



**Center for a
New American
Security**

Clout and Climate Change: A New Global Agenda for the 21st Century

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Project Summary

The Center for a New American Security and eight partner organizations will hold a climate change “war game” at the Newseum in Washington, D.C., July 27-30, 2008. The game will bring together scientists, national security strategists, and members of the business communities from Asia, Europe, South Asia, and the United States to look at the national security implications of future climate change. Using scenarios drawn from sophisticated climate and policy modeling, participants in the game will design strategies to meet the projected challenges of 2015 and 2050. The exercise is intended to help participants think through the national resource implications of climate change, explore new avenues for international cooperation, and engage at a strategic level on one of the most significant and complex challenges the world faces today.

In addition to the Center for a New American Security, consortium partners include: the Brookings Global Economy and Development Program; the Center for American Progress; the CNA Corporation; the Heinrich Böll Foundation; the Pew Center on Global Climate Change; the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution. Additionally, Oak Ridge National Laboratory is providing scientific and technical expertise and ABC News will be following the game as part of a forthcoming documentary on climate change futures.

The Challenge: Climate Change and Foreign Policy

Ever since the unanimous passage of the Byrd-Hagel Amendment in the Senate in 1997, the United States has lacked a coherent national policy for dealing with global climate change. As a result, America is neither a leader nor a follower when it comes to one of the great challenges of our age.

The consequences of this failure of vision could be severe for American and global peace and prosperity. First, the longer the world waits to address climate change, the greater the costs will be to national economies, with the potential for devastating consequences around the world.¹ Climate change may also lead to conflict. The uneven impact of global climate change, for example, may greatly exacerbate north-south tensions. As weather patterns shift, potentially affecting everything from availability of fresh water to agricultural productivity, there could be heightened competition for resources, possibly leading to conflict within and between states. The effects of climate change also may force mass migrations, including into the United States, and lead to a range of public health problems. The ability of current governing structures to deal with these new realities is in doubt, at home and internationally.

While the lack of clarity, leadership, and commitment on climate policy and energy security may well prove very costly to American national security,² it is also a missed opportunity. Global public opinion of America and Americans is at a dangerously low point, with the war in Iraq as one driver – and U.S. environmental policy as another.³ Indeed, the U.S. failure to make any meaningful commitments to curb greenhouse gases directly feeds negative views of Americans, given that the United States generates about four times our fair “share” of carbon emissions, relative to the size of the population.

The next president will face an urgent need to restore confidence in the United States, around the world and at home. An underlying goal of this project is to test the assumption that leadership or even followership on climate change could improve the standing of the United States around the world and our ability to accomplish other important national security and foreign policy priorities.

Project Description: Why a “War Game”?

For thousands of years, military strategists have used role-playing “games” as a way to test the efficacy of operational plans and military strategies. More recently, businesses have successfully adopted these techniques in scenario-based planning. Such planning allows businesses (and militaries) to anticipate, understand, and manage uncertainty, an increasingly useful approach for dealing with the complexities of the 21st century.⁴

The challenge of climate change lends itself to scenario planning. Despite the extensive climate models developed in recent years, there are many unknowns about just what will happen where and when. Moreover, the worst effects of climate change may not fully manifest for decades, and the changes could well be exponential and will certainly be global. It is very difficult for human beings to grasp change of this scope and scale.

Right now, much of the world is essentially in denial when it comes to climate change. Even national leaders who accept the reality of the challenge may be unwilling to take significant actions, given the political and economic costs involved and competing priorities. In fact, it is very difficult for national governments to fully explore the future risks and possibilities in official channels. As in the Cold War dialogues about arms control, "Track II" diplomacy today can offer a way for international actors to explore a full range of possibilities.

CNAS and a consortium of eight other organizations seek to bring together scientists, national security strategists, former policymakers, environmentalists, and representatives of the private sector from China, India, Japan, the EU and the United States to role-play climate change future scenarios. Our intent is for the players to be exposed to actual projections from state-of-the-art climate models, explore the national security consequences of climate change, and come up with creative strategies for dealing with those consequences. In the process, CNAS and its partners hope that confidence and security building measures are built among the participants – between nations, but also between scientists and policymakers, national security thinkers and environmentalists. After the game, CNAS will issue a report on any results or observations that may be helpful in crafting a new U.S. climate change policy.

