

WHY GREENING THE MAASTRICHT TREATY IS IMPORTANT FOR SCOTLAND

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Over the past 18 months a coalition of environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) has used the opportunity presented by the revision of the Maastricht Treaty which is being discussed by the Inter Governmental Conference (IGC) in 1996 and 1997 to lobby for the inclusion of the concepts of sustainable development. It is the contention of this article that reforming the Treaty of Union with regard to sustainable development, and ensuring greater democracy and accountability, are all in the interests of Scotland. Aside from the international necessity for sustainable development, such a revision of the major guiding force in the future development of the EU is of great importance to Scotland as the country could benefit from a policy of sustainable development in many ways: through the creation of jobs; the revitalisation of urban and rural areas; a reduction in air pollution; and improvements in the nation's health and quality of life.

While reforming the Maastricht Treaty will not automatically mean that such policies will be enacted or implemented, it will provide a greater emphasis in the direction of sustainability. Scotland is a major recipient of funds from the EU through the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and the structural funds. In both these areas consideration for the environment and sustainable development is insufficient and ineffective. Furthermore, Scotland is currently not directly represented within the EU institutions except for the Parliament and the Committee of the Regions, both of which have limited

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influence over policy (especially over the CAP). Moves towards greater democracy, openness and accountability of all EU institutions to its citizens are therefore extremely important for Scotland, as such measures will help to increase the effectiveness of Scotland's limited voice in Europe.

THE NEED FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND WHAT IT MEANS

First some definitions: what is sustainable development and what does it mean for Scotland? Sustainable development is a rather nebulous concept, there being around 300 definitions presently. A commonly accepted definition is that supplied by the Brundtland Commission (1987) and quoted by the British Government in its UK Strategy for Sustainable Development (1994) - meeting present needs without compromising the future. Another definition used by the coalition of groups campaigning to green the Maastricht Treaty is 'improving the quality of life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting systems.' (IUCN/UNEP/WWF 1991). While there is a difference of emphasis between these two descriptions, at the core of any true definition of sustainable development must lie the following values:

the environment must be protected in such a way as to preserve essential ecosystem functions and to provide for the wellbeing of future generations; that environmental and economic policy must be integrated; that the goal of policy should be an improvement in the overall quality of life, not just income growth; that poverty must be ended and resources distributed more equally; and that all sections of society must be involved in decision making.
(Jacobs 1996)

There are two points here. Firstly sustainability is dynamic and not a rigid strategy dictated or prescribed by one sector of society, but a process that involves debate and compromise with all sectors. As needs change so will the strategies necessary to meet them. Secondly, sustainable development is not traditional economic growth projected indefinitely into the future. If one accepts that we live on a finite world, with defined boundaries beyond which we cannot go, then the idea of sustained growth in the long term is an oxymoron. Moreover there is considerable evidence to show that traditional economic growth as measured by GDP has not been beneficial to substantial numbers of Scottish people, who are unemployed, living in substandard

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housing or who suffer from poor health because of the environment in which they live.

HOW SCOTLAND CAN BENEFIT FROM SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

At present the sustainable development debate has broadly been conducted at a UK level, in the wake of the publication of the UK Sustainable Development Strategy (HMSO 1994). However, in 1995 following on from work carried out in the Netherlands (Buitekamp et al 1992) and at the European level (Spangenberg et al 1995) Friends of the Earth Scotland, in parallel with similar projects in 29 other European nations, carried out a year-long study into sustainable development in Scotland (Revie et al 1996). The initial findings of the research, using the concept of environmental space and concentrating on a number of key indicator resources, were:

- that Scotland is exceeding its share of the world's resources (and is not alone in this) and therefore needs to reduce its consumption of physical materials and the quantity of polluting emissions;
- this needs to be part of a global strategy to reduce humanity's consumption to within the earth's carrying capacity;
- and that reduction, in turn, has to be accompanied by a more equitable distribution of available resources within that carrying capacity to allow poorer countries to improve the quality of their citizens' lives.

Further work concluded that a reduction strategy could be carried out in such a way that was beneficial not only to the environment, but also for the Scottish economy and society (see below).

With the concept of environmental space, Friends of the Earth has attempted to define what a sustainable level of consumption would be in the light of the scientific information available on the earth's 'carrying capacity' and according to three guiding principles of equity, proximity and precaution. The approach has been to show the scale of difference between current levels of consumption and what is estimated to be sustainable, rather than to provide pinpoint accuracy. It is acknowledged that the underlying assumptions used to derive these figures are open to further refinement and debate.

