FINAL REPORT

Conference on Greening Foreign and Security Policy: The Role of Europe

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The views expressed in this report are those of the individual participants and not necessarily the views of their organisations or governments or of the conference organisers or sponsors.

1. Introduction

A. Greening European Security

In 2006, the **Institute for Environmental Security** (IES) launched - in partnership with the **Global Legislators Organisation for a Balanced Environment** (GLOBE-EU), and others - a programme focusing on mainstreaming environmental and sustainable development factors into European foreign and security policy.

Working especially with Members of the European Parliament, the aim has been to promote the forging and implementation of an integrated strategy for environment, sustainable development and security - or the better inclusion of environmental security aspects in the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy, European Security Strategy and European Sustainable Development Strategy.

B. Themes

Key issues addressed included:

- **Mainstreaming Environmental Factors into EU Foreign Policy** - What needs to be done to promote the further mainstreaming of environmental factors into EU foreign and security policy (including energy and food security and security related to other resources such as land, water, living marine resources, and terrestrial biodiversity)?

- **Mainstreaming of Conflict Prevention into EU Development Cooperation** - What needs to be done to help promote the further mainstreaming of conflict prevention and livelihood protection into EU development cooperation especially in vulnerable countries?

- **Civilian-Military Cooperation** - How can military and non-military assets and resources be better deployed and co-ordinated in the pursuit of environmental protection and sustainable development policies and measures? And what additional capabilities will be needed for responding to environment-related humanitarian emergencies?

- **EU-US Cooperation** - How can there be increased transatlantic cooperation on environment, sustainable development and security?

- **Energy Security and Climate Security** - Should/could the EU conduct a global "threat assessment" of the impact of environmental degradation, in particular from climate change to 2050 and beyond, notably in terms of humanitarian and security crises resulting from resource depletion, droughts, floods, deforestation, inadequate poverty alleviation and under-development, and if so how could this be dovetailed into the EU's external relations policies?
  How could energy security and climate security be pursued in tandem? How could climate mitigation and adaptation be given a higher priority in the EU's external relations policies in practice?

- **Relation to Other External Policies** - Should the CFSP/CESDP aspects of the EU's external relations policy be made more consistent and coherent with its trade, aid, development and international environment policies and if so, by means of what institutional or legal mechanisms could this be achieved? Which of the individual sectoral policies (agricultural and rural development; health policy; energy policy and technology transfer; trade liberalisation etc.) are most likely to be decisive in combating poverty and reducing insecurity and instability in the world's most vulnerable developing countries?

C. The Preparatory Symposium

The programme was launched at the **Symposium on Sustainable Development and Security** at the European Parliament on 31 May 2006.

The aim of the symposium was to raise political issues with interested Members of the European Parliament related to improving the integration of environmental and development concerns, notably Climate Change, into the EU's existing Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the European Security Strategy.

A summary report of the symposium is available on the IES website at http://www.envirosecurity.org/ges/symposium/

D. The Inventory of Policies and Practices

Also during 2006, the IES published its **Inventory of Environment and Security Policies and Practices** (IESPP): An Overview of Strategies and Initiatives of Selected Governments, International Organisations and Inter-Governmental Organisations.

This report provides an easy to use comparative overview of existing governmental and inter-governmental positions and actions dealing with the relationship between environment, security and sustainable development.

Focusing on selected OECD Member States, including several EU Member States, the report describes the environment and security policies and practices of 13 counties as well as 7 international / intergovernmental organisations.

The IESPP report illustrates how the selected governments / IGOs have addressed their stated environmental security priorities through various policies, programmes and projects with respect to eight key themes.

The inventory and accompanying **EnviroSecurity Action Guide** data base are available on-line at: http://www.envirosecurity.org/ges/inventory/

E. The Working Groups on Greening Foreign and Security Policy

Following the May 2006 symposium, four working groups were set up to review current policies and best practices and seek to identify gaps in European and international policy and action with respect to four stages in the conflict cycle:

- **Group A: Predicting Instability** - Monitoring, risk assessments and early warning in vulnerable areas and measures to avoid conflict.

- **Group B: Preventing Conflict** - Policy instruments and measures for areas of escalating tensions and for conflict prevention (military and non-military).

- **Group C: Managing Conflict** - Crisis management and resolution in the event of conflict (military and non-military).

- **Group D: Recovery and Transition** - Post conflict restoration, reconstruction and structural adaptation.
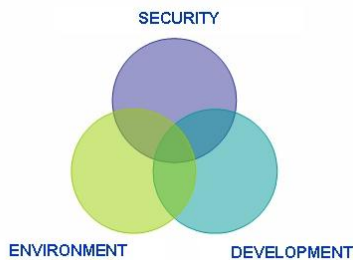
The working groups produced policy recommendations taking into account the relationships between:

- Environment and Development
- Security and Development
- Environment and Security

... and the interface among all three.

Participating in these informal groups and at-large were experts from international / intergovernmental organisations (NATO, OSCE, REC, UNEP, UNDP), European Union institutions (Council, Commission, Parliament and the JRC), national governments (Belgium, Finland, Germany, The Netherlands, Sweden, the UK and the USA), a variety of specialised institutes, universities and NGOs and the private sector.

The working groups met to prepare their draft final reports in Brussels on 6 December 2006 and they presented their interim conclusions to the Conference on Greening Foreign and Security Policy at the European Parliament on 7 December.

F. The GFSP Conference

With the May symposium, the inventory of policies and practices and the draft reports of the working groups serving as a background, GLOBE-EU and IES convened the December conference with the main objective being to promote the better integration of environment and sustainable development concerns and objectives into European foreign and security policy and programmes.

The event was organised as a working meeting with participants and speakers (from the European Council, European Commission, European Parliament, EU Member States, NATO, OSCE, UNDP and UNEP) reviewing the draft interim reports of the working groups and highlighting the roles played by their respective institutions with regard to the interface between environment, security and sustainable development.

We are pleased to present the following report of the conference and invite readers to also consult the **Joint Final Report of the Working Groups on Greening Foreign and Security Policy** which is also available from the IES.

For further information

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2. Welcome and Opening of the Conference

A. Welcome by the Moderators

Satu Hassi

MEP, Vice-President, GLOBE-EU / Member of the Board, World Watch Institute

Welcome to the European Parliament.

We are going to have a very interesting conference. In today's world, a security policy is simply unrealistic, if it does not take into account environment, the trends and the threats linked to environmental degradation. Foreign and security policy which just analyses the behaviour of governments without noticing what is happening in the environment and how the environmental changes are affecting peoples lives and behaviour, is simply not realistic.

In 2005 the topic of the State of the World report by Worldwatch Institute was "Redefining Global Security". There were many interesting findings in the report, but I would like to pick up on one of them. The studies on the social background of international terrorism show that there is a strong link between recruitment to terrorist groups and the share of young adult males living in cities without a realistic perspective of the traditional male life career of that society. Environmental degradation is one of the factors that bring a lot of young unemployed people to cities. People have to leave their home villages, when agriculture becomes too difficult because of degradation of soil, shortage of freshwater, pollution of rivers and land, etc. Of course, there are other social factors that can lead to the same kind of population structure, but environmental degradation is one of them.

Of course, when we think about the security risks of the future, we mean also much bigger threats than young unemployed males joining terrorist groups. We also mean mass movements of people and collapse of whole societies due to impacts of climate change, e.g. sea level rise, salting of groundwater, decreasing crops in tropical and sub-tropical countries.

Now I think that our real experts should address you.

Wouter Veening

Chairman / Director, Institute for Environmental Security

I would like to thank you for being here and thank you, Satu, for the hospitality which you are giving us here in the European Parliament, the highest organ of the European Union which, as a whole and in its components, is a major actor in the field of environment and security and environmental security and all security which you may think of. The European Union is of course the biggest trading block in the world, it is the biggest donor of development co-operation, it has an economy which has a tremendous impact on the natural resources eco-system of the rest of the world, and it is close to NATO which is one of the major military security entities.

So I think we should be very happy to be here to discuss the security implications of environmental degradation and vice-verse - the environmental consequences of security operations - at this moment, at this place.

Without further ado, I would like to introduce the first speaker in this session, who will give the opening speech, he is Wijnand van Ijssel; he was trained as a forester in Wageningen University; he had a twenty year career abroad in the foreign service; he has been to Mozambique, to Mauritania, to that magic country Bhutan, and lastly he was in Vietnam, where he was very active setting-up the forestry policy, with mechanisms which I think are exemplary for other countries for with forest as well. Now he is back in The Hague and he is driving the innovation agenda for the Directorate for Environment and Water, which is a key Directorate for foreign environmental policy in the Netherlands. And in that innovation agenda environment and conflict and security are very prominent items.

The second speaker will be Harald Neitzel who is Deputy Director, for Cooperation with OECD Member States, OECD, OSCE, UNECE, NATO-CCMS, Alpine Convention, Antarctica, Environment and Security, at the Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety, Germany. He is clearly very well informed of the work of several important institutions relevant for our discussions today. In his remarks he is also going to inform us of the important on-going and upcoming initiatives of the German Presidency of the EU related to environment, security and foreign policy.

We are very grateful to both the Dutch and the German governments who have supported our institute and this meeting. The Greening European Security programme and this conference have been supported by The Netherlands Ministry for Housing, Spatial Planning and the Environment and by the German Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety.

I would now like to give the floor to Wijnand van Ijssel.

B. Opening of the Conference

Wijnand van Ijssel
Knowledge Management, Innovation, Research, Environment and Water Department, Directorate-General for International Development Cooperation, The Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Introductory remarks

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,
First of all I would like to thank the Global Legislators Organisation for a Balanced Environment (GLOBE-EU) and the Institute for Environmental Security for offering me the possibility to share some of our thoughts and concerns about environmental stability and peace.

It is encouraging to see this initiative by GLOBE-EU and the Institute for Environmental Security in organising this conference. It is an excellent example of mainstreaming considerations of environmental management in other policy areas, such as defence and security policy. It is also very important and in line with the spirit of MDG 1 & 7 and the policy of the Netherlands.

The foreign policy of the Netherlands

As stated in the Dutch policy paper 'Mutual Interests, Mutual Responsibilities' (October 2003) poverty, security, human rights, trade and investments, migration, nature and the environment and the international legal order are inextricably linked. For this reason the Netherlands decided to step up its efforts to pursue an integrated approach to its foreign policy, in which development cooperation is combined with diplomacy, political dialogue and pressure, security policy, fair trade and market access.

For Africa this is further elaborated in the policy paper entitled 'Strong People, Weak States', also from October 2003. In this document it is indicated that the Netherlands will focus on the following five priority themes:
1. promoting peace, security and stability through conflict management and prevention;
2. promoting good governance and good policy;
3. investing in people ;
4. promoting pro-poor growth; and
5. sustainable development, focussing on the management of natural resources, environment and water.

In Africa, self-sufficiency and economic growth are heavily reliant on biodiversity, agricultural land and fishing grounds, timber and forestry products, oil and minerals, and other natural resources. These resources often play a role in conflicts in Africa. In some countries, the shortage of natural resources, aggravated by a growing population, fuels conflict.

During and immediately after a conflict, the international community concentrates its efforts on conflict management to restore stability and re-establish the conditions for sustainable development. For example, we sincerely hope that the Democratic Republic of Congo will make progress in this direction.

An important strategy for conflict prevention is environmental management. In her speech on the occasion of the symposium on the role of civil society in conflict prevention and peace building in November 2005 Agnes van Ardenne, the minister for Development Cooperation, stated that incorrectly many people still view strong environmental policies as a luxury the poor simply cannot afford, something for later. Environmental degradation in poor countries can lead to social tensions, which can degenerate into conflict. We have seen this in Darfur. Darfur illustrates how social relations can reach boiling point because of population pressure, fragile environment and traditional land use rights. A decade ago, this lethal combination even acted as one of the catalysts for genocide in Rwanda. More such conflicts lie just beneath the surface, as about 1.4 billion people, almost all of them in developing countries, are confronted with environmental fragility.

Rivalry over water in particular will be a major source of dispute. By 2015, nearly three billion people will live in water-stressed countries. All in all, working on water and the environment is not a hobby for rich environmentalists, but a vital strategy for conflict prevention in poor countries. The Netherlands has long supported the successful Nile Basin Initiative, through which nine (9) states work peacefully together to manage water resources.

The Netherlands is currently preparing similar programmes to promote sustainable development in the Congo basin and the Great Lakes region. Here, particularly in the in the context of fragile governance, civil society organisations like SNV and the

World Wide Fund for Nature will play a vital role in reaching out to communities and in building the capacity of people and institutions.

In an effort to help break through the deadlock of security waiting for development and development waiting for security the Dutch government created the Stability Fund. The purpose of this fund is to provide rapid, flexible support for activities at the interface between peace, security and development in countries and regions emerging from or at risk of sliding into armed conflict.

The Globalizing World

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,
It is no coincidence that over the past few years international foreign and development cooperation policies have shifted their emphasis to governance processes and that conflict management and prevention are predominantly about good governance and good policy. Moreover, this is not limited to only national governance issues. In this fast globalizing world, global governance processes are becoming increasingly important. There, governance is not only defined by multi-lateral organisations where governments meet each other, but equally by global enterprises and global (I)NGOs, such as conservation NGOs. It is important to recognize this diversity and the opportunities it offers.

When conflict prevention and management are linked to the exploitation of natural resources I fully support the observation in the draft report to this conference that we need to promote transparency and accountability in international markets and trade, as well as in national and local revenues derived from them. That is a crucial tool to feed a political dialogue.

That dialogue is critical at the national level. The root causes of conflicts go most often beyond environmental aspects, although they can be important drivers, as they have been in the past. Where possible the internal dialogue among competing parties, with competing claims, should be fostered. We have to look critically where parties could meet best and that is not necessarily based on formal mandates and mechanisms. It might for example, also be that platforms related to environmental management or water management create opportunities for mediation. Are we sufficiently sensitive to that?

Conclusion

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,
Looking at the report there are two more observations that I would like to make. First, in this relatively young policy area we still talk a lot in terms of general concepts. Beyond fine-tuning the general analytical tools as recommended by the first working group and given the specificity of conflicts it seems we need to do more analytical work on real cases and the real underlying causes as well as specific successes in conflict prevention and their critical factors. We have to get our feet on firmer ground and the Netherlands is certainly ready to encourage this process.

Secondly, I would like to repeat what the minister for Development Cooperation recently stated in her message to the EU in her speech during the conference on biodiversity in the European Development Cooperation on September 21:

> 'Environmental issues need to be an integral part of poverty reduction strategies. Mainstreaming environment into Country Strategy Papers could be even more important for sustainability than the creation or extension of

special programmes. Natural resources, and the way we manage them, cannot be an afterthought in strategy development. They are the very foundation of our existence.'

I hope and I am convinced that you will have a productive day. I am sure we will make further progress and I hope the European members of parliament and others will bring this agenda forward.

Thank you for your attention.

Harald Neitzel
Deputy Director, Co-operation with OECD Member States, OECD, OSCE, UNECE, NATO-CCMS, Alpine Convention, Antarctica, Environment and Security, Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety, Germany

Thank you very much for the nice introduction. I will mention issues that will come up in this meeting and some general remarks.

The German Ministry for the Environment is proud to be accepted as a supporter for the GLOBE and IES initiative, in co-operation with Members of the European Parliament, on how to green foreign and security policy. You may know that we have a long tradition of supporting the environment and security issues. The 1999 published study with NATO, CCMS on environmental security in an international context was mentioned yesterday. The study may have contributed to finding international consensus on which issues should be covered by greening of foreign and security policy. However, we have no specific national environmental and security strategy. We have decided to integrate these issues in our governmental action plan on civilian crisis prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict peace building. It was adopted by the government in May 2004. The first implementation report, including an environmental chapter, was adopted in May 2006. This strategy includes a hundred and fifty actions in various fields.

Two international initiatives were initiated by the German government. In this regard, the promotion of renewable energy, especially in developing countries, may have a peace dimension.

The second initiative involves using transboundary water co-operation as a catalyst for confidence building in regions of tensions. This approach was initiated by the German development and environment ministries, with support of the World Bank, and which is known as the Petersburg Process.

The communication of the outstanding importance of environment and security issues has made significant progress in recent years, so I would use optimistic words. The award of the 2004 Nobel Prize to the Kenyan Wangari Mathai has brought this link to the international public awareness. The Hollywood movie "The Day after Tomorrow" brought public awareness of the security risk of global environmental change and to a broader public and has even reached the general public. The UN High-level Panel on Challenges and Change has brought environment and security issues on to the UN agenda. The NGO and scientific communities' views were published in 2004 and were already mentioned in the State of the World report 2005 and I would like again to refer to the importance of the

speech of the British Foreign Secretary Margaret Becket who has said "Climate change is a core issue for the European Union's foreign and security policy".

Now we are in the middle of a broad European debate on how to meet the environment and security challenges in European programs and policies, as well as Member States' programmes and policies. Currently I see five urgent challenges to overcome.

First is the scoping of greening foreign and security issues, or environment and security issues. In order to really value these issues not everything should be covered by the environment and security agenda. I have some doubt if safe energy supply or energy security belongs to this scope. Also natural disaster prevention is very important, but we should only include it if it really brings added value to the environment and security agenda.

The second point: linking sectoral and environmental and natural resource programmes with security issues. Security issues such as conflict prevention, confidence building and co-operation in regions of tensions might already play a role in various sector programmes and action plans. A lot of examples are already available, such as climate change adaptation strategies, water and energy related programmes, even programmes to support nature cooperation potential in a transboundary context. We have the excellent term "Peace Parks" for such projects and we speak about the peace dividend which can be reached by the increased development of renewable energy sources.

The third: linking regional environment and natural resource programmes with security issues. We also have a lot of policy programmes available dealing with certain well defined regional areas, such as programmes for the Balkan, Caucasian and Central Asian regions, or Africa programmes. One key challenge is the design of transboundary projects in the context of sustainable development issues. Germany is involved in the support of nature reservation strategy for the Altai Mountains and in support of various co-operation formats in the Southern Caucasus, which may support peace processes.

The last two points concern communication issues:

The fourth point is: avoiding underlying security issues in specific cooperation projects with the recipient countries. We have in general a communication dilemma in the context of successful crisis prevention. Often successful outcomes will not be recognized because there already has been prevention of the conflict. The environment and security agenda has a second one: developing countries or countries in transition handle security issues as very sensitive issues. They especially don't want to mix environment and development issues with national security interests. And they don't want to be influenced by donor interests to such an extent as this. Furthermore, the competent foreign affairs and defence ministries in these recipient countries often do not take part in co-operation projects. So we should be sensitive in order not to be counter productive in highlighting security issues while promoting co-operation projects or environmental peace making.

