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FOLLOWING FOR PS/PRIME MINISTER

DRAFT OF PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH FOR GENERAL ASSEMBLY

1. THANK YOU FOR SENDING ME THE NEW DRAFT. IT IS A REAL SPEECH WITH SUBSTANCE, AND I AM SURE WILL GO DOWN WELL. MOST OF MY COMMENTS ARE DRAFTING SUGGESTIONS, BUT THERE ARE ONE OR TWO UNDERLYING POINTS OF IMPORTANCE.

2. MY COMMENTS ARE:

- PAGE 3 PARA 3
 - ✓ INSERT 'AND THE SEAS' AFTER 'THE FOSSIL FUELS THAT WE BURN, THE RIVERS.....'
- PAGE 4 LINE ONE
 - ✓ DELETE 'EQUALLY' AND INSERT 'EVEN MORE'.
- PAGE 5 LAST SENTENCE OF THE FIRST PARAGRAPH
 - ✓ DELETE AND INSERT 'THERE IS A RISK THAT GLOBAL WARMING COULD SET OFF REACTIONS IN THE OCEANS WHICH COULD FURTHER INCREASE ATMOSPHERIC CARBON DIOXIDE'.
- PAGE 5 PARA 2
 - INSERT 'POSSIBLE' BETWEEN 'PROVIDES' AND 'EVIDENCE'.
 - ✓ (COMMENT: THERE HAVE BEEN VARIATIONS IN THE VOLUME OF SEA ICE BEFORE: IT DIMINISHED GREATLY IN THE ANTARCTIC IN THE LATE 1970S, BUT GREW AGAIN IN THE 1980S: IT IS NOT CERTAIN THERE IS YET A RADICAL CHANGE).
- PAGE 6 FIRST SENTENCE
 - ✓ AMEND SECOND LINE TO READ 'ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE, RESULTING FROM HUMAN ACTIVITIES MAY ACCELERATE'.
- PAGE 6 THIRD PARA, SECOND SENTENCE
 - ✓ DELETE AND INSERT 'THAT ASSESSMENT IS BEING UNDERTAKEN BY A COMMITTEE OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE UNDER BRITISH CHAIRMANSHIP'. (COMMENT: I AM IN FAVOUR OF BLOWING OUR TRUMPET BUT NOT TOO OFTEN.)
- PAGE 6 FINAL PARA
 - ✓ I THINK IT BEST TO AVOID USE OF ACRONYMS, EVEN AT THE PRESENT DRAFTING STAGE. I SUGGEST THAT WE SHOULD USE THE TERM 'THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL' INSTEAD OF IPCC AND THE TERM 'UNITED KINGDOM' OR 'BRITAIN' RATHER THAN 'UK' THROUGHOUT.
- PAGE 7 PARA ONE PENULTIMATE LINE
 - ✓ THE MORE WE CAN BLUR THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN 'DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING' COUNTRIES, THE BETTER. I SUGGEST THAT THE PENULTIMATE LINE SHOULD READ '...FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD, WHO CAN COME TO THE UNITED KINGDOM.....'.
- PAGE 8 LAST LINE
 - ✓ THE PHRASE 'MONTREAL CFCS' IS OBSCURE. IT SHOULD READ 'CHLOROFLUOROCARBONS COVERED BY THE MONTREAL PROTOCOL'.
- PAGE 9 SECOND PARA FIRST SENTENCE
 - ✓ DELETE AND INSERT 'TACKLING GLOBAL WARMING WILL BE MUCH MORE DIFFICULT AND COMPLICATED'.
- PAGE 10 FIRST LINE
 - ✓ DELETE AND INSERT 'JUST AS WOULD HAPPEN WITH ANY KIND OF PRACTICAL AGREEMENT, COOPERATION WOULD HAVE TO BE BINDING AND PROPERLY MONITORED'. SUBSTITUTE 'WOULD' FOR 'WILL' IN THE FOLLOWING SENTENCE. (COMMENT: THE REFERENCE TO 'TRADE AGREEMENTS' MIGHT BACKFIRE.)
- PAGE 10 FIRST PARA FIRST LINE
 - ✓ IT WOULD BE CLEARER TO ADD 'AND ITS RESULTING DECISIONS' AFTER 'ENVIRONMENTAL DIPLOMACY'.
- PAGE 10 LAST PARA FIRST LINE
 - ✓ DELETE FIRST FOUR WORDS AND SUBSTITUTE 'THE RIGHT SORT OF GROWTH AND THE RIGHT SORT OF TECHNOLOGY....'
- PAGE 11 FIRST PARA
 - ✓ DELETE LAST SENTENCE, AND SUBSTITUTE 'THE AGGREGATE OF WHAT WE DO INDIVIDUALLY IS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO ENVIRONMENTAL DANGER. BUT THE RESPONSE HAS TO BE

COLLECTIVE''. (COMMENT: THE SENTENCE AS IT STOOD IMPLIED A REJECTION OF THE MULTILATERAL APPROACH.)

- PAGE 11 2ND PARA

✓ DELETE AND SUBSTITUTE ''THOSE WHO HAVE UNINTENTIONALLY DONE MOST TO CREATE THE PROBLEM MUST TAKE THE LEAD IN CLEANING IT UP, AND IN HELPING OTHER TO DO LIKEWISE''. (COMMENT: AS IT STOOD THE SENTENCE SEEMED WEAK AND SOMEWHAT PATRONISING.)

