

CLIMATE CHANGE AND SECURITIZATION: THE CONSTRUCTION OF CLIMATE DETERRENCE

ALTERAÇÕES CLIMÁTICAS E SECURITIZAÇÃO: A CONSTRUÇÃO DA DISSUAÇÃO CLIMÁTICA

CAMBIO CLIMÁTICO Y SECURITIZACIÓN: LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE LA DISUASIÓN CLIMÁTICA

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ABSTRACT

In 2015, climate change is elevated to the same threat level as that of weapons of mass destruction and terrorist attacks in National Security Strategy of United States of America, causing discussions about the construction of one of the biggest threats of the twenty-first century. This research aims to identify facts and events that contributed for climate change to enter the political agenda and safety studies, arising from a securitization process under construction. To achieve so, points interconnected with climate change, security and armed forces, with time frame between 1945 and August 2015 were selected. The corpus, formed by official documents and bibliography from defense and security research centers of America and Europe, was examined using the Copenhagen School proposals of dealing with the securitization process as analysis units. The results indicate: (i) recent inclusion of climate change (list of threats) in major Western security strategies, within a securitization process; (ii) possibilities of climate change become "potential generators of sovereignty deficit", legitimizing future actions; (iii) climate change (such as "military" or "non-military" threat) will have consequences for the armed forces (requiring new skills).

Keywords: Climate Change. Securitization. Conflicts. Armed Forces. Climatic Deterrence.

RESUMO

Em 2015, as alterações climáticas são elevadas ao mesmo nível de ameaça que armas de destruição em massa e ataques terroristas na National Security Strategy of United States of America, fomentando discussões sobre a construção de uma das maiores ameaças do Século XXI. A pesquisa tem como objetivo identificar fatos e eventos que contribuíram para que as alterações climáticas fossem inseridas na agenda política e nos estudos sobre segurança, decorrentes de um processo de securitização em construção. Para isso, foram selecionados pontos interconectados com alterações climáticas, segurança e Forças Armadas, com recorte temporal entre 1945 e agosto de 2015. O corpus, formado com documentos oficiais e bibliografia de centros de referência sobre estudos de defesa e segurança da América e Europa, foi examinado utilizando como unidades de análise as propostas pela Escola de Copenhague que tratam do processo de securitização. Os resultados apontam para: (i) recente inserção das alterações climáticas (rol das ameaças) nas principais estratégias de segurança ocidentais, dentro de um processo de securitização; (ii) possibilidade das alterações climáticas tornarem-se "potencial geradora de déficit de soberania", legitimando futuras ações; (iii) alterações climáticas (como ameaça "militar" ou "não militar") terão reflexos para as Forças Armadas (exigindo novas capacidades).

Palavras-chave: Alterações Climáticas. Securitização. Conflitos. Forças Armadas. Dissuasão Climática.

RESUMEN

En 2015, en la Estrategia de Seguridad Nacional de los Estados Unidos de América el cambio climático es elevado al mismo nivel de amenaza que las armas de destrucción masiva y los ataques terroristas, fomentando discusiones sobre la construcción de una de las mayores amenazas del siglo XXI. La investigación tiene como objetivo identificar los hechos y acontecimientos que contribuyeron para que los cambios climáticos sean introducidos en la agenda política y en los estudios sobre seguridad, como resultado de un proceso de securitización en construcción. Para ello, se seleccionaron puntos interconectados con el cambio climático, la seguridad y las fuerzas armadas, con un marco temporal entre 1945 y agosto de 2015. El corpus, formado con documentos oficiales y bibliografía de centros de referencia en estudios de defensa y seguridad de América y Europa, fue examinado utilizando como unidades de análisis las propuestas de la Escuela de Copenhague de tratar sobre el proceso de securitización. Los resultados muestran: (i) reciente inclusión del cambio climático (rol de las amenazas) en las principales estrategias de seguridad occidentales, dentro de un proceso de securitización; (ii) posibilidad de que los cambios climáticos se conviertan en "potenciales generadores de déficit de soberanía", legitimando acciones futuras; (iii) cambios climáticos (como amenaza "militar" o "no militar") tendrán consecuencias para las Fuerzas Armadas (exigiendo nuevas capacidades).

