
“EXTENDING OUR RESPONSIBILITIES

**Designing
European Foreign
Policies for
Sustainable
Development”**

by NICK ROBINS

THE REPORT FROM EUROPE'S FOOTPRINT

A Workshop hosted by
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'In der Natur geschieht nichts, was nicht in einer Verbindung mit dem Ganzen stehe, und wenn uns die Erfahrungen nur isoliert erscheinen, so wird dadurch nicht gesagt, dass sie isoliert seien.

Es ist nur die Frage: Wie finden wir die Verbindung dieser Phaenomene, dieser Begebenheiten?'

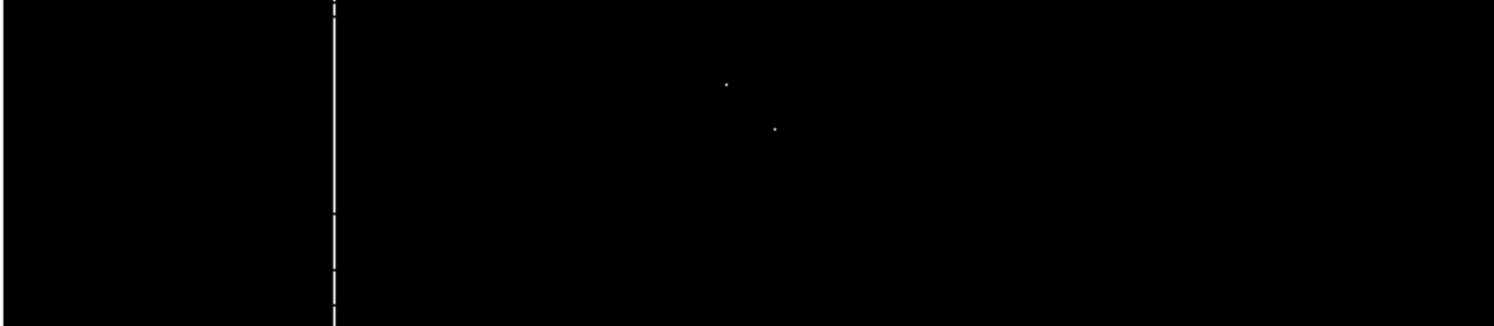
'In nature, nothing happens that is not connected with the whole. If experiences appear to us only as isolated ones, this does not mean that they are isolated.

The question is only: How do we find the connections between these phenomena, these events?'

Johann von Goethe

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The European Union (EU) needs new foreign policies if it is to steer globalisation towards sustainable development. Europe is increasingly vulnerable to environmental turbulence beyond its borders which could disrupt flows of trade and investment; it shares responsibility for resolving critical global environmental problems, such as climate change; and European citizens rate the protection of the global environment as their highest foreign policy priority. And following the strengthening of its constitutional mandate in the Treaty of Amsterdam, the EU could now bring together its external policies into a coherent package to promote sustainable development. To address these issues, the Goethe Institut in London and the International Institute for Environment and Development brought together more than 50 representatives of government, business and citizen organisations from across the EU at the Europe's Footprints workshop in October 1997.

Europe's patterns of production, trade and investment have long placed heavy burdens on both the global environment and on communities overseas — its 'footprint'. The impacts of these footprints are now moving over the horizon and onto the radar screens for foreign policy makers. But there is a danger that the complexities of the problems will encourage governments to seek to keep a lid on the issue rather than addressing the underlying causes. In particular, the EU will need to work hard to overcome the current North-South stalemate in international environmental negotiations. The EU can contribute much to vital confidence building by demonstrating through concrete measures that sustainable development can bring positive benefits to developing countries in terms of new trade opportunities, attracting foreign investment and accessing aid funds for poverty elimination.

But foreign policy is no longer something confined to governments, and some leading European companies are starting to take an extended sense of responsibility for their social and environmental impacts. The oil company, BP, for example, is now seeking to position itself so that all its businesses

contribute positively to sustainable development, while Axel Springer, the German publishing house now stipulates environmental standards for the paper it uses for its magazines and newspapers. Citizen groups, such as Friends of the Earth, are also aiming to raise public awareness of the need to change consumption patterns, so that Europe lives within its 'fair share' of global environmental resources.

A superpower for sustainable development?

As the world's leading trading bloc, a pioneer of progressive environmental policies and main source of development finance, the EU has the potential of becoming a superpower for sustainable development. To turn this potential into reality, the Union could now take the following practical steps:

- Propose an Independent Commission on Environmental Security to build international consensus on foreign policies for sustainable development.
- Draw up a White Paper on Foreign Policy and Sustainable Development to stimulate debate and identify priority actions.
- Integrate sustainability into the new Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit for foreign and security issues.
- Draw up Sustainable Development Cooperation Strategies with key countries and regions, such as Brazil, China, India, the Mediterranean, Russia and South Africa.
- Set the framework for annual Social and Environmental Reports by Europe's top 500 corporations, including their overseas performance.

Governments in both Britain and Germany are now committed to promoting sustainable development through their foreign bodies. The task facing them is to design practical strategies for citizens, corporations and countries in Europe to extend their responsibility to overseas impacts and so build durable relations with other countries and communities, particularly in the South. Further Anglo-German cooperation, building on the IED-Goethe Institut initiative, could be a way of pioneering such efforts and providing examples for wider action at the European level.

1. EUROPE'S FOOTPRINT

The Need for New Collaborations

Europe's patterns of production, consumption and trade have long placed a disproportionate burden on the global environment and on communities overseas — its 'footprint'. But there is now a growing realisation that if the goal of sustainable development is to have real meaning then Europe's policy makers, businesses and citizens will have to adopt an extended sense of responsibility for the social and environmental impacts of their actions on distant places and future generations. At heart, this is an ethical imperative that requires an ethical response of an unprecedented kind. It requires a new understanding of foreign policy that goes beyond the traditional focus on simple state interests to encompass the ever-tighter linkages that globalisation is forging between nations, corporations and citizens.

Some progress is being made. Europe's policy makers now accept that their internal agricultural policies can damage the prospects for sustainable development in other countries; some of Europe's businesses are beginning to include ethical criteria into their contracts with international suppliers; and a growing number of Europe's citizens are starting to become aware of the global implications of their lifestyles. But many of the linkages are still invisible.

Much more could be done to reveal these links through careful analysis, awareness raising and targeted action. But the roots of the issue often lie deep in cultural assumptions and attitudes — requiring new collaborations to get to the heart of matters which link policy work with ethical enquiry. To help bridge this divide, the International Institute for Environment and Development, a British policy think-tank, and the Goethe-Institut, Germany's cultural organisation, decided to host a unique one day workshop in October 1997, entitled Europe's Footprint. The meeting brought together a range of speakers with 50 participants from Britain, Germany and across the EU to critically assess the new foreign policy agenda of sustainable development and define practical ways in which Europe could strive both to reduce its 'footprint' and take a leadership role in the years to come.