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The idea of equity is paramount. Every person on the planet has an equal right to the resources available, although there may be reasons for defining areas where per capita usage may be above or below the global average (for example rainfall patterns determining the level of water consumption) or where significant consumption of a given resource is not possible at all. Present European levels of resource consumption are far above the global average. The richest 20% of the world's population are responsible for consuming 80%-90% of the world's resources and producing similar percentages of the world's pollution (Jacobs 1996).

The proximity principle further refines the equity consideration by stating that environmental (and other) problems need to be solved as close to the source as possible. In the past this has been interpreted as not exporting toxic waste abroad. A more broad interpretation would preclude Scottish pollution problems from being solved by closing down factories and moving production to somewhere in the Third World.

The last principle, that of precaution, is as defined in the Earth Summit Agreement signed at Rio:

Where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty shall not be used as a reason for postponing cost-effective measures to prevent environmental degradation.
(Quarrie J (ed) 1992)

Table 1 shows the results of applying these principles to the data on the environmental impacts of our current levels of resource use and pollution. Two things need to be clarified about these figures. Firstly, these are indicator resources, and as such they are indicative of the kind of reductions in primary resource-use which are required across the economy. So, for example, a reduction in aluminium consumption should not be achieved by substituting another metal. Secondly, these figures refer to consumption of primary resources, that is those extracted from the ground: consumption of a primary resource may be substituted for by consumption of materials from a secondary source (i.e. recycled). Further discussion of these figures is provided by Revie et al (1996).

Environmental space is a resource-based approach, which is used in conjunction with information on social issues to indicate a way forward. Another assessment of whether Scotland is sustainable was carried out at Stirling University using five different types of indicator. Although the

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results were mixed the authors concluded that 'on balance the message that emerges is that Scotland is not on a path of sustainable development' (Moffat, Hanley and Gill 1994), which while clear is less definite than the conclusion reached using the environmental space method. However, the key point is that, taken together, six different approaches (the five used at Stirling and environmental space) show that 'on balance' Scotland is not sustainable at present.

Table 1

Required Reduction of Indicator Resources for Scotland to live within its Environmental Space

<i>Resource</i>	2010	2050
<i>Non-Renewables:</i>		
Energy (CO2)	22-44%	87%
Cement	17%	69%
Pig Iron	14%	58%
Aluminium	19%	77%
Chlorine	25%	100%
<i>Renewables:</i>		
Forestry Products	44%	N/A
Water	0%	0%

Source: Towards a Sustainable Scotland 1996. (Note that the 2050 target for carbon dioxide emissions has been revised from those given in Towards A Sustainable Scotland.) See also Revie (forthcoming).

This conclusion can be backed up with a whole range of studies looking at specific issues, of health, of environmental degradation, of housing, access to resources and services in urban and rural areas, and biodiversity. Many of these remain major issues for a significant proportion of the population (for example see Fyfe G 1994). The broad thrust of current policies centred around a growth in GDP are not providing the solutions and are indeed in some cases the root cause of a number of social and environmental problems. For example, rising levels of traffic have meant rising levels of air pollution. The health costs in the UK of particulate emissions alone (50% of which is

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attributable to traffic) are estimated to be £14 billion (Pearce and Crowards 1995).

The environmental space targets are designed to preserve ecosystems (the ecological goal) and provide for future generations (social and economic goals) - as described by Jacobs (1996) - by defining limits or constraints (McLaren 1996a) on present demands and development (more detailed discussions of the concept of environmental space is provided by Revie et al (1996), McLaren (1996a and 1996b), Spangenberg et al (1995) and Buitekamp et al (1992)). However strategies for resource reduction need to be addressed within the context of other social and economic targets relating to today's needs and problems in Scotland, for example the level of unemployment, social deprivation, or unequal access to services etc.

THE BENEFITS TO SCOTLAND OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

Achieving environmental space targets will require that the economy be dematerialised (to borrow a term from Doctor Who), in other words to provide the same or improved level of services that are required by people, while consuming fewer resources to achieve this level of provision. For example, one of the services that we enjoy today is watching television. If we doubled the lifespan of the average TV, reduced its weight by around 30% and built it using 50% recycled parts and components, we could reduce by 80% the amount of materials extracted from the environment to provide the same amount of hours of television watched (Wams 1994).

