



UNITED KINGDOM MISSION  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

845 THIRD AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

19 September 1989

Charles Powell Esq  
Private Secretary  
10 DOWNING STREET

*LCF*  
*Where is an on its way from N. York.*  
*enclosure? CR*  
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*Dear Charles,*

As you will see from my enclosed letter to Duncan Slater, I have set out some possible headings for the Prime Minister's speech to the General Assembly on environment in November. For the reasons I have explained, I find it hard to go much further for the moment; but I will hope to participate in the production of subsequent drafts as the process proceeds. I underline the need for domestic initiatives to support our international approach.

2. When I saw Chris Patten on 4 September, he made clear the importance he attached to coordinating drafting work on the speech. He had been particularly encouraged by his meeting with the Prime Minister earlier that day. I imagine that he will be the channel through which the Prime Minister receives the eventual draft. So the enclosed is very much for your own information, and designed only to help things along.

3. I expect you will be letting me know nearer the time more details of what the Prime Minister would like in her New York programme. As you know I have already a number of suggestions which should have been passed on to you. Penelope and I would be delighted to have the Prime Minister and you to stay in our very pretty apartment; but it is of course small and if your party is large it would be necessary to split it, or keep it together by putting you all into a hotel. I must leave the choice to you. Last time the Prime Minister stayed with us there was an earthquake. I cannot promise the same this time.

*Yours ever*

Crispin Tickell



UNITED KINGDOM MISSION  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

845 THIRD AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

18 September 1989

Duncan Slater Esq CMG  
Assistant Under-Secretary  
WH 331  
FCO

*Dear Duncan,*

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

In your telno 437 of 29 August you asked me to help with the drafting of the Prime Minister's speech to the UN General Assembly later this autumn.

2. It will not be easy to get down to detailed drafting until considerably nearer the event. Of the forty or more Heads of State or Government who will be addressing the UN General Assembly in the last week of September or the first week of October, many if not most will speak in one way or another about the environment. Many Foreign Ministers will do likewise. There is also the CHOGM meeting at Kuala Lumpur from 18 to 24 October at which the environment will be a major theme. Obviously the Prime Minister will have to take account of all this activity, and of any initiatives which may be put forward before she herself speaks after the middle of November. The form of initiatives of her own will likewise be affected.

3. In these circumstances it seems to me that the best we can hope to do at the moment is to create a framework for her speech. In broad terms I think it should carry forward the themes in her speech to the Royal Society in September 1988. The environment covers a vast array of problems, and I do not know on which the Prime Minister will wish to concentrate on this occasion. This will presumably be discussed between Whitehall Departments, and from what I gathered during my visit to London from 2 to 6 September, the Department of the Environment will take the lead in submitting advice. At this distance I hesitate to suggest a detailed framework for the speech as a whole, the more so as a lot of it will have domestic as well as international implications. But much of the force of the speech will lie in the willingness of the Government to take domestic actions to support its international approach.

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4. Nevertheless I have had a go at producing a general framework which you will find attached. Inevitably some parts are fuller than others, in particular on my own subject of the prospects for global climate change. I must leave it to those concerned in Whitehall to pull it into whatever shape you think right before putting it to No 10. I should be happy to fill in details and provide any advice as events proceed. In return I should be grateful if you would include me in the drafting process.

*Yours sincerely*  
*Crispin Tickell*

Crispin Tickell

cc: PS/Mr Patten, Dept of the Environment  
PS/Mrs Chalker, Overseas Development Administration

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Suggestions for the  
FRAMEWORK FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH TO THE  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY: NOVEMBER 1989

1. For the first time in history, people have come to realize that they have the power to change the planetary environment, and are already doing so, sometimes in damaging and dangerous ways. This is mostly a product of the evolution of industrial society, but of course it began long ago with civilization itself. So far those changes have been most evident in

- the use of land;
- exploitation of other normal resources; and
- steeply rising human numbers with accompanying domestic animals and plants.

[Example in microcosm of what happened to Easter Island: primaeval forest; human arrival by boat; population explosion to over 9,000; destruction of environment; internal warfare over remaining resources; crash to a few hundred people living without enough wood to make boats to escape.]

Now we are changing the sea around us and the atmosphere above us as well.

2. Modifications in atmospheric chemistry leading to global climate change could alter society in the most fundamental way of all. Its prospect is a new factor in human affairs, comparable to the discovery of nuclear energy at the end of the war. It is the more insidious for creeping upon us almost unawares. Our imagination usually operates within a limited distance and a limited timescale; but climate change would apply with wide regional variations to the world as a whole, and might need 30, 40 or 50 years to have full effects. We do not know at what point it would find a new equilibrium if it did.