The workshop came at an important juncture for both Britain and Germany. In Britain, the new Labour Government has pledged to raise the importance of environmental issues in its foreign policy, and the Foreign Secretary Robin Cook has established a 'Green Globe Task Force' of independent experts to advise him on how to achieve this. In Germany, the Environment Ministry is co-directing a NATO Pilot Study on environment and security links within NATO's civil pillar, the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society. Germany's new Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer has stated that sustainable development will be a priority for the future.

The workshop was organised by Albert Wassener and Carole Sterckx at the Goethe-Institut and Roy Thomson, Nick Robins and Krystyna Swiderska at IIED. The organisers would like to thank the speakers for their time and enthusiasm: Alexander Carlus (Ecologic, Centre for International and European Environmental Research, Berlin), Gwyn Prins (Royal Institute for International Affairs, London), Nigel Haigh (Institute for European Environmental Policy, London), Jill Hanna (European Commission, Brussels), Friedemann Mueller (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Ebenhausen), Anita Pollack, (Member of the European Parliament for South West London), Klaus Kohlhase (British Petroleum, London), Florian Nehm (Axel Springer, Hamburg) and Charles Secrett (Friends of the

Earth, London); Raymond Van Ermen (European Partners for the Environment, Brussels) also provided some highly insightful conclusions at the meeting.

This report was written by Nick Robins of IIED and seeks to capture the spirit and substance of a meeting that showed an enthusiasm among policy makers, business executives and citizen organisations for new partnerships that express Europe's responsibility for its external impacts. It draws on the presentations made at the meeting and supplements these with additional material. It closes with a set of recommendations for EU foreign policy action and a proposal for the next stage of Anglo-German collaboration in this area. While the report depends heavily on the contributions made by both the speakers and the audience at the meeting, responsibility for the interpretation and conclusions rests with the author alone.

2. THE SUSTAINABILITY AGENDA FOR FOREIGN POLICY A Background Briefing

Globalisation is making foreign policy ever more critical as a tool for achieving sustainable development. Sustainable development means redirecting public policies and patterns of production and consumption so that the triple objectives of economic prosperity, social justice and ecological regeneration are achieved. Conceived in the 1980s in an age when the Cold War still ruled, the chances of realising this noble vision have been transformed by the spread of market-led liberalisation, deregulation and privatisation in the wake of the collapse of communism. For some, globalisation brings with it the possibility of a more prosperous, cohesive and environmentally benign world (see Box 1).

But as the economic, technological and cultural entanglement of peoples proceeds apace, so does the need to put in place strong policies and institutions that can reverse the mounting polarisation of wealth and deepening degradation of the environment that have to date been so inextricably tied to the process of globalisation.

With the benefit of hindsight, the 1980s and early 1990s can now be seen as the time when global environmental problems — such as deforestation, the ozone hole and climate change — emerged as issues worthy for heads of state to discuss. The result was the 1992 Earth Summit, and the baggy collection of commitments to international partnership contained in the Agenda 21 action plan. The intervening years have been ones of disappointment. But the issues have not gone away. Indeed, the UN concluded five years on from Rio that 'overall, trends are worsening'. As the pressures mount, some presidents and prime ministers are now starting to take sustainability seriously and beginning to treat these once peripheral 'green' threats as systemic problems requiring systemic solutions. The high-level brinkmanship at the December 1997 'Climate Summit' in Kyoto demonstrated just how far global environmental change has now become part of the *raison d'état*.

Central to this task of taking sustainability seriously is redirecting the global economy so that it no longer privileges actions that exploit people or the environment. Many public policies and market

Box 1

Globalisation Anxiety?

'We are watching the beginnings of a global economic boom on a scale never experienced before. We are riding the early waves of a 25-year run of a greatly expanding economy that will do much to ease tensions throughout the world. And we'll do it without blowing the lid off the environment.'

Peter Schwartz & Peter Leyden, July 1997

'A rising tide of wealth is supposed to lift all boats. But some are more seaworthy than others. The yachts and ocean liners are indeed rising in response to new opportunities, but the rafts and rowboats are taking on water — and some are sinking fast.'

UNDP, Human Development Report 1997.

'Unless the business-as-usual development patterns of the last 25 years change, the next quarter of a century is likely to be characterised by declining standards of living, rising levels of conflict and environmental stress.'

UNEP, Critical Trends: Global Change and Sustainable Development, 1997.

structures still make it profitable to pollute. Only now is it becoming clear just how much the modern economy is currently geared towards generating unsustainable outcomes, in terms of over-consumption of resources, marginalisation of poor communities and inefficient use of scarce funds. The world economy currently depends on an estimated \$33 trillion worth of environmental services — double the value of total world output — in the form of raw materials, climatic stability, water supply, waste treatment, soil fertility, pollination and genetic resources, which it uses with little attempt to price products so that they reflect the scarcity of these resources or to invest in their continued availability⁴. Worse, governments positively encourage the erosion of these services through a battery of public subsidies for water, energy, transport and agriculture, worth \$700 billion worldwide, so that producers and consumers are actually paid to pollute and deplete resources⁵.

These problems of market and policy failure are well-known. What globalisation has done so far is to magnify the scale of the problem and increase its scope, but without putting in place the policies and structures to cope. For Friedemann Mueller at Germany's Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) increasing financial mobility is placing a downward pressure on environmental protection as governments seek to reduce costs and attract international capital. Governments are being effectively forced to "lighten national constraints for limiting the externalisation of environmental costs". Thus, world trade rules are liberalised without regard to the environmental implications, such as the increase in freight transport that this will bring. Similarly, efforts to establish an international regime for capital flows through the projected Multilateral Agreement on Investments failed to balance the rights of investors with their responsibilities for sustainable development. Integration of sustainable development into the core economic policy initiatives driving the globalisation process — trade, investment, structural adjustment — is thus the first challenge for foreign policy makers.

The Challenge for Europe

The scale of global change in terms of social disruption and environmental stress is clearly starting to touch upon the core goal of foreign policy: to promote a country's fundamental interests and security. A range of unsettling problems are now beginning to face Europe's foreign policy makers, such as:

- How does climate change rate as a security issue for Europe in terms of the environmental, economic and political shocks it could bring?
- How should Europe respond to the prospect of conflicts over freshwater on its frontiers, notably in the Middle East?
- How vulnerable is Europe's trade to environmental decline overseas?
- How much of Europe's earnings from foreign investment are being made at the cost of social injustice, resource depletion and pollution in other countries?
- How can European businesses improve the social and environmental performance of the goods they source from overseas?
- What is Europe's 'fair share' of the global environment as it enters a more crowded 21st century?
- How should foreign policy respond to the growing importance of non-state actors in global environmental change, both business and citizen organisations?
- What ethical standards should Europe's citizens apply in their interactions with other parts of the world?
- How can Europe use shared concern over environmental decline to promote stronger diplomatic ties with other regions?