Although the materials produced for this event will be original, they will be inspired by the recently released CNAS-CSIS report, *The Age of Consequences: The Foreign Policy and National Security Implications of Global Climate Change*. Approximately 50 players will consider a picture of the world in 2015, characterized by drought conditions, food shortages, shifting migration patterns, and severe weather events. Players will negotiate a 30-year climate change strategy, based on a proposal from the UN Secretary General, and then will see the projected results of their strategy in 2050.

The game will take place on July 27-30, 2008 at the Newseum, a stunning new museum and conference facility in Washington, DC.

A follow-on game focused on Africa will take place in October of 2008. The goals of the game are consistent with the "E4"⁵ game, but will focus instead on the challenge of adapting to expected changes in Africa over the next 20 years.

In that time period, climate diplomacy toward Africa will take on great significance. With the exception of South Africa, few countries on the continent today make a major contribution to greenhouse gases, but most are highly vulnerable to the consequences of climate change.⁶ Properly addressing the threat level would require a massive investment of human and financial resources by the United States and other industrialized nations. Despite commitments in the G8 and in the Kyoto Protocol, however, these investments have not been forthcoming on the scale needed. At the very least, the United States and the world's leading economies must begin to craft a strategy for how to deal with the enormous human and strategic consequences of climate change in Africa, a reckoning this game aims to promote.

Consortium partners helping CNAS to develop these games include: the Brookings Global Economy and Development Program; the Center for American Progress; the CNA Corporation; the Heinrich Böll Foundation; the Pew Center on Global Climate Change; the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution. Additionally, Oak Ridge National Laboratory is providing scientific and technical expertise and ABC News will be following the game as part of a forthcoming documentary on climate change futures.

About the Center for a New American Security

The Center for a New American Security (CNAS) is led by Dr. Kurt Campbell, CEO and Co-Founder, and Michèle Flournoy, President and Co-Founder. CNAS is located in Washington, D.C. and was established in February 2007. Building on the deep expertise and broad experience of its staff and advisors, CNAS will engage policymakers, experts, and the public with innovative fact-based research, ideas and analysis to shape and elevate the national security debate. As an independent and nonpartisan research institution, CNAS will lead efforts to help inform and prepare the national security leaders of today and tomorrow, and will develop strong, pragmatic and principled national security and defense policies that promote and protect American interests and values.

CNAS is led by a bipartisan board with deep, high-level experience in U.S. national security policy. Chaired by former Secretary of Defense Dr. William Perry, the board includes Dr. Madeleine Albright, Richard Armitage, Norman Augustine, Admiral Dennis Blair, USN (Ret.), Richard Danzig, William Lynn, Dr. Leo Mackay, Lieutenant General Greg Newbold, USMC (Ret.), John Podesta and Dr. Mitchell Reiss.

CNAS Personnel

Dr. Kurt M. Campbell Chief Executive Officer and Co-Founder

Dr. Kurt Campbell was appointed Chief Executive Officer of the Center for a New American Security (CNAS) in January 2007, a venture dedicated to advancing a strong, centrist national security strategy. He concurrently serves as Director of the Aspen Strategy Group and the Chairman of the Editorial Board of the Washington Quarterly. From 2000 to 2007, he served as Senior Vice President, Director of the International Security Program, and the Henry A. Kissinger Chair in National Security Policy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Campbell is also the Founder and Principal of StratAsia, a strategic advisory company focused on Asia. He has also been a contributing writer to the *New York Times*, a frequent on-air contributor to NPR's All Things Considered and a consultant to ABC News. Previously, Dr. Campbell served in several capacities in government, including as deputy assistant secretary of defense for Asia and the Pacific in the Pentagon, director on the National Security Council Staff, deputy special counselor to the president for NAFTA in the White House, and as a White House fellow at the Department of the Treasury. For his service, Dr. Campbell received the Department of Defense Medals for Distinguished Public Service and for Outstanding Public Service. He serves on several boards, including Aegis Capital, the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution, the U.S.-Australian Leadership Dialogue, the Reves Center at the College of William and Mary, STS Technologies, Civitas, the 9-11 Pentagon Memorial Fund, and New Media Strategies. Dr. Campbell is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Wasatch Group, and the International Institute for Strategic Studies. He was also associate professor of public policy and international relations at the John F. Kennedy School of Government and assistant director of the Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University. He served as an officer in the U.S. Navy on the Joint Chiefs of Staff and in the Chief of Naval Operations Special Intelligence Unit. Dr. Campbell is coauthor of *Hard Power: The New Politics of National Security*, principal author of *To Prevail: An American Strategy for the Campaign against Terrorism* (CSIS, 2001), coeditor of *The Nuclear Tipping Point* (Brookings, 2004), the author or editor of several other books, and he has contributed extensively to journals, magazines, and newspapers. He received his B.A. from the University of California, San Diego, a certificate in music and politics from the University of Erevan in the Soviet Union, and a doctorate in international relations from Oxford University as a Marshall scholar.

