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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

27 January 1989

FRENCH PRIME MINISTER'S CALL FOR AN ENVIRONMENTAL CONFERENCE

Thank you for your letter of 26 January enclosing the report of Sir Ewen Fergusson's conversation with the French Prime Minister, together with the letter of invitation to the meeting at The Hague on 11 March and accompanying draft declaration.

The Prime Minister looks forward to receiving advice but has already read the draft declaration and takes a dim view of it. She has commented that it is important to do things, not make declarations. I think you would find it very hard to persuade her to attend the conference (if that were your inclination).

I am copying this letter to Roger Bright (Department of the Environment).

C. D. POWELL

ZB

R. N. Peirce, Esq.
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

cc



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

26 January 1989

Dear Charles

step
The French Prime Minister's Call
For An Environmental Conference

Lyn Parker last wrote to you about the Rocard initiative on 6 January.

We have now received more information about this initiative, as set out in the letter of 19 January (enclosed) from Sir Ewen Fergusson. M Rocard confirms that his initiative is being co-sponsored by the Norwegian and Dutch Prime Ministers, and that the Conference will be held in The Hague on 11 March.

Although knowledge of the initiative is held within a tight circle in Paris a considerable number of Heads of State/Government have been invited to attend already, and the Japanese and Canadian Embassies here have separately sought our reactions to it. Against this background the initiative seems likely to become public knowledge sooner rather than later.

We are consulting the Department of the Environment and will let you have advice very soon on a response to M Rocard.

Yours ever

R N Peirce

(R N Peirce)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
 10 Downing Street



FROM THE AMBASSADOR

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N^o Beetham MAET
Early advice please
BRITISH EMBASSY,
PARIS.

19 January 1989

23/1

R H T Gozney Esq
Assistant Private Secretary
to the Secretary of State for
Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
WH 203
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Dear Gozney,

THE FRENCH PRIME MINISTER'S PERSONAL ENVIRONMENTAL INITIATIVE

1. I was summoned by the Prime Minister at very short notice to see him this morning about the further steps which have been taken over his environmental initiative. This continues to be handled by M. Rocard personally, and he remains very concerned that the circle of those informed should be kept as limited as possible to avoid the risk of leaks. That is why I again write to the Private Office.
2. M. Rocard said that he had paid close attention to the Prime Minister's comments, both orally and in her message of 30 November. He fully understood her concern about national sovereignty. He agreed that institutional change ought not to be considered for problems which were already under effective study. However, so far as the greenhouse effect and ozone layer were concerned these newly identified problems needed new solutions which went beyond existing concern for national sovereignty. He thought that the Prime Minister would want to know now of the further work which he had carried forward.
3. Agreement had now been reached between the Norwegian and Netherlands Prime Ministers and himself on the text of a letter inviting other executive Heads of State and government to a meeting to be held in The Hague on 11 March. That meeting would agree on a joint declaration, the text of which was already very largely agreed among the potential participants. I attach copies of English versions of the letter and declaration which he gave to me.
4. M. Rocard said that he had taken particular account of Mrs Thatcher's reference to the United Nations framework. She would see the reference to the United Nations in the draft declaration. He hoped that the declaration could be transmitted for consideration at the next UN General Assembly.

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5. Because of Mrs Thatcher's previous reservations he had not sought to involve her in the continuing discussion but, if on further study she now wished to be associated with the exercise, she would be a recipient of the letter on equal terms with the other participants (though he was not looking for any substantial renegotiation of the terms of the draft declaration).

6. M. Rocard listed for me the present state of acceptances:-

(a) committed to the letter, declaration and to personal attendance at The Hague:

Côte d'Ivoire, President Félix Houphouët-Boigny;

Egypt, President Mubarak;

France, President Mitterrand or M. Rocard or (exceptionally) both;

Jordan, King Hussein;

Norway, Mrs Brundtland;

Netherlands, Mr Lubbers;

Senegal, President Diouf;

Sweden, Mr Carlsson;

Tunisia, Mr Ben Ali

(b) attendance subject to confirmation:

Malta, Mr Fenech Adami (M. Rocard had had his attention drawn to the Maltese draft resolution on climate change at the UNGA last December. The Maltese Prime Minister was agreed on the principles; there remained one or two points of detail);

India, Mr Rajiv Gandhi

(c) agreed but not yet approached about the date of 11 March in The Hague (but immediate approaches are now being made):

Australia, Mr Hawke;

Brazil, President Sarney;

Canada, Mr Mulroney;

/Spain,



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Spain, Mr Felipe González;

Hungary, Mr Grósz;

Japan, Mr Takeshita;

New Zealand, Mr Lange;

FRG, Chancellor Kohl;

Venezuela, Mr Carlos Perez;

Zimbabwe, President Mugabe (he had explained that he was firmly agreed on the principle/substance but could not be present at the meeting in person.