All of these issues require Europe's foreign policy makers, as well as its corporate executives and citizen organisations, to extend their sense of responsibility from the direct impacts of their actions to the indirect and often diffuse consequences which through globalisation now have planetary rami-

fications. While these issues affect every nation in the world, they are particularly acute for the European Union, for four main reasons:

Vulnerability: As the world's largest trading area and source of foreign investment flows, Europe is potentially highly vulnerable to environmental turbulence beyond its borders. It therefore needs for its own self-interest to ensure that these risks are minimised.

Responsibility: Before and since the 1992 Earth Summit, the EU has generally tried to take a responsible stance in international environmental negotiations, recognising both its share in causing global environmental problems and its duty to support change in poor countries through better aid and trade provisions. This responsibility now needs to encompass the whole of the EU's foreign policy agenda and not just the soft, green issues.

Opportunity: The new Treaty of Amsterdam signed in June 1997 strengthened the EU's constitutional mandate for the environment and foreign policies in modest, but potentially significant ways. The EU now has an important opportunity to buttress its twin priorities of the single currency and enlargement to the East, with a pioneering role on the world stage, as the first superpower for sustainable development. This could yield not just warm ethical feelings, but tangible benefits in terms of a new confidence in political relations and stronger commercial ties with other regions.

Accountability: Asked to prioritise a range of policy issues in a recent opinion poll, Europeans scored foreign affairs, lower than domestic priorities, such as crime, drugs and unemployment. But out of 33 policy areas, protecting the global environment was the highest ranking foreign policy concern in the poll; establishing a European army was the least popular proposal*. If the EU is to respond to the democratic wishes of its citizens, then a more pronounced global role as an advocate for sustainable development is required.

It is important not to get carried away with all this. Europe's actions to date have been modest. Few hard choices have yet been made giving precedence to environmental sustainability or poverty reduction over more traditional political and commercial interests in foreign policy. The result of all this is that despite the high-profile political commitments made by the EU at the 1992 Earth Summit and again at the 1997 UN Special Session to review the Rio commitments, the EU still lacks a strategic vision of its how its relations with the rest of the world need to change to ensure sustainable development at home and abroad. Individual Member States, such as the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden and now the UK, have begun to explore for themselves the links between sustainable development and external relations, but this has not yet been brought together at the European level.

This is in sharp contrast with the USA, where the Clinton Administration has developed an explicit foreign policy for the environment. In June 1996, the US Department of Defense, the Department of Energy and the Environmental Protection Agency signed a Memorandum of Understanding on environmental security, calling for a focused integration of government authorities, expertise and resources on international environmental priorities, and for the creation of a framework for new cooperation.

Then in spring 1997, the US State Department issued, Environmental Diplomacy, its first annual report on the environment and foreign policy, stating that environmental issues now lie "at the heart of the political and economic challenges" it faces. Six regional environmental hubs have been established in US embassies around the world to assess a range of environmental threats, such as water problems in Central Asia and desertification in East Africa. To date, however, this policy has remained largely defensive, ignoring the wider context, such as the inequalities of power and wealth which drive so many environmental problems; it has also been hamstrung by a obstructive Congress which has sought to limit the Administration's international commitments, mostly over climate change and contributions to the UN.

3 THE NEW INSECURITIES

The Critical Issues

The whirlwind of change witnessed over the past decade has removed many of the established touchstones in international relations. The world is no longer divided between a capitalist West and a communist East. The contrasts between a rich North and a poor South have eroded as a number of leading developing countries progress towards industrialised country living standards, while others go backwards and lose many post-independence achievements (see Box 2). The notion of the North as developed, as having reached a desirable end-point is also obsolete, faced as it is with rising poverty and inequality, and the recognition that the development achieved was in itself environmentally unsustainable and cannot be replicated on a global scale.

A series of global trends are now impacting on Europe's ability to pursue sustainable development. For Klaus Kohlhase at British Petroleum, globalisation means that "European environmental policy does not operate in a vacuum", but is increasingly conditioned by:

- the globalisation of industry, trade and commerce
- the search for competitiveness and employment
- the emergence of the global information society
- the imperative of economic growth, poverty reduction and environmental protection in developing countries

The freeing of markets and opening of societies to international influence has for some been profoundly liberating, generating economic and political progress. For others, it has brought dislocation and declining living standards. It has also generated a surge of speculation about the world's current trajectory, with some such as the OECD think tank representing the world's rich nations seeing the beginning of a new "golden age" and the UN Trade and Development organisation UNCTAD warning of a "backlash against globalisation". But on one point most commentators agree. Much more needs to be done to underpin the ecological foundations for the global economy. William Greider puts the challenge clearly: "if industrial growth proceeds according to its accepted pattern, everyone is imperilled. Yet, if industrialisation is not allowed to proceed, a majority of the world's citizens are consigned to a permanent second class status. The world has entered new ground, a place where its people have never been before. They will have no choice but to think anew."⁸

Along with the straightforward problem of rising ecological damage associated with a growing world economy, globalisation also brings a range of new and troubling insecurities. Falling transport costs, trade liberalisation, increasing direct and portfolio investments are all generating a new form of

Box 2: The End of Certainty

"It's all over. The North-South dialogue is as dead as the East-West conflict. The idea of development is dead. There is no longer a common language, not even a vocabulary for the problems. South, North, Third World, liberation, progress — all these terms no longer have any meaning"

Mohammed Sid Ahmed,
New Perspectives Quarterly, Fall 1994

"The world has come to recognise that the crisis of our ecosystems is threatening world peace and stability as least as much as political or military conflicts do. The Rio process is as crucial for global peace as the Helsinki process was for European and global security in the 70s and 80s."

Klaus Topfer, now
Executive Director, UN Environment Programme, June 1997

ecological interdependence between nations. Through the global economy, Europe is able to import sustainability by drawing on the natural resources of distant lands: animal fodder for its livestock, tropical produce for its consumers and perhaps most importantly from an environmental point of view, large quantities of fossil fuels and minerals. Twenty years ago, in the wake of the first oil crisis and the prospect of commodity power in the Third World, Europe focused its attention on achieving 'security of supply' of vital resource imports. Now similar attention must be given to the 'sustainability of supply' of its imports, particularly those based on increasingly scarce land area and declining water resources⁷.

In a myriad of ways, therefore, Europe's patterns of trade, investment and consumption impose a variety of damaging 'footprints' on other parts of the world. These footprints become serious when the damage caused undermines local people's ability to meet their needs and conserve resources for future generations. It is in Europe's enlightened self-interest to ensure that these footprints are lightened and leave no lasting imprint. But Europe is also vulnerable to a range of other ecological insecurities, as increasing links are being made between war, peace and the degradation of the environment.