An example of how we can improve the quality of peoples' lives and to help them live within the constraints of the environment can be found in the energy sector. Scotland faces apparently contradictory problems of the need to reduce carbon dioxide emissions significantly by 2010 and the need to tackle the crisis of poor housing and related fuel poverty, which currently cost the NHS in the UK approximately £1 billion per year because of resulting ill health (Hunt and Boardman 1994). However, there is a common solution: energy efficiency and energy advice can help reduce the demand for energy (and thus carbon dioxide emissions) and yet increase the service and comfort enjoyed in the home. A programme of sustained investment in energy conservation and advice could also create up to 17,000 jobs in Scotland (STUC 1995).

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Initial work on other resources shows a similar sort of picture, with the creation of large numbers of jobs in recycling schemes. A report for Scottish Enterprise estimated that increasing the rates of recycling of domestic waste could create between 1,000 and 2,000 jobs and save £25 million (Read 1990); another for Scottish homes estimated that even increasing the recovery of used building material to a modest 5% could create 13,000 part-time and full-time jobs (Liddell et al 1994). A conservative estimate by Friends of the Earth Scotland was that a programme of measures to protect the environment could produce over 38,000 jobs in Scotland (Revie et al 1996). Cambridge Econometrics arrived at a figure of 700,000 direct and indirect new jobs in the UK as a result of environmental protection (Barker and Lewney 1990), which would mean in the region of 56,000 jobs for Scotland. A study carried out for the European Commission on the effects of integrating economic and environmental policy (including the introduction of an EU-wide carbon energy tax) at an EU level would create over two million jobs (net) in the six largest economies of the EU, if income from environmental taxes was used to reduce employment costs by cutting employers' social security payments (DRI 1994). This study also concluded that the UK under such a scenario would become a major exporter of environmental services, and although some sectors would shed jobs, these would be in areas like car manufacturing (as opposed to car servicing) in which none or very few are now employed in Scotland. These examples help to illustrate that Scotland in many cases can develop win-win policies, improving both the environment and the quality of peoples' lives.

Doubters will perhaps point out the decline in industrial energy consumption over the past twenty years and the reduction across the economy of the energy intensity index (i.e. the energy required to produce £1 of output as measured by GDP in any given period), and therefore question the need for greater efforts to be made to reduce energy consumption. However, there are sufficient grounds to question whether this reduction is sustainable. While it is true that there have been technological changes which have allowed improvements in efficiency, UK manufacturing industry has also undergone decline, at the same time consumption of goods has increased, and the resulting shortfall in output has been made up by rising imports. Since 1982, the UK has consistently imported more manufactured goods than it exports (Department of the Environment 1996). So what has actually occurred is not a large increase in efficiency, but a small increase accompanied by a large shift in manufacturing, with its attended resource consumption and pollution, to overseas. This cannot be considered sustainable, especially when it has left areas of urban deprivation and environmental degradation dotted around

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Scotland and the UK, as a result of closed down industries, for example Ravenscraig. In contrast to sustainable development, we can categorise these strategies as win-lose or even lose-lose. In the case of Ravenscraig, Scotland gains less air pollution, but loses jobs and is left with the largest single area of contaminated ground in the UK

WHAT IS REQUIRED TO REFORM THE EU IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEED FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT?

All the Member States of the EU are signatories to the agreements made at the Rio Conference in 1992, and attempts have been made to implement such policies through the Fifth Environmental Action Plan entitled **Towards Sustainability**. However, free trade and the creation of the internal market remain the pre-eminent goals for the EU, to the detriment of the environment - a win-lose strategy. This has important implications for Scotland because

European legislation establishes the framework for our industry;
European subsidies underwrite our agriculture; European quotas affect our fisheries; European grants contribute to our infrastructure and development of peripheral or blighted communities.
(Dunion 1995)

Moreover the EU has had increasing influence over environmental law, which in turn affects patterns of investment. Physical evidence of this can be seen in the effect that EU Directives are having in Scotland, with for example the Directive to phase out the dumping of sewage sludge at sea by 1998, the EU regulations for drinking water and bathing water quality and the soon to be enforced Air Quality Directive.

However, the EU is currently failing to deliver on sustainable development in at least one critical area - tackling the problem of global climate change by reducing carbon dioxide emissions. It is doubtful whether the EU will meet its target of stabilising emissions at the 1990 level by the year 2000, after most of the member states recorded increases in emissions during the early 1990s, a period of recession, and at least six countries have said that they will only meet their emission targets if a carbon or energy tax is introduced (Environmental Data Services 1996). The UK, in this case, is one of the few countries that is expected to meet its target with ease. Despite this, the Council of Ministers has recently voted to cut funding to the SAVE II programme designed to promote energy efficiency.