7. M. Rocard went on to say that the three other permanent members of the Security Council had not yet been formally contacted. He repeated the point which he had made to me in November about the risk of imbalance. So far as the Soviet Union was concerned President Mitterrand had mentioned the ideas in general terms to Mr Gorbachev during his visit to Moscow and had received a supportive reaction. As for the United States the Presidential elections had meant that there was no effective interlocutor. Moreover the constitutional position of the President was such that it would be difficult for him to clear his lines in order to make a public commitment to the declaration without widespread consultation and therefore disclosure of the exercise.

8. This led M. Rocard to put stress on his belief that the international impact would be greatest if the meeting in The Hague and the declaration could be made with the minimum of advance publicity. The aim was, by surprise, to make the biggest splash.

9. As soon as the letter was ready to issue to those who had agreed to come on board, the remaining EC Member States would be informed. He implied, but did not say so expressly, that at that time the French would also brief the United States and the Soviet Union.

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10. I was invited to comment briefly (M. Rocard was already late for another meeting). I said that I was sure that very rapid consideration would now be given to the latest stage of the proposals. M. Rocard would know, since I had made a point of giving him due notice, that the Prime Minister's interest in environmental issues would be followed up at the London conference on fluorocarbons due to start on 5 March just before his proposed meeting in The Hague. I gave him a copy of the latest draft programme. He seemed very relaxed and certainly did not indicate the irritation at the British initiative of which we had heard earlier reports.

11. As is clear from what I have written this exercise remains very much a personal baby of M. Rocard's. He has obviously devoted a great deal of his own time and energy to pursuing it. To avoid delay in carrying the exercise forward he will be looking for an early reply on Mrs Thatcher's part. He is clearly hoping that the combination of declared support and the specific terms of the references to the United Nations in the declaration will make it possible for her to agree to the proposal, even at this short notice, to join with the other participants at The Hague meeting. I look forward to hearing from you very soon. May I leave it to you to give this letter any further distribution which may be necessary?

Yours sincerely,

Ewen Fergusson

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As the nineteen-eighties come to a close, we have all become aware of the threats to which our common environment is subjected. The scope and complexity of these threats have grown considerably, as population and production levels increased. Insofar as they have come to bear on the atmosphere which makes life possible on our planet these threats clearly show that there are limits that cannot be trespassed without putting at risk the very integrity of the ecosystem and, hence, of life itself.

Unchallenged scientific reports analyze and explain the attacks to which our world is subjected, in particular because of increasing concentrations of carbon dioxide, and the deterioration of the ozone layer. A substantial warming of our climates and water temperatures, as well as a considerable rise in sea levels appear to be inevitable unless bold prevention measures are implemented. The World Committee on Development and the Environment has also stressed that these are vital issues.

It behooves us, as heads of States and Governments, to respond effectively to such threats which jeopardize the future of mankind and can only be dealt with on a global level.

Of course there is a whole network of international conventions, intergovernmental fora, specialized agencies which, with varying degrees of effect, deal with environmental issues. But we do feel that present structures are not truly up to the problem we face today, especially in respect to protecting the atmosphere.

Really!
is this the
view of the
syndicates



We feel the time has come for the world to give itself the means to deal with this problem. We feel in particular that we need a new authority, which we propose to call GLOBE. To this end, we propose the adoption of a declaration of policy principles. This new set of principles will deal with the institutional and legal aspects involved and serve as a basis for discussion within the international community.

We have already had the opportunity, directly or indirectly, to broach these issues with each and every one of you, as well as with the Secretary General of the United Nations, and, although no one can underestimate foreseeable difficulties, this initiative has so far met with your keenest interest.

Our approach quite deliberately shuns customary procedures. We feel that only a very energetic and determined course of action can lead to solutions developing faster than problems and can entail remedies quicker than the dangers they mean to avert.

For these reasons, we invite you personally to participate in a meeting which will be held in the Hague, in the Netherlands, where the International Court of Justice is headquartered, on 11 March 1989. This meeting, which may be preceded by a meeting of our personal representatives the day before will aim on the one hand to reach agreement on a common declaration of all participants breaking ground for this future structure a letter to which we would all be signatories, which would be addressed to all heads of States and Governments of member States of the United Nations requesting their support for this initiative, which could be taken up by the United Nations General Assembly at its next session.

For the time being, and stressing that each and every one of its terms will be open to discussion, please find herewith a draft final declaration, the purpose of which is both to give our intents a more precise form and to act as a basis for discussion.

We under no circumstances underestimate the burden coming to The Hague may present to you, especially at such short notice, but we wish to stress once again that it is in everybody's best interest, and that only the resolve of the very high level leadership you represent can give this initiative the initial momentum the lack of which would inevitably cause it either to fail, or to succeed all too late.

We naturally do not feel any prior publicity should be given to this meeting. We are however aware of the fact that the convening of so many decision-makers of such standing can hardly hope to go by unnoticed. We nevertheless do not feel this to be a major disadvantage as public discovery, at a press conference to be held at the end of our meeting, of both its goals and its outcome will probably have considerable impact on international opinion, which will in turn prove to be a great asset for future developments.

Gro HARLEM BRUNDTLAND
Prime Minister
of Norway

Ruud LUBBERS
Prime Minister
of the Netherlands

Michel ROCARD
Prime Minister
of France

DRAFT "DECLARATION OF THE HAGUE"

The right to live is the right from which all other rights stem. Guaranteeing this right is the paramount duty of those in charge of all States throughout the world.

Today, the very conditions of life on our planet are threatened by the severe attacks to which the earth's atmosphere is subjected.

Unchallenged scientific studies have shown over the last few years the existence and scope of considerable dangers linked in particular to the warming of the atmosphere and to the deterioration of the ozone layer. Only the latter has so far led to action, under the Montreal Protocol.

According to present scientific knowledge, the consequences of these phenomena may well jeopardize ecological systems as well as the most vital interests of mankind at large.

Because the problem is planet-wide in scope, solutions can only be devised on a global level. Because of the nature of the dangers involved, remedies to be sought involve not only the ecosystem's intrinsic right to preservation, but also man's right to a viable environment, and in turn the community of nations' duty vis a vis present and future generations to do all that can be done to preserve the quality of the atmosphere.

This is why we consider that, faced with a problem the solution to which has three salient features, namely that it is vital, urgent, and perforce global, we are in a situation that calls for a new approach, the acknowledgement of new principles of international law, as well as unprecedented decision-making and enforcement mechanisms.

What is required here are regulatory measures that take into account the participation and contribution potential of countries which have reached different levels of development. Most of the emissions that affect the atmosphere originate in the industrialized nations. And it is in these same nations that the room for change is greatest, and these nations are also those which can muster the financial resources required to deal with this problem effectively.

Financial institutions and development agencies, be they international or domestic, must coordinate their activities in order to promote sustainable energy production and use patterns.

The international community has special obligations towards developing countries, and in particular towards the least developed of these, which will be very negatively affected by changes in the atmosphere although their responsibility for the process will have been only marginal.

[It's not a
right, it's
a biological
fact!]

The nations which will endorse this Declaration and the ensuing legal provisions shall acknowledge the following commitments :

- a) they shall accept in principle the establishment, under the auspices of the United Nations, of an authority which, in the context of the preservation of the earth's atmosphere shall be responsible for combating any further warming of the atmosphere, and some decisions of which, regarding, inter alia, the determination of standards, may on occasion be adopted by a qualified majority ;
- b) they shall accept that this authority undertake or commission the necessary studies, be granted information upon request, ensure the circulation and exchange of scientific information, and define industrial standards to enhance or guarantee the protection of the atmosphere and monitor compliance therewith ;
- c) they shall further accept the principle of economic sanctions, inflicted subject to control exercised by the International Court of Justice on goods produced under conditions with negative impact on the atmosphere ;
- d) they shall accept the principle of fair compensation to those countries to which decisions taken to protect the atmosphere shall prove to be an abnormal or special burden, in view, inter alia, of the level of their actual responsibility for the deterioration of the atmosphere ; *payable by whom*
- e) they shall accept to give the aforementioned principles effective and consistent grounding, not only institutionally but also financially.

As of today, the heads of States and Governments signatories to the present Declaration :

- stress their resolve, subject to confirmation by the relevant national authorities in their respective countries, to make the commitments thus defined ;
- state their intent to further the development of their initiative within the United Nations and in close coordination and collaboration with existing agencies set up under the auspices of the United Nations ;
- invite all other nations of the world to accede to the present Declaration and to the legal provisions that will result therefrom ;
- urge all nations of the world to sign and ratify existing conventions relative to the protection of nature and the environment.

Env. Affairs - Acid Rain Prob.