Understanding Europe's Footprint

Nick Robins of IIED saw four main ways in which Europe currently generates damaging ecological footprints in other parts of the world (see Box 3):

Consumption Footprints: Europe relies heavily on the natural capital stocks of other countries to sustain its standard of living. As the Washington-based World Resources Institute put it in a recent report comparing material flows in Germany, Japan, the Netherlands and the USA: "in an ever more global economy, natural resources are frequently extracted in one country, transformed into products in another and consumed in a third". WRI found that about 35% of the total material flows required to support the German economy came from outside its borders; for

Box 3: Britain's Ecological Footprints

It was William Rees who in 1992 coined the term 'ecological footprints' to describe the way in which urban areas appropriate the carrying capacity of 'distant elsewhere'. IIED applied the idea to Britain's import of environmental resources from developing countries and in 1994 published estimates of the land area required to sustain Britain's appetite for a range of commodities:

Bananas: The land required to satisfy Britain's growing demand for bananas — about 10 kilos per person each year — is about 50 000 hectares, or 0.5% of Britain's own cultivated area.

Cotton: The area needed to supply Britain's cotton consumption is approximately 1.5 million hectares, or about one-fifth of the UK's cropland area.

Forests: About 6.4 million hectares of forest are required to meet Britain's demand for wood products, three times the UK's own area of productive forest.

While these estimates proved useful for stimulating a debate among British citizens, companies and decision-makers on their responsibilities for the distant impacts of their consumption, they say little on their own about the intensity of the footprint, the resilience of the local ecosystem or the associated social impacts.

Nevertheless, what the analysis shows is the need to integrate trade flows — both imports and exports — into any assessment of Britain's prospects for sustainable development. This could mean incorporating the environmental impacts of trade into the calculation of a British 'Green GNP'.

the Netherlands, this external dependence rose to 70%⁸. Currently, while rules exist to regulate some of the economic aspects of globalisation, no equivalent safeguards exist to ensure that Europe's 'consumption footprints' are minimised.

Pollution Footprints: Europe also pollutes the global environment to a disproportionate degree given its population of some 350 million. Thus average annual per capita emissions of carbon dioxide in Europe, the main greenhouse gas, are twice the world average of four tonnes per person: for Germany, emissions rise to 12 tonnes, considerably below the American figure of almost 20 tonnes, but about six times the emissions of the average Chinese⁹. While the EU has adopted a goal of reducing these emissions by 15% by 2010 and agreed a legally binding cut of 8% at Kyoto, this is still far from the interim 26% reduction target estimated by Friends of the Earth as necessary to get the EU on track for an overall 77% cut by the middle of the next century.

While the external impacts of European production, consumption and trade in terms of resource depletion and pollution can be fairly easily calculated, Europe also causes a number of more indirect footprints overseas.

Policy Footprints: Europe's policy frameworks can privilege its citizens and producers in ways that undermine the prospects of other countries to achieve sustainable development. Domestically, the Common Agricultural Policy generates a considerable negative footprint in other countries, both economically and environmentally, while externally, development projects financed by European aid can destabilise communities and degrade the environment¹⁰. Globalisation makes it imperative that the external effects of policy are assessed and minimised.

Financial Footprints: Europe now earns considerable profits from foreign subsidiaries and investments in other countries, but with no guarantee that these returns are derived from sustainable practices. The social and environmental performance both of European business operations in developing countries and of investments by pension funds in developing country businesses are coming under increasing scrutiny. If Europe is moving to achieve a greater proportion of its income from such payments, then it will need to ensure for its own self-interest that this is based on a sustainable use of resources.

A range of responses are now open to European policy makers, businesses and citizens to respond to these footprints:

Sustainable Trade: ensuring that traded goods are fairly and sustainably produced and distributed through commercial preferences, codes of conduct and consumer action.

Corporate Accountability: making companies responsible for the social and environmental performance of their investments overseas through stakeholder participation and reporting.

Conflict Prevention: investing development assistance in poverty reduction and environmental management to defuse the roots of conflict over resource use.

Conflict and the environment

The foreign policy implications of Europe's footprints go beyond just good environmental management: they start to address issues of whether Europe's global impacts could be contributing to an upsurge in insecurity driven by environmental decline and social polarisation. More than this, Europe could be the victim of environmentally-driven conflicts on its borders for which it shares little responsibility, but from which it could suffer from in terms of political instability, disruption of commerce and new flows of environmental refugees.

It is for this reason that policy makers and researchers are now pinpointing damage to the global environment as a core security interest of European countries¹¹. Thus, behind the immediate security

Box 4
Foreign Policy in the Greenhouse

Just before the December 1997 Kyoto Climate Summit, the British Department for the Environment, Transport and the Regions and the Met Office issued a report detailing recent results of UK research with some alarming projections for life in the middle of the 21st century¹⁵:

Water: "By the 2050s, the models indicate that there could be about a further 100 million people living in countries with extreme water stress due to climate change alone"

Food: "Significant regional variations in crop yields due to climate change could lead to increased risk of hunger for an additional 50 million people by the 2080s in the tropics, particularly in Africa"

Sea Level Rise: "Increased flooding is calculated to affect some 200 million people worldwide by the 2080s"

The emission reduction measures subsequently agreed at Kyoto will only reduce by a fraction the numbers of people that could be affected by climate change in these ways. Policy makers therefore need to invest in measures both to reduce the vulnerability of affected regions and to minimise the risks of political instability arising from climate change: key tasks for foreign policy in the greenhouse¹⁶.

issues for the EU of the future shape of Russia, the former Yugoslavia and NATO expansion lie the rising political stress in the Maghreb and the Middle East, the turmoil in China and the Asian Tigers and beyond this long-term questions of food supplies, energy and climate change¹⁷. This growing interest in 'environmental security', argues Alexander Carius, Director of Ecology in Berlin, comes at a time when the search is on for new security paradigms in the wake of the Cold War. For Gwyn Prins, Senior Fellow at Chatham House, environmental threats have now "moved over the horizon and onto the radar screens". The second report of the International Panel on Climate Change with its conclusion of identifiable evidence of human impacts on the climate system rang "firebells in the night", says Prins (see Box 4). Worryingly, this risk of unpredictable changes in the ecosystem is also being simultaneously matched by increasing social polarisation: "globalisation suggests hands around the globe, but two-thirds of the world's people have yet to make a phone call".

