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FM THE HAGUE  
TO FLASH FCO  
TELNO 49

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OF 021515Z FEBRUARY 89  
INFO IMMEDIATE PARIS, OSLO  
INFO ROUTINE STOCKHOLM, BONN, CANBERRA, WELLINGTON, WASHINGTON  
INFO ROUTINE TOKYO, OTTAWA

MY TELNO 43: FRENCH PRIME MINISTER'S ENVIRONMENT INITIATIVE

SUMMARY

1. THE DUTCH HAVE GIVEN US A DETAILED BRIEFING ON PLANS. MR LUBBERS WILL BE SENDING AN EARLY MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER. HE BELIEVES THAT THE PROPOSED CONFERENCE IN THE HAGUE WILL PREPARE THE GROUND FOR USEFUL WORK IN THE UNITED NATIONS WITHOUT CUTTING ACROSS OUR OWN OZONE LAYER CONFERENCE. THERE HAS BEEN AN ENCOURAGING RESPONSE TO PRELIMINARY INVITATIONS. HE HOPES THE PRIME MINISTER WILL ATTEND.

DETAIL

2. HOLTSLAG (PRIME MINISTER'S FOREIGN POLICY ADVISER) BRIEFED US TODAY ON THE SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS OF THE DUTCH PRIME MINISTER ABOUT PROGRESS ON THE PLANS FOR AN ENVIRONMENTAL MEETING IN THE HAGUE ON 10/11 MARCH.

3. HOLTSLAG SAID THAT IT HAD BEEN AGREED BY LUBBERS WITH ROCARD AND MRS BRUNDTLAND THAT IT WOULD BE LEFT TO ROCARD TO BRIEF MRS THATCHER. BUT THE ENCOURAGING RESPONSE FROM OTHERS MEANT THAT PLANNING COULD NOW GO INTO TOP GEAR. LUBBERS WISHED MRS THATCHER TO BE FULLY AWARE OF WHAT WAS HAPPENING AND TO KNOW WHAT HE HAD AGREED. HE WOULD BE SENDING A PERSONAL MESSAGE SHORTLY BUT DID NOT INTEND TO TELL THE FRENCH THAT HE WAS DOING SO.

4. THE DUTCH AND THE NORWEGIANS HAD BEEN DOUBTFUL ABOUT ROCARD'S IDEAS WHEN FIRST APPROACHED BUT HAD AGREED TO DISCUSS THEM FURTHER. THE THREE PRIME MINISTERS HAD MET IN SECRET IN THE HAGUE ON 30 DECEMBER. KNOWLEDGE OF THIS MEETING HAD NOT LEAKED. AT THE MEETING SOME SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN THE EMPHASIS OF THE INITIATIVE HAD BEEN AGREED AND ON THIS BASIS LUBBERS HAD UNDERTAKEN TO HOST A MEETING OF ABOUT 20 COUNTRIES IN THE HAGUE IN MARCH. IT HAD BEEN AGREED THAT



THIS MEETING WOULD PREPARE FOR FURTHER WORK WITHIN THE UNITED NATIONS AIMED AT INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ON HOW TO DEAL WITH ATMOSPHERIC POLLUTION. THE DUTCH HAD THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD BE INAPPROPRIATE TO DEAL WITH OTHER PROBLEMS SUCH AS WATER POLLUTION WHICH COULD ONLY SENSIBLY BE DISCUSSED REGIONALLY. IT HAD ALSO BEEN ACCEPTED THAT THERE SHOULD BE STRONG EMPHASIS ON DEFINING PRINCIPLES OF LAW BUT IT WAS ALSO INTENDED TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF VERIFICATION AND HELP TO COUNTRIES IN IMPLEMENTING POLLUTION CONTROLS. THE INTENTION WAS, AS IN MONTREAL, TO PROVIDE FOR A FORM OF MAJORITY DECISION MAKING.