And the fifth and last point involves linking environment and security issues with fund raising issues for development policies. We all know that efficient crisis prevention costs far less money than all military based interventions or post-conflict military peace missions. Again I would like to refer to Margaret Becket who has said: "the greatest security threat we face as a global community won't be met by guns and tanks. "

We all know that sufficient budgets are not the only condition, but a pre-condition, of efficient development policies. Taking into account the current allocation of scarce financial tax resources for military purposes in ODA programmes, one might have doubts if this meets sustainable development approaches. We should be encouraged to raise these questions. OECD countries have spent in 2005 one hundred and six Billion US dollars for official development aid according to the latest OECD numbers. The Stockholm Peace Research Institute has recently stated that world military expenditure reached a thousand billion US dollars. We should raise the question if this meets sustainable development approaches. A lot of experts have assessed that only a reasonable cut of military budgets would be sufficient to provide the needed financial resource to achieve the fulfilment of the Millennium Development Goals. World Watch Institute has published the figure of 7.4% in this regard.

Against the background of the upcoming German Presidency, we will provide a framework for further discussions in close co-operation with the European Commission. We have commissioned a stock-taking report which will communicate the points of view of the other 19 EU Member States who are not included in the IES Inventory of Environmental Security Policies and Practices (which covers 8 EU Members States).

We will invite to a workshop on the 29 and 30th of March representatives from EU Member States, the European Commission, NGOs and Scientific and Business Community to discuss current European programmes and strategies and how these should be improved in order to meet the environment and security challenges and the environment and security possibilities to act. It is sufficient that at the end of the workshop we can agree on some kind of recommendations in this regard and this should be discussed at a later stage, on the 24th of May, in Berlin on a governmental level, in order to find consensus among EU Member States in close cooperation with the Commission on how already existing programmes should be improved. So the intention is not to draft an entirely new programme or strategy, but to link the already existing programmes. I think we have enough strategies and programmes to work with to devise a good environment and security agenda.

3. Reports of the GFSP Working Groups

Ronald A. Kingham
Programme Director, Institute for Environmental Security

The session moderator explained that the following would be brief statements by representatives of the four working groups outlining some of key issues addressed and conclusions reached. The full text of the final joint report of the GFSP working groups shall be finalised soon taking into account the working group meetings of 6 December and the inputs from this conference.

Group A: Predicting Instability

Fred Langeweg
Deputy Director, The Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency

1. **Scope Instability Analysis**. First of all we should define the scope of our analysis and what should we concentrate on in this working group. Actually we are concentrating on instability analysis, so basically the national security kind of approach.

2. **National Security** (Greening European Security Policy). There are a lot of issues at stake, but national security was at the heart of our analysis and therefore the focus was on **violent and non-violent conflict**. Maybe up to the level of state failures and not being able to rule in their own territory. Of course we should ask the question what is the **role of environment and environmental factors** in national security issues and conflict issues, and we tried to define what issues are at stake there.

3. Related Problems as possible cause of conflicts (cross-cutting issues)
   - Energy Security
   - Food Security
   - Trade Disputes
   - Climate Change - Adaptation (in particular the ability to adapt to mass migration which was not dealt with extensively, but considered important)

4. How predictable are instabilities?
   - No generally accepted theory is available (varies from scarcity of natural resources as the cause of war to considering it a secondary factor)
   - Statistical analysis indicates some root causes like standard of living, regime type, openness of the economy and land burden (based on experiences from the past)

5. What methodologies are available?
   - Indicator based monitoring and vulnerability analysis (choice of appropriate indicators is crucial)
   - Statistical models of root causes of state failures and conflict (US State Failure Task Force; Swiss- FAST; Dutch-SAF; OECD Conflict Prevention Outline)
   - Performance review of those methods is needed.

6. What Role can the European Union Play?

- Give instability analysis an appropriate place in decision making processes by European Commission and European Parliament, in a more integrated manner: sustainability assessment.
- Seek co-operation with the community, at the transatlantic level and with international bodies like NATO and the UN.
- Assure that appropriate methods for stability analysis are available for policy assessment.
- Make better use of available information.

Group B: Preventing Environmental Conflict

Nick Grono
Vice President, Advocacy and Operations, International Crisis Group

So now we move from early warning to early action. Lots of lip service is paid to conflict prevention, but the reality is that we don't do it very well. There are a number of reasons for this.

For a start, there is never a shortage of warning about pending disaster in a host of places. Often that warning turns out to be wrong, or at least premature. And government action is costly, so there needs to be a degree of certainty to generate action. Governments have limited resources, with various emergencies competing for attention and funds. And of course in bureaucracies you will often get into more trouble for urging action and being wrong, than for taking no action when action was needed. Too often the incentives are aligned against preventative action.

And it is often difficult to rigorously prove the effectiveness of early action. If we take steps now in, say, Guinea, to prevent conflict, and there is no conflict in the coming years – how do we prove our actions played a role in stopping conflict? About the only time you can clearly establish a clear link between preventative actions and a prevented conflict is when a country was so close to toppling into conflict that you can clearly identify the measures that stopped the country passing the tipping point.

But that is not the way we should be looking at conflict prevention. A more sensible way to look at it is to examine the costs of conflict and by doing so understand that the costs of action – including interventions that aren't successful - are dwarfed by costs of unsuccessful prevention.

Prevention is comparatively cheap: the former UK Foreign Secretary Jack Straw has estimated that the small preventive military deployment in Macedonia, stopping the slide to war there, cost the British taxpayer £14 million (24 m euros), while fighting the war in Kosovo, by contrast, cost Britain £200 million (350 m euros), and in Bosnia over £1.5 billion (2.6 b euros).

And a recent UK Parliamentary Committee report pointed out that a civil war in a low-income country could cost $54bn (£29bn) whereas the worldwide aid budget in 2004 was $78.6bn (£42bn). Multiply the $54 billion figure by the many conflicts currently taking place, and the benefits of effective prevention, and the costs of inaction, are obvious.

One useful analogy – within limits – is that of the approach taken to preventing contagious diseases. To stop smallpox or polio we didn't simply wait for an outbreak and then respond. Nor do we limit our prevention efforts to those countries with the highest risk or incidence, but we immunise everyone. Likewise with conflict prevention – we

shouldn't just start applying conflict prevention measures when we identify a country at risk. We should build conflict prevention measures into all our developmental and environmental work. At the risk of resorting to jargon, that of course means we have to "mainstream" conflict prevention policies, and make development policies "conflict sensitive".

When it comes to preventing **environmental** conflict, a subset of deadly conflict, we have to focus on the challenges presented by existing scarcities such as water and land shortages, likely future scarcities as a result of global warming, and the management of natural resource assets such as hydrocarbons and forests. These factors can contribute directly to conflict, or can be linked to conflict by exacerbating other causes such as poverty, inequality, corruption, ethnic tensions, and disease.

Hence our proposed recommendations fall into two broad groups. The first group focuses on the ways in which EU and Member States can do conflict prevention better, and more effectively incorporate environmental considerations into their conflict prevention work.

The second group of recommendations looks at one particularly prevalent type of environmental conflict – namely conflict triggered or fuelled by natural resources.

Dealing first with conflict prevention more broadly – we recommend the EU build stronger links between its crisis management responses and its long-term conflict prevention efforts.
- We recommend that the EU better incorporate environmental conflict considerations into its country strategy papers and national action plans.
- It should ensure that country environmental profiles of fragile or conflict-prone states include an assessment of the potential for environmental conflict.
- The EU should invest more in research in an effort to understand the local drivers of environmental conflict, and how development policies can better address the causes of environmental conflict.

That's by no means an exhaustive list, but more of an illustrative selection of recommendations.

The second group of recommendations deal with conflicts triggered or fuelled by natural resources. Natural resources such as oil, timber, diamonds and coltan play a well-established role in fuelling and sustaining conflict, particularly in Africa. Research by the Oxford economist Paul Collier suggests that in any given five-year period the chance of civil war in an Africa country ranges from less than 1% in countries without resource wealth, to almost 25% in those with such wealth.

The policies required to deal with such conflicts are similar in many respects to those required to promote sustainable development - namely transparency, promotion of good governance, effective rule of law, accountability, and empowerment of local communities. And these policies are ones the EU is well placed to promote. We also need to be conscious of the ways in which demand for resources by the EU contribute to scarcity, or to problems associated with extraction.

Transparency undercuts corruption and supports efforts to promote good governance. It reduces incentives for illegality by devaluing the market for illicit products. The international community is slowly getting better at promoting transparency, and at pressuring recalcitrant governments to at least pay lip-service to openness - but there is a way to go. The EU is supporting and should continue to support and make more effective transparency related initiatives such as the Extractive Industries Transparency

Initiative, the Kimberly Process for conflict diamonds, and the Forestry Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade Initiative.

Good governance and the rule of law means, among other things, addressing the incentives for corrupt behaviour. Post-conflict reconstruction efforts are often hampered by rampant corruption and misuse of funds. Initiatives such as the EU-supported Governance and Economic Management Action Plan in Liberia can make a difference in tackling this corrosive conduct.

Another way to undercut the trade in conflict resources is to prosecute those who fund and sustain conflict by commercially engaging is such trade. Some Member States, most notably the Netherlands, are taking the lead here, and other Member States would do well to do the same.

So that's a whirlwind tour of environmental conflict prevention. We all know that much more can be done to reduce conflict, and the costs of prevention are insignificant compared to the costs of conflict and the rebuilding afterwards - but we are still a long way from operationalising that understanding.

Conflict trends are heading in the right direction, but they can all too easily be reversed by high resource prices and increasing resource scarcity. So if we are to maintain the positive trends of recent years, we need to increase our efforts to understand the drivers of conflict and better institutionalise the policies necessary to prevent and resolve conflict.

Group C: Building Peace[1]

Alistair Ross
Head of Administration, University of Kent at Brussels/ Former Staff Member at UK's Deployable Crisis Management Team/ Former Military Assistant to the Director of Operations in the Ministry of Defence, UK

Taking its inspiration from Margaret Beckett's challenge that "climate change is a serous threat to international security so achieving climate security must be at the core of foreign policy", Working Group C sought to examine both crisis management and resolution in the event of both military and non-military conflict.

Before I go on to look at some of our recommendations, I want briefly to articulate some of the problems that we encountered starting with the definition of Peace Building. Here, we took the UN Peace Building Commission's definition which covers "all that is needed to help a country move from war to peace".   Therefore incorporating the establishment of sustainable infrastructure of human security, building of legal and human rights institutions, support for reconciliation, institution-building and political transformation, as well as environmental cooperation activities such as peace parks, shared river basin management plans, regional seas agreements and joint environmental monitoring programmes to manage resources.

Despite this seemingly broad definition, we found our focus narrowed by the two other working groups; Conflict Prevention and Post Conflict Reconstruction. By using the 4 phases of conflict (Identification/Prediction, Prevention, Conflict and

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[1] The name of this working group was subsequently changed to **Managing Conflict**.

Reconstruction) as our ordering principle, we had started to view this as a process over time which flows smoothly in one direction. In reality, as we all know, this is rarely the case and not only can the process be reversed (as we have seen recently in Lebanon) but prevention can take place during Conflict (although clearly not during actual fighting) and it also plays a crucial support role during reconstruction.

To address this, we will need to go back and develop two issues. Firstly, we need to do more work on non-military conflict situations, major emergencies, natural and man-made disasters, accidental marine pollution or environmental accidents. Secondly, we need to develop and give more thought to the use of environmental issues as a confidence-building measure. This is a potent tool and has been very effective in helping to build trust between communities – we need to do more work on this. Examples given in our working group referred to flood prevention in Western Georgia and forest fires in Nagorono Karaban. In his presentation to the groups yesterday, Nick Mabey mentioned building of trust between Greece and Turkey.

Well enough of what we haven't done! What have we done? Time precludes me elaborating all our thoughts. Instead I want to focus on three - all of which specifically focussed on EU's ability to intervene in environmental conflicts.

Firstly, look at the EU's capability and the utility of using force (to borrow a phrase from General Rupert Smith's book) in these circumstances. I am not going to go into detail about the EU's ability to deploy military force since this is not environmental specific. Instead, we would suggest that any possible review of the European Security Strategy in 2008 should provide us with an opportunity to try and promote the integration of climate security and possibly even look towards the creation of a European Civilian Security Council as envisaged in the Barnier Report. Capabilities are a thorny issue whether in an environmental context or not. We believe that the complexities of environmental conflicts require more than just coordination between civilian and military actors but instead a fusion of capabilities; civilian and military as well as public and private. Only then will we have tools that are up to the task. We need to get away from the idea that the military are the only suitable tool in the inventory simply because they have the readiness profiles, organisational structure and equipment to help in environmental conflict. To that end, we would also like to see an enhancement of other entities to reduce the burden on the military. I would also venture that the EU is ideally suited to take the lead here.

Following on from this, we need to ensure that the forces are correctly equipped (European Defence Agency) as well as correctly trained and as a start would like to draw your attention to the Draft DKPO Environmental Policy document which we believe will be published this coming year. Training in this context is more than just ensuring that environmental damage is minimised during conflict or training for conflict. It is more than just clearing up depleted uranium as we have heard earlier. We need to train our forces to integrate environmental factors into all military planning; from the strategic to the tactical. Questions such as "What will be the environmental impact of this course of action?", or "how can the actions of my forces help repair environmental damage" should become second nature to military planners.

Secondly, key to peace building is the need to revive civic activities; rebuild civic space; create the backbone of a sustainable political system. As well as creating that essential dialogue with local communities, NGOs and other interested parties, there is a need for a robust policing system whose remit can be extended to cover environmental issues such as illegal export of environmental goods, the shipment of waste, illegal logging etc. Police forces, and in certain cases the military, need to

have the appropriate knowledge of environmental protective legislation and enforcement as well as the legal authority to act.

My final point is the thorny question of funding. The EU budgeting process, particularly when it comes to military matters is particularly cumbersome due to the requirement for unanimity. This is exacerbated by the requirement for troop-contributing nations to bear full costs of their involvement. Although not specifically an environmental point, with the EU Budget coming up for review in 2008/9, we would recommend that, as part of the European Security Strategy review, the feasibility and possibility, the desirability of establishing a permanent strategic contingency reserve at EU level should be discussed to offset costs.

Hope springs eternal!

Group D: Recovery and Transition

Cedric Janssens de Bisthoven
First Secretary, Environment and Sustainable Development Desk, Federal Public Service for Foreign Affairs, Belgium

As a general recommendation, Group D is of the view that reconstruction efforts are to be put into a sustainable development perspective, with a particular emphasis on transparency, participation and access to information in general and in particular regarding environment (incl. natural resources)

Other key recommendations of the group include the following:

1. Assessment of the Post-Conflict situation :

   - The terms of reference for post-conflict assessments should pay due attention to:
     - the environmental causes of the conflict
     - the environmental impact of the hostilities
     - pre-existing chronic environmental problems
     - possible future pressures on environmental resources due to reconstruction, internal displacements
   - The EU Member states and the COM should continue to lend their support to the work already being done, such as by the EU's GMES and UNEP's post-conflict branch.

2. Planning of post-conflict reconstruction

   - It is recommended to adopt a whole of government, integrated approach which includes responses to environmental challenges.
     Current efforts by COM, such as country environmental profiles and country strategy papers are going in this direction. We commend the COM for the approach taken with the UN by conceiving a "Country Assistance Framework" for the Congo. Whether environmental aspects are taken into account into this framework remains to be confirmed.

3. Environmental peace building

Being transborder in essence, of concern to all levels of society and requiring a long-term perspective, the environment has already shown that it can be a powerful tool for peace building.

> - The EU (MS, COM, CFSP) should increase its political and financial support for environmental peace building initiatives;
> - The EU (CFSP) and individual MS should advocate environmental peace building in fora such as the UN Peace Building Commission (and the SEC Council) ;
> - The EU should consider going beyond the existing fields of environmental cooperation (rivers, biodiversity, regional seas) and support projects on environmentally sustainable cross-border energy projects;

4. Management of conflict resources

- The Group welcomed the EU's action plan FLEGT, which is going ahead (arrangements currently being negotiated with 3 African countries), and which, in part, represents a model for wider issues of governance of resources such as from mineral extraction (e.a. uranium, coltan).
- The COM not only "pick the low hanging fruits" but also consider negotiating FLEGT agreements in step with getting other governance measures in place.
- The issue of certification and traceability of natural resources should be further pushed on the EU's agenda, in order to overcome the limitations due to the voluntary character of FLEGT; new mechanisms aiming at tracing and combating illegal trade in natural resources could be conceived and negotiated within the EU. Those mechanisms should include legal and financial instruments to be enforced by importing countries.

5. Role of the military in post-conflict clean-up and monitoring of (conflict) resources

- Often drawing on the environment for their survival, the national military are a prime cause of environmental damage. The basic condition for their involvement is to give them decent salaries. The EU should take this aspect into account and contribute to creating conditions for this to happen.
- International peacekeepers should be trained as appropriate (cf. UN initiative "Fighting Green").

6. Business sector :

- The EU could promote corporate social responsibility among businesses as investors in post-conflict situations (esp. in water distribution, infrastructure and extractive activities.
- The MS should consider carefully their state export guarantees with regard to businesses as exporters.
- The EU could support PPP's in projects concerning the environment.

4. Briefing on EnviroSecurity Assessments

Environmental Aspects of Conflict Prediction, Prevention, Management and Recovery with examples from Indonesia, Colombia and the Great Lakes Region of Africa

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and
Wouter Veening
Chairman / Director, Institute for Environmental Security

A. Introduction

The Greening Foreign and Security Policy (GFSP) initiative had three overall objectives for 2006. Firstly, it aimed to assist the EU with strengthening of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) by inclusion of the environmental dimension. Secondly, to assist the EU Parliament in integrating components of the 4 classified stages of conflict into decision and policy making and thirdly, to identify the areas where improvements to the methodologies used in the 4 stages are necessary. The IES drew attention to its Envirosecurity Assessments of 3 case study areas in order to demonstrate the importance of these GFSP objectives and provided concrete examples for the participants to visualize and better relate to the conceptual dialogue.

