflicts in regions such as Darfur and Somalia stemmed initially from a lack of resources, and this will only worsen with increased global warming).

As people's needs increase, nations are challenged to respond; poor nations are the least able to meet these needs adequately. "Many developing nations do not have the government and social infrastructures in place to cope with the type of stressors that could be brought about by global climate change," notes a report from the CNA Corporation (a thinktank funded by the Pentagon). "When a government can no longer deliver services to its people, ensure domestic order, and protect the nation's borders from invasion, conditions are ripe for turmoil, extremism and terrorism to fill the vacuum."[5]

Why address the problems of climate change through the lens of the military budget?

What does the one have to do with the other? The answer: Plenty.

1. Climate change will create enormous problems for the U.S. military, as the military itself has confirmed. We are almost certain to see widespread instability as a result of the effects of warming: scarcity of food and water, displaced populations, citizen unrest, and more. The consequences of climate change will affect the organization, training, and equipping of the military services.

2. The U.S. military contributes to the problem of climate change more than any other single institution worldwide. The military consumes vast amounts of energy resources.

A soldier in Gulf War I needed four gallons of fuel a day to support him; in 2006, each soldier dispatched to Iraq and Afghanistan required 16 gallons of fuel a day. That figure will likely go up — in 2007, the military energy bill rose from $10.9 billion to $13 billion, burning 340,000 barrels of oil a day.[6]

3. The country's recent foreign policy of leading with one (the military) and largely ignoring the other (climate) are the two most prominent causes of our country's loss of standing in the world. Shifting federal spending between military and climate security will help to repair the damage to our international reputation. It will also provide resources necessary to get serious, finally, about addressing the major challenge of our time.

4. To do what's necessary to slow (and, hopefully, halt) climate change, we need serious investments in new technologies, alternative energy sources, and more. **That money is available in our military budget**, which currently eats up 54% of the discretionary federal budget. We are still pouring billions into weapons systems that were designed to fight the Soviet Union during the Cold War; we could easily afford to channel that money into things that would make our country and our world much safer.

FROM FOREIGN POLICY IN FOCUS REPORT

HOW CAN WE CHANGE OUR PRIORITIES? WHERE ARE THE FUNDS?

Much of this action guide is taken directly from a policy report from Foreign Policy in Focus.
"The Budgets Compared: Military vs. Climate Security," by Miriam Pemberton | January 31, 2008
edited by Emily Schwartz Greco | *To read the full report:* www.fpif.org/fpiftxt/4933

Current misallocations

So the U.S. faces threats to its security. The question becomes, how do we respond? How do we allocate our tax dollars to programs that address these threats? A report from Foreign Policy In Focus compared the FY 2008 budgets for our military forces and for stabilizing the climate.

The bottom line: military forces were budgeted $647.51 billion (including supplemental spending on the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan), while resources to slow climate change were budgeted at $7.37 billion. In other words, we spend $88 on our military forces for every $1 we devote to averting climate catastrophe.

The imbalance is likewise severe, if somewhat less extreme, in the budgets for technology development and international assistance. We spend $20 to develop new weapons systems for every $1 we spend on new clean energy and energy-saving technologies. And we spend $50 to sell and give away U.S.-made weapons around the world (mostly to undemocratic regimes) for every $1 we spend to help the rest of the world reduce emissions and deal with the current effects of climate change.

What should the federal spending portfolio of a climate change industrial policy look like?

Let's begin with the (extremely poor) baseline of our current climate change budget. As described by the Bush administration's Office of Management and Budget, it has four parts:

- Technology Program: $3.9 billion
- Science Program: $1.8 billion
- Energy Tax Provisions: $1.4 billion
- International Assistance: $212 million

The necessary changes to this budget, in broad outline, are no brainers. First of all, this funding needs to be drastically expanded.

"I have focused above all on issues of national security. I see the problem of global climate change fitting squarely within that focus."

—Sen. John Warner (R-VA)

The relative proportions of the elements also need to be changed. If we are going to avert climate disaster, we'll need technological breakthroughs — for better battery storage, for example, and more efficient, cost-effective solar, wind, and geothermal energy generation and transmission. Between FY 2007 and FY 2008, the Bush administration actually cut $175 million, or about 12%, out of its core budget for research and development of new energy efficiency and renewable energy technologies.

Tax incentives for efficiency and renewables need to be a much higher priority. Among current federal expenditures, the most direct means of reducing emissions is by changing the incentive structure for private investment, through tax changes. The administration actually cut some of the modest collection of credits that encouraged such things as constructing energy-efficient homes and purchasing energy-efficient appliances.

What's missing

Here are a few missing pieces from an effective climate change industrial policy. The federal retraining system must prioritize "green job" retraining. The U.S. also needs to invest in major, new clean infrastructure. This involves not just developing new transportation technologies, but spending federal dollars to upgrade mass transit to reduce emissions. Federal purchasing can help catalyze markets. States have been in front of the federal government in scaling up the market for electric vehicles (e.g., by buying these vehicles for their own transportation fleets).

The U.S. also needs to expand the network of Manufacturing Extension service providers, to offer technical assistance to reduce emissions. This national network of centers, analogous to the Agricultural Extension network, has been ramped down in recent years. Now it needs to be ramped back up, with an emphasis on assistance for retooling for clean manufacturing and energy conservation, and connected to a state network of green job retraining programs.