Palabras clave: Cambio Climático. Securitización. Conflicts. Fuerzas Armadas. Disuasión Climática.

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I INTRODUCTION

Because of the recent publication of the National Security Strategy of United States of America (UNITED STATES, 2015a) and of the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR) by the United States Department of State (UNITED STATES, 2015b), in February and April of 2015, respectively, climate change⁴ has been more often included in the Western political agenda and, consequently, in security studies. However, in view of the upcoming Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP 21) where the key challenge will be to validate the “principle of joint and several liability”, it is appropriate to ask how the process whereby climate change (CC) was driven to this new status in the above mentioned studies.

The objective of this study is to determine the facts, events and discourses (in the form of speech acts and written language) that contributed to have climate change included in the political agenda and in security studies, derived from as process of securitization in construction.

2 METHODOLOGIES

In order to answer the proposed question, an initial *corpus* was established from reference centers in security studies in America and in Europe, to which academic and government documents focusing on climate change, security and the Armed Forces (AF) were added.

The time frame was set between 1945, the beginning of the Cold War, and August of 2014, except for the conceptual basis for which the timeframe was extended.

Next, issues interconnected with the subjects of interest were selected. For selection of the final *corpus* the following criteria/filter were employed: (i) intersection with proposed objectives; (ii) to be a future bearing fact (echo on the public and the political agenda); and (iii) to have direct/indirect impacts on the security agenda. The selected mainstream was the Copenhagen School approach to security studies (WÆVER, 1995; BUZAN; WÆVER; DE WILDE, 1998; BUZAN, 1999) focusing on securitization.

For the investigation of the selected topic, the analysis units used were those proposed by the Copenhagen School, as follows: referent objects, securitizing actors and functional actors (BUZAN; WÆVER; DE WILDE, 1998). To conclude, considerations on the results obtained and suggestions for future approaches will be presented.

3 RESULTS

The final *corpus* was designed with thirty eight (38) topics, comprising speech acts (political discourses and official documents), the political position of international actors and events providing basic elements to support the initial phases of the process of securitization, where climate change appears as a threat to the referent objects linked to security. Some of these topics refer to disasters catalyzed by climate change when action by the armed forces and ensuing political discourses were seen.

Table I - Climate Change and Securitization, presented below, shows the topics that were selected and examined. Besides intersection (CC, security and AF), elements such as the nexus between referent objects⁵ (OR), securitizing actors⁶ (SA) and functional actors⁷ (FA) were also considered.

Table I: Climate Change and Securitization

Nº	Nexus with OR, AS & AF	Discourse content and intersection with CC, Security and AF
1	Cold War (1945-1991)	New non military threats, including CC. Reversal of Clausewitz's proposal, policy becomes an extension of war by other means (GUZZINI, 2015).
2	Limits to Growth Report (1972)	Economic growth will depend on factors such as peace and stability. Comprehensive search for raw materials leads to social disruption, triggering conflicts (NYE; LYNN-JONES, 1988).
3	Stockholm Conference 1972)	Global consensus on development and the finite nature of world reserves of natural resources (SCHMIDT; NAVE; GUERRA, 2010).
4	Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues (1982)	Concept of environmental security, distinction between common and collective security. Non military threats: shortage of resources and environmental destruction (CUNHA, 1998).
5	New Political Thinking Gorbachov (1985)	Introduces the concept of comprehensive security linked to human survival. Associates non military threats to economic and environmental issues (CUNHA, 1998).

⁴ In the Portuguese language original the term “alterações climáticas” was used instead of “mudanças climáticas”. In Brazil the most frequently used term would be “mudanças climáticas”. The Community of Portuguese Language Countries (abbreviated CPLP, in Portuguese) the term “alterações climáticas” is generally used (<<http://alteracoesclimaticas.ics.ulisboa.pt/eventos/>>).

⁵ It refers to what the securitizing actors declare to be existentially threatened and for which protection is sought. Normally, the referent object is the State, its sovereignty, economy, among other (BUZAN; WÆVER; DE WILDE, 1998).

⁶ The securitizing actors initiate the speech act calling attention to the fact that emergency measures are needed (BUZAN; WÆVER; DE WILDE, 1998).

⁷ These are those capable of influencing the final decision on the field of security (BUZAN; WÆVER; DE WILDE, 1998).

Nº	Nexus with OR, AS & AF	Discourse content and intersection with CC, Security and AF
6	The Brundtland Report (1987)	Broadens "security" through the environmental aspect. Environmental stresses may foster political tensions and conflicts, thus becoming a security issue. (BRUNDTLAND, 1987).
7	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) (1988)	Its first report (1990) unveiled the scientific consensus that CC has an anthropogenic origin. These reports became a reference for the international community because they expressed consensus and uncertainties about Climate Change (CC) (GARCIA, 2006).
8	<i>United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (1992)</i>	The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (in Eco 92) increases participation of Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in environmental and CC issues (UNITED NATIONS, 1992).
9	I Conference of Parties (COP) (1995)	Global negotiation of Greenhouse Gases (GHG) reducing targets. Twenty COP were held until 2014, with different approaches to CC.
10	Kyoto Protocol (1997) (In effect in 2005)	Agreement for reduction of GHG that was not ratified by the USA. Europe, the only party to achieve (and exceed) the set targets, receives the largest number of immigrants (SOROMENHO-MARQUES, 2015a).
11	II World Conference on Disaster Reduction (2005)	Risks of disasters, threats related to geological phenomena and CC should be included in sector-specific development plans (UNITED NATIONS, 2005).
12	New Orleans Disaster (Hurricanes Rita and Katrina) (2005)	Natural disasters comparable to terrorism as a threat to the United States of America (USA) – "Militarization of natural disasters" (GARCÍA, 2005). This war on "natural disasters" undermined trust on the institutions (TIERNEY; BEVC; KULIGOWSKI, 2006).
13	Establishment of the Emergency Military Unit (UME) (2005)	The UME was created by Spain after AF action in natural disasters. The UME is an organized military force specifically trained and provided with the necessary means to operate during natural disasters (SPAIN, 2005).
14	Documentary: An Inconvenient Truth (2006)	Documentary about climate change, specifically about the average increase of global temperature; won the Oscar for Best Documentary that year. In 2007, Al Gore, the author of the documentary and former US vice-president, shared the Nobel Peace Prize with IPCC.
15	Stern Report (2007)	Mitigating global warming is less costly to world economy than adapting to it. Pressures will increase resulting in conflicts around basic resources (STERN, 2007).
16	UN Security Council (SC) (2007)	Unstable climate fuels migratory pressures and the competition for resources. The SC did not keep CC in its agenda, and was just useful to impart visibility to the subject (UNITED NATIONS, 2007).
17	Oslo Guideline (2007)	Because of the increased deployment of the AF, the UN issued the Guideline on the Use of Military and Civil Defense in Disaster Relief (5663RD MEETING, 2007a).
18	Solana Report (2008)	Inclusion of CC in Foreign Affairs and Security (European interests). Policies evidencing resentment towards the countries that caused CC. Warning scenario for Europe, the destination of large migrations (SOLANA, 2008).
19	<i>Department of Energy and Climate Change UK (DECC) (2008)</i>	The United Kingdom (UK) recognized that CC will contribute to escalate the environmental risk and the occurrence of extreme environmental events, increasing the humanitarian crises requiring contribution from the UK Armed Forces. (UNITED KINGDOM, 2008). Establishment of the DECC to become the leading institution in the government program to change the United Kingdom into a low carbon economy. (UNITED KINGDOM, 2009).
20	Statement by the UN Secretary General (2009)	CC constitutes a poverty-derived "threat multiplier". The document mentions the poor performance of institutions in organizing resources and solving conflicts (UNITED NATIONS, 2009).
21	<i>Central Intelligence Agency US (CIA) (2009)</i>	Establishment of the Center for Climate and Security to provide advice to decision makers on the effects on climate on security.
22	<i>Strategic Concept for the Defense and Security of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (2010)</i>	Terrorist attacks, CC and shortage of water will shape the future security environment in areas of interest to NATO. The AF need to develop competencies to tackle international crises and humanitarian missions (NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION, 2010).