B. The IES Approach

The IES is a non profit nongovernmental organisation based in The Hague, the Netherlands. Its mission is to advance global environmental security. To do so it applies an interdisciplinary approach which it has coined as *Horizon 21*. The five pillars of this approach are science, diplomacy, law, finance, and education. The science programme is executed by means of the environmental security assessment methodology. This methodology allows us to assess where there are environmental changes that can lead directly to conflict or environmental degradation which can lead to scarcity which stimulates conflict and may escalate into violence. The three case study areas are Central Kalimantan, Indonesia; Matavén Forest, Colombia; and Virunga Bwindi, Great Lakes region, Africa. From the assessments carried out on these study areas, specific examples can be taken to show the effect of environmental changes on the four stages of conflict and thus the importance of integrating environment into the CFSP.

C. Predicting Instability

As environmental changes are often visible, remote sensing technology can be utilized effectively to predict changes that can lead to conflict amongst stakeholder groups in Indonesia. In Central Kalimantan (Figure 1), fragile peat swamp forests are exploited for timber.

As these ecosystems are water logged heavy machinery normally used to tow away the large logs cannot be utilized. To extract the logs out of the peat swamps, therefore, canals are dug and the logs are floated out. The canals in addition to providing transportation for the wood also serve as a drainage system of the

peatlands. The radar images in Figure 2 show that the canals and the change in vegetation cover can be detected.

Figure 1. Map of Central Kalimantan, Indonesia, one of the three case study areas of IES.
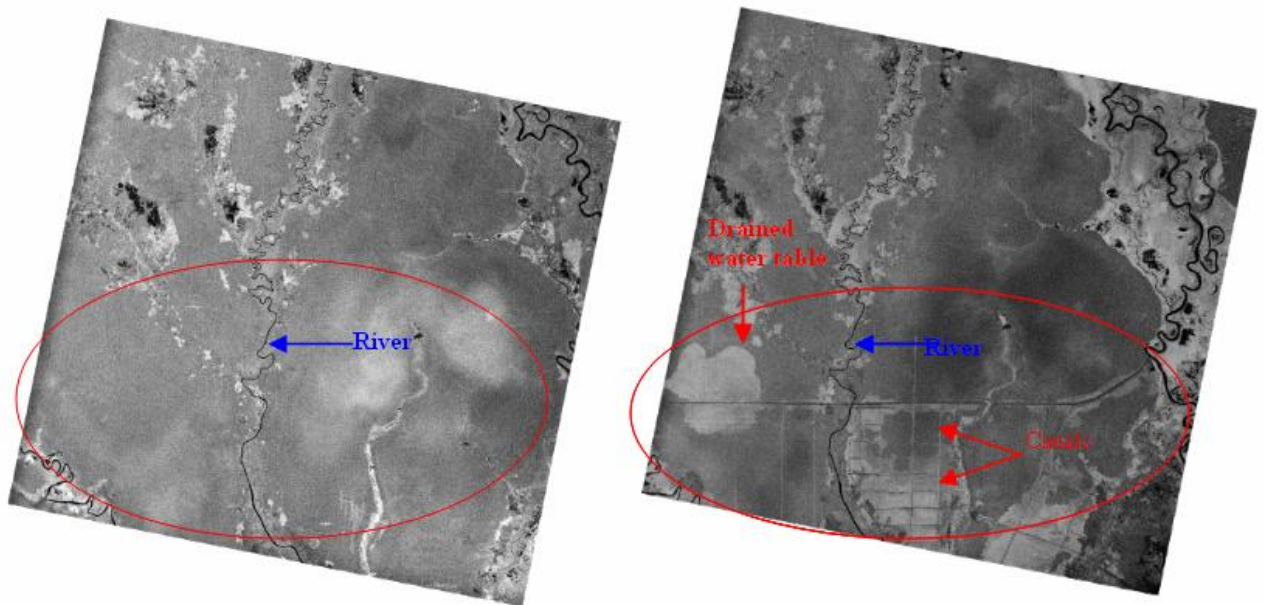

(a.)   (b.)

Figure 2. Each image is 80km x 80km and shows peatlands in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia. JERS radar images, *l* band, allow for the detection of forest cover (darker grey areas) and man-made canals (straight lines and rectangular grids). (a.)12th July 1995 shows no canals and no forest clearance on the left of the river. (b.) 29th August 1998 image shows canals, and lighter grey coloured spots signifying loss of forest cover. Images here were processed by SarVision.

Once the peatlands are drained the ecosystems become susceptible to forest fires. In 1997 and 1998 fires burned 1.12 million ha of peat swamp forest areas (Page et al., 2000 cited in Muhamad, 2001) in Indonesia which led to smoke covering much of Southeast Asia causing health problems, accidents on the roads and in the sea as well as halting economic activities. Damages were estimated at US$10 billion (Barber et al., 2002). Figure 3 shows a remote sensing image of more recent fire

events from March 2006.
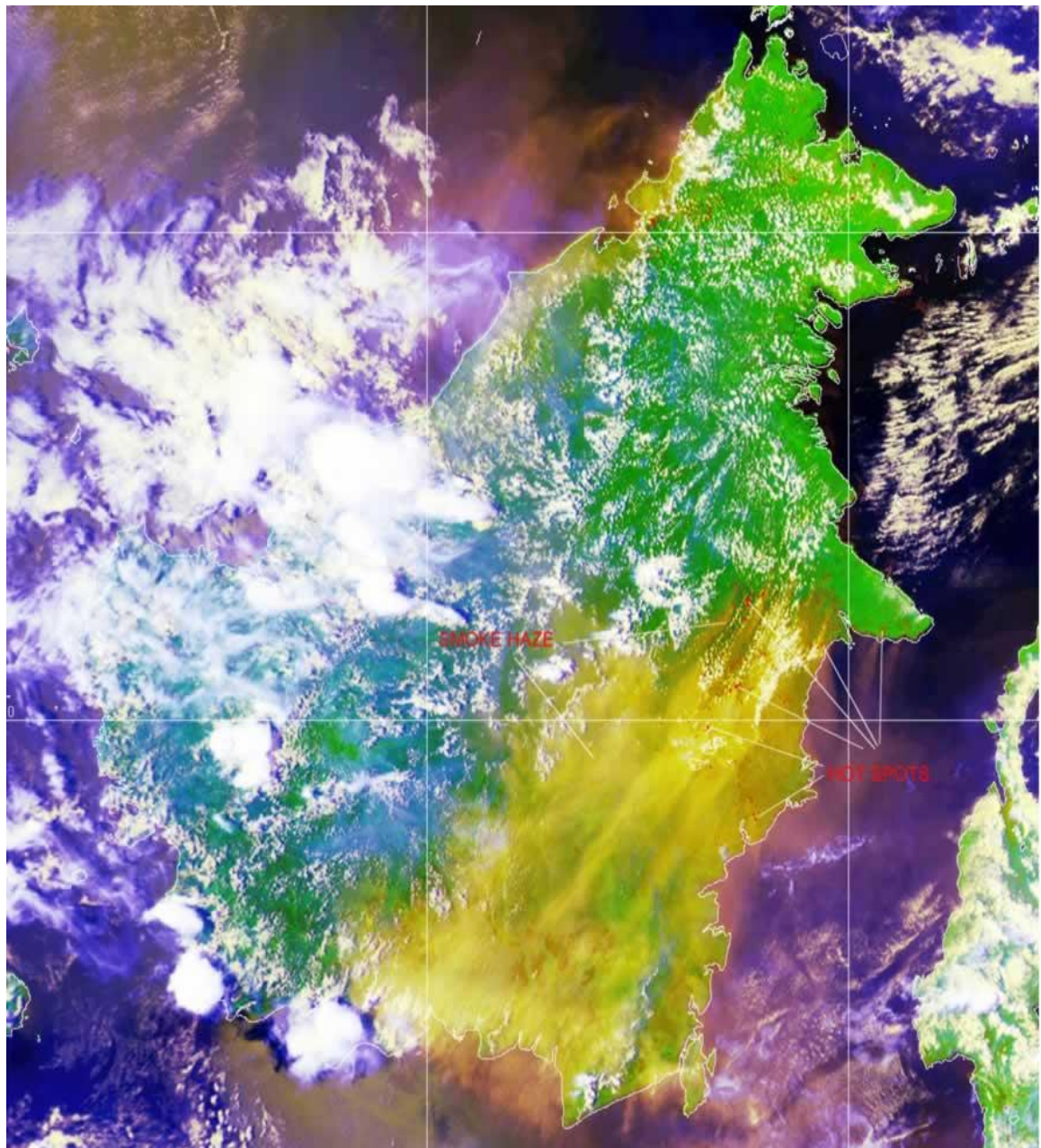
Figure 3. NOAA-14 satellite image, 22nd March 2006, showing fire/hot spots (red dots) as well as smoke and haze (yellow semi transparent object) (white blotches are clouds) over Kalimantan, Indonesia. Image processed by Meteorological Service Singapore.

D. Preventing Conflict

Colombia is the world's third most mega diverse country. It overlaps with a portion of the Amazon and the IES study area falls on the northern most part of the Colombian Amazon. The study area was selected because it is rich in biodiversity, endemism and has rare ecosystems. There are indigenous people who inhabit this region and sustainably utilise and preserve the natural resources. The indigenous people live on a strip of land that encircles the Matavén Forest. The inner forest they call the heart of health (*"Corazon de la Salud")* because they believe that as long as they take care of the forest and the resources within it, their communities (*resguardos*) will continue to thrive for generations. The wealth of natural resources and little infrastructure in the region are conditions sought out by armed forces. The armed forces are interested in, among other things, the planting of coca and production of cocaine. History has shown that once armed forces move into an area for coca production, there is conflict over land. The armed forces will force the locals to grow coca and produce cocaine. If the locals resist they are killed or driven off their land. In addition, many flee before violence ensues. In Colombia there were 1.6 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) between 2000 and 2005 who had to leave their municipalities because of violence (UNODC Colombia, 2006). When IDPs settle in a new place often tension and clashes break out between them and the original residents. They are also unable to carry out their traditional way of life either because the new environment is too different or because the new society does not allow it so they end up in poverty or resort to illegal activities such as planting coca. If they are able to adapt to the new environment then they often risk losing their traditions.

As a consequence of preparing for coca cultivation there is deforestation, soil erosion and water sedimentation. Additionally, much chemicals are used on the coca crops, whether as fertilizers, pesticides, or in processing and fumigation. All these toxic substances end up in the rivers where they affect the health of people, animals and plants and impact the diversity not only in Colombia but also in neighbouring countries.

Solutions

Remote sensing can be used to evaluate natural resources and monitor indigenous territories for early signs of forest exploitation. The indigenous people of Matavén are aware of the encroaching coca front but it is not always easy for them to patrol their own territory. Coca growers have chased away and threatened indigenous people from areas where indigenous territory and coca fields coincide (Figure 4). Also some parts of the Matavén forest are considered sacred by some groups and so those areas are unexplored. Thus, remote sensing can serve as an alternative to regular visits to these areas.

Figure 4. Map showing boundary of Matavén Forest, Colombia, adjacent to coca fields (blue diagonal stripes).

Compensation for ecosystem services may help to prevent or curtail conflicts as well. Rather than surviving on coca production, locals can benefit from compensation mechanisms set up to protect ecosystem as well as provide means of livelihood. With such alternatives, locals are not forced to utilize their land for potentially unsustainable ventures such as the exploration and extraction of oil and other minerals, logging and cattle ranching. The start up cost of receiving compensation for natural resources is often too high for local communities. In the case of Matavén, they are expected to pay €100 thousand for an ecological characterization of a portion of their territory. The locals are struggling to find the funding and risk losing their land to commercial activities as mentioned above.

Strengthening indigenous rights and their ability to govern are also key. They must be aware of the consequences of commercial activities and sustainable alternatives. They must also know what authority they have and how they can protect their territory.

E. Building Peace

The second study area was selected because it is also an ecologically unique and globally important ecosystem. The Virunga – Bwindi region of the Great Lakes of Africa (Figure 5) is part of the montane habitat considered to have the highest priority for conservation in Africa (Hamilton, 1996, cited in Lanjouw et al., 2004). The focus is on the 3 adjacent national parks Virunga Volcanoes, Virunga and Mgahinga in Rwanda, Democratic of Congo and Uganda, respectively and Bwindi Impenetrable forest National Park also in Uganda. It is home to the last 700 individuals of mountain gorilla in the world and serves as one of the headwater catchment systems of the Great Lakes region.

Figure 5. The red box shows the Virunga – Bwindi case study area of the Great Lakes region of Africa.

While the situation in this region is complex, two main issues have been identified. First, this region is the densest populated area in Africa. The growth rate is more than 3% per year and while the average density in the region is 300 persons per km^2, adjacent to the park there are more than 800 persons per km^2. Second, of the approximately 1 million people living adjacent to the parks, 90% are subsistence farmers (Lanjouw et al., 2004). They farm using traditional methods and as the volcanic soils were characteristically fertile, they utilize no soil conservation methods. Now, however the soils are degraded, and eroding at a rate of 11 tons per year (Lanjouw et al., 2004). With the poor soil quality and need for subsistence crops conflicts have arisen between farmers and pastoralists.

As an example of violence leading to environmental degradation, the Gishwati Forest Reserve example can be drawn upon. Internally displaced people were settled in the reserve after the war in 1994 (Figure 6). There they resorted to cutting trees and clearing the land for cultivation. They cultivated not only the flat lands but also steep terrains and as a result entire slopes have been washed away in some places (Lanjouw et al., 2004). The reserve has been de-reserved as more than one half of it has been deforested for agriculture (Figure 7) and due to the erosion that followed, the de-reserved area is also no longer considered viable for cultivation.
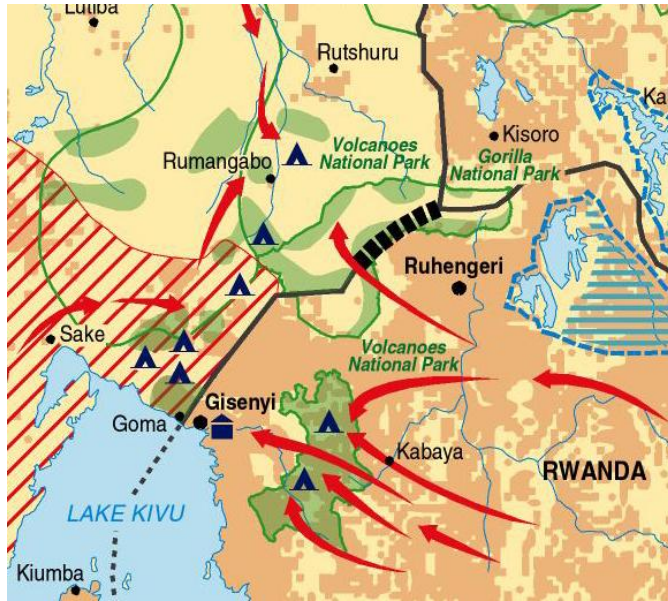
Figure 6. Map showing movement of IDPs (red arrows) into protected areas, including Gishwati Forest Reserve.

Figure 7. Picture shows deforested hills in the former Gishwati Forest Reserve. Photo by John Krijnen.

Solutions

In spite of the problems in the region, there are lessons learned. Identifying not only threats to the environment but also the boundaries over which these threats extend and the major stakeholders involved can lead to environmental cooperation.

The tri-national parks are known today as a peace park. The three countries' recognition of the importance of the transboundary ecosystems have led them into joint discussions on how to collaborate in the protection of the parks and their resources. In November 2006, Rwanda, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) signed the Tripartite Agreement which entails the recognition of the transboundary park, the need for a strategic plan and protocols for collaborative management.

F. Recovery and Transition

As a result of the magnitude of the war that occurred in Rwanda in 1994, the country is still recovering losses to its economy and population. It is nonetheless exemplary as it considers the environment an important part of the recovery process. They have reforested lake sides (Figure 8), planted fast growing trees such as eucalyptus for offsetting exploitation of protected montane forest for fuel wood and building materials, as well as formally recognized the need to protect and co-manage the peace park with the other two neighbouring countries.

Figure 8. Lake in northern Rwanda which benefited from reforestation project for protection against bank erosion.

G. Conclusion and Recommendations

The EnviroSecurity Assessments of the IES indicate that:

1. Conflict can negatively impact the environment and likewise environmental changes can influence conflicts.

2. Environmental changes can be a risk as well as an opportunity for human security.

3. Remote sensing can provide useful tools to monitor environmental changes.

4. Much, even priceless, ecosystems and their life supporting services are at stake when prediction and prevention are not supported and practiced.

5. Environmental changes can be detected early on, even before the break out of conflict.

6. Remote sensing is an important tool not only for predicting and prevention but also for the conflict management and recovery stages of conflicts.

The EU needs to have a more integrated approach to environment, security and sustainable development. The CFSP should be amended to better reflect the role of environment, the various stages of conflict, not primarily (post)conflict management and to incorporate methodologies such as EnviroSecurity Assessments as well as

such technologies as continuous remote sensing for analysing the environmental factors that can affect human security.

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Information on Global Monitoring for Environmental Security (GMES)

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The aims of Global Monitoring for Environmental Security (GMES) are:

- Co-ordinate existing systems
- Asses interoperability of data
- Guarantee validated service
- Ensure long-term continuity
- Identify non-fulfilled users needs
- Foster the development of emerging technologies
- Promote the creation of systems where gaps are identified

This work of orchestration will result in a cheaper and wider availability of validated data that will ease the management and governance of key resources such as water resources, energy resources, the use of land etc. which is "per se" a major contribution to the stability of European citizens and can be considered a "confidence building" or peace making initiative.

GMES is European for Europe first, but does not neglect the global dimension. There is on track a work plan looking at Africa, which will extend to other areas in the future. The implementation of GMES is a stepwise approach due to the great complexity of the system and the very numerous interacting factors. Four "fast-track" services are on the way: Land, Marine, Emergency Response and Atmosphere coordinated by four Implementation Groups. Security is also in its definition phase and all four services will inter-serve each other depending on the specific application. Security dimension of GMES will fully integrate all environmental aspects that could cause instability.

5. On the Role of Europe

Tom Spencer
Vice-Chairman, IES / Executive Director, European Centre for Public Affairs / Former President, GLOBE International / Former President of the EP Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy (1997-1999)

Let me start by picking-up on something that was said, at the beginning of our discussion this morning about the original European Parliament report of 1998. I happen to be a believer in Parliamentary aggression at certain moments in the discussion of foreign policy. As there is so much military expertise in the room, I shan't attempt to suggest what kink of military forces Parliament might be! But Parliament has deniability. It is allowed to say things, think things, propose things, whether they are currently permissible or not. I would encourage my former colleagues to continue to be as aggressive as they feel on a subject as important as this.

As Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee I was allowed to suggest an "Own Initiative Report". When I suggested that the Committee might like to look at Environment and Security, there was a gasp in the room. "That is not a subject for us! Environment is a feminine subject! This is a real Committee talking. Don't you understand that we are dealing with real substance?" Eventually we combined it with Mrs Maj Britt Theorin's report on the "Role of the Military in Cleaning Up the Environment". That led to some complexities. Should we spend our time in looking at non-lethal weapons, cluster bombs, depleted uranium or at much broader issues? I came to the conclusion, having sat through the work on that Report, that one needs to do both. It seems to me a diversion if one gets stuck entirely in the specific issues, however great the significance of depleted uranium. You miss the really big issues that are there. John McNeill in "Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth Century World", points out that the real impact of the military on the environment was the existence of 'security states' such as Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. Preparation for war proved to be much more damaging to the environment than war itself.

Parliament has maximum influence at moments when foreign policy is under review. One might say that, on both sides of the Atlantic, foreign policy is 'under review' at the moment. I am very impressed with what the Working Groups have come up with. They are effectively saying: "Look there is new thought, there are new technical issues, and there are many areas where the debate has moved on". It seems to me that this needs to be converted from technical expertise into stories. Stories that politicians can tell to electorates. Stories that enable people to motivate political advance and change. Policy isn't just a collection of technical instruments. It is a way by which we define ourselves as Europe or define ourselves as America.

Let's see if, in this session, we can broaden out some of the discussion. We might contemplate what American Foreign Policy will look like after Iraq or what European Foreign Policy will look like after Mr. Solana? We should think about the role which foreign policy might once again play in a Europe that had extricated itself from the deadlock of a mishandled Constitution. All these are stories which we need to tell ourselves about the role of Europe in the world.

I have a couple of encouraging observations. In November I was in Nairobi for the Climate Change Conference of the Parties. I was very struck, at a Green Group fringe meeting, by the contribution from the Italian Environment Minister who made

the direct link between forestry and employment in the developing world, and Europe's immigration policy. He was talking about Darfur and West Africa and the security of the Mediterranean. That is the kind of integrated thinking that interests me about the relationship between Environment and Security. In the American edition of the Financial Times yesterday, a senior British military figure was saying that the British, despite all Margaret Becket's speeches etc., have not yet taken seriously enough the long term military impact of climate change. In "Another Bloody Century", by Colin Gray, a Brit but who worked for American military strategic thinking for a generation, maintains that the likelihood is that by the middle of the twenty first century, we will be back to classic state-to-state wars over resources. Yes, of course, we need to think about the current challenges of environment-induced terrorism and disorder, but we could be pushed back into something that looks very much more like what we had in the twentieth century.

One thing that I find missing so far in this discussion is the impact of religion. I think that anyone who tries to predict the twenty first century without vectoring in religious factors is doomed, at the very least, to be inaccurate. I am just beginning to sketch out some work for the Ismaili community, looking into environment and Islamic societies. If you look forward fifty years, how robust will Islamic societies be in the face of critical environmental change? As regards issues such as the role of women, education and democracy, Islamic societies are amongst the most potentially fragile that exist.

There is a lot of richness here. My advice is to keep it broad, look for the language and look for the poetry. However I am encouraged on two fronts. Fifteen years ago, I think it unlikely that either a German Green or an Irish diplomat would have felt it quite proper to contribute to a debate like this! So let me give the floor first to the Irish diplomat …

Seán O Regan
Horizontal and Emerging Security Issues, Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit, General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union

With thanks to IES and GLOBE-EU for inviting the Council, I should begin by saying that Helga Schmid, my director, regrets not being able to be here. I should also say in the beginning that I am here as much to listen and to learn, as to speak.

It is very interesting for me to come to a security debate from an environmental angle. Some of the early questions this morning raised some of the many dilemmas we face: the question about depleted uranium and its long term impact, the fact that military jets are particularly polluting, especially of carbon dioxide.

I know from personal experience and contact that Mr Solana is keenly aware of the environmental aspects of security. I heard him recently speaking about the fact that nearly all of the major conflicts before the UN Security Council have an environmental aspect and particularly an energy aspect. And I think he was thinking at that time particularly about Sudan, but also about Iran. If we do take the case of Iran , we do have a situation, if we accept the Iranian argument, where they have a large, growing, young population, they have an underdeveloped industry, their natural energy sources are in the south of the country and they have a need for electricity. They do believe that the best way to achieve that is through nuclear

power. All those issues together are in a way an interesting case study for an environmental consideration of security.

I think it is worth recalling that the European Security Strategy does address environmental security questions. I would like to quote:

> "In much of the developing world, poverty and disease cause untold suffering and give rise to pressing security concerns. Almost 3 billion people, half the world's population, live on less than 2 Euros a day. 45 million die every year of hunger and malnutrition. AIDS is now one of the most devastating pandemics in human history and contributes to the breakdown of societies. New diseases can spread rapidly and become global threats. Sub-Saharan Africa is poorer now than it was 10 years ago. In many cases, economic failure is linked to political problems and violent conflict. …
>
> … Competition for natural resources - notably water - which will be aggravated by global warming over the next decades, is likely to create further turbulence and migratory movements in various regions.
>
> Energy dependence is a special concern for Europe. Europe is the world's largest importer of oil and gas. Imports account for about 50% of energy consumption today. This will rise to 70% in 2030. Most energy imports come from the Gulf, Russia and North Africa."

It has been said that we have not taken environmental security into consideration. But we certainly have, and I know we have since I started working for the Council two years ago. Virtually all my work has been connected to looking at the environment or environmentally connected issues. We have been working for quite a long time on energy security. We have done some work on water security. We have also, in the conflict prevention area, been working on a democratisation policy. We should also remember, that in terms of conflict prevention, if we talk in the purely CFSP dimension, the ESDP is only seven years old. We have only been doing operations since 2003. What is important to note is that we are still learning, but we are learning very fast. I will come back to this later.

The other thing I think we need to consider is that the Göteborg Programme has delivered a great deal. There is still a lot of work to be done and we acknowledge that. We continue to need to improve our coherence. We continue to learn lessons from the missions we do, to assess how things have gone and how we might do things better. We need to strengthen the necessary capacities within the Council and within the Commission. We need to have more effective application of conflict prevention as a guiding principle.

At the ground level, at the level of the Member States and at the level of the Commission, operating in the field, we need to be somewhat more coordinated about early warning and preventive action. We have improved and continue to improve and develop our cooperation with international partners, including regional and sub-regional bodies, and we continue to strengthen our conflict prevention approaches. We also need to improve our cooperation with non-state actors and in particular NGOs, academia and the private sector.

We are working on strengthening early warning mechanisms and we are working on strengthening regional organisations and local civil society. We have at this point a treaty obligation to promote democracy. And I would argue that virtually all of our

instruments do that. I will in this context mention article 2, 8 and article 96 of the Cotonou Agreement, the Barcelona process and the European Neighbourhood Policy. Political dialogue is probably the most important instrument we have for promoting democracy and conflict prevention. It was mentioned earlier that we perhaps have a shortcoming in the civilian response. But I would say that the establishment of civilian response teams, the civilian headline goal, and our use of integrated police units, the establishment of battle groups, are all examples of going towards more effective conflict prevention. We are also keenly aware that the root causes of conflict are poverty, lack of good governance, human rights abuses, and competition for scarce natural resources.

Because our focus is on Africa, all these issues are dealt with in the EU Strategy for Africa. We have mentioned this morning several times the Kimberly process and, at least one time, FLEGT and these are also examples of how the European Union is doing as much as they can to address environmental concerns.

Going forward, I would remind everyone that we are looking very closely at energy security. And within what we are doing on energy security and we are looking at issues such as competition for natural resources. As I mentioned earlier we are coming to a stage where we are beginning to be able to do something on water security. And we are also looking more and more at the issue of human security. How might we be able to use human security as a guiding principle, which doesn't only cover environment but wider, non-traditional aspects of security, including questions about health?

I was asked to respond to the reports. And I am here to listen and to learn. The fact that there is no generally accepted methodology for assessing conflicts or a generally accepted theory, for instance for preventing conflict, is something we have to bear in mind. We are 25 Member States, and if we multiply the number of methodologies by the number of Member States, we come up with very large numbers. There are little differences between how everyone thinks about this. If you take a typical example of a country that has problems, like a demographic imbalance, like economic dependence on its neighbours, like the presence of foreign armies, like high military visibility, like a non-diversified economy, right up on the top of the list would be the Vatican as an unstable state. Take for instance gender imbalance: all old men, no women; complete economic dependence on Italy; the Swiss Guard is a foreign army, they wear very colourful clothes, they are therefore very visible, and of course it has a non-diversified economy: I don't think I need to go any further. The conclusion is that real predictions are very difficult to make or to paraphrase another: The difficult thing about prophecy is that it concerns what happens in the future.

A point was made about bureaucratic inertia. It is easier to do nothing than to do something, this relates back to the question of predictability. When you are responsible for public funds and expenditure it is not easy to put forward or to implement a proposal with costs, and later have to explain to the electorate: "we thought something was going to happen". A point has been made on conflict prevention: unless you are very, very close in time to the conflict, you can't easily say that you prevented a conflict by some action you have taken. And it can be very difficult to explain to an electorate that what we have done is conflict prevention, unless it is visible. This is not to say we shouldn't try, but I think it is important to bear that in mind.

We too are very struck by the work of Paul Collier and I noted the figure quoted of between one and twenty five percent [chance of conflict in certain countries]; I heard him [Collier] say that a country that is resource rich, is 9 times more likely to be in

conflict, than a country which is not resource rich. We see that in a resource rich country, after a spike in the price of that resource, you get an average of 7% economic growth over the next five years, but in the following ten years the economy shrinks by 17 %. And the factors for that have largely to do with corruption, but not entirely; it also has to do with Dutch disease, and simply with poor economic management. (Tom Spencer: some people are puzzled by the term "Dutch disease". The Dutch disease is the impact of a resource bubble which causes goods and services to become more expensive, without coincident economic growth.)

I think that the question of peace building and conflict prevention and conflict management not being a linear process is very important. It is something we have talked a lot about when supporting democracy and in the democratisation process. We have recently seen a country which had nearly 15 years of continuous democracy and which has been widely shown as an example of how democracy can be advanced, and then had a military coup. I am thinking about Thailand. And this is of course one of the more pessimism inducing examples of democracy not being a linear process. And the same goes for conflict prevention. It is important to remember that we cannot continue to build capacity in the middle of a conflict. This is all I will say at this stage on substance.

The question of mainstreaming environment into security concerns is relatively new. But most of what the EU is doing, even if it doesn't have an explicit environmental impulse, does have ultimately an environmental impact.

Angelika Beer
MEP, Spokesperson for Security Policy of the Green/EFA Group, Member of EP Foreign Affairs Committee, EP Subcommittee on Security and Defence, and NATO Parliamentary Assembly

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen, dear Ron, dear Quentin, thank you for your kind invitation.

"Security" is a complex endeavour. To produce security in an era of globalisation, in an era of ever closer interdependence between both states and societies, requires an integrated security policy. This policy must address the root causes of conflict, it must address all those "frozen conflicts". Once they get hot, we might not be able to solve them any more - not even with military means, as we see in the Middle East, Caucasus and parts of Africa. Until now, the European Security Policy, ESDP, CFSP, ESS, and COM RELEX have not produced an integrated security policy with the words, "conflict prevention".

What is the current security problem, or threat? In my view it is not terrorism, or proliferation of WMD. It is the unfair distribution of resources such as water, food, energy sources etc. If this unfair distribution of resources is coupled with environmental degradation and environmental damage caused by all kind of actors, especially those newly industrialized economies like India and China, severe security problems are created. Due to pollution, water is in short supply, etc.

In my view, experts from the military - especially the US - and experts from the insurance sector are far more realistic than most EU representatives: they place "unconventional threats" at the heart of their security assessment! With climate change and demographic growth these unconventional threats will become conventional! Security is first about human beings and their well-being, and not about

states and symbolic policy. Therefore human security is the right concept in order to address present and future challenges.

Behind the background of this "threat assessment", where are we now in Europe? I tell you frankly: far, far away! Please take a look at the Von Wogau report that the Plenary voted on two weeks ago in Strasbourg. Instead of addressing the real problems, the report develops a shopping list for military goods. Also, Solana's Security Strategy, or even the Energy Strategy, is not state of the art. It is a beginning, but it is unable to integrate existing ideas and concepts. Consider for example those reports on "Göteborg" from the Commission, or from my former colleague Per Gharton.

From the first of January on, the Commission will get a new instrument - with the "Stability Instrument", the Commission will be able to programme and finance measures for preventive policies, policies that directly address a crisis, and post-conflict reconstruction. This is the first attempt to define the Grey Zone between the Council's CFSP, ESDP and the Commission's development policy, a step that might complete existing programmes and encourage active "conflict prevention".

I say "active" because, on paper, we have a lot on "conflict prevention" and policies that address the root causes of conflict. The problem is, the Council and Commission, but also the European Parliament, are increasingly thinking of security in military and traditional terms. For example, we are sending troops to Congo before making an assessment and drafting a political strategy. That is what is happening at the moment. So, the problem of Greening Europe's Security Strategy is not a lack of instruments. They are all available. It is more a mental/cognitive problem - decision-makers are still unable to think in terms of an integrated approach. I analysed this one and half years ago in my study on "A Green Security Strategy" that you find here.

I therefore urge the Council, Commission, national governments and also my colleagues to regularly meet with colleagues from all departments to discuss "Security". By changing the Common Agricultural Policy, the EU's policy on fisheries, and its policies on trade, we might have no more need for a development policy; with a changed financial policy, other forms of investments, and a different policy on climate and the environment, we might have no more need for a defence policy. I am exaggerating, but this is the way decision-makers will think if they regularly meet with their colleagues from different departments in order to solve security problems.

Alessandro Villa
Directorate General External Relations,
European Commission, Brussels

The relationships between European Institutions are very important, and this conference should give also recommendations that relates to this. Of course it is important to clarify what are the different responsibilities. I would prefer to talk about Europe vis-à-vis the rest of the world, but when we talk about greening the European Foreign Security Policy, this is something that is not yet integrated among EU Institutions and belongs to the responsibilities of the Council. Maastricht has three different pillars and the Commission is responsible for the Community action while the CFSP is more a responsibility of the Council and the Secretariat of the Council.

In the report a lot of positive remarks have been made about what the European Commission has been doing using the Community budget around the world and at the same time it talks about the ESDP and CFSP, so these two, for the time being

remain separate domains, with separate responsibility and with a separate chain of command. Of course the Commission is strongly working to integrate these two and I think that the environment sector should be one of those sectors or issues that could help us integrate in a better way to try to address this issue.

Within the Commission, like all other institutions, there is a need to improve, first of all in understanding the issue and its complexity. I think it is a process, a process that needs to be understood and digested slowly and to do this it needs to receive more resources, in all senses. So the Commission is definitely trying to set up a coherent framework where we can better understand the problem and improve the way in which we address it. The Commission is recognising that preventing is better than intervening and we think that our main channel today and in the future is going to be development, because it is only through mainstreaming that we can prevent conflicts and crises around the world.

I feel comfortable in saying that a lot has been done, and is ongoing, and a lot needs to be done in the future. The reports of the working groups make correct references to the Country Strategy Papers in the different Third World countries and I am glad to read that, because I think the Commission is progressively putting efforts in raising the issue of the environment in the political dialogues with the Third countries and other organisations.

As I was saying, a lot needs to be done, in particular to recognise that we have been working for some time in different directions and it is important to build a framework of coherence within the Commission and within the EU Institutions.

To do his we have launched a study looking at what has been done and how we can improve this coherence and complementarity of actions. We will have recommendations from this study and as a follow up we will need to implement these increasing the investment the institution will make, particularly in terms of human resources and funding to better address the "environment" sector and the link between it and security.

I am glad there are here also representatives of the European Parliament, since there is a permanent discussion about how many resources should be given to the European Commission to implement what is requested. We have to be coherent in that sense. To ask for the moon when the resources are not increasing but are reducing from one year to another. This is also one of the important aspects and one of the more sensitive, because within the institution there is also a frustration in wanting to do more but not having the opportunity to do it. And, I will add in terms of political commitment, I think that there is today enough technical material that can be used, but there is no political will in using it. The Commission is very often squeezed, where we try to invest more but there are some limits that are set by the political recognition of the importance of this issue.

I work for DG RELEX and it would be difficult to mention all the activities that are undertaken in the RELEX family, so I would focus more on the work that is ongoing in our DG. DG RELEX is during this period, and independently from the study that has been launched and which is looking at how to improve our capacity in conflict prevention and how we can better manage the aspect of the link between environment and security, is looking at how to improve the COM capacities to cope with these new complex issues. And in order to answer to this we are in a process of improving the resources available and trying to set up new instruments like the Instrument for Stability. The Instrument for Stability is just the follow-up of a process;

in 2006 we have been working with the Rapid Action Mechanism which was the same system but a bit smaller in terms of envelope and in terms of mandate.

We are also trying to see what can be done about creating a better partnership with the other institutions and NGOs in this domain. So within this Stability Instrument there will be what we call the "Peace Building Partnership", which will try to set up a permanent dialogue with different types of groups, such as NGOs and also some professional organisations and academia, to make better use of the experience and the capacities most of these organisations have.

We are also looking at how to improve our capacity of Early Warning and Hot-spotting and this is why we have been increasingly using techniques like remote sensing and GIS in order to better analyze the situation and intervene. Next year there will be a new framework of cooperation as part of the Stability Instrument that will be trying to put together our technical DGs, dealing with the satellite work like that of the JRC and other agencies in order to see how we can do this type of work better.

At the same time we want to set up better cooperation with European Institutions like the European Parliament, therefore we started to take up contact with the Committee for Development and the Committee for Foreign Affairs in order to work together in the coming years. And I think a lot can come out with this type of dialogue. And, of course, we also want to have such a dialogue with the Council and the Secretariat of the Council, because we are working together on most of these cases, often in a parallel way but I think there are 'millions' of occasions to work in a closer way.