5. THE DUTCH HAD AGREED TO THIS BECAUSE THEY FELT THAT THERE WAS A GOOD CASE FOR TRYING TO MAKE A QUANTUM JUMP IN ADOPTING EFFECTIVE MEASURES INTERNATIONALLY. THE PROBLEM WITH AN APPROACH SUCH AS THE MALTESE INITIATIVE WAS THAT IT WOULD INVOLVE PREPARATORY CONFERENCES, ENDLESS DRAFTING AND DISCUSSION. THERE WERE VERY CONSIDERABLE PROBLEMS IN THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES AND THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. BUT THE DUTCH DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, DE KORTE, HAD RECENTLY BEEN TOLD BY THE PRESIDENT OF BRAZIL THAT HE WOULD WELCOME AN INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL INITIATIVE AS THIS WOULD BE ABOUT THE ONLY WAY OF OVERCOMING DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES AND ENSURING THAT NEW STANDARDS WOULD BE INTRODUCED IN HIS COUNTRY. THERE WAS A LOT OF WORK GOING ON VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE ENVIRONMENT, INCLUDING OUR OWN OZONE LAYER CONFERENCE. LUBBERS DID NOT THINK THAT THE HAGUE MEETING WOULD CUT ACROSS OUR OWN CONFERENCE IN ANY WAY. WE WERE EXAMINING THE PROBLEM. THE HAGUE CONFERENCE WAS TO LAUNCH AGREEMENT ON HOW COUNTRIES SHOULD RESPOND. A UN AGREEMENT WOULD HOPEFULLY ESTABLISH A FRAMEWORK FOR THE FUTURE WITHIN WHICH CONFERENCES SUCH AS THAT IN LONDON, THE DUTCH OWN CLIMATE CONFERENCE AND THE JAPANESE INITIATIVE COULD BE COORDINATED.

6. THE LIST OF INVITEES HAD BEEN PARTLY FASHIONED BY THE FRENCH BUT IT HAD BEEN AGREED THAT THERE SHOULD BE REPRESENTATIVES FROM DIFFERENT AREAS OF THE WORLD. WE ASKED WHY THE SUPER-POWERS HAD NOT BEEN INVITED. HOLTSLAG COMMENTED ONLY THAT THERE HAD BEEN A PROLONGED DISCUSSION ABOUT THIS (WE INFER THAT THE FRENCH HAD ARGUED STRONGLY THAT THEY SHOULD NOT BE INCLUDED). THE INTENTION WAS, HOWEVER, TO INFORM WASHINGTON, MOSCOW AND PEKING WHAT WAS PLANNED WHEN ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE HAGUE MEETING HAD FIRMED UP. THE THREE PRIME MINISTERS HAD ALSO AGREED THAT WESTERN EUROPE SHOULD NOT BE OVER-REPRESENTED IN A LIMITED MEETING. NOT ALL MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WOULD BE INVITED BUT THE LIST HAD BEEN EXTENDED TO INCLUDE ALL THE EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GROUP OF NINE AND LUBBERS FELT THAT UK PARTICIPATION WAS IMPORTANT. THERE WAS ALSO A DELIBERATE EMPHASIS ON THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.



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7. ACCORDING TO HOLTSLAG, THE STATE OF PLAY ON INVITATIONS IS :

INVITED AND ACCEPTED :

FRANCE (MITTERAND AND ROCARD)  
NORWAY (MRS BRUNDTLAND)  
BRAZIL (THE PRESIDENT)  
CANADA (MULRONEY)  
IVORY COAST (PRESIDENT)  
EGYPT (PRESIDENT)  
SPAIN (PRIME MINISTER)  
JORDAN (KING HUSSEIN)  
FRG (KOHL)  
SWEDEN (PRIME MINISTER)  
HUNGARY (PRIME MINISTER)  
TUNISIA (PRIME MINISTER)  
VENEZUELA (PRESIDENT)  
ZIMBABWE (MUGABE)  
SENEGAL (PRESIDENT)  
MALTA (PRIME MINISTER)

ACCEPTED - LEVEL OF PARTICIPATION NOT AGREED :

AUSTRALIA

JAPAN (THE DUTCH HAD BEEN TOLD THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD NOT COME BUT HAS NOW HEARD THAT THIS WAS BEING REVIEWED)

INVITED AND NOT YET REPLIED :

NEW ZEALAND  
INDIA (MITTERAND IS PRESSING PRIME MINISTER TO COME DURING HIS VISIT TO DELHI)  
ITALY  
INDONESIA  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA (LATE INVITATION AT THE SUGGESTION OF HUNGARY, BECAUSE OF THE CZECHS OWN SPONSORSHIP OF A REGIONAL EAST/WEST ENVIRONMENT MEETING)

8. IT HAD RECENTLY BEEN AGREED THAT AN INVITATION WOULD BE SENT TO KENYA. HOLTSLAG WAS UNAWARE OF ANY INVITATION TO GHANA (OSLO TELNO 28 REFERS).