3. As yet there are no certainties, but there is a growing area of consensus. Governments need the best possible scientific assessment, and should have it in the report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (for submission to the Second World Climate Conference in the autumn of 1990). The organization and work of the Panel, and prominent British role.

4. Little doubt about how the problems arise: from the ways in which

- we generate energy: fossil fuels, fuelwood etc;
- we use land, especially in cutting down trees;
- industry makes use of natural resources.

Apart from such local problems as marine pollution, acid deposition and waste disposal, there are two main global results, one narrow and one broad:

- the narrow one is the production of halons and chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) which have the effect of seasonal thinning of the ozone layer;
- the broad one is the production of the so-called greenhouse gases:
  - carbon dioxide, methane, halons and CFCs, and nitrous oxide,
  - which by blocking the outward radiation of the earth could (as many times before in this history of the earth) have the effect of increasing the average surface temperature.

5. How the world community has dealt with the narrow problem of ozone is a useful precedent for dealing with the broad one of greenhouse warming.

- the fears of the 1970s about ozone: the invisible menace;
- the work of the British Antarctic Survey;
- the Vienna Convention of 1985;
- the Montreal Protocol, the London Conference, and subsequent work.

6. But the broad problem of greenhouse warming is immensely more difficult and complex. It goes to the roots of industrial society, and the aspirations of people world wide to enjoy higher living standards. It is highly unwelcome, and was for long unrecognized. But things have greatly changed as evidence has mounted in the last few years, and public opinion has been mobilized as never before:

- Stockholm Conference of 1972, first World Climate Conference on 1979, Brundtland Commission report of 1987, General Assembly debate in 1988, now Non-Aligned Declaration of 1989;
  
- universal understanding of global nature of the problem. Just as all countries will be affected by it, so all countries have a common interest in working together to cope with it. Those who through industrialization have unwittingly contributed to the problem must recognize their special responsibility for helping others. We need arrangements which are seen to be equitable, and no country must take advantage of another in putting them into effect.

7. The British approach is three-fold

- to help establish the right framework for action
  - strengthening of UNEP and the WMO;
  - negotiation of an umbrella convention with specific protocols to follow;

- adaptation of existing international machinery: for example prolongation of the Inter Governmental Panel after submission of its report, and possible creation of an open ended inter Governmental Commission responsible to the Security Council to give central political direction;
  - work against a deadline set by preparations for the World Conference on Environment and Development in 1992.
- to show that we mean what we say through cooperation with our industrial partners in taking a variety of specific domestic measures. It is important that these should be desirable in themselves whether or not global climate change takes place.

[the place for a statement of specific British initiatives in the following categories]

- energy generation: greater energy efficiency; domestic incentives and disincentives to use of certain fuels; development of renewable resources, including nuclear and solar power.
- land use: new agricultural practices; reafforestation; development of new methods of fertilizer use and pest control.



- industrial, investment, trade and transport policy worked out with due account of environmental factors. Proper definition of economic growth, and inclusion of environmental dimension in national statistics.
- greater emphasis on earth sciences in both national and international research programmes.

It should go without saying that each government will need to establish some central machinery to coordinate policy and development planning: the British example.

- to give help to others as appropriate so that their economic development does not aggravate the problem and they can avoid the mistakes made by the older industrial countries:

- bilateral: aid, technology transfer etc (example of the Anglo-Brazilian agreement): help in protecting and harvesting tropical forests: more assistance to intermediate technology (eg in finding substitutes for use of fuel wood in poor countries).
- multilateral: the World Bank and regional development banks (promotion of the environmental dimension generally, or the creation of some special facility). Debt-for-nature swaps

[Opportunity to set aside notions of "compensation", a worldwide carbon tax, or a special Environment Fund]

8. Conclusions designed to underline identification of the common global interest and the British role in advancing it.

19 September 1989

Crispin Tickell



CC 90  
2 MARSHAM STREET  
LONDON SW1P 3EB  
01-276 3000

My ref:

Your ref:

Charles Powell Esq  
Private Secretary to  
The Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON  
SW1A 2AA

2 October 1989

Dear Charles

**UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

In my letter of 15 September on international environmental issues I said that the Secretary of State would shortly be putting up a draft outline of a speech that the Prime Minister might make at the General Assembly this autumn.