I think that 2007 is definitely going to be an important year and the Commission is recognising this and we welcome very much the interest the new Presidency has shown in this specific domain. And we are a hundred percent available in working together in order to set up political will and develop the right policy and implement in the field the right action that can be considered satisfying. But I would conclude that I think that the European institutions, and I am talking about the Commission in particular, have gone in some way faster than the political commitment. And this is an element that needs to be considered. We are now in a phase where we could increase our capacities from reading the satellite images, to draft new policies and new communications. There is no political commitment in putting priority on this. We risk turning around an issue and keeping on criticising ourselves in the future.

While the rest of the world is looking towards Europe to play a leadership role in conflict prevention and crisis management, Europe itself lacks political will to develop these issues sufficiently. I wish to have the opportunity in 2007 to work together as the European Union in launching this European role in a concrete way.

6. On the Role of the Security and Defence Communities

Ms Deniz Yuksel Beten
Head of the Threats and Challenges Section,Environment/ Security
Program Director Public Diplomacy Division, NATO Headquarters

I represent here the Public Diplomacy Division of NATO which is basically involved in Civil Science and Environmental Cooperation. I will also talk about some of the projects we have which relate to the civil-military cooperation. And after giving you an overview on what NATO is doing in the civil-cooperation area including our different programs, I will also talk about how we see the future and development in the security policy including environmental security although our chairman just mentioned that it is not a direct threat and not a direct security issue for the military but now if we look at the agenda and the Riga summit of NATO and what was said at the press conference: energy security is one of the top high priority agenda items. So it is not always so easy just to say or to see whether just one of the environmental problems is a direct security problem or not, which can emerge as we go along depending on what happens in the world.

So what is our role in NATO? We have as you know a military committee, but we also have a civilian side of NATO and Public Diplomacy is one of the divisions which basically deal with civil science and environmental cooperation. I have also been the director of the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (CCMS) which consists of the nationally funded projects. There we, contrary to the other side of the program, do have civil-military cooperation, and exactly in the field of environmental security. So I have been working for 15 years with NATO countries, and later, at the end of the cold war, with the partner countries which basically belonged in the former Soviet Union Block.

We have now expanded our program in 1999 to the 7 Mediterranean dialogue countries. So we have quite some experience working with 53 countries.

Of course NATO has in the meantime gone through two sets of enlargements. As you know at the Riga Summit we are now looking forward to 2008, for we will have three new members. We have just declared that the three Balkan countries, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro will be signing on the 14th of December the Partnership for Peace with NATO. So you can see that the number of countries with whom we deal with from different levels of membership or partnership is changing quickly. We have also intensified dialogue with the Ukraine and with Georgia.

So you can see that the geographical area in which NATO has its different program has expanded to a large extent and we will continue to work in this vein in order to reach other countries around the world.

So what is also happening in NATO is that the operation, as you know, went from peace-keeping to real operations such as now in Afghanistan. And NATO has partnerships with countries far away from our geographical area. We have other countries like Australia, which is a troop providing country to the operations. So we are looking into developing a global partnership at NATO. Therefore, we have to know the political context which is changing quite regularly and quite quickly. And of course in our committee we try to adapt ourselves to these changes.

Apart from the Public Diplomacy Division, there is the Civil Emergency Planning Committee in NATO, which deals with civil crisis management, but they also have civil-military cooperation. As you know NATO has offered airlift in Darfur but also during the earthquake in Pakistan. We were the only international organization to have the possibility to offer this help and they have successfully completed their missions.

With this you can see that NATO is a military, defence and political organization, but it also gives a large importance to cooperation.

So coming to where we are today in our program, that in the Public Diplomacy Division we have two programs that dealt with environment and environmental security for more than 30 Years. One is the Science Program: they have an environmental security panel and the Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society. Now after the restructuring we are a new committee, which has just been approved by the North Atlantic Council: the Committee on Science for Peace and Security. And in this committee of course a very important role is played by us on environmental security. I am the director of the Environmental Security Panel, which overlooks applications on this topic, which are done bottom-up by different academics, researchers both in NATO and dialogue countries. And we can see when we have political discussions with heads of state or ministers of foreign affairs that the main topic that they have identified as a priority is environmental security. So we are now launching many activities in this area and we are going to implement them through our 2007 to 2011 program. So that is our program for the future.

It was mentioned that the military do not look at environmental security, that they discuss it but that they do not see it as a major security issue. But when you look at the Washington Treaty of 1999, which was signed, environmental security actually is mentioned in that treaty. I have referred to this several times, both in NATO but also outside when I talk to our different colleagues and different audiences, to remember this. It is very important that it is already mentioned.

There is no detailed explanation of what they actually mean by environmental security and what role the Alliance could play. So what we are doing is raising awareness on different environmental security projects. What we have been targeting in the last ten years, with our partners, is that you have to convince them that there is an added value for their security and for their people to increase the quality of human life if they invest in environment.

And of course we promote regional cooperation. This is very important, when you look at our projects in the Caucasus, where there are very strong political problems, as we all know, we were able to bring together these three countries working on a project on river monitoring on a river which crosses the three countries. There has always been a political discussion on this issue, and a blaming attitude about who is dumping what in the river, how the other is polluting: "I am downstream; you're upstream." However, they were not ready to cooperate in a convention like the Danube Convention. They do not have this historical approach and looking at sharing the data and trying to find solutions. So we have seen this problem from a bottom-up approach.

Therefore, we brought together a scientific network of experts, who were ready to work and share information. And now we are at the second step where they are actually sharing data. Then of course, this can be fed back to the decision makers and then they can take the political decisions. But at that stage we are not involved.

NATO's role can of course only be limited, because we do not have big financing possibilities to launch big projects. Our projects should be seen as seed projects, with seed money, which shows a catalyst role. That is all we can promise.

If you look at the history of the projects we have launched and completed what we are looking for in the future you can see what has been the added value of NATO programs. We are not talking about big financing, big budget project, but small projects which are targeted at the scientific community and to build the capacity of these nations to train their young scientists and experts to solve their own problems.

So in this respect we have quite a large number of projects. A recent one is also the destruction of rocket fuel, because this is an issue and a problem in some of the former Soviet Union countries, Uzbekistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine. Of course, the problem is huge and what we can offer, although it is limited, but I think it is very important. We are able to work with the Azerbaijan government to identify the problem: they have 1.500 Tons of this very toxic material, which is just sitting outside one of the biggest cities in the region, in Baku, in tanks which are corroding, fuming, and totally dangerous. But the people, who are guarding this, from the Ministry of Defence, are not protected. There were people who have been hurt by this very toxic material.

Therefore we have started a project together with the government. They are also part of the projects: they built the infrastructure, they provided the manpower, and they provided the roads and also the people who should be trained to take care of this destruction plant. Since June we have started to destroy this rocket fuel which will be neutralized and then turned into fertilizers.

While we were doing this we also looked into an environmentally friendly technology. So we did not just look at how we could get rid of this toxic material but we had long discussions very convincing efforts to convince them to also look at environmentally friendly solutions. It is not easy just to go in and say this, because you have to convince, you have to show examples, because you can also use other solutions like just burning and destroying and incinerating. But then you pollute the air and other environmental problems arise from this approach. And the quantity was too high: 1.500 tons and it is not feasible without doing any damage to the environment to get rid of the stuff.

We have set up many meetings and workshop to show and bring from around the world in NATO countries those who have been through this experience and show them how they can take care of this in an environmentally friendly manner. The basic problem also is that the Ministry of Environment of such countries, especially of the Partner Countries, do not have the same power as the other ministries have. And of course they are always in conflict with the Ministry of Economics and the Ministry of Defence. And this can cause a lot of problems.
What we try to do is to stimulate the dialogue between the different ministries and try to show that there is a value if they discuss together and try to find solutions together.

There was also an impression when we started our Partnership Program that the best technology was the most expensive and most complicated technology, which is not true. You can have very cost-effective technology which can actually solve their problem. So we have done a lot of information exchange and sharing of knowledge in this area as well. In the CCMS Program a very important environmental security issue was the clean-up of the military bases. We have done a lot of projects in the countries now who are members, and we have actually finalized and shown how one can transit in an environmentally friendly way from military use to civilian use. There

are several examples. We have these on our web-site. We also have publications on these sites and what were the results. If you are interested you can get more detailed information.

We can say that in the Mediterranean countries for example, the environmental security issue and the way they approach this is more seen as protection of the environment. They do not talk about the environment as a security issue. The experience we have so far is such that we approach this as marine protection: use of water, better water management. But they do not talk about this as a security issue when we launch our projects. At the moment we have 18 projects in the Mediterranean Dialogue Countries, some have recently terminated and we have launched some new projects in 2006.

Coming to the title of this session, I would say that yes, there is a role for the Security and Defence Communities, and I think it starts from promoting a dialogue between the different stakeholders. And we should not be in competition. Funding was mentioned of course: that immediately comes into the picture and then becomes a competition.

But before we come there I think we really need those people who are experienced and really have a good understanding of how environmental problems can be taken up at a political, security level, but also try to implement pilot projects where you can really show the impact.

When we were discussing in working group A, which I am part of, I think we talked about partnership. We approach the problem too much as a conflict prevention problem. Though in the end that is what it will lead to. In these countries we have to understand that the culture is very different and if you go there and say: "OK, you should have a better water management because otherwise you will have a conflict". I think that is the worst approach we can ever have in the partnership approaches, because these countries have a different culture, a different background. Therefore we have to understand before we launch any Partnership Projects. We have a lot of experience in this field.
It has been the same with the military. In NATO 15 years ago if you tried to tell the NATO that there is an environmental problem, I can tell you that there were many NATO countries which would not accept it and did not want to talk about it. But now we have so many projects on future pollution prevention. Therefore we don't pollute the environment, which should be the target. But also we should look at the possibilities to clean up the environment. And I think we are on the way by stimulating dialogue between the civil and military sectors. So we do have a role to play and we should all try to raise awareness and help all stakeholders to work together.

Marc Baltes
Senior Advisor, Economic and Environmental Activities, OSCE Secretariat

Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Many times my audience is surprised to learn that the OSCE, as a political security organization, is dealing with Environmental Security issues.

The OSCE is indeed rather known for its activities as a watchdog of free and fair elections, as a defender for the respect of minorities and human rights, or, to those of you with a military background, as the host of the Forum for Security and Co-

operation, as a guarantor of military agreements like the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe.

But the OSCE is much more than that. As it is stated in the European Security Strategy "For the European Union, the strength and effectiveness of the OSCE and the Council of Europe has a particular significance", and I do believe that this significance is also relevant in the field of Environmental Security.

Our ability, or lack thereof, to make innovative institutional arrangements and/or technological advances for managing the environmental security challenges we face will increase or decrease global environmental security. To the extent that humankind neglects to maintain the globe's life-supporting ecosystems that generate water, food, medicine and clean air, current and future generations will be confronted with increasingly severe instances of environmentally induced changes. Such events will test our traditional concepts, boundaries and understandings of national security and alliance politics, and, if taken for granted, may lead to conflict, including violent conflict, from the global to the regional, national, local or human level.

Let me start with a brief description of the OSCE's work in the economic and environmental dimension, and then describe our understanding of security from an economic and environmental perspective. I will then comment on the working groups' reports and highlight the tools that the OSCE possess and which can be used in the process of greening European Foreign and security policy.

Since the inception of the OSCE through the Helsinki Final Act in 1975, environmental matters have been part of the CSCE/OSCE agenda.

But it was only in the 1990s, after the Bonn Conference on Economic Co-operation in Europe, that it was recognized that environmental problems, and especially disasters, could act as potential sources of conflict within as well as between states[2]. This also opened the door to promote the exchange of technology and the prevention and reduction of air and water pollution among participating States.

In the late 1990s, the OSCE reiterated the view that regional co-operation was of importance in solving environmental problems, and that transboundary co-operation in environmental questions was also a confidence building measure.

In 2003, a milestone document, the OSCE Strategy Document on Economic and Environmental Dimension, was adopted at the Maastricht Ministerial Council, reiterating the strong link between environmental concerns and security.

The strategy document outlines a wide range of commitments and common response for OSCE participating states, and mentions a number of tasks to be fulfilled by the OCEEA, including a contribution to early warning and conflict-prevention activities, and action and policies aiming at strengthening good governance at all levels, ensuring sustainable development and protecting the environment.

Specifically, the Maastricht document states that "Environmental degradation, unsustainable use of natural resources and mismanagement in the processing and disposal of wastes have a substantial impact on the health, welfare, stability and security of our countries and can upset ecological systems. These factors, together with problems of access to resources and negative external effects of pollution, can

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[2] See OSCE Secretariat - OCCEA: Overview on OSCE Environmental Activities, Vienna 8 September 2000, SEC.GAL/107/00, 13 September 2000.

cause tensions between countries. Ecological disasters resulting from natural causes, economic activities or terrorist acts may also pose a serious threat to stability and security…" This link between environmental mismanagement and tensions between countries is part of the rationale of the ENVSEC initiative to which I will refer later.

Let me also mention the main vehicle aimed at discussing economic and environmental aspects of security in the OSCE context: the Annual Economic Forum. Only three months ago, after 14 editions of Economic Fora, the OSCE participating States decided to rename the 15th Economic Forum,into the 15th Economic and Environmental Forum. This is a clear recognition that the nexus between environment and security in now clearly perceived. The upcoming Forum will deal with land degradation, soil contamination and water management, perceived as key challenges of environmental security and sustainable development in the OSCE area.

It is also worth noting that the call for a new mechanisms or institution for the co-ordination of environmental protection policies was first voiced by the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (PA) in 1993. Three years later, the Permanent Council was tasked by the Lisbon Summit with elaborating a mandate for a co-ordinator within the OSCE Secretariat on OSCE economic and environmental activities. This underscores the role of the PA in the environmental dimension: on several occasions it called on participating States to improve the OSCE's record in the environmental field.

I believe that this is precisely the role of the European Parliament: to call on the EU members and its executive bodies to align security, development and environmental policies.

One of the best examples on how synergies with partner organisations can be developed as a follow-up to contacts established during the economic Forum is the Environment and Security Initiative (ENVSEC).

ENVSEC is a partnership between the OSCE, the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the UNECE, the Regional Environment Centre and NATO as an associated partner. ENVSEC provides a framework for co-operation on environmental issues across borders, and promotes peace and stability through environmental co-operation and sustainable development.

ENVSEC builds on the combined strength of the three founding organisations' expertise, experience and field presence. One of the strengths of the initiative is that the different partners respond to different constituencies. While UNEP mainly deals with Ministries of the Environment, UNDP deals with Ministries of Development, NATO with Ministries of Defence, and the OSCE with Ministries of Foreign Affairs. This is one of the stronger elements of added value that the OSCE, as a political security organisation, brings to the picture. The OSCE can help to bring environmental issues onto the political agenda, and then generate political will to address the issues at the highest level. And from experience, I can tell you that in a number of OSCE participating states, in particular in Central Asia and the Caucasus, this is the only way to make sure that enough attention is being given to environmental matters.

ENVSEC intends to provide a framework for co-operation on environmental issues across borders, and promote peace and stability through environmental co-operation and sustainable development. It builds on the combined strength of its partners'

expertise, experience and field presence. The project concept is designed to provide a coherent structure for three key areas of activity: vulnerability assessment and monitoring of environmental and security linkages; capacity-building and institutional development; and policy development, implementation and advocacy.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Having participated as co-chair of the working group on Building Peace, I also had the opportunity to look into the other working groups, and I would like to highlight the input the OSCE could bring to the whole process in all 4 categories.

On **predicting instability**, the OSCE is well positioned as we have a mandate "to assess potential security risks stemming, wholly or in part, from economic, social and environmental factors[3]" and we have been tasked to "catalogue and monitor economic and environmental challenges and threats to security and stability in the OSCE region, in collaboration with relevant international organizations[4]".

As mentioned in the draft report of the working groups, it is extremely difficult to differentiate environmental root causes that can trigger instability. Existing early warning systems and integrated conflict risk assessment methodologies predominantly focus on violent, traditional conflict factors and indicators. Even though natural resources and broader human-nature interactions have been taken into consideration, they often only play a marginal role.

The OSCE acts as a catalyst in preventing disputes before the issues concerned are voiced out among its members. Whether it is a dispute over the environmental implications of a new canal in the Danube delta, or the perceived risks of a nuclear waste storage near a border area in Eastern Europe, the OSCE can serve as a platform of preventive diplomacy. The limitations we perceive are the lack of awareness of international legislation dealing with environmental protection and the disconnection between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Ministries of Environmental protection.

Therefore, we would suggest to strengthen the knowledge on environmental affairs of Diplomats and Foreign Office personnel. To that end, Environmental Diplomacy courses or even better, the establishment of a task force between the different ministries to discuss environmental security and development policies could be a positive outcome.

New challenges to security such as environmental terrorism or environmental crime should be tackled in a comprehensive manner. The OSCE has developed a strong agenda on anti-terrorism activities, border management and Police issues. Yet, the environmental component is not always properly considered. The role of the OSCE in those fields is to reinforce the implementation of specific international standards, norms and practices, developed or adopted by international organizations.

Environmental Migration deserves a chapter on its own. Here we can distinguish three categories of people, environmentally induced migrants, environmentally forced migrants and environmental refugees. The difference between the three is a question of time, whereby there is a difference between slow-onset and sudden natural

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[3] Mandate for a co-ordinator of OSCE economic and environmental activities. PC.DEC/194 of 5 November 1997

[4] OSCE strategy document for the economic and environmental dimension MC(11).JOUR/2 of 2 December 2003

disasters. In either case, migration is currently a hot topic in the security debate and we should not loose sight of the influence environmental degradation can have on migration. In other words if indeed migration is a security issue, then we can, at least in the future, tackle a lot of the problems if we look at the root cause, which will increasingly be an environmental one.

Mainstreaming environmental concerns in all EU policies would allow to develop a truly comprehensive Eurasian security framework.

On the **Conflict Prevention** working group, I am glad that my colleagues from the ENVSEC initiative have been able to recommend actions following the ENVSEC rationale. As the Chairman of the OSCE, Belgian Foreign Minister De Gucht stated 2 days ago at the OSCE Ministerial Council here in Brussels, Ministers reaffirmed their support to ENVSEC as an effective mechanism to co-ordinate international responses to perceived threats to environmental security.

I should only add that the OSCE's core business is preventing Conflict and that in the OSCE area we have field presences precisely where conflict might appear. That is why the UN tasked the OSCE in September 2006 to assess the short-term and long-term impact of the fires on the environment of the territories situated close to the Line of Contact in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh region.

In a record time, the OSCE and UNEP put together an expert mission with representatives from the Council of Europe, the Council of the European Union and the European Commission, among others.

