

cc Mr Wells  
Cal. Off.

BROOKS'S

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## Responses Within the International Framework

Notes for the PM's Seminar on the Greenhouse Effect  
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### 1. Introduction: 3 broad issues

- the global problem, with particular reference to non-industrial countries
- the idea of international agreements to cope with global warming
- the institutional aspect

### 2. The global problem

- ethical contrast between so called developed & so called developing countries: rather notion of a spectrum
  - industrial at one end who have created most of the problem
  - poor at the other
  - those in between - India & China - 2<sup>nd</sup> & 3<sup>rd</sup> place
- 3 main sources of greenhouse gas
  - change of land use
    - CO<sub>2</sub>: deforestation
    - methane: cleared land, ruminants
    - nitrous oxide: fertilizer
  - Energy industry
    - CO<sub>2</sub>: fossil fuel & fuel wood
    - nitrous oxide: biomass burning
  - industrial industry: v. little but future
    - CFCs &c.
- in all cases driving force population pressure: fresh, animals & plants: resources/population balance out of control

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- so far most non industrial countries have not wanted to hear: but Brundtland 80: Need now to underline to them
  - likely global consequences, & likely national consequences: national interest
  - some acceptance of principle of equity (as own CFCs)
  - practical measures of help
- On each
  - intention that all such measures also desirable for other reasons
  - inadequacy of models but
    - reinforce pattern changes
    - sea level rise
    - environmental refugees
    - diseases & pathogens
  - great difficulties now of working out implications of any particular policy principle but example for best practice:
    - disinvestment of green house gas production in industrial countries by various means
      - fiscal so that energy sources are taxed according to their gg effect (Dutch precedent)
      - prices so that they take account of future costs of carbon
    - real reafforestation in industrial countries
  - practical measures of help: will cost money but not in disproportionate amounts: that is what programmes are for
    - land use
      - forestry: organic soils: agro forestry: solution to green wilderness
      - helping carbon adjust (38% total)
      - debt for carbon swaps

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— Energy policy

- Conservation: much room for it
  - Small Scale Energy Generating Systems: hydro, solar, alternative renewables: if costs could justify it works
  - Fuel wood & reforestation: stores
- critical issue the price of energy: otherwise India & China will use their coal dilemma that
- in industrial countries prices must come to reflect true costs
  - elsewhere, if energy costs are too high, coal & fuelwood will remain staple sources
- The market-distorting effects

- Industrial policy: need to keep flag such technologies as CFCs tighter environmental guidelines or aid, & tighter control over export of noxious technologies

3. International Agreements

- avoid excessive ambiguity at the state: fate of the Law of the Sea: do not devolve process by negotiating governments into obligations they will not accept
- advantages of local framework contributions: last year we co-sponsored the resolution passed unanimously by the UN General Assembly which invited action to identify possible strengths of relevant legal instruments into a broader climate, and to consider elements for inclusion in a possible future Convention. Intended work already in progress, notably by the Canadians

This could cover the most difficult areas

- energy uses: conservation, efficiency, supply, pricing, research &c.
- major experiments into climatic effect: iceberg diversion, hurricane dispersal, artificial rainmaking &c.
- actions into likely climatic effect: river diversion (the Ob), melting of ice shelf, deforestation
- specific arguments in specific areas as they arise: eg. Theoretical Political & Commercial bearing environmental weapons: in the future by CO<sub>2</sub>, methane, nitrous oxide & other greenhouse gases

This 2 pronged approach would be a useful British component of what is already a developing international co-operation.

#### 4. The institutional aspect

- a look at what already exists

- WMO
- UNEP (1973): coordinating functions but a number of specialized agencies & others too others
- World Climate Programme (1979)
- Intn Governmental Panel on Climate Change (1988) with 3 working groups
  - Science (UK)
  - Impact (Soviet Union)
  - National & international responses (US)

- a big & growing international debate

- Brundtland Commission

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- General Assembly 1987 & 1988, & the forum
- The ozon aspect: Vienna, Montreal, London, Helsinki
- The Hagen conference & declaration
- Multiplicity of official & unofficial conferences
  - climate change (The Netherlands Nov 84)
  - World Energy (Canada Sept 89)
  - World Climate Conference (Switzerland Jun 1985)
  - World Environment Conference (probably Brazil 1992)

In addition work among the super powers

- The United States - still in a muddle
- The Soviet Union - lots of ideas

Suggest we are ahead in our consideration of the problem

- how best to cope in the future in the knowledge that what now exists is not satisfactory: 4 point proposal
  - build up the technical bodies & make the most of them (while recognizing their limitations)
    - UNEP
    - WMO
    - Intergovernmental Panel: The biggest success story by limited means
  - give top level political impetus: The Security Council seized: Article 34: The large landowners; position of the 5 Permanent Members
    - nothing new with all the ideas compiled
    - British position assumed
- must expect some to be unhappy but others will be or them to suggest something else
- Security Council cannot give day to day direction

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idea of setting up under its authority (& probably with the endorsement of the General Assembly) an Inter Governmental Commission as a Successor to the Inter Governmental Panel

- precedent for such a Commission:
  - the Baruch Commission
  - failed due to Soviet pull out
  - but limits in the International Atomic Energy Authority
- its functions to tackle the problems & consider what might go into <sup>the</sup> Conventions and agreements
- revision of UNEP: up to Specialized Agency with new mandate
- consideration of coordinated approach to carbon tax, phasing out of subsidies freeriders
- consider not only integrating Environment more effectively into all World Bank activities but also setting up a special Environment Facility or Fund: this could be paralleled in regional development banks
- if a 4 pronged approach of this kind acceptable, it will be necessary to act fast to avoid preemption
  - start with US & Russians, & UN Secretary General
  - then China, French, Europeans, especially the Dutch
  - v. soon afterwards Canadians, Swedes & other Environmentally conscious countries
  - so public
    - at follow up to Aegon conference
    - in major speech by the PM
    - at UNEP General Council

5. My conclusions

- repeat that we need to move fast
- more generally recognize that science is full of surprises: things do not necessarily happen in linear or gradual fashion: we cannot be certain of what will happen <sup>next</sup> - the presumption now good enough, and measures proposed could all be justified on grounds that they avert global warming
- politics is full of surprises too: again leaps & jumps can be necessary: perhaps we are seeing some today