The world is certainly becoming a more violent place, with the number of conflicts and wars, particularly in the developing world, steadily increasing over the last few decades. Furthermore, many of these wars are fought for control over resources¹⁸. Carius is manager of a joint research initiative led by Germany and the USA on the links between environment and security. For him, it is clear that "local, national, regional and global environmental degradation as well as scarcity of natural resources have a large potential to trigger, accelerate or contribute to serious conflict that may become violent in the end — and indeed has already done so in numerous cases" (see Box 5). For example, a report produced by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs suggests that analysis of conditions in Rwanda, Haiti, Mexico, Bangladesh, Mauritania and Senegal has established clear linkages between environmental degradation and violent conflict.¹⁹

But the current debate is often muddled, according to Carius, due to the confusing array of definitions of what 'environmental security' means, ranging from the protection of the armed forces from environmental threats to the absence of environmental stress and ultimately, the achievement of sustainable development. Prins is also sceptical of analysts, such as Thomas Homer-Dixon in Canada and Norman Myers in the UK who have made linear connections between environmental stress, political crisis, refugees and finally violence. In tune with this analysis, Carius refers to a number of research projects that demonstrate that there is no empirical proof that environ-

mental stress directly leads to violent conflicts. Rather, environmental stress is embedded in a wide array of driving forces, such as political and cultural conditions, inequalities in power and resource distribution, local capacities for conflict management, the state of the economy, the role of trade, technology levels and knowledge. Context is crucial for Carius. In the case of climate change, the destabilising effects could become magnified reinforced in less developed countries with unstable political systems and few resources to invest in adaptation strategies: "rising sea-levels may have a higher potential to result in political instability and violent conflict in some Asian and African regions than, for example, in the Netherlands".

Describing the environment as a security issue has also sometimes been a way of trying to attract greater political attention and could 'militarise' the environment as a policy issue. Yet, seeing increasing environmental damage through the security lens does bring benefits. To prepare for violent conflict, the military has developed 'worst case analysis'. This, argues Prins, can be usefully applied to the environment as a way of operationalising the precautionary principle.

Designing effective foreign policies to tackle the threats posed by environmental stress is, however, hampered by:

- the lack of comprehensive data sets covering environment and security;
- the absence of robust case studies to show causal links;
- the paucity of knowledge on which regions are most affected by environmental threats to security
- the low level of understanding on the relative threats to security posed by different environmental problems
- the lack of consensus on the threshold of severity above which environmental problems become security threats.

Beyond this list of analytical barriers, a

Box 5:

Environmental Threats to Security

Socio-Economic Problems

* Migration: Environmental stress, such as soil erosion, may contribute to rural-urban migration.

* Poverty: Environmental stress, such as deforestation and desertification, can reduce economic output and increase poverty.

* Food Security: Environmental stress, such as overgrazing and droughts, can contribute to famines.

* Health: Environmental stress may exacerbate health threats by spreading epidemic disease.

Environmental Degradation

* Climate Change: Global warming could alter the availability and distribution of resources and lead to social problems that could result in violent conflict.

* Land Degradation: Soil erosion and desertification have been cited as having the potential to contribute to violent conflict, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa.

* Industrial Pollution: Uneven distribution of the environmental costs of industrial activities can lead to conflict, as in the Niger delta.

* Nuclear safety: Civilian nuclear reactors in the former Soviet bloc still pose severe risks to human health and the environment a decade after Chernobyl.

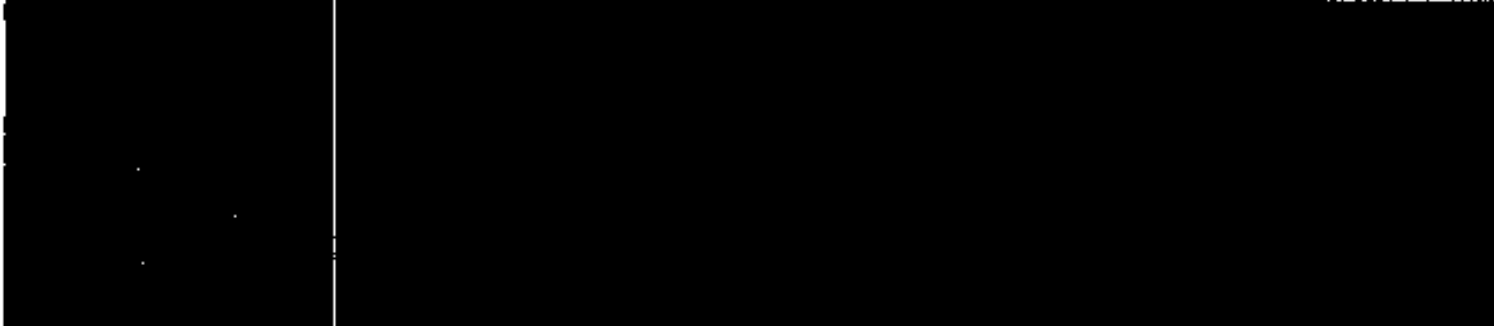
* Military activities: The military itself is a major source of hazardous waste and other environmental problems.

* Natural Disasters: Increasing human interference with ecosystems is blurring the divide between 'natural' and 'human' disasters.

Resource Scarcities

* Water: Water has been cited as "the critical factor threatening world peace" by Wally N'Dow, Secretary General of HABITAT II, particularly for transboundary rivers, such as the Nile, Ganges and Euphrates.

* Fish: Recent 'cod wars' between Canada and Spain highlight the severity of declining fish stocks and the potential for international disputes.



deeper obstacle remains of a profound mismatch between the growing apprehension of environmental threats and the institutional response: as one US admiral commented at a NATO conference on Security in the 21st Century, "My God, we have nothing that deals with this problem". Consequently, Prins concludes that most governments are resorting to 'liddism', or simply trying to keep the lid on environment and security problems, rather than addressing the underlying causes. The task ahead is thus to combine sharp analysis with institutional change so that Europe can implement foreign policies for sustainable development. If environmental stress is not to escalate into violent conflict then the complex interlinkages between foreign policy, environment and development will have to be better understood as a matter of urgency.

4. ACTING ON OUR RESPONSIBILITIES

Assessing Government, Business and Citizen Initiatives

What links the so far disparate efforts to green European foreign policies is an emerging world view that extends a sense of ethical responsibility for our actions — whether as governments, corporations or citizens — to distant impacts both in time and place. Sustainable development forces everyone to rethink Kant's categorical imperative for the global age, and to adopt policies, production methods and lifestyles which are capable of universal adoption (see Box 6).

A European Foreign Policy for Sustainable Development?

Defining a clear foreign policy response to the new environmental insecurities is not just held back by the lack of robust data and analysis: it is also constrained at the EU-level by conflicting notions of the scope of foreign policy and a deliberately ambiguous and sometimes muddled division of responsibilities between the EC and the Member States for external relations. The EU's multi-layered international mandate built up incrementally over 40 years means that there are strikingly different treaty provisions and institutional arrangements for external action on trade, aid, foreign policy and the environment. This can mean severe constraints on the democratic oversight provided by the European Parliament of actions carried out in the name of the European Union. Anomalies abound, such as keeping the Lomé Convention of aid and trade relations with Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific outside of mainstream EU structures. And experience so far with the new provisions for a common foreign and security policy (CFSP), such as the debacle in Bosnia, suggest that even in traditional areas, the EU has still a long way to go in developing a culture of common action on sensitive external matters.