Dr. James N. Miller
Senior Vice President and Director of Studies

Dr. James N. Miller is Senior Vice President and Director of Studies at the Center for a New American Security (CNAS). Previous positions include serving as Senior Vice President at Hicks and Associates, Inc. (2000-2007); Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Requirements, Plans, and Counterproliferation Policy (1997-2000); assistant professor at Duke University (1992-1997); and senior professional staff member for the House Armed Services Committee (1988-1992). Dr. Miller is an expert in scenario planning and wargame design and has led and participated in over one hundred of such exercises. He is a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies and the Combating WMD Panel of DoD's Threat Reduction Advisory Committee. He has served as an advisor to the Defense Science Board, as senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and as senior associate member at St. Antony's College, Oxford. In 2000 he received the Department of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service. Dr. Miller received a B.A. degree with honors in economics from Stanford University, and Master's and Ph.D. degrees in public policy from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

Sharon Burke
Senior Fellow

Sharon Burke is the Senior Fellow for Energy Security and Climate Change at CNAS. Prior to joining CNAS, Ms. Burke was the Director of the National Security Project at Third Way. In that capacity, Ms. Burke advised candidates for office and members of Congress on the full range of national security issues. Previously, she served as a high-level advisor in the U.S. government on the Middle East, South Asia, and strategic communications, including as a member of the Policy Planning Staff at the Department of State, a Country Director in the Department of Defense's Office of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, and a speechwriter to Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage and Secretary of Defense William Cohen. She also worked in the Energy and Materials program of the U.S. Congress's Office of Technology Assessment, helping to produce a multi-year study of energy in developing countries. Ms. Burke received medals for Exceptional Public Service from the Department of Defense and the Superior Honor Award from the Department of State. She serves on the Leadership Team of the American Assembly's Next Generation Project, served as the Middle East Advocacy Director at Amnesty International USA, and is the author of numerous reports, including *Beyond Bush: A New Strategy of Constriction to Defeat Al Qaeda and its Allies*. Ms. Burke graduated from Williams College and Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, where she focused on international energy policy and earned a Certificate of Middle Eastern Studies. At Columbia, she also was a Zuckerman Fellow, an International Fellow, and a recipient of a Foreign Language and Area Studies grant for Arabic.

Emma Vialpando
Associate Fellow

Emma Vialpando is an Associate Fellow at the Center for a New American Security (CNAS). From 2002 to 2007 she was an Associate at Booz Allen Hamilton where she supported numerous projects including stabilization and reconstruction, defense planning, post-9/11 National Guard roles and responsibilities, Navy transformation initiatives, and Homeland Security operations coordination. Prior to her tenure at Booz Allen, Ms. Vialpando was awarded an Earhart Fellowship at the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis (IFPA) in Washington, DC. At IFPA, she initiated independent research and analysis of NATO enlargement, U.S. alliance relations in the Middle East, and terrorism threats in Europe. From 1998 to 2000, Ms. Vialpando served on Congresswoman Heather Wilson's (R-NM) staff. Ms. Vialpando holds a M.A. with a focus on European studies from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) and a B.A. in political science and German studies from Lafayette College.

End Notes

¹ Nicholas Stern, *The Stern Review: The Economics of Climate Change*, January 2007.

² CNA Corporation, *National Security and the Threat of Climate Change*, 2007.

³ Pew Global Attitudes Project, "Global Unease with Major World Powers: Rising Environmental Concern in 47-Nation Survey," June 27, 2007.

⁴ See the Global Business Network, a pioneer in the use of scenario based planning, at <http://www.gbn.com/AboutScenariosDisplayServlet.srv>

⁵ "E4" refers to the four country teams, China, EU, India, and the United States, which are expected to be the world's top four greenhouse gas emitting nations by 2015.

⁶ Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, "Chapter 9: Africa," *Working Group Two: Climate Change Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability*, 2007.