All the elements of this new industrial policy will need to be coordinated at the White House level. That will make sure the pieces fit together — by linking public investment to job retraining to technical assistance to new sources of finance for enterprise development, and pulling together various state initiatives into a coherent framework.

And where's the money going to come from? In pivoting their forces to meet the new threat on their flank, the Pentagon also has to release funds for this fight against climate change. The military is still in the process of retooling to fight a new type of war — against terrorists rather than Communist nations. Now that they have recognized that climate change poses perhaps the greatest threat to our national and global security, they have to retool once again.

It's time to rally our resources to fight climate change. It's time to change our budget priorities accordingly, and create a new *climate* industrial complex that would help to protect us as does the *military* industrial complex.

A GLOBAL PROBLEM REQUIRES INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

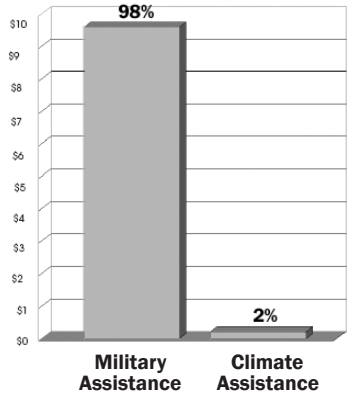
Climate change is a global problem that can only be solved through international cooperation. However, we are currently doing little to assist other countries in their efforts to slow climate change.

The administration allocates the smallest share of the current climate budget to working on the problem internationally; for example, the money we provide to assist other countries in their energy transition: $212 million. Meanwhile, the federal budget allocates $9.5 billion to international *military* security assistance. In other words:

> **We devote 50 times as much to *arming* the rest of the world as to helping it prepare for and avoid climate catastrophe.**

And if you look at the climate change budget closely, you find more problems. Nearly half of the budget is allocated to an (unproven) strategy for mitigating the effects of existing coal-fired power generation infrastructure, rather than assisting in the transition to cleaner renewable energy sources. Most of the rest is devoted to promoting U.S. technologies that may or may not be the most suitable to the recipients' needs.

FY 2008 International Assistance Comparison



"While military forces have roles in disaster relief, the broader impact of serious climate change will require multinational, multi-agency cooperation on a scale heretofore unimaginable and could provide no-fault ground for global cooperation."

—U.S. Army War College and Triangle Institute for Security Studies[7]

CLIMATE CHANGE INDUSTRIAL POLICY

Miriam Pemberton | *Foreign Policy In Focus* | May 14, 2008

THE U.S. MILITARY DEVOTES PRODIGIOUS TIME AND RESOURCES to analyzing future threats and trying to prepare for them. Since the end of the Cold War it has been going through a painful, two-steps-forward-one-and-a-half-steps backward process of reorienting a force structure organized around fighting conventional wars against peer adversaries like the Soviet Union to one better suited to facing "asymmetric" threats: guerrilla forces, insurgents, non-state actors in general. Here's a quick indicator in the budget for new weapons purchases of how entrenched the old mindset still is. Most of this budget is still devoted to spending ever higher amounts on such items as new "stealth" fighters, high-tech destroyers, and a new fleet of submarines that are irrelevant to fighting terrorism.

Another looming threat has also caught the military's attention, namely the security implications of climate change. As early as 1997, the CIA set up an Environmental Center that examined the degradation of land and water as a major source of armed conflict around the world. Such niche efforts within the U.S. security establishment have now gone mainstream. Last year the Pentagon commissioned a group of high-level retired officers, including Marine General Anthony Zinni, former head of U.S. Central Command, to study the issue. Its report, published by the CNA Corporation, a Pentagon-funded think tank, called climate change a dangerous "threat multiplier" producing resource wars and failed states.

Most recently the royal United Services Institute, a leading UK defense think tank, released a report underscoring these concerns. It called the world's response to date "slow and inadequate" and added that "climate impacts will force us into a radical rethink of how we identify and secure our national interests."

On a conventional battlefield, when generals perceive a new threat emerging on, say, their right flank, they will naturally pivot their forces to confront it. Tackling the security threat of climate change will require immediate and drastic reductions of our greenhouse emissions. This will take, among other things, a lot of money. If the security threat is as great as the military now says it is, it will be necessary to pivot substantial resources to address it. The military has so far not followed the logic of its threat analysis to this conclusion.

Notes

1 "National Security and the Threat of Climate Change," CNA Corporation | 2007 SecurityAndClimate.cna.org

2 "The Budgets Compared: Military vs. Climate Security," by Miriam Pemberton January 31, 2008 | edited by Emily Schwartz Greco | www.fpif.org/fpiftxt/4933

3 "The Age of Consequences: The Foreign Policy and National Security Implications of Global Climate Change," Center for Strategic and International Studies | November 2007 | www.csis.org

4 "Military Sharpens Focus on Climate Change: A Decline in Resources Is Projected to Cause Increasing Instability Overseas," *The Washington Post*, April 15, 2007 | www.washingtonpost.com

5 "National Security and the Threat of Climate Change," CNA Corporation

6 "Does Global Warming Compromise National Security?," *Time* | 2007 | www.time.com

7 "Global Climate Change: National Security Implications," U.S. Army War College and Triangle Institute for Security Studies | March 2007 | www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil