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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

25 January 1989

Dr. Royler,

CONFERENCE ON THE OZONE LAYER

The Prime Minister has asked me to pass on to your Secretary of State a couple of suggestions about the Conference on the Ozone Layer.

The first concerns the agenda. She wonders whether one session of the Conference might not be devoted to global warming. There is no doubt about the importance of the subject and there is a link with CFCs, which contribute to it in a significant way. A discussion would help draw together the various strands of the issue, which are being dealt with by the working groups set up by the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. The Prime Minister realises that it is rather late in the day to add to the agenda, but would nonetheless wish consideration to be given to this idea.

The second point concerns participation. I am not sure what the position is on non-governmental participation. But it has been suggested to the Prime Minister that Dr. Gordon MacDonald, an American scientist and currently Vice-President and Chief Scientist of the MITRE Corporation, might be a good candidate. I enclose his cv. I should be grateful for advice on whether he might be included.

Your sincerely
Chris Powell

(C. D. POWELL)

Roger Bright, Esq.,
Department of the Environment.

GORDON J. F. MacDONALD

Dr. MacDonald's principal professional interests have been in scientific and technical research, education, environment, and national security affairs. He prepared for his professional career at Harvard University receiving an A.B. (summa cum laude) in 1950, an A.M. in 1952, and a Ph.D. in 1954. In 1952 he was selected to be a Junior Fellow permitting him to spend three years pursuing research interests free from any formal educational requirements.

Dr. MacDonald has held tenured professorships and had various administrative responsibilities at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of California (Los Angeles), University of California (Santa Barbara), and Dartmouth College. In addition to teaching a wide variety of courses at both the undergraduate and graduate levels in physics, geophysics, environmental studies, and government, Dr. MacDonald has supervised the Ph.D. thesis of over 50 students in a number of scientific areas. His research covering such diverse fields as upper atmospheric physics, the nature of the earth's interior, weather modification, the geology and paleontology of southern Vermont, history of the moon and planets, nonlinear statistics, and environmental sciences has led to the publication of over 120 papers and monographs. His book, *The Rotation of the Earth*, coauthored with Walter Munk, received the American Academy of Sciences Monograph Prize for 1959 and remains the premier work in this field. Among the honors he has received are elections to the National Academy of Sciences (1962), the American Philosophical Society (1962), and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1958). At the time of his election to these societies, he was their youngest member. In addition to his academic accomplishments, Dr. MacDonald has served as editor or coeditor of eight international journals.

Dr. MacDonald began his work on national security affairs in 1961 when he became a consultant to the Department of Defense through his membership in JASON. He was Executive Vice President of the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA) (1966-1968) and a member of the Board of Trustees of IDA (1966-1970). He also served as a member of the Board of Trustees of The MITRE Corporation (1968-1970, 1972-1977). He is currently Vice President and Chief Scientist of MITRE. Dr. MacDonald has authored or coauthored over 100 classified reports and papers. He has also published some 30 unclassified papers on topics such as naval strategy, communications, command and control, air defense issues, and nuclear weapons.

Dr. MacDonald has served government at the federal and state levels both on a full-time and part-time basis. He was appointed to the first Council on Environmental Quality by President Nixon in 1970 and for two years played a key role in the formulation and implementation of federal environmental legislation. As a member of CEQ, he led the U.S. negotiating team on the U.S.-USSR environmental agreement signed by President Nixon and Secretary Brezhnev in 1972 and represented the U.S. in OECD, U.N., and other international organizations in dealing with environmental problems. He had earlier served Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy as Staff Associate for the new National Aeronautics and Space Administration aiding in the formulation of the long-term program of exploration of the moon and planets. In 1965, President Johnson appointed Dr. MacDonald to the President's Science Advisory Committee where his principal work was on oceanography, naval warfare, and strategic policies. He has also served as a member of the Defense Science Board and its Executive Committee, the Department of Commerce Technical Advisory Board, and the Department of State's Advisory Committee on Science and Foreign Affairs. He also helped establish and chaired the first committee to advise a state legislature on science and technology in California, working closely with then Governor Reagan.

Currently, Dr. MacDonald continues his work as senior advisor to the country's national security agencies as well as conducting research on such topics as new methods of signal processing, and the nature of acid rain and climate change.



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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

25 January 1989

Thank you for your letter and the note from Mr. MacDonald. Would it be possible to obtain copies of papers or articles which he has written on global warming and climate change? I think these would be of interest.

I am pursuing the suggestion about the agenda of the Conference in March. But it may be too late to change things at this stage.

(C. D. POWELL)

David Hart, Esq.

GTS.

Re: BRITISH
(Aerosol)



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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

23 January 1989

The Prime Minister has asked me to thank you for your letter of 19 January inviting her to the British Aerosol Manufacturers' Association's 40th anniversary dinner in the Autumn.

We have now had a chance to consider the Prime Minister's diary for the rest of this year and I regret that I must bring what I know will be a disappointing reply. Mrs Thatcher has received a very large number of invitations and the demands on her time make it impossible for her to accept more than a small proportion of these. I am afraid therefore I must bring a reluctant refusal on the Prime Minister's behalf.

Tessa Gaisman

Denis Foulger, Esq.

DF

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Charles Powell, Esq.
10 Downing Street
London
SW1

23 January 1989

Dear Charles

We could have
a session on global
warming as CFC's
do contribute to
it via
major way

Re Minister

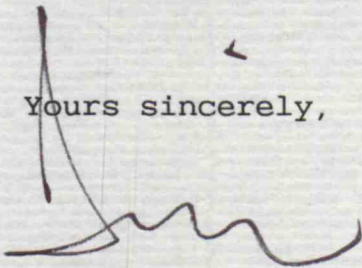
You will wish to
be aware of the
idea in the attached
paper. But I am
not sure it is a
very practical one.