Constitutionally, the main breakthrough in terms of building the foundations for an active EU foreign policy for sustainable development came in 1991 with the agreement of the Treaty of European Union at Maastricht. This had four major innovations:

Sustainable Development: The new EU adopted the overall objective of "sustainable and non-inflationary growth respecting the environment", halfway towards the global goal of sustainable development.

Foreign Policy: The Maastricht Treaty included an entirely new chapter of provisions for establishing a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). With a set of loose objectives, the CFSP was to be managed on a largely inter-governmental basis, separate from the

Box 6: The Ethical Foundations

From Kant's Categorical Imperative:

"What would happen if everyone acted like this?"

...to Brundtland's Statement of Impossibility:

"It is simply impossible for the world as a whole to sustain a Western level of Consumption"

existing Community structures. No explicit mention was made of sustainable development as a goal of the CFSP.

Development Cooperation: A new chapter on development cooperation was added consolidating existing practice.

Environment Protection: Maastricht strengthened the integration principle so that "environmental protection requirements must be integrated into the definition and implementation of other Community policies" and added a new objective of "promoting measures at international level to deal with regional or worldwide environmental problems" (Article 130r).

Maastricht also set a timetable for reviewing the Treaty. As part of the preparations for this, a Reflection Group of officials identified increasing "risks of ecological imbalances" which EU foreign policy could no longer "afford to ignore". Environmental organisations also lobbied hard for a strengthening of the Treaty's commitment to sustainable development and inserting specific environmental objectives into key policy areas, such as agriculture, regional policy, trade and transport. And in practice, the EU was working more closely in international environment and development negotiations, playing a central brokering role at both the UN review of the Earth Summit (UNGASS) in June 1997 and at Kyoto in December.

Rio+5: Learning the Lessons for Europe

For Jill Hanna, who was then the EC's coordinator for Earth Summit follow up, the UNGASS review taught some useful lessons:

i. "Broken promises matter": the North's failure to abide by the pledge made at Rio to provide new and additional aid finance for sustainable development in the South led directly to developing country opposition to new environmental commitments in 1997. Britain's commitment to reverse its downward trend in aid spending is welcome, but future European aid spending is now going to be crucially determined by the fiscal policies required to introduce and sustain the euro.

ii. Security and sustainability: Security issues also emerged as a new thrust for environment and development negotiations, with a special focus on the threats posed by rising water scarcity.

iii. Sustainability a foreign policy concern: Developing countries also raised the stakes by taking the negotiations on sustainable development out of the hands of environment officials and placing it under the control of foreign ministry diplomats.

iv. Sustainable trade opportunities: New initiatives are needed by the EU and others to quash the notion that environmental concerns are barriers to trade. This means addressing market access as a package of trade, environment and development, and bringing to bear trade promotion activities under the Lome Convention and similar arrangements for Asia and Latin America to enable developing countries to exploit opportunities for sustainably produced goods and services in Northern markets.

v. Going beyond aid: Looking broadly at international financial flows, aid is increasingly "symbolic" in comparison to private capital. Within the EU, coordination now needs to go far beyond environment and development assistance to include private sector matters, such as export credits. Aid itself should be targetted at the areas which private investments cannot reach, such as primary health care and education, provision of water and energy services for the poor, protection of marginal lands and reduction of urban environmental hazards.

vi. Global governance: At UNGASS, Germany launched a proposal to establish a World Environment Organisation. Simultaneously, Kofi Annan is drawing up a general UN reform package for approval at the UN's 53rd General Assembly in autumn 1998. It is critical at this juncture to ensure that sustainable development thinking becomes a core part of the UN's mandate for peace and security, and

that ways are found of reconciling the overarching commitment to sustainable development with trade and financial which continue to take precedence.

vii. Defining the role of business: It is now accepted that technology transfer is not a task for government, but is best managed through the investment process. But this means that business should be held accountable for what they do and don't do through public disclosure of their sustainable development performance — particularly by those many transnational corporations that have yet to produce a corporate environmental report. There is also a currently unfulfilled watchdog role to identify those corporations dumping dirty technologies in the South.

viii. A new look at energy and water services: Confidence building measures are now required that look at energy problems from the perspective of the South, particularly the huge potential for extending access to energy services and curbing growing pollution problems through demand management. Similarly, a new partnership is required between private investors and public efforts to extend water and sanitation in the South.

ix. Regional pacts: Regional initiatives rather than global gatherings will become increasingly significant for achieving practical action, and for the EU this means the Lome framework, the Euro-Mediterranean process, expansion to Eastern Europe and Asia (Box 7).

The Treaty of Amsterdam

The Intergovernmental Conference that opened in 1996 resulted in a revised Treaty of Amsterdam a year later. The principle of sustainable development is now written into the Treaty in a useful manner, and in the field of common foreign and security policy a new common unit for analysis and planning was created. However, although sustainable development is now clearly an objective for the Union as a whole, it is omitted as a specific requirement in terms the new requirement for the Union to "ensure the consistency of its external activities as a whole in the context of its external relations, security, economic and development policies" (Article C). As Andrew Duff of the Federal Trust has noted: "the idea that a strong and coherent European Union could play a leading part in reforming the world's international organisations, or in fighting the environmental degradation of the planet, or in alleviating world hunger and disease was somehow lost sight of. The result was less than transparent, more a crafty illusion"²⁰.

These are clearly early days for European foreign policy and sustainable development and Nigel

Box 7

ASEM II: a missed opportunity?

Establishing strong regional understanding between Europe and Asia could be crucial for global environmental progress, since Asia holds the potential for either following the traditional route of economic growth undermined by environmental decline and falling quality of life or leapfrogging into sustainability.

The second Asia-Europe Summit meeting held in London in April 1998 focused primarily on ways of responding to the Asian financial crisis, and only marginally addressed the global environment. An Asia-Europe Environmental Technology Centre will be established in Thailand and the leaders welcomed the Kyoto agreement on climate change. The environment sector was also highlighted as an area for continued work, and leaders endorsed new — but unspecified — initiatives to strengthen cooperation on the environment, disaster preparedness and mega-cities.

But citizen organisations were particularly critical that the priority placed on reinforcing economic cooperation, through the Investment Promotion and Trade Facilitation action plans, was not matched by an integration of environmental and social concerns. "We have long argued that the environment and workers' rights cannot be sacrificed to the altar of business interests", said the Asia-Europe People's Forum spokesman Andy Rutherford.