Nº	Nexus with OR, AS & AF	Discourse content and intersection with CC, Security and AF
23	<i>Defense Policy Guidelines Germany (2011)</i>	CC is a threat to German security. CC compromises the subsistence of human beings, causing migrations and conflicts. CC will be critical to the future of Germany and Europe. (GERMANY, 2011).
24	<i>Report of the Department of Defense US (2011)</i>	Issues guidelines aimed at increasing the capacity of the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) and of the United States Southern Command (SOUTHCOM) to deal with conflicts catalyzed by CC, and to act during natural disasters (UNITED STATES, 2011).
25	<i>Security and Defense Policy of the European Union (2012)</i>	Migrations caused by natural disasters exacerbated by CC fuel conflicts and saturate regions. Civil-military cooperation is critical to respond to disasters. The European Security Academy should investigate the reflexes of CC on security (EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, 2012).
26	<i>White Paper on Defense and National Security (2013)</i>	Recognizes CC as a threat capable of aggravating and increasing extreme events, further weakening vulnerable regions. Current Arctic Ocean ice decrease has strategic consequences, such as the opening of new navigation routes (FRANCE, 2013).
27	<i>Portugal Strategic Concept of Defense (2013)</i>	Natural disasters and CC were included in the list of threats to security. Increased awareness of losses and that major disasters require global support (PORTUGAL, 2013).
28	<i>IPCC Report (2013)</i>	Increase of scientific consensus that CC has an anthropogenic origin and has potential to increase the rivalry between countries, not taking directly to war (ADGER et al, 2014).
29	<i>XXX Conference of the American Armies (2013)</i>	The effects of CC (AF and disasters) were one of the subjects discussed by the military commanders. Extreme climate may impact the civil population, influencing latent social tensions (ORGANIZATION..., 2013).
30	<i>Haiyan Typhoon (2013)</i>	Showed what the AF will be required to do in the future because of climate effects. The capability of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations as a regional security actor was called into question. The European and USA Forces were deployed (ROUTLEDGE, 2014; INTERNATIONAL..., 2014).
31	<i>Creation of the Logistics Support Units (2014)</i>	Portugal crates general and emergency military support Forces prepared to provide national response to disaster situations. (PORTUGAL, 2014).
32	<i>Center for Naval Analyses (CNA) (2007 e 2014)</i>	In seven years the status of CC went from concern to conflict catalyst. An increasing number of catastrophic events will create additional demands for American troops in distinct regions of the globe (CNA MILITARY ADVISORY BOARD, 2007; 2014).
33	<i>III Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction (2015)</i>	CC exacerbates the frequency and intensity of disasters, halting the progress of sustainable development (UNITED NATIONS, 2005).
34	<i>National Security Strategy of the United States of America (2015)</i>	CC (a risk to American interests) is connected to natural disasters, migrations, terrorism and conflicts for international resources (UNITED STATES, 2015a). Approved the end of academy clearance for access to the CIA climate change database. (Feb 15).
35	<i>Conference of the American Armies (2015)</i>	The objective was to discuss procedures for the Aid Operation in Case of Disaster by the Mexican AF (BRASIL, 2015a).
36	<i>Seminar on Humanitarian Aid (2015)</i>	Brazilian Army sponsored the Seminar on the Humanitarian Aid Force; capacity building proposals for Humanitarian Aid Operations were presented (BRAZIL, 2015b).
37	<i>Encyclical: On Care For Our Common Home (2015)</i>	Approaches the internationalization of the Amazon, CC, wars for natural resources, sovereignty of States, conflicts and migrations, among other (FRANCIS, 2015).
38	<i>Proposal on the Venezuela-Colombia-Brazil Ecological Corridor (2015)</i>	The "objective" is to halt CC and preserve biodiversity. Once completed, it would connect the Andes to the Atlantic, with possible fragmentation of territorial unity (Brazil-Colombia-Venezuela).

