

recommendations, all endorsed and accepted by WWF, among them the creation of 'indigenous policy focal points' and the development of a 'broader social policy', the authors insisted that their recommendations 'represent the start of a process, not the end of it. The review is but an initial step; others must follow.'⁵²

WWF's cooperative approach to business and industry became more selective under Claude Martin. In 2003 the director general told the international board: 'WWF works with progressive elements in industry to promote leadership and demonstrate corporate sustainability, develop environmental best practices, catalyse sectorial and political change and finally, to finance conservation activities.' This policy went hand in hand, however, with an increasing awareness of corporate sponsors trying to 'greenwash' themselves. Claude Martin therefore underlined that WWF 'must be vigilant and prudent in its dealings with Business and Industry' and that '[h]igh standards in terms of accountability are essential'. In practice this meant that the organisation increasingly insisted on its right to openly criticise even those companies that had given them money. This was exemplified in the case of Shell, the fund's first corporate sponsor. With Shell and its partner Enron the organisation fought 'VERY hard' over a gas pipeline constructed through the Chiquitanos dry forest from Bolivia to the Brazilian town of Cuiaba between 1999 and 2001.⁵³ When at the beginning of the 21st century WWF failed to identify an 'oil & gas company that is serious about being a leader in transforming their impacts on climate change and on biodiversity', the organisation began to 'phase-out [...] funding from fossil fuel companies such as BP, Shell and others' in the year 2000.⁵⁴

While WWF's link to the oil industry ended because the fund was unable to find a corporation willing to commit itself to conservation by improving its ecological footprint – a measuring tool to calculate the environmental impact of individuals, states and corporations developed in the course of the 1990s – in the construction industry WWF found a major player who was serious about going green.⁵⁵ In 2000 the Paris-based construction giant Lafarge became WWF's

Overleaf: Emperor penguins in snowstorm, Dawson-Lambton Glacier, Antarctica