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Sustainable development is not a recipe for economic autarky, and Scotland (or for that matter any other country or region) as part of the EU cannot swim one way while the rest of the Union proceeds in another direction: concerted international action is required, of which reforming the EU is but a part. This can be illustrated by looking at trade. Scotland does not manufacture many of the products that it 'consumes'; therefore the ability of a Scottish parliament to influence how these products are made with regard to their sustainability is limited. Only agreements at an international level can achieve this. Approaching the issue from another direction, we find that over 60% of Scotland's exports are to countries in the EU, excluding Austria, Sweden and Finland (Scottish Office 1994). As many EU countries have environmental regulations that are currently stricter than our own, improving EU legislation which in turn will improve domestic legislation as well as allowing countries to go beyond an EU-wide minimum will help to create a domestic environmental technology market within which firms can develop their products and services. This in turn will enable them to compete more effectively in EU countries.

Greening the Treaty is an important step to enable a sustainable development strategy to be pursued in Scotland, a necessary but not sufficient condition. The Maastricht Treaty still underlies the development of the European Union, and the outcomes of the discussions around the Inter Governmental Conference will define the way forward in the opening years of the next century, a period which is critical in meeting several environmental targets as part of the move towards sustainable development. The IGC, although principally concerned with reform the institutions of the EU in preparation for further expansion, presents an opportunity to make the EU more amenable to sustainable development than is currently the case. The Greening the Treaty Group, an alliance of the European arms of Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, the Climate Network, plus the World Wide Fund for Nature, the European Environment Bureau and the European Federation for Transport and Environment, have two broad aims, as stated in **Greening the Treaty II** (CAN/EEB/TandE/FOEE/Greenpeace/WWF 1995): strengthening sustainable development, and increasing democratic accountability.

STRENGTHENING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Firstly, there is the aim to strengthen the idea of sustainable development in the Treaty, to strengthen the environmental provisions made therein and to increase the integration of environmental policies with other policy areas.

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Unfortunately, it is not possible to show a direct causal link between changing texts within the Maastricht Treaty and direct effects on the ground. In one sense, changing the Treaty to make it more amenable to sustainable development can only have a broad 'background' effect. However, the directives and decisions of the Council of Ministers do have an effect on the ground and are made within the terms of the Treaty of Union. Amendments to the treaty therefore do provide a favourable climate in which to promote 'good' initiatives and a poor climate to promote 'bad' initiatives. Within this aim are five specific objectives:

1. To make sustainable development the clear and primary objective

Despite member countries' commitments to sustainable development, it is still treated very much as a peripheral issue, at least in practice, with, for example, few of the Fifth Environmental Action Plan's targets being translated into directives (McLaren 1996b). Sustainability is only one of the objectives within the Treaty at present, and the wording is ambiguous, referring to 'sustainable and non-inflationary growth respecting the environment'; this is even more ambiguous in the French and German texts (IEEP 1995). Beyond this, sustainable development requires the integration of environmental policy into other policy areas. Despite integration being written into the Treaty since the single European Act of 1987, hazy wording has, at least, enabled the avoidance of concrete steps. At no stage does the Treaty say in which areas should such integration occur - all or just some. For example, when it is realised that the Articles governing European policy towards agriculture are more or less unchanged from the original 1957 Treaty and do not contain any reference to the environment or rural development, the importance of specifying the need for integration in agriculture in the opening Articles is clear.

Integration of environmental policy is at present still just tinkering at the margins. Even though some reforms of the CAP took place in 1992, the level of subsidy for organic agriculture is dwarfed by subsidies for non-organic production with all the attendant environmental problems that this brings. In 1995-6, the Scottish Office Agriculture, Environment and Fisheries Department spent nearly £500 million on agriculture; less than £25 million of this went on agri-environment initiatives or Environmentally Sensitive Areas.

The economic and social benefits of greater integration of environmental and agricultural issues can be seen in figures from the Scottish Office which suggest that a switch to organic agriculture would increase labour

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requirements by 17% (Atkinson et al 1994), in addition to reducing the impact upon the environment.