CDD
24/1

I enclose a note to me from Gordon MacDonald together with a note explaining who he is. Casey thought that he was probably the best scientific intelligence brain in America. He is also an authority on global climate. I think that the Prime Minister would find a private conversation with him helpful. If she agrees, I suggest that it take place sometime between now and the CFCs conference in London in March.

I would be happy to arrange for him to come over and bring him in.

Yours sincerely,



David Hart

I don't think
we could see him in
advance. Could he
come to the conference?
Could he let us have
any papers/articles he
has written.

To: David Hart

From: Gordon J. MacDonald *GJM*

Date: January 13, 1989

Subject: March Meeting on CFCs Sponsored by UK and UNEP

Background

The Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer and a Resolution on a Protocol Concerning Chlorofluorocarbons was adopted on March 18-22, 1985 at a conference called by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). International action was prompted by the British Antarctic Survey's discovery of large seasonal fluctuations in ozone (Ozone Hole) over Antarctica. On September 14-18, 1987, a Diplomatic Conference adopted the Montreal Protocol. The protocol has now been signed and ratified by the requisite share of producers (a minimum of eleven parties sign, representing at least two-thirds of global consumption) and entered into force on January 1, 1989. The protocol provides for the freezing of production and consumption of CFCs by developed countries at 1986 levels, beginning in mid-1989. Group I compounds (certain CFCs) must be cut to 50 percent of 1986 levels over the next ten years; Group II compounds (specified halogens) may remain at 1986 levels. Developing countries that consume less than 0.3 kg annually are free to increase production and consumption within certain limits for a ten-year period, after which they begin the developed-country regime.

The basis for CFC limitations was the shared belief that reduction of stratospheric ozone levels on a global scale could adversely affect human health by increasing the incidence of skin cancer and cataracts, and by damaging the human immune systems. Although health effects were of paramount importance in forcing international action, the contribution of CFCs to greenhouse warming has also been recognized.

Issues

The Vienna Convention and Montreal Protocol left difficult issues unresolved and key terms defined ambiguously. These deficiencies pose future difficulties. However, the March 1989 meeting has been called for the purpose of convincing a number of large countries—China, India, Brazil, etc.—who fall within the developing-nation regime to adhere to the Montreal Protocol. The intent is to convince non-adhering nations that products soon to be available from ICI, duPont, and others can replace existing CFCs without economic penalty.

Attendees of the meeting are to be at the ministerial level, with assured high-level participation by the UK. The agenda, as currently envisaged by UNEP, is highly technical: the manufacturing processes now available and the properties of the products. Such considerations, while important in a narrow technical sense, are not appropriate matters for ministers, and are even less so for high-level UK participants. Yet the UK is fully committed to the conference.

Alternatives

At high levels, the UK has expressed interest in global environmental issues other than ozone depletion. The March meeting offers the opportunity to further international discussion of these issues. The purpose would be to develop an understanding of the difficulties of dealing with, for example, global warming as contrasted with the relative simplicity of the ozone depletion question. Given the world's dependence on carbon-based fuels, there is no question that global warming will at some stage be of extreme importance. Setting the stage for sensible discussions is essential if hasty actions such as those proposed by the September 1988 Toronto Conference (20 percent reduction in carbon dioxide emissions by the year 2005) are to be avoided.

The March meeting could be structured to devote one day to global warming. If any pretense is required, the greenhouse properties of CFCs are available. The discussion would focus on the scientific evidence for warming, possible effects, and potential options for the future. The timing is propitious. In the December meeting of the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) at the sub-ministerial level, three groups were established to examine facets of the global warming question: scientific basis for warming, chaired by the UK; effects, chaired by the USSR; and policy options, chaired by the USA. All three groups will meet for the first time in January 1989. These activities need to be channeled in a constructive way through intellectual leadership, which could be provided at the March meeting.

The original purpose of the March meeting could easily be dealt with in the final two days without high-level participation.

Postscript

I fully appreciate the difficulties and complexities of restructuring international meetings on a short time scale. However, I strongly believe it is advantageous. As presently conceived, the meeting is devoid of political significance and, in fact, could be carried off as a technical meeting of experts. The participation at the policy level opens the opportunity to decisively influence future discussion and action on global warming. The decision not to use this opportunity in a constructive way opens the road to ill-conceived proposals having superficial public attractiveness. Further, there is the danger that proceeding with the present focus for the meeting could lead to ill-informed wrangling about the perils and prospects of various manufacturing schemes for CFCs. Such an outcome could prove embarrassing.

GJM:dao

PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T.19/89



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*cc Fred
DOE
CO*

*SUBJECT re MASTER
OPS*

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

23 January 1989

Dear Mr. President:

The United Kingdom, in association with the United Nations Environment Programme, is hosting a major international conference on the protection of the ozone layer in London on 5 - 7 March. Our aim is to secure increased support for international efforts to protect the ozone layer.

It would add greatly to the prestige and success of the meeting if you were able to deliver the keynote speech at the opening ceremony of the conference on Sunday 5 March. As one of the leading developing country signatories of the Vienna Convention and the Montreal Protocol, and as host country of the United Nations Environment Programme, Kenya has a key role to play at the conference. Your participation would be a powerful attraction to all countries and the clearest possible message of support.

It will also give me great pleasure personally to welcome you to London, and in addition to seeing you at the Opening Ceremony. I hope you will join me for a small working lunch the following day, 6 March, so that we can have a good talk.

M