Source: Table prepared the authors (2015).

4 DISCUSSION

4.1 Securitization, climate change and new dimensions of security-related subject matters

Securitization can be understood as a speech act (political discourse) that builds in the political community awareness of the existence of a real threat, allowing the adoption of urgent and exceptional measures to deal with this threat (BUZAN; WÆVER; DE WILDE, 1998). Thus, a given theme would only be securitized by entering the security agenda as a threat to a referent object, and as of the moment it is accepted as such by the general public (BUZAN; WÆVER; DE WILDE, 1998). According to Buzan et al. (1998), the process of securitization has three increasing components: the existence of a threat, emergency actions and disruption of the normal situation (policies aiming at legitimizing actions to deal with the threat, including the use of military force). Desecuritization then would be the inverse process that resorts to other discourses to prevent the securitization of the theme and the resulting acceptance of exceptional measures (WÆVER, 1995).

Climate change of anthropogenic origin is understood as a process related to global (systemic and cumulative) changes, of which the most visible aspect is the rise of the average temperature on the surface of the planet. To Santos (2012), besides changes to Earth's albedo (linked to the use of the soil) and lower stratospheric ozone concentration, the emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs), coming from an economic system based on fossil fuels, actually constitute the most significant human influence on Earth's climate system. Increased concentration of greenhouse gases increases the greenhouse effect and, consequently, the average global surface temperature with its effects, such as extreme weather phenomena and the rising of the average sea level (SANTOS, 2012).

Until the Second World War, the warfare studies were a prerogative of the military and peace studies were related to international law (DUQUE, 2009; TANNO, 2003). The use of nuclear artifacts and the rise of the Cold War kindled the interest of civilians in security studies (SANTOS, 2009).

Lemaitre e Fenger (2001) suggest that once the Cold War was ended new non military threats entered the security agenda, among which were climate change, global population increase and migrations, all of them representing a threat to human beings and states, with new strategies being required to prevent them. These authors claim that climate change is the most important "non military threat" of the 21st century XXI⁸.

⁸ What actually happened is that as the bipolar confrontation came to an end, such themes gained space in the agendas of the States and, in some cases, in the security agendas. An example of the value that was added to the environmental agenda was the massive presence of Heads of State at the United Nations Conference Rio (Eco-92).

About the end of the Cold War Soromenho-Marques (2015a) suggests that, between 1989 and 1991, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) chose the implosion of its political organization over planet destruction, which obviously, would entail its own destruction. Notwithstanding, the event did not mean the end of the nuclear threat, or least of all, the nuclear deterrence strategy discussed by Mattos (1986).

About this subject Soromenho-Marques (2015a) explains that "nuclear deterrence" evolved into "climate deterrence". He is convinced that lack of a global agreement on climate will give rise to enormous risks to environmental security, with implications to the internal stability of States, introducing unnecessary entropy into the international system.

The Kyoto Protocol (that lapsed on December 31, 2012) was not subscribed by the United States and still has not been replaced by a new instrument that could, and should, govern climate diplomacy. Thus, as the atmosphere cannot be physically expanded, but can be managed, Soromenho-Marques (2015a) talks about the urgent need to create an international climate protection system.