Additionally, large areas of Scotland are eligible for EU structural adjustment funding under Objective 1, amongst other programmes. Whilst there has been some success in modifying EU structural funding to take account of environmental issues, the underlying purpose of the structural adjustment funds is to 'close the development gap between richer and poorer parts of Europe' as has been written into the Maastricht Treaty. Yet at the same time the European Single Market is likely to exacerbate these differences by removing barriers to trade, and concentrating development in the richest areas (Lake 1994). The result of this has been that regional policy has to work harder if differences between rich and poor areas are to be overcome, and yet 'Community Support Frameworks through which funding for regional policy is channelled do not articulate a clear and consistent conception of what kind of development the EU is trying to achieve' (Lazaridis and Syngellakis 1995). Additionally, the criteria under which Objective 1 programmes are judged are GDP and unemployment. GDP can tell you nothing about the sustainability of a project and gross jobs created is also an extremely crude measure.

Ironically, the way that the structural funds are managed is the most regionalised: that is to say they are the the best practical application of subsidiarity, in that expenditure decisions are not made by the Commission but by committees drawn from the areas affected. It is for this reason that clear guidance with regard to sustainable development is needed.

2. *To rationalise decision-making on environmental matters*

Presently, there are 4 separate legislative processes for environmental decision-making, and these are cumbersome, complex and confusing. And, according to David Martin MEP, there are in fact 23 different ways to pass laws through EU institutions. These should be harmonised into one. This would help to increase the transparency of EU decision-taking.

3. *To ensure that harmonisation of national legislation does not block the implementation of protective environmental measures beyond the minimum required by EU directives*

While there have been some recent examples where national environmental goals have survived being challenged on free-trade grounds (Danish bottle

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recycling laws, and Danish and German laws restricting the use of pentachlorophenol - PCP), national governments have to seek the approval of the Commission. In the case of PCP in Denmark the Commission's decision was taken in the light of the knowledge that it would have a minimum effect on trade and that PCP is no longer manufactured within the EU (ENDS Report March 1996), a factor which must also have had some bearing in the German decision as well. It would seem therefore that the Commission is only deciding in favour of national legislation to protect the environment where trade is not compromised to any great degree.

Again wording of the Articles of the Treaty is of great importance. Some are of the opinion that the way in which they are presently worded means that only existing environmental legislation can be defended against challenges of interfering with trade, rather than new legislation (Kramer 1992). This could have implications for a Scottish parliament should it wish to define its own environmental regulations, different from those of the rest of the UK if necessary, or from those of any other member of the EU.

4. *To ensure that environmental measures are the highest possible*

Where harmonisation of legislation does take place, the goal should be to move all legislation on environmental matters to that of the highest level prevailing in any member state. There is clear evidence that where UK regulations are sufficiently strict then the UK enjoys a balance of payments surplus in related technology or at least is able to compete with other countries (Environmental Data Services 1994). Where the UK lags behind, catching up invariably involves importing equipment from abroad even when the technology was originally conceived in Britain (as was the case with flue gas desulphurisation technology for power stations) because of a lack of a domestic market within which UK firms can develop their products and skills. Furthermore in 1991 over half of the UK's environmental technology exports were to other EC countries, and by 1996 the European market for environmental management was estimated to be worth over £40 billion (Banel 1996). It is therefore in the interests of creating jobs, that not only should environmental standards be as high as possible, but also that countries should have the freedom to go above and beyond the minimum EU standards. This is what subsidiarity should mean in practice and not merely a way of resisting Brussels. Additionally, on a broader level,

allowing innovation in the environmental policy of individual Member States can not only secure increased environmental benefits in those

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Member States themselves but also can be the catalyst for more stringent Community legislation.
(IEEP 1995)

5. *To strengthen the enforceability of environmental legislation*

This would be done by increasing the powers of the European Court of Justice to fine member states in breach of EC directives and by increasing the power of individuals to bring such cases of non-compliance forward.

INCREASING DEMOCRATIC ACCOUNTABILITY

The aim of the second set of points is to increase the democratic accountability of EU institutions. While greater democratisation is not purely an environmental issue, there is a strong link between environmental policy-making and the presence of democratic institutions. At present the EU institutions are remote from everyday lives while the impact of the decisions taken by them reverberate down to the level of the individual - for example, the higher water charges we will all have to pay to provide the funds for meeting the EU requirement to stop sewage dumping at sea. Greater democratic control is also in line with the principle of subsidiarity, in that 'higher levels [of society] should support lower ones to ensure that they have sufficient means to undertake required tasks' (Carley and Christie 1992). Also ensuring greater access to information will help to empower the 'lower levels'. Again there are five objectives laid out to help achieve this:

i To ensure decision-making by qualified majority voting and co-decision on environmental decisions

It is vital that those lagging behind on environmental measures not be allowed to hold up progress. More importantly for Scotland, expanding co-decision making means greater powers and influence for the European parliament where there is, almost uniquely within the EU, a separate Scottish voice. It would also extend parliamentary influence into important areas for Scotland, such as agricultural policy where the role of parliament is currently limited. The European parliament also has a better record in supporting the environmental measures than the Council of Ministers, which has often watered down the Commission's proposals (ENDS Report April 1996b).