The UN Resolution requests the OSCE Chairman in Office to provide a Report on this matter to UN Member States before April 30, 2007. But the success of the mission is already acknowledged just by the fact that it took place.

It is precisely this rapid reaction capacity that the EU should strengthen, not only through its military units but also in the form of a pool of experts available to assess any environmental threat to security and be deployed in a matter of days.

The OSCE stands ready to co-operate in this endeavour with the EU and other international partners.

Preventing conflict is also a matter of Confidence Building. The OSCE, through its Confidence and Security Building Measures provides mechanisms for assessing the implementation of peace accords.

In Moldova for instance, the OSCE is part of the mediation over the Transdniester Conflict and it is exploring the inclusion of Environmental co-operation as a means of achieving confidence building.

In the South-Caucasus, the OSCE and NATO are co-operating in a project aimed at assessing the water quality of the river Kura Araks, which crosses Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Pure technical cooperation becomes thus a factor for confidence building.

These are concrete examples which could help to define a European strategy that will help solving real issues for real people, rather than issuing statements without any concrete follow-up. A specific plan of implementation of the European Security Strategy, following the model of the Johannesburg plan of

implementation 10 years after the Rio Conference, would reinforce the usefulness of the document.

There is more.
Military activities have an obvious impact on the environment, whether through armed conflicts or simply through military paraphernalia. Therefore, greening European Foreign Security Policy should have as one of its aims to promote environmental protection measures such as green military design (and I do not mean the uniforms) or the cleanup of abandoned military bases. In that regard I would like to highlight two activities where the OSCE can provide guidance for the EU Policy setting.

The first one is the elimination of rocket Fuel component known as Melange, a highly toxic chemical used to fuel anti aircraft rockets in the CIS area that now has become a military legacy and a time bomb. There is more than 17,000 Tons of Melange in Ukraine only, and it is calculated that the rupture of a tank containing 100 cubic meters of Melange could form a deadly cloud that could travel up to 2 Kilometres. If leaked to the ground, pollution could affect aquifers and prevent water use for decades.

The solution is simple, the techniques are available. The only bottleneck is funding. As it is neither perceived as a full environmental problem, nor as a military issue, Melange and other military legacies are left out from common development aid or military funding. **The acknowledgment by the EU of such linkages could facilitate the destruction of other environmental time bombs scattered around the world.**

In a second example, the military can play a important role themselves. Precisely because of its wide control over the territory, the military are in a perfect position to use the equipment that 20 years ago was meant to control the threat of a military invasion, to control the threat of an environmental disaster. Military equipment can be used in studying the environment, and in providing data for early warning and actually conflict prevention.

In that regard let me remind you of the Open Skies Treaty, which is designed to promote openness and transparency in military activities, establishing a regime of observation flights over the territory of its signatories. Signatories are allowed to conduct observation flights, using unarmed, fixed-wing aircraft, to gather information about military forces and activities of other States Parties in the whole OSCE area, which stretches from Vancouver to Vladivostok.

What is interesting for the audience today is that the Treaty also envisages the possible extension of the Open Skies regime to additional areas, such as crisis management and protection of environment. **I invite the EU parliament to study the possibility of extending the Open Skies treaty, or even better, to promote other similar treaties that will allow the military to protect the environment and prevent conflict.**

On the Working group of **Building Peace**, my comments have been included into the report; I can only stress the importance of a proper planning in Peace building efforts and the relevance of decisions taken by the military to secure peace and stability. Here I agree with my colleague from NATO that further training is needed, and that Civilian-Military co-operation should be strengthened.

We should also not forget that the EU Conflict Prevention Agency as proposed should include a special unit to design operations and a unit to train the security

corps that will take care of ensuring basic security to the population in a post-conflict scenario.

The EU Parliament should support the development of legislation that will facilitate the training of Police cadets and set up a European Conflict Prevention Agency. The OSCE stands ready to share its know how on the matter.

On the working Group on **Recovery and Transition**, I have to look back at the rationale of the ENVSEC initiative and stress that the promotion of peace and stability through environmental co-operation and sustainable development is an important tool for post-conflict rehabilitation.

Lets look at a further example: the Sava River is a tributary of the Danube that starts in Slovenia, crosses Croatia, then forms the latter's border with Bosnia-Herzegovina before entering Serbia and Montenegro and joining the Danube at Belgrade. Prior to the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the entire Sava River Basin fell within the boundaries of one country and was managed through national institutions. Today it passes through four countries and is an international river.

The four countries have taken widely divergent paths in their development since 1991, and after a decade of strife are now working together from their different perspectives to create jointly a state-of-the-art river basin management regime.

In December 2002, the four countries entered into a process of co-operation for the sustainable management of the water resources of the Sava River basin. The International Framework Agreement on the Sava River Basin, signed by the Sava countries on December 3, 2002, provides the principles and mechanism for this regional co-operation.

The OSCE has provided continued support to the Sava Process since a first letter of intent was signed by the Republic of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro at the first OSCE preparatory seminar for the Economic Forum in Belgrade in November 2001.

Today the Sava Commission Secretariat is established in Zagreb, and the OSCE supports its activities, as with any other international organization dealing with the protection of the environment and the promotion of economic regional co-operation.

It is worth mentioning that the Sava Agreement embraces the EU policies on water (namely the European Water Framework directive) as the model to follow by all riparian countries. **The EU should look at this example and promote similar agreements in other post-conflict scenarios, providing the guidance based on the solid "acquis communautaire".**

Let me conclude my remarks by saying that Europe, as a world player, must continue to equip itself with state of the art legislation and institutions providing the necessary tools to guide its common foreign security policy well into the 21st century and beyond.

With an enlarged Europe, open to new neighbours, new challenges will arise that will test the flexibility and resilience of the institutions that we design today. That is why the EU must look into the existing know-how, with the aim to improve its capacities and look for synergies with other international partners. When the European Treaties were signed some 50 years ago, the world was a different one. Todays security

issues are more complex and intricate than ever and reach far beyond the capacities of nation-states and even the European Union. The international community as a whole needs to address these challenges with a co-ordinated approach to issues that will shape our world in the next 50 years.

Colonel Michael Ryan
USAF, Defence Advisor, US Mission to the European Union

I would like to begin by thanking the organizers, in particular Ron Kingham and Quentin Huxham for including us in this important work and Tom Spencer and Margaret Brusasco-MacKenzie for guiding it so ably.

Here's something to think about: Prior to the end of World War II, our countries had Ministries of War, now we have Ministries of Defense. But while we were out defending our borders during the Cold War, a lot of things were going on that had nothing to do with defense, or so we thought. In the post-Cold War world, perhaps it's time we changed the name again.

Today, it's evident that many factors, left unchecked for so long, are combining in new and dynamic ways to undermine the global stability we worked so hard to preserve.

I personally support the important work of this conference because:

- It seeks to have an inclusive and open strategic dialogue on issues that should be of common concern in order to build a common understanding among us.
- It seeks to develop common approaches in which we can all participate, but also in which we <u>must</u> all participate if they are to have any chance of succeeding.
- Most importantly, though, this discussion is essential because it addresses the gaps in our understanding of one another:
  - We all work in very specific areas, we all have some answers, but none of us has all the answers…so, we fall in the cracks…we fail in the seams
  - A famous American revolutionary said "If we don't hang together, we shall surely hang separately".
  - Addressing global security also requires a revolution; a revolution in thinking…this work is an important early step

The dynamic inter-relationships between Security, Development and Environment determine the level of stability that exists or that is even possible in a given area. Good governance keeps the dynamic manageable – the stronger the dynamic, the more urgent the need for robust governance. It follows then that the better the governance the better the stability. Our US approach in the Department of Defense is therefore to build local, national and regional capacity to deal with the sources of instability. We focus on giving governments the tools and on teaching them how to use them, while helping them deal with the basic underlying causes of instability.

In addressing the role of the military it's important to recall some recent significant contributions such as: (Consequence management)
- The NRF response to the earthquake in Pakistan.
- NATO's recent event: Semipalatinsk a NATO-Kazakh success 15 years on.

- The military-led relief effort for the Tsunami in the Indian Ocean.
- Military support to floods, forest fires and hurricanes (e.g. Katrina).

More importantly, though, there is a deliberate and sustained effort underway to contribute in all these areas not just in the US military but in NATO and the EU as well.

Why do militaries think about many of these challenges even though they are neither military nor security challenges? Quite simply, if we don't address many of these emerging problems now, they will either become security challenges or the military will be assigned the task of dealing with the consequences.

The Department of Defense uses a system of regional commands to organize our global engagement in security. These commands all use similar approaches.

The US European Command (EUCOM) in Stuttgart, Germany is responsible for US military relations with 91 countries in Europe and Africa. Their approach illustrates the type of military contributions that can be useful in our collective approach to enhancing stability

First, what are we trying to do? The goal is to develop long-term capable partners who have the capability to participate in regional coalitions to resolve regional problems. Specifically, we seek an Africa that is self-sufficient and stable. And we want to develop other capable regional security organizations.

How do we do it? Our security cooperation is both near-term (1-5 years) and long-term (out to 30 years). The EUCOM approach is a regional part of our global approach – EUCOM develops both regional and country-specific plans, which include as many actors as possible. Some specific initiatives:

- **Caspian Guard**
  - A US EUCOM-led effort to monitor the Caspian basin for illegal activity

- **Africa Clearinghouse**
  - Share information, deconflict, coordinate, collaborate
  - 12 Countries: United Kingdom, Ireland, Canada, France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Greece
  - Meetings held quarterly or semi-annually
  - Luxembourg and EUCOM co-hosted first Africa Clearinghouse (ACH) forum, 24-26 May 04
  - Different regional focus each ACH -- First ACH: ECOWAS and West Africa
  - Subsequent: Great Lakes, Horn of Africa, and Gulf of Guinea
  - Open to all interested nations with engagement program in Africa

- **Maritime Security Initiative**
  - Enhance physical security of national ports and control of littorals
    - Improve capabilities of national navies and coast guards
    - Implement procedures to ensure safe shipping and transit
    - Develop capability to detect, assess, and disrupt illegal activities
  - Promote collective and cooperative security beyond the littorals
    - Protect natural resources beyond sovereign littorals
    - Improve maritime command and control

- **Air Traffic Control**
  - Assist African development of modern air traffic control system
  - Strengthen air security throughout the continent
  - Engage with international civil air authorities for partnered investment for airport security
  - Focus and integrate effort with strategy to support African sub-regional organizations

- **Education**
  - Work to shape IMET program in support of African Regional Security Partners and thereby sub-regional organizations
  - Expand scope of English language training—particularly in Regional Security Partner countries
  - Use Expanded IMET to strengthen democratic elements and reinforce liberal concepts such as civilian control of the military
  - Build case for increased IMET funding for African militaries, the AU, and African sub-regional organizations

- **Medical**
  - Leverage humanitarian assistance programs to combat disease, relieve human suffering, and improve the lives of Africans
  - HIV/AIDS Program ($26.1M in FY04)
  - Malaria Prevention Program
  - Humanitarian Mine Action Program
  - Medical facility, clinic, orphanage, and school construction
  - Use Humanitarian Assistance Excess Property to supply clinics, hospitals, and schools with needed equipment and supplies
  - Leverage MEDFLAG, MEDCAP, WATC and JCET medical and dental outreach to support HA objectives
  - Use and integrate other US government programs (PEPFAR) and those managed by allied partners and the UN

- **Africa Website**
  - Internet information (influence) tool targeting audiences in North Africa
  - Website is a partnership with DoS and host nations that seeks to:
    - Persuade targeted audiences not to join or support global terrorist organizations
    - Deny terrorist groups recruiting advantage and sanctuary
    - Promote regional and international interests
  - General theme focuses on:
    - Countering terrorism and extremism
    - Integrating regional and international organizations
    - Creating strong, accountable institutions
    - Uses indigenous writers and key communicators
  - Unobtrusive vehicle for US Embassy and host nation officials to request attention to a particular theme, event, or issue

- **English Language = Interoperability**
  - Potential initiatives to prepare personnel for IMET courses, bilateral training, and multilateral exercises
  - Put free "Rosetta" English language course on Internet
  - State Dept sponsor English courses through Embassies
  - Use Peace Corps to teach English on military installations
  - DoD sponsor Regional English Language Institutes

- Offer "extension" courses via Internet or seminars
- Offer English language video and cassette tapes for rent to registered students

- **Regional C4**
  - Establish regional connectivity between…
  - African Union headquarters and regional headquarters
  - Regional headquarters and individual regional partners
  - "Coalition Chat" software

- **Share visions to develop parallel roadmaps**
  - Millennium Village in establishing 100 model villages across Africa to reduce poverty, foster stability, increase hope
  - World Wildlife Fund is subsidizing Mozambique Naval costs to provide increased coastal security in marine protected areas
  - Hotels on the Indian Ocean are buying boats for African Navies to use to keep illegal fishing boats away from diving areas and other maritime attractions
  - Universities and PVO are teaching/mentoring good governance, economic transparency, and legal reform

There is a need for a common vision, and more coordination and cooperation between various departments in the government, between governments and non-governmental entities (both commercial and non-profit), and among partner nations.

Future programs should: be innovative and transformational, be scalable and tailorable, address multiple needs, leverage new and innovative technologies, leap-frog solutions and involve new applications for old technologies:
- Ethanol
- New construction materials
  - Can build hard surface roads at rate of 3km per day
  - Chemically stabilized dirt roads usable within one hour of grading
- Seaplanes – much cheaper and a lot simpler than helicopters

Contributions to national & regional capabilities:
- Facilitate programs like civil air patrol, coast guard auxiliary, and "neighborhood" watch
  - Provide sensors and tracking devices, detection capability, communications equipment, and training
- Additional airlift
  - C-130s, C-17s, and helicopters
- Intelligence, surveillance, reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities (particularly in collection, distribution, and maritime domain awareness)
  - UAVs for real-time surveillance
- Consequence management capabilities
- HIV/AIDS, Avian flu, cholera, floods, and earthquakes

It's worth remembering: "No crisis begins at the beginning". In the comfortable chronology from predicting instability through preventing conflict to building peace and then finally recovery and transition, when do we get involved? When it's too late…if it wasn't too late, we wouldn't call it a crisis. And because it's too late, it's also too political, and most importantly, too expensive…again, crises begin long before we realize they do.

We've all seen over and over again the international process for gaining consensus and approval to engage in crisis response operations. It's the best system we have and it's not likely that it's going to change any time soon. It's also the most expensive…Afghanistan…Sudan (pick one)…Somalia…Haiti. If we add up the cost of how we do crisis management and we multiply the average cost by the number of potential crises in the world today…one conclusion is clear, we can't afford it.

Albert Einstein once said "The definition of insanity is doing the same thing over and over again and expecting different results". This approach, seeking to gain synergy in our collective efforts by coherently integrating our common approaches is not insanity, it's genius. It means we can solve problems early, when they're relatively simple and incredibly cheap by comparison.

What are the challenges?   In addition to the need for close and continuous cooperation:

- Distance (three United States … 16 hours by C-130 for "quick reaction")
- Size ($5 billion for peace or $100 billion for war?)
- Growth Rate
- Sustainment - Train and equip
- Who's going to do the work?

Our ministries of defense "get it" and are transforming themselves to address the causes of instability and to contribute to maintaining stability. But for many of these issues the military isn't the best choice, even though it's very often the best available choice. Such a revolution in thinking we'll mean changing the way we do business – that will be difficult and it will take time.

So, in the post-Cold War world, what should we call the ministry of war? Perhaps it's a natural transition from war, to defense, to conflict prevention?

JIACG…Yesterday, I met at NATO with the USAID representative who works in the JIACG at EUCOM…this approach is already happening!

In my view, the military stands ready, with its tools, its organization and its dedicated and highly-trained individuals to work with you in this essential realm. Let's talk…

7. On the Role of the Environment and Development Communities

Margaret Brusasco-MacKenzie
Senior Advisor, Institute for Environmental Security (IES) / Advisor Green Globe Network / Former Head, International Affairs, DG ENV, European Commission

I should like to begin by mentioning the reason that we are all here today, in this building: the European Parliament. Because of the vision of a few great men after the 2nd World War, the European Union is based on the desire to create peace. Its work began by sharing resources in the Coal and Steel Community. So in addressing environmental security we are being faithful to that vision. One of our problems is to get this topic high up on the political agenda so that a wider vision of environment should prevail and that it should be seen as a factor for peace. We also need to tap into the funds available to carry out policies that will lead to environmental security. For that the cooperation of the environment AND the development communities at large are essential. How to do it?

The elephant in the room today is the Iraq war, no one has spoken of it, and yet it has diverted enormous amounts of funds which otherwise could have gone towards creating more sustainable development worldwide. Sixteen years ago in Rio we laid down the path for that kind of development, but alas, the cooperation between environment, development and foreign ministries apparently seems to have fallen away. We must get back to that and convince policymakers in Europe, beginning with the MEPs, of the need to take action urgently.

One body which has intensified its efforts in the last years is the UN. We have here today Ms.Sylvie Motard, Director of the UNEP Brussels office to tell us more about this, and the cooperation between UNEP and UNDP. Subsequently we shall hear from Mr Svedberg of UNDP. I had the pleasure of working with Sylvie in the Commission, she then went to the European Parliament, and so I know that her speech will also have interesting messages for the European institutions. Sylvie, you have the floor.

Sylvie Motard
Head of Office UNEP Liaison Office in Brussels

Environment, Security and Peace Building: UNEP's Contribution

Ladies and gentlemen,

Apologies from UNEP's Executive Director Achim Steiner who could not make it for today's meeting. I would like to convey his sincere interest in the initiative and his looking forward to an EU response and contribution on the issue. He also would like to congratulate the Institute for Environmental Security and GLOBE-EU for their work, and looks forward to continue cooperation with them.

I would like to start by reporting a recent story:

Introduction

- 25 million environmental refugees

- 90% of conflicts in 30% poorest countries (cf Darfur)

- The link between environmental degradation and conflict has been rising up the political agenda in recent years

- Colin Powell called sustainable development a 'security imperative"

Last month, the Climate Change Conference was held in Nairobi. One of the major outcomes was the announcement of a new UNEP-UNDP partnership on access to the carbon markets for developing countries and adaptation assistance to sub-Saharan Africa.

Spain is one country who will be funding the partnership and the reason is telling. Asked why, the Spanish environment minister was quite straightforward. Cristina Narbona pointed to the tragic rising tide of "environmental refugees" from Africa, risking their lives to get to Europe. The Spanish minister is not alone in seeing a connection between environment and rising tensions in the world.