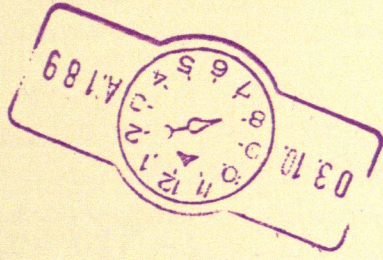
Sir Crispin Tickell has sent us some very useful ideas on how climate change issues can be brought into the speech, and we are looking to David Pearce to give us an overview on the economics of sustainable development, no doubt drawing on his excellent contribution to our recent publication "Sustaining Our Common Future". The Secretary of State believes that serious drafting of the speech should not begin until after the Party Conference and the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting, and that care will have to be taken to be consistent with our successful line in the IPCC. In addition to the contributions from Sir Crispin and David Pearce there are a number of useful suggestions which officials in the department are discussing with FCO and ODA with a view to putting them together in a structured form. The Secretary of State has in mind putting up his proposals for the speech to the Prime Minister shortly after the Party Conference.

I am copying this to Stephen Wall (FCO), Alex Alan (HM Treasury), Steven Crane (DES) and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely  
Kate Bush

KATE BUSH  
Private Secretary

PM Speeches & Oration 1889



Mr Charles Powell



*With the compliments of*

PA/ *The Permanent Representative*

I am very sorry - I believe I left out the copy of Sir Crispin's letter to Duncan Slater which should have been enclosed with Sir Crispin's letter to you of *United Kingdom Mission* 19 September. A copy is now *to the United Nations*, enclosed.

*845 Third Avenue,  
New York, N.Y. 10022*

Jane Rawbone

26.9.89



2 MARSHAM STREET  
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My ref:

Your ref:

*Transfer to  
PM speech file  
for CTOGM.*

Charles Powell Esq  
Private Secretary to  
The Prime Minister  
10 Downing Street  
LONDON  
SW1A 2AA

*CEJ 15/9.*

15 September 1989

*Dear Charles*

**INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES**

Thank you for your letter of ~~25~~<sup>14</sup> August. I know that the Foreign and Commonwealth Office are already in touch with you about finding a suitable date for the Prime Minister's visit to the United Nations General Assembly and I would be grateful if you could let us know as soon as anything is decided.

My Secretary of State has undertaken to provide an outline for the Prime Minister's speech and has already established that Sir Crispin Tickell is willing to make a contribution to the draft. Professor Pearce will also be involved and we hope to let you have a draft outline very soon.

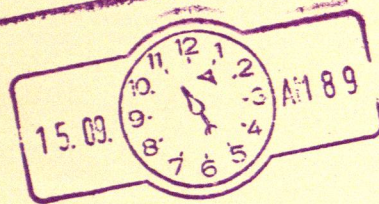
I am copying this to Stephen Wall (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), Alex Allan (HM Treasury), Stephen Craine (Department of Education and Science) and Trevor Woolley (Cabinet Office).

*Yours*

*CEJ Bush*

KATE BUSH  
Private Secretary

ENU AFFAIRS: Aca Lam P111.



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10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

9 October 1989

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Prime Minister is grateful to your Secretary of State for taking on the co-ordination of a draft of her speech on the environment to the UN General Assembly. She has suggested that we should invite the Polar Institute at Cambridge to let us have any results from their latest work which could be relevant to the speech. She would also like us to ask Sir John Mason and the Chairman of the NERC to let us know any points which they would like to make. It seems to me best for you to make the necessary approaches - which will need to be done very soon - but could you please copy any replies to me.

I am copying this letter to Bob Peirce (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

C. D. POWELL

Roger Bright, Esq.  
Department of the Environment

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CC PC



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

*COP/K.*

Charles Powell Esq  
Private Secretary ~~to~~  
to the Prime Minister  
No.10 Downing Street  
London SW1A 2AA

9 October, 1989

*Dear Charles,*

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY

1. Crispin Tickell has prepared a draft outline of the Prime Minister's speech to the General Assembly. He has already sent copies to the Private Secretaries to Mr Patten and Mrs Chalker; I now enclose one for you.

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2. It seems to me that Crispin's outline is fine as far as it goes: but it concentrates almost entirely on climate change. I think that the speech needs to go wider than this and deal with other environmental issues, as well as the question of sustainable development. The DOE, in association with the ODA and ourselves, are currently working on a draft which will incorporate many of Crispin's ideas. You will have seen from Kate Bush's letter of 2 October, that Mr Patten intends to put his proposals for the speech to the Prime Minister shortly after the Party Conference.

*below*

*Yours sincerely*  
*Duncan Slater*

Duncan Slater

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