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- ii ***To provide a more effective form of right of initiative for the Parliament.***

As above giving more power to the European Parliament would in a small way increase the effectiveness of the Scottish voice.

- iii ***To require transparency in the Council of Ministers, specifically open legislative proceedings, published votes and meaningful access of information.***

- iv ***To ensure that access to information rights should apply to all EU institutions and across all subjects, not just environmental.***

- v ***To provide access to judicial review.***

The power of citizens and their organisations to influence decision-making is directly related to the availability of information. Providing access to a judicial review will enable citizens and their representatives to use that information to force governments to comply with directives, and in principle make the Commission responsible for its actions. In this respect, the IGC negotiation process itself has highlighted the need to increase the influence of Scotland's citizens and representatives within the EU.

SCOTLAND'S VOICE IN EUROPE

The problem for Scotland is that it is not an individual sovereign nation and as such has no direct representation within such important bodies as the the Council of Ministers, even when there is a Scottish minister for given areas (for example environmental affairs) and as such cannot lobby directly for changes which are desirable. While Scottish ministers may form part of the UK ministerial team, it does not appear that they are able to put a separate or different case at the European level, having to support the case agreed in advance by the UK team - an agreement that tends to be dominated by English ministers. 'The Scottish role is not therefore to negotiate policy or strategy but to arrange for implementation' (Dunion 1995). The most recent example of this Scottish weakness at the EU table has been over BSE, where the incidence of BSE in Scottish herds has been much lower than those in England (and in some cases absent) and yet Scottish beef is under the same restrictions as apply to the rest of the UK. Additionally, there are several areas where the Scottish office has no direct responsibility (for example,

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some aspects of transport) and where Scottish interests at the international level are represented from London, as was the case with the Braer Disaster (Dunion 1995).

Where Scottish representatives do plug directly into the institutions of the EU are in the European Parliament (as noted above) and in the Committee of the Regions (although in the latter case delegates, mostly drawn from local authorities and other bodies, are not chosen by the people of Scotland, but by the Secretary of State and approved by the Prime Minister of the UK), as well as through the lobbying organisation Scotland Europa, designed to promote a Scottish voice in Europe, and other interest groups who maintain a European office. Unfortunately none of these are involved in the discussions of the Inter Governmental Conference; in fact the Council of Ministers voted to exclude the Parliament from the negotiations.

The Secretary of State does sit on the government committee that considers European issues, and papers on the IGC and other European issues are circulated to the those in the Scottish Office for comment. However in these cases the Scottish voice is merely one of several government departments. Where Scottish views differ from those of their counterparts in the rest of the UK, the Scottish voice will not be heard in Europe.

CONCLUSIONS

While the assessment of long-term environmental objectives as part of a sustainable development strategy for Scotland is at an early stage, other parts of the sustainability agenda could bring multiple benefits for Scotland, not least in the area of job opportunities.

Increasing the democratic accountability of the Union is important for Scotland because at present it does not have an independent voice in key areas like the Council of Ministers, nor is it likely to under present proposals for a Scottish parliament. Giving the European parliament a greater say and increasing the accessibility and accountability of other institutions are, especially in the absence of a voice at the top table, directly of benefit to Scottish citizens.

Reform of the EU and its institutions in favour of sustainable development will not initiate a new dawn of sustainable development policies, solving Scotland's problems. The role of the EU institutions is to initiate legislation

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and monitor the implementation of the EU Treaty and legislation in the Member States. It is the States themselves which carry out the implementation of policy. A 'greened' Maastricht Treaty is therefore only part of the picture. Should a Scottish parliament come into being it will need to address itself to a sustainability agenda, a task that will be made easier if sustainable development has already been placed at the heart of European policies.

It is important therefore for Scottish organisations that do have voices in Europe to speak as loudly as possible in favour of sustainable development, and greater openness and accountability over the coming months.

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