Recent estimates suggest that currently 25 million people can be classified as environmental refugees and migrants, and that this number could be as high as 150 million by 2050. According to some climate models with a rise in sea level of one meter by the end of the century, up to 30 million people could be forced to leave their habitat in Bangladesh alone.

In preparation for the 2005 World Summit, the UN Secretary General constituted a High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. The panel identified six clusters of threats to human security, including poverty, diseases and environmental degradation.

On that occasion Kofi Annan said: "Humanity will not enjoy security without development, it will not enjoy development without security, and it will not enjoy it either without respect for human rights".

90% of current conflicts are taking place in the poorest 30% of countries. Those countries have the greatest environmental challenges. Environmental degradation intensifies poverty. This is why UNEP maintains that protecting and managing the environment in a sustainable way is the peace policy for the future, and legitimates our action "Environment for Development".

It is widely recognized that availability of natural resources, environmental degradation and human security are interdependent. As it has been already discussed at length today, I will not address it again now.

- *Environmental scarcity conflicts that arise from competition over declining natural resources such as forests, fresh water, fisheries, or soils.*
- *Disputes over environmental risks, problems and hazards such as cross border pollution or environmental accidents with transboundary impacts can cause political tensions and threaten peace*
- *Thirdly, human security is vulnerable to natural disasters*
- *Finally, also non-renewable natural resources such as oil, diamonds, timber and precious metals, may play a key role in triggering, prolonging and financing violent conflicts, such as in the case of Liberia*

UNEP places its actions at three interdependent levels:

- **crisis prevention**
- **crisis response and reconstruction**
- **peace building and peace keeping**

1. Crisis prevention: assessment and cooperation

UNEP

1. Crisis prevention: Environment for cooperation

- Potential Sources of Conflict:
  - Environmental degradation
  - Inequitable access to natural resources
  - Transboundary movement of hazardous materials
- Problems of shared resources lead to necessary shared solutions
- International Organisations can be best used to generate cooperation, especially in a transboundary context
- Integrate findings into policy making, mainstream environment into national development strategies
- UNEP has in particular focused on the Environment and Poverty nexus
- The Environment and Security Initiative: cooperation for conflict prevention

There is a growing understanding that environmental degradation, inequitable access to natural resources and the transboundary movement of hazardous materials represent potential sources of conflict or social disruption.

However, history has also shown that they are also catalysts for cooperation. Problems of shared resources lead to necessary shared solutions. It is exactly where international organizations can be best used to generate cooperation especially in a transboundary context.

UNEP is well known for its environmental assessment and monitoring work. The challenge is to integrate the findings into policy making, and mainstream Environment into national development strategies. We are also convinced that we need to identify emerging challenges as early as possible where collective response is the only solution. We see this clearly at the moment with the energy security discussions.

UNEP has in particular focused on the Environment and Poverty nexus.

The UNEP/UNDP Environment and Poverty initiative is an example where we have combined our separate initiatives to fight poverty and help to achieve MDGs. We have joint poverty and environment projects in Kenya, Tanzania and Rwanda, and are working together to help other countries to mainstream environmental considerations into their national MDG implementation plans.

But such findings also need to be mainstreamed into Development Cooperation policies, as well as into Foreign Affairs, and regional agreements.

Cooperation is also to be used to identify and prevent crisis. For instance, the Environment and Security initiative has been designed in a very pragmatic manner to assess and address environmental and security risks through international dialogue and regional cooperation. The initiative covers the regions of Central Asia, Southern Caucasus, Eastern and South Eastern Europe. Those countries are experiencing economic transitions and sometimes political stress. They are particularly vulnerable to environmental damage and competition over resources. Since its creation in 2002, the Initiative, which is now a joint venture of OSCE, UNEP, UNDP, UNECE, REC and NATO, has helped countries to identify environment and security hot spots, confront challenges and has facilitated regional cooperation as viable alternative to confrontation.

2. Crisis response and reconstruction:
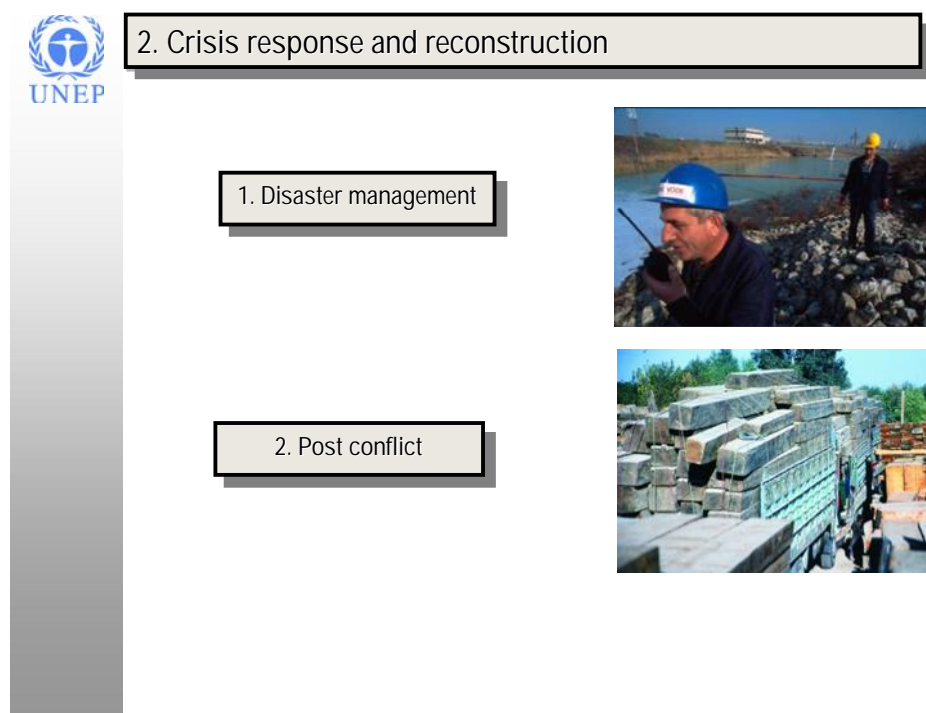
Disaster management branch work:

In the case of occurrence of a disaster UNEP's approach is to promote disaster management to reduce vulnerability and enhance coping mechanisms through capacity building.

Activities focus on:
- preparedness,
- assessment, response and mitigation
- risk reduction
- mobilizing resources

In doing so, we operate in collaboration with other agencies. In particular, the joint UNEP/OCHA unit serves to facilitate international response to environmental emergencies. It serves as a clearing house for information and maintains a 24 hours notification and alert system.

I would also like to draw attention to the Disaster Management Information System for Africa, which aims at enhancing information exchange and co-ordination of efforts in Africa for disaster management and environmental risk reduction.
UNEP has also launched a programme that draws upon indigenous people knowledge to help deal with natural disasters.

In case of post Conflict:

2. Crisis response and reconstruction: Post Conflict

- The 4 pillars of the branch's activities:
  - Post conflict environmental assessment and integration
  - Environmental capacity building and technical support
  - Post conflict environmental clean up and rehabilitation
  - Environmental diplomacy and cooperation
- After the Kosovo Conflict in 1999, the UNEP Balkans Task Force investigated the environmental and human health risks
- UNEP Post-Conflict Assessment Unit established in 2001. Transformed to the Post-Conflict Branch (PCoB) in 2005. Operations in 13 conflict-affected countries.
- Located at the International Environment House in Geneva with a staff of 20, currently project offices in Afghanistan, Liberia and Sudan with total staff of 20.
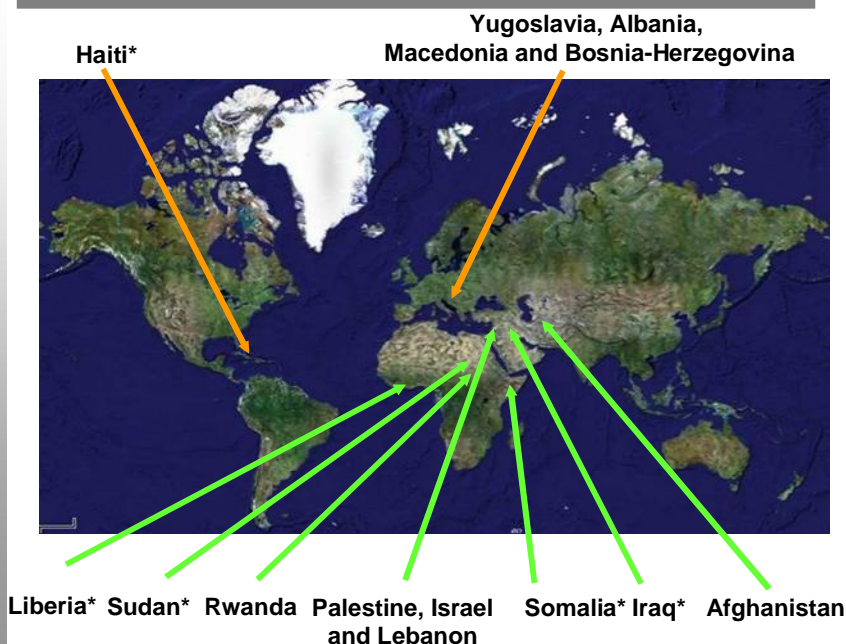
UNEP's activities are articulated around 4 pillars:

- Post conflict environmental assessment and integration
- Environmental capacity building and technical support
- Post conflict environmental clean up and rehabilitation
- Environmental diplomacy and cooperation to ensure sustainability

Activities are tailor made, as they need to be flexible for political and security uncertainties.

2. Crisis response and reconstruction: Operations of PCoB

Haiti*

Yugoslavia, Albania, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina

Liberia* Sudan* Rwanda Palestine, Israel and Lebanon Somalia* Iraq* Afghanistan

The branch has been and is active in many countries of the world as shown on the slides.

3. Peace building and peace keeping:

One objective is to ensure sustainable access to resources, and their sound management;

It is also to ensure sustainability of recovery / governance systems:

Emergency responses after a conflict stop after a while. Recovery must be organized in a sustainable manner so that peace-building, environment and development go hand-in-hand.

UNEP has been asked in many countries to support development of longer-term strategies with institutional building and development of adequate legal framework. This has been the case, in Afghanistan for instance.

Another field of activities relates to environmental diplomacy:
- Such as the training of the decision makers, UNEP has developed a course on environmental diplomacy
- Support to MEAs implemetation
- creation of concrete synergies at regional level such as the joint management of river basins (Congo river),
- for instance UNEP has hosted a meeting between Iran and Afghanistan on the shared Sistan Basin wetlands, and the two delegations agreed on developing a joint project for the restoration of the wetlands.
- joint monitoring of air pollution (China-Russia),
- involvement of religious communities

As UNEP, we take part in current UN reform and contribute to the inclusion of environment into crisis response and recovery. If the UN principles "Do no harm" and "Build Back Better" are to be followed, environment must be part of the equation. Environmental recovery can be an investment in disaster reduction as well as conflict prevention. Additionally, it can contribute to short-term employment generation and stabilization.

Conclusions:

The half decade since the end of Cold War has been characterized by numerous attempts at redefining the notion of security. The traditional military conception of security is now being challenged by the emergence of news issues such as environment. Environmental care has become an essential component of national, regional and international security. Armed force is impotent in the face of ecological breakdown.

We must improve our ability to identify environmental problems and assess alternative responses, with a foresight capability and long-term projections. We also need to link the results of such projections directly to current decision-making. This should allow for the identification of environmental hot spots with the potential of breaking into violent conflicts or social crisis.

Lastly, environmental security can also be improved by reducing the distance between the decision-makers and the people who are supposed to benefit from their decisions. The challenge we have at the global level is to design enabling mechanisms to increase people's participation in development, and to ensure that the benefits of sustainable development are reaching the politically invisible masses.

Thank you for your attention.

Peter Svenberg
UNDP Office for Europe and CIS, Bratislava

I will comment on the documents we have produced and what the rapporteurs of the working groups have said as well. One of the comments made by the rapporteur from our group was how to mainstream conflict prevention into development. I would want to look at it the other way: to look at development as conflict prevention, a tool for conflict prevention in an environmental context. There is a link between natural resource management and poverty reduction, and most agree that it is a question of stabilising livelihoods for people It is true that it is the sudden change of a rapid fall into poverty that creates the potential for livelihoods conflicts. And you can not have a sustainable livelihood without sustainable environmental management.

It takes capacity building in countries in development. If you consider the situation of unemployed people, large unemployment, having a large number of people idle, that can be a basis for fast recruitment in the occurrence of a sudden shift in societal stability. This is an obvious link to conflict prevention when it comes to development.

Another aspect is the governance aspect of development. The management of natural resources also requires good governance. The distribution and access to natural resources, the lack of regulatory mechanisms, poor state performance and lack of access to environmental justice - these are the governance aspects.

In the environmental context there was this semantic difference between prevention and pre-emption that was mentioned earlier, and it needs perhaps to be such an issue if development efforts are focused on these good governance and poverty reduction activities of sustainable natural resource management - basically capacity building. A specific example - and I am going to take the early warning system which we have talked about today - is the ENVSEC Initiative. UNDP Bratislava has, together with the Country Offices, in Kirgizstan and Tajikistan, developed environmental indicators and an indicator framework for early warning systems. Now early warning systems are all fine when they can predict conflict and provide recommendations on what to do about it. When it comes to the actors side, the response side, it is a whole other matter. When early warning alarms start flashing in the context of developing countries it means that there is a need to build the capacities of the institution on the ground. That is the authorities in the developing countries needs to respond to these early warnings, in a manner not resembling Abidjan preferably. There is more to development in the security context then post-conflict reconstruction and development to avoid falling back into another conflict. The real power lies in pro-poor capacity building before any tensions have escalated or even emerged, thus being a conflict prevention tool.

Just a point on Europe in all of this: In the first place the importance of the fact the European Union and the countries in Europe are a major donor for development assistance. So focusing development aid on those issues is in fact conflict prevention. Putting it in the environmental context is where we could make the difference along with sustainable and natural resource management.

8. The Way Forward

Closing remarks on the follow-up to the conference

Ronald A. Kingham
Programme Director, Institute for Environmental Security

Before inviting the moderators of the conference sessions to make their closing remarks, I would like to call upon Anu Pärnänen-Landtman, from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Finland to comment on the issues and results of the conference.

I would like to point out that two of the three countries making up the Troika are represented in the room: Germany and Finland. But, unfortunately, there is no-one from Portugal. I urge the members of the working groups to do their best in the period ahead to involve experts from that country, which will hold the chair of the EU Presidency in the 2nd half 2007.

I also want to re-confirm that in addition to publishing the report of this conference as soon as possible, the joint report of the GFSP working groups should be finalised soon, taking into account the results of the working groups meeting yesterday as well as the valuable inputs during the conference today.

Many members of the working groups have expressed interest in seeing the groups continue – as an informal network for the continuing exchange of information and ideas and to work together to promote the recommendations which have been put forward. In 2007, GLOBE-EU and IES will work to facilitate the continuation and further development of the working groups.

Ms Anu Pärnänen-Landtman
Counsellor, Department for Global Affairs,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Finland

I would like to thank the organisers for this cutting-edge conference and wish to share   some thoughts on environmental security challenges:

1. On the widening of the notion
2. On the need for a new strategic approach
3. On the process of integrating environmental security into EU external relations

The Finish view is one of a widening of the notion of environmental security as an integrated concept. According to the Finish Security and Defence Policy, environmental security has a dual nature: including acute threats (such as oil and chemicals accidents gradually accumulated) and creeping threats (such as climate change). By integrating those threats into Finish Environmental Security Policy, we are securing an environmental dimension of security. The creeping threats are more difficult to manage. Restoration of the damages can take decades or more and makes preventive measures the only feasible way to handle such threats.

Finland considers it important to deal withy conflict prevention, civilian and military crisis management, and post-conflict reconstruction as a comprehensive strategy, where a wide spectrum of instruments is available to different stages of conflict.

The global threats in its wider sense are being reported well by UN Secretary Koffi Anan, when he stated in his report for 2005 named "In Larger Freedom", that development, security and human rights go hand in hand. Therefore, Finland emphasised the concept of human security in its Development Cooperation. Finland has provided support to projects that promote regional integration and stability as well as those which have an impact on the resolution of regional problems, including environmental concerns.

For the second point on the need for a strategic approach: When we look at the world today, one can notice that the monolithic blocs of the cold war have been melted into a fluid mass of scattered risks. When dealing with those risks we need a new kind of strategic approach. The new threats are global in nature and thereby everybody's concern. Therefore we should actively continue to reinforce the international multi-lateral system and be supportive to the UN and its endeavour and assist them with coherence, particularly for the environment. We also have to take a new look at different environmental agreements and negotiations and their relevance in assessing the security threats posed by environmental problems.

Concerning the third point on the importance of integrating environmental security into EU external relations and finding the key-links, security encompassing environmental regulation has been one of the key concerns here today. Early warning, risk analysis work and preventive measures, as well as re-organising our institutional and administrative structures are resource- and time consuming. The tragedy for preventive measures is that, on a day-to-day basis, responsibilities to react to immediate security policy needs always have the first priority. Many of us I know are struggling with that. Too late awakening to risks always means a loss of all kinds of resources and immense human suffering as well as costly recovering efforts. Storms and floods as well as other extreme weather conditions are a clear demonstration of this having been experienced all over the world. So, we should not only talk about the developing countries, I mean this applies also to industrialised countries and countries in transition. Everybody should do their homework, and quickly. Within the EU there are many institution, structures and mechanisms as well as procedures that deal with environmental matters. The challenge of operationalising is that environmental risks are permanently mutating. We cannot all the time change our institutional structures accordingly to meet the needs of all those very different environmental security clusters that are popping-up more and more.

These challenges are also more and more cross-pillar phenomena. Therefore a prerequisite is to practise more co-ordination, more coherence, more flexibility between institutions and organisations as well as the administrative machineries. The co-operation thresholds between the different communities, such as political, military and diplomatic, environmental and developmental communities should be lowered systematically. There are no more insiders and outsiders when environmental security challenges are to be dealt with; they are all insiders. Experiences and lessons learned required in one sphere, should be utilised in the others to avoid duplication of efforts and wasting time. We must build networks, connecting all the key players, having added value to offer. A good example of this new culture is the EU Green Diplomacy Network (GDN). The Thessaloniki European Council (2003) and Greece launched this initiative aimed at promoting the integration of environment into external relations through the creation of a new formal network of environment experts within the EU's foreign ministries. The strategy on environmental integration in EU's external policies adopted by the Barcelona and General Council in 2002 has given guidance to our work.