Halg, then Director of the London-based Institute for European Environmental Policy, highlights the numerous ambiguities that confuse the issue. For a start, Britain's dealings with the EU are still classified as 'foreign policy' and managed by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. As for the external relations of Europe as a whole, this could be taken to mean the collective actions of the Member States and the European institutions, or just the European Union. And even looking at the European Union alone, the subject remains complicated because of the different pillars and provisions. Nevertheless, these ambiguities could be turned to the advantage of sustainable development, with sufficient vision and political drive. The European Summit at Cardiff in June 1998 showed the way forward by calling on 'all relevant formations of the Council to establish their own strategies for giving effect to environmental integration and sustainable development'. For the EU's foreign policy, two practical steps could now be taken: first, to prepare a White Paper on Foreign Policy and Sustainable Development; and second, to establish an 'sustainability desk' within the new Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit for the CFSP to deal with the environmental security agenda.

Filling the Democratic Deficit

All through the last decade, the European Parliament and particularly its active Environment Committee, has been acting as the Community's conscience on sustainable development, pressing the Commission and the Member States to take the issue seriously in its external relations. Anita Pollack, MEP for South-West London, cites the case of tropical forests, where the Parliament had initially tried to ban the import of unsustainably logged timber in the late 1980s. This was found to be incompatible with the GATT, and so subsequently the Parliament has been pressing for labelling and certification initiatives and the use of European financial assistance to support sustainable forestry in the South. But this strategy has had mixed results with the world still "losing the battle to keep the bad countries in check". Similarly with climate change, despite pressure from the Parliament, the EU still has a "messy set of policies" with the continuing absence of a carbon/energy tax to encourage conservation and renewables. Lack of time and resources is constraining the Parliament from influencing Commission and Member State officials more effectively. To focus public attention on the real culprits for blocking progress, Pollack suggests starting to call hurricanes after leading oil companies.

Mobilising Corporate Leadership

Even if the EU managed to sort out its ambiguous policy inheritance and to pool together the energy and resources of European and Member State institutions, it would still not be able to do all it wants. For a start, it is constrained by international trade rules and other commitments from taking action that is seen to interfere in the internal environmental affairs of other nations. But more importantly, it is the private sector, which through global liberalisation is now holding the whip-hand in economic development. And while most businesses — as well as consumers — still continue to avoid paying the full ecological costs of their activities, a number of leadership companies, often in partnership with citizen organisations and public authorities, are now pioneering practical new approaches that put flesh on the new ethic of extended environmental responsibility.

As one of the world's leading oil corporations, British Petroleum operates in what many would view as an inherently unsustainable business. For example, according to company data, its total emissions of carbon dioxide from its production processes and the use of its products amounts to about 1% of the global total, bigger than many large countries. But in recent years, BP has started to take a number of positive steps to improve its contribution to sustainable development, at home and abroad. On the issue of climate change, BP has broken away from the convoy of corporate opposi-

tion to action on climate change, leaving the Global Climate Coalition. BP's chief executive John Browne stated in May 1997: "to be absolutely clear - we must now focus on what can and should be done, not because we can be certain climate change is happening, but because the possibility can't be ignored. If we are all to take responsibility for the future of our planet, then it falls to us to begin to take precautionary action now".

This has meant action to monitor and control its own emissions as part of BP's overall environmental goal "to do no harm or damage to the natural environment". It is funding scientific research and transferring clean technologies to developing countries as part of joint implementation initiatives. Furthermore, BP is committed to position its renewable energy business to reach \$1 billion in sales over the next decade in addition to its oil and gas business. Beyond this, the company is contributing to lightening its negative 'investment footprint' in developing countries, through health care, education, environment, capacity building schemes in local communities. BP is also one of the few companies that have so far issued a social report, assessing the company's social performance; other companies producing social reports to date have included the Body Shop, the Co-operative Bank and Shell (see Box 8).

A Sustainable Paper Cycle

Along with the fossil fuel industry, paper has been one of the sectors most in the public firing line for its environmental record. Linked in the public mind to deforestation, industrial pollution and an encouragement of wasteful consumption practices (such as over-packaging), forest companies and companies that rely on paper to do their business have been prompted to take responsibility for the entire paper cycle²⁴. In Germany, the process has gone further than most.

For Florian Nehm, environmental manager at the Axel Springer Publishing Company, which produces some of Germany's most popular newspapers and magazines, such as Bild and Welt, "our ecological strategy is aimed at remedying apparent weaknesses as swiftly as possible by the implementation of ecologically upgraded measures along the paper chain". Its main approach has been to design and then apply a set of environmental standards to the paper it buys, three-quarters of which comes from outside Germany, covering forest management, manufacturing and recycling. The company actions are designed to build up "confidence capital" with the influential 15-29 year old age group who are important both in terms of attractiveness for advertisers and as leaders in environmental awareness. Says Nehm, "we want our readers to know that the printed paper in their hands comes from an ecologically responsible production process", minimising the 'consumption footprint'.

Responding to their readers' concerns about the environmental performance of suppliers in other countries has sometimes led Axel Springer into sensitive areas, facing the accusation that it is "interfering with their internal affairs". This has meant basing their approach on dialogue, with Nehm recognising the need to "control Germany's pointing finger". Looking ahead, Nehm believes that it is corporate innovation rather than government regulation that has the largest potential for change.

Box 8 BP and the Challenge of Sustainable Development

The challenge to BP is to position itself so that all its businesses and operations are quipped to play a positive role in bringing about the transition to sustainable development. We will need to identify new indicators of performance, and develop and bring to market new products and services. We will also need to engage in a sustained and systematic dialogue with others in government, voluntary bodies, local communities and elsewhere in order to create the practical partnerships that are essential to making the transition a reality.

Box 9 Tomorrow's World, Sustainable World

The conventional, growth-based model of development is failing current and future generations on three counts according to Friends of the Earth UK's new study.

Tomorrow's World: growth is threatening environmental limits, it is increasing global inequality, and it is eroding quality of life: more consumption does not bring more well-being.

Across Europe, Friends of the Earth have been developing a new way of conceiving sustainable development, that stays within available environmental space, that places priority on equity and focuses the economy on services not throughput. With just 1% of the world's people, the UK currently uses 5% of the planet's climate capacity and over 2% of the sustainable timber yield. Looking ahead to 2050 and a world of 10 billion people, British use of environmental space will have to

fall by 80% to reduce ecological pressure and allow poor countries to grow. Dramatic changes in national strategy will be required for Britain to move towards a low carbon economy and to become a net exporter of agricultural produce after 200 years of appropriating land in other parts of the world.

Yet Friends of the Earth has "informed optimism" that achieving such targets could be technically feasible, economically beneficial and socially cohesive. In terms of foreign policy, "nothing less than a new global deal between North and South, brokered and administered by transparent and democratically accountable institutions, will do if we are to achieve sustainability at a global scale". This will involve debt relief, trade preferences for fair and sustainably produced goods and targeted aid for sustainable development. Domestically, Friends of the Earth believes that "sustainability in the UK demands a renewal of democracy that puts citizen rights and responsibilities at the heart of politics".