9. THE DUTCH HOPE THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN, A



REPRESENTATIVE OF UNEP AND THE DIRECTOR OF THE WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION WILL ALSO BE PRESENT.

10. THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE FRENCH INITIATIVE IN THE HAGUE HAD INITIALLY BEEN CONFINED TO LUBBERS AND A VERY SMALL GROUP. THE DUTCH CABINET HAD NOW BEEN INFORMED AND AGREED TO THE HAGUE MEETING, AND AN INTERDEPARTMENTAL PLANNING GROUP OF OFFICIALS HAS BEEN FORMED THIS WEEK UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF VAN SWINDEREN (DIRECTOR GENERAL, MFA).

11. THE DUTCH ARE PLANNING FOR A TWO DAY MEETING. ON THE FIRST DAY THERE WOULD BE A SESSION IN THE MFA OPENING AT 10 AM TO EXAMINE A DRAFT DECLARATION. LUBBERS PROPOSES TO SEND THIS TO THE PRIME MINISTER WITH HIS MESSAGE. THIS WOULD BE OPEN FOR AMENDMENT DURING THE FIRST DAY DRAFTING SESSION WHICH COULD CONTINUE THROUGHOUT THE DAY AND THE FOLLOWING MORNING IF NECESSARY. VAN DEN BROEK WOULD PROBABLY CHAIR THIS UNLESS A MAJORITY OF THOSE INVITED PREFERRED THAT THIS BE HANDLED AT OFFICIAL LEVEL.

12. ON 11 MARCH THERE WOULD BE LUNCH HOSTED BY QUEEN BEATRIX AT THE ROYAL PALACE IN THE HAGUE AND AN AFTERNOON SESSION AT THE PEACE PALACE. THE DUTCH AT PRESENT ENVISAGE THIS BEGINNING WITH A PRIVATE INFORMAL DISCUSSION FOLLOWED BY A PUBLIC SESSION AND A SIGNING CEREMONY. PARTICIPATION WOULD BE LIMITED TO THREE PER COUNTRY. COUNTRIES NOT REPRESENTED BY HEADS OF STATE WOULD BE FREE TO SEND APPROPRIATE REPRESENTATIVES. AT THE END OF THE SIGNING SESSION THERE MIGHT BE A JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE.

13. LUBBERS HAD AUTHORISED THAT THE EMBASSY BE BRIEFED ON THESE LINES ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THIS SHOULD NOT BE MADE KNOWN TO THE FRENCH. THE THREE PRIME MINISTERS INVOLVED IN THE INITIATIVE HAD AGREED TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO AVOID PREMATURE PUBLICITY AND ALTHOUGH KNOWLEDGE OF PLANS WAS LESS RESTRICTED THAN WHEN WE HAD ASKED ABOUT THIS LAST WEEK, THE DUTCH WERE STILL HANDLING WORK ON THE CONFERENCE ON A STRICT 'NEED TO KNOW' BASIS.

#### COMMENT

14. THE DUTCH ARE DELIGHTED AT THE PROSPECT OF A MAJOR INTERNATIONAL MEETING IN THE HAGUE. THE OFFER TO LUBBERS TO HOLD THIS HERE HAD CLEARLY HELPED TO GET HIM ON BOARD. THERE IS ALSO A DOMESTIC ATTRACTION. THERE IS A STRONG PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE ENVIRONMENT. THE TWO MEMBERS OF THE CABINET PRINCIPALLY INVOLVED (NIJPELS AND MRS SMIT-KROES) ARE NOT IN LUBBERS OWN PARTY AND LUBBERS OWN ROLE IN THE INITIATIVE WILL BE SEEN AS A MAJOR SUCCESS FOR HIM AND THE CDA.



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BUT ROCARD HAS PUSHED ON AN OPEN DOOR. THE DUTCH HAVE BEEN STRONG SUPPORTERS OF NEW ENVIRONMENT INITIATIVES, AND A CONFERENCE THAT WILL ALSO PROPOSE ASSISTANCE TO THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES FITS IN WELL WITH THE PRIORITY WHICH THEY GIVE TO DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES.

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