This new regime, which should have been in place after 2012 — with participation of China, the largest world emitter of GHG (29% of all GHG in 2013) — would be grounded on the awareness that defense of the climate of planet environment is an interest higher than those of the members of the international community. No national interest may be deemed reasonable if it conflicts with the priority interest of preserving the global environmental conditions necessary to make sure that the planet will be able to support technologically sophisticated civilizations, capable of ensuring security and respect to the fundamental rights of its members (SOROMENHO-MARQUES, 2015a).

By analyzing the content of Table I it can be inferred that, initially, CC appeared in the political and security agenda as an adjuvant, initially linked to the environmental issues and the shortage of resources (SOROMENHO-MARQUES, 2015a; SCHMIDT et al., 2010). As time went by, as a result of the efforts of the scientific community that ultimately reduced the uncertainty about the anthropogenic origin of climate change, it started to be seen as a threat to global security, thus prompting the world to delve into the subject (GARCIA, 2006; SANTOS, 2009; 2012).

4.2 Threat, referent object, securitizing actor and functional actor

The most important areas threatened by climate change are directly linked to the survival of humanity, and its most serious impacts would be felt on global economy and security (STERN, 2007; SOLANA, 2008). According

to Soromenho-Marques (2015a), climate change is one of the most visible elements of anthropic dominion over the planet, and must be construed as a threat to global security, once it may compromise the future of human civilization itself.

Among the topics that were examined, climate change was identified as an existential threat to the reference object. It appears as both a military and a non military threat.

As a military threat, it was evidenced that climate change may become a catalyst of existing social conflicts and tensions, which in view of the fragile management capability of the agencies, institutions and states, could evolve into an armed conflict (BARNETT; ADGER, 2007; ADGER et al., 2014). Bearing in mind the likelihood that climate change will impact the primary sectors of the economies of the different countries (in the process of development), as well as their respective indicators of income levels and quality of life, it may contribute to possible conflicts (UNITED NATIONS, 2009). However, there it is impossible to work out an empirical identification of the consequences of climate change for the different states, regions and international systems (LEMAITRE; FENGER, 2001).

On the other hand, the construction of climate change as a non military threat is associated to natural disasters such as torrential rain, hurricanes, heat waves, rising sea level, and other events. Climate change is capable of increasing the intensity of the above mentioned natural events, giving rise to colossal human and material damages (UNITED NATIONS, 2005; ROUTLEDGE, 2014; ALCANTARA, 2014). It happens that, some of the phases of the disasters led to social conflicts and waves of violence, as for example, in New Orleans (TIERNEY; BEVC; KULIGOWSKI, 2006) and in the Philippines (ROUTLEDGE, 2014; INTERNATIONAL..., 2014), when the Armed Forces had to be deployed in the "during" and "post-disaster" phases. Thus, independent of whether climate change is a military or a non military threat, because of its connection to conflicts, disasters and environmental issues, it is understood that climate change can be included in the category that Etchegoyen (2015) calls "sovereignty deficit generator", as the management capacity of the states is put to test.

Besides the above considerations, it should be noted that in their security strategies the United States of America (UNITED STATES, 2015a), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NORTH..., 2010) and the European Union (EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, 2012) have included climate change in the list of military and non military threats.

The state to be protected in this process of securitization is among the referent objects identified in this paper. On this issue, it was evidenced that the economic and political interests have been linked to the above mentioned referent object to reinforce the concept

of climate change as a direct or indirect threat to national and international security, to regional and global economy and to sustainable development. Two good examples are the Stern (2007) and Solana (2008) Reports, where concern about the negative impacts of climate change on the European economic interests and on those of the other economic blocks can be evidenced.

In Table I, the origin of most of the discourses is found in the political agenda, confirming the necessary legitimacy of the securitizing agent to voice the political discourse (speech action of political decision) about the existence of the threat (BUZAN, 1999).