Citizen Action for a Sustainable World

Ultimately, government action needs the legitimacy of citizen support and business require a license to operate from its stakeholders. And it is citizen action that has been the driving force for public and private sector efforts to lighten Europe's footprint. For Charles Secrett, Director at Friends of the Earth in England and Wales "the noblest role that a non-governmental organisation can play is to give a voice for and with those who are not heard: the dispossessed, other creatures and future generations". Another critical role is to stimulate public debates on those values which government and business are reluctant to address, for example, challenging a consumerist culture of "buy, buy, buy to bin, bury and burn". Friends of the Earth's most recent venture in this realm of ideas has been to draw up national strategies in 30 European countries to understand what would need to change for Europe to live within its 'fair share' of the global environment (see Box 9). Extending Europe's responsibility for its ecological impacts to distant countries and future generations will mean substantial cuts in resource use and pollution and a rethinking of trade relations, but could bring a better quality of life with "needs being met on a lower level of consumption", according to Secrett.

For Raymond Van Ermen, Executive Director of European Partners for the Environment, a multi-stakeholder alliance of environment organisations, research institutes, business, trade unions and public authorities, "we should be proud of being part of the only geopolitical bloc having sustainable development as one of its missions". As part of the New Diplomacy required to respond to the threats and opportunities brought daily by globalisation, foreign relations no longer a matter reserved for diplomats. As the World Commission on Global Governance stated "governance is not limited any more to relations between public authorities".

To achieve sustainable development, European foreign policy needs to be closely tied to the development of a European citizenship. The burning question that now faces all Europeans is how they want to achieve security and democracy in the years ahead: through a 'fortress Europe', which might reduce its ecological footprints, but risk a protectionist backlash across the world and reduce opportunities for poor countries to develop, or an 'open Europe' that accepts its responsibilities for sustainability and extends the hand of partnership to others?

5. SECURING THE FUTURE

The Lessons Learned

The Europe's Footprint Workshop highlighted a number of important lessons for decision-makers on how to move forward a European foreign policy for sustainable development:

Ecological Entanglement: Globalisation is creating a dynamic of ecological entanglement between nations which requires a foreign policy response based on the extended responsibility of governments, corporations and citizens for the external impacts of their actions.

The Knowledge Gap: Yet, detailed understanding both of the extent and how to minimise Europe's consumption, pollution, policy and investment 'footprints' is absent: there is no way of knowing whether Europe is importing or exporting sustainability through its trade policies, for example.

The Security Dimension: Global environmental change is now being regarded as a security problem, but the linkages are complex and linear connections between degradation and war cannot be made: environmental security cannot be reduced to sound-bite politics.

An Institutional Mismatch: Across the world, there is an institutional mismatch between the government bodies charged with long-term security — essentially the military — and the new challenges of environmental change.

EU Policy Ambiguity This mismatch is compounded in the case of the European Union by the ambiguous inheritance of varying mandates and capacities for different aspects of foreign policy, such as trade, aid, security, environment.

Broken Promises Matter: In the five years since the Rio Earth Summit, European policy makers have learned that the broken promises on finance for sustainable development in the South have set back progress in international environment and development talks.

The European Potential: Europe could help to break this deadlock if it is willing to exploit its potential as a civil power for sustainable development without the burden of a military vision of security.

Extending Corporate Responsibility: Leading corporations are now implementing practical policies to extend responsibility to incorporate the social and environmental performance of their supply chains and overseas investments.

A Popular Vision of Europe's Global Role: A new, popular vision of Europe's place in a sustainable global world is required, one that incorporates the need for an ethic of extended responsibility and applies this to the daily lives of its citizens (see Box 10).

Albert Wassener, Director of the Goethe-Institut in London brought the meeting to a close highlighting two critical issues for the future:

- Sharing experience on citizen participation in decision-making by states and corporations to tackle foreign impacts; and
- Going deeper into an understanding of environmental rights and duties in a global age.

Box 10: A Strong European Foreign Policy Response Required

"Europe's lead position on the environmental and sustainable development agenda should form part of a strong foreign policy. Europe should promote its approach on a global scale. Failure to achieve a global environmental level playing field could risk industrial competitiveness and employment in Europe."

Klaus Kohlhase, *British Petroleum*, October 1997

Recommendations for Action

The basic foundations for a European foreign policy that serves sustainable development are in place. But more now needs to be done to turn this potential into action that can make a difference. In the short-term, seven practical steps could be taken:

1. Vision: To contribute to the development of a global vision of how environmental change contributes to security, the EU and its Member States could propose the launch of an Independent Commission on Environmental Security, along the lines of previous Brandt, Brundtland and Palme commissions²³.

2. Strategy: To develop a clear strategy that encompasses the breadth of sustainability challenge across the full range of its external policy priorities, the EC should draw up a White Paper on Foreign Policy and Sustainable Development. This would form the basis for a wide debate and the identification of specific areas for policy reform and improvement²⁴.

3. Analysis: To strengthen the EU's capacity to anticipate emerging environmental threats, the new Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit should contain environmental expertise and liaise closely with Member State foreign and environment ministries.

4. Cooperation: To help focus the EU's efforts at coordinating its foreign policy efforts on the common objective of sustainable development, Sustainable Development Cooperation Strategies should be drawn up for critical countries and regions, assessing the main prospects and threats for sustainable development and identifying Europe's 'footprint'. This strategy could then form the basis for cooperation agreements, jointly agreed with the country and region which would seek to bring together a package of initiatives — finance, trade, investment, research, political dialogue, citizen links — to reduce Europe's footprint and contribute to sustainable development. Key countries and regions could include Brazil, China, India, the Mediterranean, Russia and South Africa.

5. Investing in Peace: Europe can already support preventive action to reduce the environmental sources of conflict in poor countries through a rethink of its aid strategies to include the strengthening of national and regional capacities for sustainable resource management and conflict resolution. The reform of the Lomé Convention gives a major opportunity for bringing together the triple objectives of development cooperation, peace and environmental sustainability.

6. Corporate Responsibility: The EU should bring together and spread corporate best practice in managing the sustainable development portfolio in international trade and investment practices. One way would be to set the framework for Annual Social and Environmental Reports to be produced by Europe's top 500 corporations, covering domestic operations, trade relations and international investments.

7. Citizen Action: People to people dialogue is critical as a way of building up trust and confidence between Europe and other world regions. Citizen representatives need to be more fully represented both in foreign policy initiatives — such as the proposed sustainable development agreements — and corporate practice through citizen panels.

Governments in both Britain and Germany are now committed to promoting sustainable development through their foreign bodies. The task facing them is to design practical strategies for citizens, corporations and countries in Europe to extend their responsibility to overseas impacts and so build durable relations with other countries and communities, particularly in the South. Further Anglo-German cooperation, building on the IED-Goethe Institut initiative, could be a way of pioneering such efforts and providing examples for wider action at the European level.

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