During the Finish Presidency I have had the honour of being the Finish co-ordinator of the GDN. It has been a rewarding experience. We have managed to speak with one voice on several occasions. For instance when preparing ourselves for –as well as during- the climate negotiations in Nairobi last month. For the EU to become a leading global environmental player, the unity of action is a must. To end my presentation I want to draw a systems analysis parallel on security. Security is like the stock market, everybody should invest to avoid general depression or even collapse, as mentioned in the Stern Rapport. Nobody knows whose shares will first be gaining value. But in the long run we all are winners.

Mr Michael Renner
Senior Researcher, Worldwatch Institute

I continue to wonder to what extent we need to re-invent institutions, entirely set-up from scratch and mechanisms in order to strengthen what is already being done. I continue to be struck by the fact that there continues to exist a constitutional imbalance, in terms of what institutions are mandated to do or capable to do, but also the imbalance between the institutions.

Traditional security institutions are far better able and/or placed to do certain things, but are not necessarily willing to carry out those tasks. That is of course the big question. In what way do we need more coordination between different fields, different ministries, between different existing institutions, and in what way do we need new ones, replacing to some extent those that do exist?

But that would be very difficult since existing institutions have a way to perpetuate their own *raison-d'etre*. If we face a situation that security organs have far more funding, far more personnel, and therefore more political clout, then how can we make sure that the kind of political changes and reinventions that to some extent have happened will be continued. And on what level does it have to happen? Does it happen on the inter-governmental level, is there a stronger role for NGOs to push those issues and to really hold everybody's feet to the fire, as it were.

And of course there is this question of scale-up; there are of course very interesting initiatives happening like the ENVSEC, but can that be replicated, can that be scaled-up? So that we re afar more capable of facing many more situations? And not have just isolated examples and isolated good experiences and operate on the scale that is required?

Mr Wouter Veening
Chairman/ Director, Institute for Environmental Security

We had a great group here yesterday and especially today. We had representatives from all the entities that are relevant in creating a new integrated security policy with all its dimensions - the Commission, the Parliament, the Council, and representatives the national governments, such as Belgium, Finland, Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands. Furthermore, NATO, OSCE, the defence community was represented here as was the UN System, the academic community and NGOs. I think that is great.

What we have to do now is to consolidate the document which lies at the basis of this meeting. But we should also use some examples, because as Sylvie said - and

rightly so - there is still a communication problem. But if we use concrete examples then everybody knows what we are talking about.

We of course also need a shorter version of the report of the working groups that a politician can read or someone in the civil service and easily access. This paper is also for the lobby trajectory that we are entering right now, which would need to lead to a Resolution in the EU Parliament, involving several Committees. That Resolution should also support Council decisions, and should assist the German Presidency in trying to make this operational. It could also be the basis for - what I hope very much for - a revitalised Trans-Atlantic Dialogue. I think we are entering a rather complex advocacy and communication period, which has to be sorted out very well and we need advice from people knowing all these entities in Europe and on the other side of the ocean to make that operational and effective.

I would like to react to what Michael Renner said: most of the institutions have their mandate and if you get together, the collective mandate is sufficient; you don't need new institutions with new mandates. We need communication. And I propose that we create a world watering hole where we all can come together informally and drink, talk, exchange experiences and ideas and then decide what to do. And we would offer our office in The Hague, opposite the Peace Palace, as such a meeting place.

In fact, we have been discussing with the Dutch Ministries of Environment and Foreign Affairs and with the City of The Hague ideas for how The Hague can become more and more an *espace* for international environmental dialogue and debate. Our Institute will continue to promote such initiatives – including the idea of continuing the facilitation of the GFSP working groups – together with GLOBE-EU and other partners.

Margaret Brusasco-MacKenzie
Senior Advisor, Institute for Environmental Security IES / Advisor Green Globe Network / Former Head, International Affairs, DG ENV, European Commission

When you talk about politicians who can read, I presume that what you mean is –like Roy Jenkins would say: "…and put it only on half a page". And it would be really great if we could do that, but there has been such richness today that we certainly couldn't manage to put it all on half a page. But perhaps we should though, to attract the politicians at the highest level.

I think there were a lot of good recommendations from the groups, and in the reports, and I think that is clearly something that we said we were going to be working on. We know there is lots of good material that we could develop. A lot was learned from the presentations from all the institutions mentioned. And it was extremely useful to enrich the document, and to enrich all our thinking and all our ideas about how we can co-operate. We also learned something about what the military is doing, which is always nice to know because we have the impression we don't know. The point is how to bring it all together; and how to intensify the co-operation. And then of course there is the need for more money in order to be able to promote and facilitate the co-operation. We need an intellectual framework that is going to be attractive to politicians. Thank you all very much for everything that you have contributed thus far.

Tom Spencer
Vice-Chairman, IES / Executive Director, European Centre for Public Affairs / Former President, GLOBE International / Former President of the EP Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy (1997-1999)

The first thing I tried to ask Michael Ryan was about Chinese behaviour in Africa, not about Chinese environmental policy back home. He didn't answer that, and for very good reason, because no one knows what to do. Europe claims that it is interested in Africa, and claims to have some special relationship. But the Chinese are tearing a hole in everything that we do there: in terms of human rights, in terms of attitudes to the government in Sudan, in terms of timber. The biggest destination for illegal timber from South East Asia is China. We are benefiting from cheap Chinese goods in the West, but the price of that is the disruption of our development policies. I think we need to make that link more clearly, and confront the Chinese more clearly with it.

Secondly, I am left with a couple of questions. The most difficult of them is the recognition that the four working groups don't form a coherent sequence. In other words, countries like The Lebanon can move backwards and forwards from conflict prevention to reconstruction and back again. Maybe it has to be seen as a board and people move around on it. I am not sure about how we reflect that in our discussions.

I have two thoughts in terms of the parameters of what we are covering. I am uncomfortable with including disasters per se in this discussion. I am sure that big companies or organisations such as IBM, EXXON Mobil or a military organisation could in no time move 500 bulldozers to a disaster area. But I am not sure whether or not it is directly relevant to our concern about environment and security. I think the message is so important that we should concentrate on it. Yes there are disasters we should deal with. Many are caused, or enhanced, by man-made stupidity. For instance in South America hurricanes do more damage to communities there because the houses are built on slippery slopes; this in turn is caused by poverty and desperation. But we should concentrate on those areas where there is an identifiable link between security and environment.

I am left regretting that environment and security doesn't have a Putin in the way that energy and security does. You have a nice picture of Mr Putin turning the tap on the Ukrainian gas, and even the dumbest politician in Europe recognises that as a threat. Actually what we are dealing with is a thousand times more dangerous than Mr Putin's tap. We don't have a way of getting that into the mind of every tabloid editorial.

We have to do away with niceties to get this message across. We have to find the political pheromone that moves people who would not easily come into this room to discuss this subject. That is what I think we haven't found. We have marvellous ingredients from the work done over the last year, but as yet no cake. I am arguing that the relevant time-scale is over the next two and a half years. I think we should be aiming at all the institutions, not only the European Parliament. We should regard the work done so far, not as an end. We are at the end of the beginning. What we have here is a huge opportunity, partly given us by the energies and excitements that everyone has brought to this. Now all we have to do is deliver.

ANNEX I: Conference Programme

**Global Legislators Organisation for a
Balanced Environment (GLOBE-EU)
and
Institute for Environmental Security (IES)**

Conference on
Greening Foreign and Security Policy:
The Role of Europe

European Parliament, Brussels, 6-7 December 2006

Programme

Wednesday, 6 December (*Sofitel Brussels Europe, Place Jourdan 1*)

18:45-19:00   Arrival and Registration of Participants

19:00-19:30   Reception
19:30-21:30   Dinner with Guest Speaker: **Nick Mabey**, Founding Director and Chief Executive, E3G (Third Generation Environmentalism) / Former Senior Policy Advisor, UK Prime Minister's Strategy Unit (2002-2005)

Thursday, 7 December *(European Parliament – Altiero Spinelli Bldg - Room: 7C050)*

09:00-09:20   Arrival and Registration of Participants
09:20-09:30   Participants escorted to 7th floor meeting room

PART I

09:30-10:00   ***Welcome and Opening of the Conference***

Moderators: **Wouter J. Veening**, Chairman / Director, IES and **Satu Hassi**, MEP, Vice-President of GLOBE-EU / Member of the Board, Worldwatch Institute

- Opening of the Conference by **Wijnand van Ijssel**, Knowledge Management, Innovation, Research, Environment and Water Department, Directorate-General for International Development Cooperation, The Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs

- Remarks by **Harald Neitzel**, Deputy Director, Cooperation with OECD Member States, OECD, OSCE, UNECE, NATO-CCMS, Alpine Convention, Antarctica, Environment and Security, Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety, Germany

10:00-11:00   ***Reports of the GFSP Working Groups*** (each followed by discussion)

Moderator: **Ronald A. Kingham**, Programme Director, IES

- Group A: Predicting Instability
  Fred Langeweg, Deputy Director, The Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency

- Group B: Preventing Conflict
  Nick Grono, Vice President, Advocacy and Operations, International Crisis Group

- Group C: Building Peace
  Alastair Ross, Head of Administration, University of Kent at Brussels / Former Staff Member at UK's Deployable Crisis Management Team / Former Military Assistant to the Director of Operations in the Ministry of Defence, UK

- Group D: Recovery and Transition
  Cedric Janssens de Bisthoven, First Secretary, Environment and Sustainable Development Desk, Federal Public Service for Foreign Affairs, Belgium

11:00-11:30   ***Briefing on EnviroSecurity Assessments***

Environmental Aspects of Conflict Prediction, Prevention, Management and Recovery with examples from Indonesia, Colombia and the Great Lakes Region of Africa

- **Jeanna Hyde-Hecker**, Scientific Coordinator / Project Leader Colombia, Environmental Security for Poverty Alleviation Programme, Institute for Environmental Security

- **Wouter Veening**, Chairman / Director, Institute for Environmental Security

Information on Global Monitoring for Environmental Security (GMES)

- Maria-Cruz Gutiérrez, SNE, GMES Bureau, Enterprise & Industry DG, European Commission

Discussion

PART II

The following sessions will involve brief introductions by speakers responding to / reflecting on the **First Draft Report of the GFSP Working Groups** as well as presenting information on the role of their respective institutions in the interface between environment, security and sustainable development.

Each session should include adequate time for interventions by various stakeholders (government, IGO, NGO, private sector, etc.) and discussion among participants on the political strategy needed for the implementation of proposed recommendations at the European Parliament and beyond.

11:30-13:00   ***On the Role of Europe***

Moderator: **Tom Spencer**, Vice-Chairman, IES / Executive Director, European Centre for Public Affairs / Former President, GLOBE International / Former President of the EP Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence Policy (1997-1999)

- **Seán O Regan**, Horizontal and Emerging Security Issues, Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit, General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union

- **Angelika Beer**, MEP, Spokesperson for Security Policy of the Green/EFA Group, Member of EP Foreign Affairs Committee, EP Subcommittee on Security and Defence, and NATO Parliamentary Assembly

- **Alessandro Villa**, Administrator, DG Relex A2, European Commission

Discussion

13:00-14:30   Lunch Break

14:30-16:00   ***On the Role of the Security and Defence Communities***

Moderator: **Michael Renner**, Senior Researcher, Worldwatch Institute, Washington, DC

- **Deniz Yüksel Beten**, Head, Threats and Challenges Section / Environmental Security Programme Director, Public Diplomacy Division, NATO Headquarters

- **Marc Baltes**, Senior Advisor, Economic and Environmental Activities, OSCE Secretariat

- **Colonel Michael Ryan**, USAF, Defense Advisor, US Mission to the European Union

Discussion

16:00-16:30   Coffee Break

16:30-18:00   ***On the Role of the Environment and Development Communities***

Moderator: **Margaret Brusasco-MacKenzie**, Member of the Advisory Council, IES / Advisor Green Globe Network / Former Head, International Affairs, DG ENV, European Commission

- **Sylvie Motard**, Head of Office, UNEP Liaison Office in Brussels

- **Peter Svedberg**, Project Manager, UNDP, Bratislava

Discussion

18:00-18:30   ***The Way Forward***: Closing remarks on follow-up to the conference

Moderator: **Ronald A. Kingham**, Programme Director, IES

- **Ms Anu Pärnänen-Landtman**, Counsellor, Department for Global Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Finland

- **Michael Renner**, Senior Researcher, Worldwatch Institute

- **Wouter J. Veening**, Chairman / Director

- **Margaret Brusasco-MacKenzie**, Member of the Advisory Council, IES

- **Tom Spencer**, Vice-Chairman, IES

ANNEX II: List of Participants

**Global Legislators Organisation for a
Balanced Environment (GLOBE-EU)
and
Institute for Environmental Security (IES)**

Conference on
Greening Foreign and Security Policy:
The Role of Europe

European Parliament, Brussels, 6-7 December 2006

List of Participants

Dr Mats Ahlberg, Director Environmental Affairs, Swedish Defence Research Agency FOI Sweden

Mr Marc Baltes, Senior Advisor, OCEEA, OSCE, Austria

Ms Johannah Bernstein, International Lawyer, Bernstein and Associates, Belgium

Mr Oli Brown, Project Manager, IISD, Switzerland

Mrs Margaret Brusasco-Mackenzie, Senior Adviser, Institute for Environmental Security, Belgium

Ms Caroline Calvez, Consultant, CEIS, Belgium

Mr Davies Chris, MEP, European Parliament

Mr Axel Dyèvre, Consultant, CEIS, Belgium

Vice Admiral Anthony Dymock, UK Military Representative to NATO & EU, UK Delegation to NATO, NATO, Belgium

Mr Doeke Eisma, Executive Director, GLOBE-Europe, Belgium

Mr Nicholas Grono, Vice President, International Crisis Group, Belgium

Mr Ernst Guelcher, Specialist Peace and Disarmament, Green/EFA Group European Parliament

Dr Maria-Cruz Gutiérrez, SNE, GMES Bureau, Enterprise & Industry DG, European Commission

Ms Fiona Hall, MEP, European Parliament

Ms Satu Hassi, MEP, European Parliament

Mrs Jeanna Hyde Hecker, Science Coordinator, Institute for Environmental Security (IES)

Mr Cedric Janssens de Bisthoven, First Secretary, Directorate Multilateral Affairs, Environment, Ministry for Foreign Affairs-Belgium

Dr Walter Kaffenberger, Associate Programme Director, Public Diplomacy Division, NATO

Mr Andre Kahlmeyer, Mediterranean Research Fellow, Special Mediterranean Group NATO Parliamentary Assembly

Ms Poppy Kalesi, Assistant to Chris Davies MEP, European Parliament

Ms. Johanna Kentala, Assistant to MEP Anneli Jäätteenmäki, European Parliament

Mr Ronald A. Kingham, Programme Director, Institute for Environmental Security, The Netherlands

Ms Victoria Klein, Research Fellow, Ludwig von Mises Institute-Europe, Belgium

Ms Julia Langer, Intern, Johannah Bernstein & Associates, Belgium

Dr Fred Langeweg, Deputy Director, MNP Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency, The Netherlands

Mr Rilli Lappalainen, Secretary General, Finnish NGDO platform to the EU, Finland

Dr Gottfried Leibbrandt, Senior Advisor, Institute for Environmental Security, The Netherlands

Dr Caroline Lucas, MEP (Greens / EFA), European Parliament

Mr Achim Maas, Project Manager, Adelphi Consult, Germany

Mr Nick Mabey, Chief Executive, E3G, UK

Mr Michal Malovec, Administrator, Subcommittee on Security and Defence, European Parliament

Mr João Aleluia Martins de Castilho Dias, DG Enterprise - H7 GMES Bureau, European Commission

Ms Sylvie Motard, Director, UNEP Brussels, UNEP, Belgium

Mr Ikaros Moushouttas, Member of the Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit, Horizontal and Emerging Security Issues, Council of the European Union

Drs Jeannette Mullaart, Programme Assistant, Institute for Environmental Security, The Netherlands

Mr Harald Neitzel, Deputy Director, Division KI ll 3, Co-operation with Member States, OECD, OSCE, UNECE, NATO-CCMS, Alpine Convention, Antarctica, Environment and Security, Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety, Germany

Ms Mari Nishimura, Student, Politics and International Relations, University of Kent, Belgium

Mr Seán O Regan, Policy Adviser, Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit, General Secretariat of the Council of the EU

Ms Lotje Paauwe, Intern, GLOBE Europe, Belgium

Ms Anu Pärnänen-Landtman, Counsellor, Department for Global Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Finland

Mr Michael Renner, Senior Researcher, Worldwatch Institute, United States

Mr Thomas Robertson, MEP Assistant, European Parliament

Mr Jörg Roos, International Biodiversity, WWF Germany, Germany

Mr Alastair Ross, Head of Administration, University of Kent, Belgium

Ms Ayse Sahin, Student, University of Kent, Belgium

Ms Jesse Scott, Researcher, European University Institute, Belgium

Ms Mathilde Snel, Consultant, Belgium

Mr Tom Spencer, Vice Chairman, Institute for Environmental Security, United Kingdom

Mr Peter Svedberg, Project Manager, UNDP, Slovakia

Ms Marta Szilagyi, Administrator, DG RELEX, European Commission

Ms Rita Taureck, PhD Student, Department of Politics and International Studies University of Warwick, UK

Dr Frank Thomalla, Research Fellow, Risk, Livelihoods & Vulnerability Programme, Stockholm Environment Institute, Sweden

Miss Daria Ushakova, External Relations, Youth and Environment Europe, Czech Republic

Mr Eric van de Giessen, Project coordinator Great Lakes region, Africa, Environmental Security for Poverty Alleviation, Institute for Environmental Security, The Netherlands

Mr Raymond Van Ermen, Executive Director, European Partners for the Environment, Belgium

Mr Wijnand van Ijssel, Directorate Environment and Water, Directorate-General for International Development Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Netherlands

Mr Wouter Veening, Director, Institute for Environmental Security, The Netherlands

Mr Alessandro Villa, Administrator, DG Relex A2, European Commission

Ms Matleena Virkkunen, Assistant to MEP, Office of Anneli Jäätteenmäki, MEP, European Parliament

Mr Nasser Yassin, Associate Fellow, Institute for Environmental Security, United Kingdom

Dr Deniz Yüksel-Beten, Head of Section, Threats & Challenges, NATO