As previously mentioned, the origin of climate change (as a threat) entered the international political agenda as it started to be linked to environmental issues. Notwithstanding, there are topics that came up in the public agenda, and subsequently migrated to the political one, to ultimately enter the security agenda.

One of the milestones of this process was the Eco 92, when global consensus was reached on the warnings issued the scientific community about global warming (SOROMENHO-MARQUES, 2015a). The action of the Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) mobilized public opinion, increasing their influence on the agenda of subjects in the political domain (SCHMIDT; NAVE; GUERRA, 2010). Subsequently, the economic aspect drove forward the political acceptance of the financial losses deriving from the consequences of climate change, thus reinforcing the threatening role to global economy (STERN, 2007) and, consequently to security (SOLANA, 2008).

However, when the existence of the participation by the academic community, through the reports and papers of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, and the actions of the NGOs that drove the CC subject into the political agenda are identified, the topics examined add strength to one of the criticisms to the Copenhagen School about the legitimacy of the securitizing agent. The exclusive role of the speech act and ensuing actions would be assigned only to the political actor (BUZAN, 1999; GUZZINI, 2015). Notwithstanding, Buzan (2008) already envisages the possibility that, particularly after the 9/11 attacks, in 2001, a mix of actors and referent objects is now involved in securitization.

As to the functional actors, a trend can be detected to initially assign to military capacity the responsibility of "acting in face of the threats" and, later on, to a partnership between military and civil capacities. In the case of climate change as a military threat related to the conflict it has catalyzed, guidance was found about the need to increase the capacity of military sectors (the military bias). As a non military threat, climate change is related to more destructive disasters requiring expansion of military capacity to act more frequently in the future. From the analysis of the topics, it is also evidenced the Latin American countries have been working on studies

on the subject of climate change and security, especially on the AF, departing from the traditional procedure of importing European and United States security models and theories (HERZ; LAGE, 2015). Good examples of this fact are the events, such as seminars and congresses, organized by the AF and the academic communities that contribute to further the studies on climate change, disasters and the armed forces.

Once the first component of the process of securitization was discussed, that is the actual existence of threat and its conceptual relations (based on Table 1), the two final components proposed by the Copenhagen School (BUZAN; WÆVER; DE WILDE, 1998) that enable legitimizing the resulting actions: emergency actions and rupture of normal situation, will now be discussed.

4.3 Legitimizing resulting actions

Bearing in mind that securitization will only happen when the subject enters the security agenda, thus rendering the emergency actions to face the threat legitimate and acceptable (including the use of military force), it can be inferred that the abnormality situation excludes the normal mechanisms that would be used to handle it. As a result, securitization enables total concentration of decision making powers in the hands of the securitizing agents, which are normally the government actors (WÆVER, 1995).

As previously underlined, climate change was included into the leading Western strategies, both as a military and a non military threat. CC was placed at the same level of threat as the weapons of mass destruction and terrorist attacks in the strategies of the United States of America, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union (UNITED STATES, 2015a; NORTH..., 2010; EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, 2012). Thus, it is suggested that a possible alignment between the leading political and armed Western blocks of the North hemisphere came into being in the process of climate change securitization.

In the specific case of the United States, government guidance was provided on the increase of military capacity of the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) and of the United States Southern Command (SOUTHCOM) to act in conflicts catalyzed by climate change and the use their AF in natural disasters (UNITED STATES, 2011). It is our understanding that this suggests the existence of increased attention of the United States to Africa and South America, coinciding with the warnings issued in the Stern (2007), Solana (2008) and IPCC (2014) reports. The same inference applies to NATO (2010).