- PAGE 11 FOURTH PARA SECOND LINE

✓ DELETE ''AND ITS AGENCIES'' (COMMENT: UNEP IS NOT A UN AGENCY: I THINK UNITED NATIONS IS A SUFFICIENTLY ALL-EMBRACING TERM.)

- PAGE 11 FOURTH PARA

DELETE THE LAST TWO SENTENCES AND SUBSTITUTE ''WE HAVE RECENTLY MORE THAN DOUBLED OUR CONTRIBUTION TO UNEP. WE URGE OTHERS, WHO HAVE NOT DONE SO AND CAN AFFORD IT, TO DO THE SAME. THE CENTRAL ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS MUST ALSO BE SEIZED OF A PROBLEM WHICH REACHES INTO VIRTUALLY ALL ASPECTS OF THEIR WORK, AND WILL DO SO STILL MORE IN THE FUTURE. WE HAVE ALREADY SET OUT SOME IDEAS FOR STRENGTHENING THEIR ROLE. WE LOOK FORWARD TO DISCUSSING THEM FURTHER DURING THE PREPARATIONS FOR THE 1992 CONFERENCE''. (COMMENT: BOTH THE WMO AND UNEP ARE TECHNICAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND VIRTUALLY NO-ONE THINKS THEY CAN DO THE JOB BY THEMSELVES WITHOUT PROPER POLITICAL DIRECTION.)

- PAGE 11 LAST PARA

✓ AMEND SECOND SENTENCE TO READ ''WE BELIEVE THAT THE CONFERENCE SHOULD SEE THE BEGINNING OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR A FRAMEWORK CONVENTION''. (COMMENT: DETAILED WORK HAS ALREADY BEGUN.)

- PAGE 12 SECOND SENTENCE

✓ AFTER ''IN 1992'' ADD ''AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT CONFERENCES THE UNITED NATIONS HAS EVER HELD''.

- PAGE 12 THIRD SENTENCE TO THE END

X DELETE AND SUBSTITUTE ''I HOPE THAT ALL OF US CAN ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR MEETING THAT TIMETABLE. WE MAY HAVE SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT AMBITIONS. SOME MAY WANT TO GO FASTER, SOME SLOWER. BUT I BELIEVE THAT THE TIMETABLE IS REALISTIC, AND I HOPE THAT IT IS ACCEPTABLE TO ALL''. (COMMENT: THE REFERENCE TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE OECD SOUNDS AWKWARD. I THINK WE SHOULD TRY AND KEEP THE FOCUS ON GLOBAL RATHER THAN REGIONAL ACTION: SEE ALSO MY SUGGESTION FOR REDRAFTING THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH).

- PAGE 12 SECOND PARAGRAPH

✓ DELETE AND SUBSTITUTE ''THE CONFERENCE OF 1992 IS ALREADY BEING DISCUSSED AMONG MANY COUNTRIES IN MANY PLACES. I DRAW PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE VALUABLE DISCUSSION WHICH MEMBERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH HAD AT THEIR HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING LAST MONTH''.

- PAGE 13 SECOND PARA SEVENTH TO NINTH LINES

✓ DELETE AND SUBSTITUTE ''THE UNITED KINGDOM THEREFORE PROPOSES EXTENDING AND PROLONGING THE ROLE OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL''. (COMMENT: IF WE ARE TO MAKE THIS SUGGESTION, WE MAY AS WELL DO SO IN POSITIVE TERMS.)

- PAGE 15 SECOND PARA LINES EIGHT TO TEN

✓ DELETE AND SUBSTITUTE ''FOR EXAMPLE THE COST OF CLEANING UP POLLUTION CAN BE PUT ON THE POSITIVE SIDE OF THE LEDGER WHILE THE COST OF POLLUTION ITSELF - THE SPILLAGE OF OIL ALONG OUR COASTS, THE DISCHARGE OF CHEMICALS INTO A RIVER, DOES NOT FIGURE AT ALL''. (COMMENT: AS IT STOOD THE SENTENCE WAS AMBIGUOUS.)

- PAGE 16 FIRST PARA

✓ DELETE THE FIRST SENTENCE. (COMMENT: THIS LOOKS TO ME LIKE A HOSTAGE TO FORTUNE. WHY SHOULD WE NOT IMPOSE ''GREEN CONDITIONALITY'' WHEN APPROPRIATE?)

- PAGE 16 SECOND PARA

✓ DELETE LAST SENTENCE AND SUBSTITUTE ''I AM PLEASED THAT THE WORLD BANK ARE GIVING THE ENVIRONMENT GROWING PRIORITY, BUT THERE IS ROOM FOR MORE AND BOLDER INNOVATION''.

- PAGE 16 LAST PARA

✓ DELETE FIRST SENTENCE AND SUBSTITUTE ''TREES IN BOTH TEMPERATE AND TROPICAL AREAS HELP TO ABSORB EXCESSIVE ATMOSPHERIC CARBON DIOXIDE. IN ALL OUR COUNTRIES WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE OUR CITIZENS TO PLANT MORE TREES. IN BRITAIN WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD HELP TO CONSERVE THE WORLD'S PRECIOUS STOCK OF FORESTS UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE TROPICAL FORESTRY ACTION PLAN''.

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