The United States attention to Africa increased after the reports were released by the CNA Military Advisory Security (2007 and 2014). The report issued in 2014 states that climate change added environmental stress factors

to the ethnical conflicts in Africa, increasing the burden on local government in recent years. As a result, the Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, that had been previously confined to the North of the African continent managed to expand its area of action. In its reports this agency rates CC as a catalyst of conflicts, and indicates that an increasing number of catastrophic weather events will generate increased demand for deployment of American troops in different regions of the globe (CNA MILITARY ADVISORY BOARD, 2007; 2014).

This type of event has already occurred in the Philippines, after the Haiyan typhoon, when the US and European forces were called to act in the region. Questions were raised about the capacity of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to act as regional security agent, calling attention about the future demand for AF action (ALCANTARA, 2014; ROUTLEDGE, 2014). Additionally, some of the American and European armed forces started to deal with the climate change subject as a threat, and consequently, they started to redesign or increase their military capacity. As in the case of Spain (2005) and Portugal (2014), some of the European armed forces have established specific military units to act in disasters. The question, however, about this possible alignment of blocks, would be associated to a growing mistrust about unilateral policies to meet specific interests, as for example, access to natural resources. The creation of beliefs about threats is not new when it comes to legitimize unilateral and military actions. According to Walzer (2003), practically in all wars there are arguments capable of justifying warfare either as morally acceptable or as illegitimate.

A recent example of this fact is the Iraq War (2003). According to Duque (2008), the successful securitization of the subject "terrorism" was decisive to enable the use US military forces in that war, legitimizing the invasion of Iraq, on March 19, 2003, without UN Security Council sanction. Notwithstanding, the weapons of mass destruction were never found and democracy was not exported to that region, generating world's mistrust about the United States interests in that conflict.

In an action aimed at the desecuritization of CC, a few months after the release of the National Security Strategy of United States of America (UNITED STATES, 2015a), the Head of the Vatican State published the Encyclical On Care for our Common Home (FRANCIS, 2015), where subjects like the internationalization of the Amazon, climate changes, wars for natural resources, sovereignty of States, conflicts and migrations are approached.

It is important to note that the moment is important to securitizing agents that can make efforts towards a desecuritization of climate change because of the 21st Conference of the Parties (2015). One of the major challenges event participants will be required to face is the need to revalidate the "principle of joint and

several liability”⁹ once, historically, there are different rates of GHG emissions and different industrial development levels, among other indicators, that foster debates about the past, present and future liability of the countries.

5 CONCLUSION

The last phase of a process of securitization of a given subject is the acceptability of emergency and exceptional measures to tackle the threat that has been construed. In the specific case of climate change, its higher status is evidenced in the Western discourses along the second decade of the 21st century, politically formatted in the international agenda as one of the most serious future threats.

From the analysis of the selected topics, under the point of view of securitization the results that have been discussed suggest that inclusion of climate change (in the list of threats) in the leading Western security strategies is part of a political alignment with various interests. In this respect, we see the possibility of climate change becoming a "potential generator of sovereignty deficits" in developing countries.

In case the process of securitization happens to be completed, the attempts to stop the threat we have been discussing may be used to legitimize future actions against the sovereignty of more fragile countries. This would mean shaping climate change as a military threat requiring increased action by the armed forces in the conflicts arising out of the disputes for scarce resources (water, agriculture, energy and other), or threats to the atmosphere of the planet.

If the subject is not fully securitized (or just partially desecuritized), climate change will be construed as a non military threat with reflexes on the armed forces that are required to act in natural disasters worsened by climate change.

Thus, independent from securitization or desecuritization, the subject of climate change creates conditions for the rise and reinforcement of a new component in the security agenda: climate deterrence, when the amount of power and the interests of the states will tip the scales when the time comes to make decisions on the subject.

Last, it must be said that climate change does not lead to conflict, climate change just aggravates latent situations. The leading cause of human conflicts is linked to the inability of the states or international bodies to manage the existing crises, desecuritizing threats.

⁹ Stated in the Rio Declaration on the Environment and Development (UNITED NATIONS, 1992), with roots on Stockholm 1972, this principle has been constantly discussed at the meetings of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

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