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My ref:
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COH. 31/x

Dear Charles

SECOND WORLD CLIMATE CONFERENCE

I attach the top copy of my Secretary of State's draft speech for the Prime Minister at this Conference.

I am copying this, with the speech, to Richard Gozney in the Foreign Secretary's Office, Suma Chakrabarti in ODA and John Neilson in DEN.

*Yours
Phillip*

Phillip Ward
Private Secretary

**DRAFT SPEECH FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE SECOND WORLD CLIMATE
CONFERENCE**

Since the last World War, we have all of us attempted to set in place the international machinery that would make war less likely and peace more secure. The aftermath of that terrible war - the division of Europe and the antagonisms that went with it - made the task of global peace-making and global peace-keeping more difficult. But as the bitter legacy of the 1940s has crumbled, as the walls and the barbed wire have come down, we have found ourselves able to work together more successfully than ever before to support the principles which the United Nations was founded to serve.

Member States have come together in the Gulf to champion self-determination and the rights of independent states - however small they may be. Whatever the perils that may lie ahead, there is today more optimism than we have known for many years about the chance of converting aspirations for a new and more settled order in world affairs into reality.

But the threat to our world comes not only from tanks and tyrants. As we know with increasing certainty, it can be more insidious though just as real.

We have become more and more aware of the threat posed by our unbalanced relationship with Nature. For two centuries, since the Age of Enlightenment, we assumed that whatever the advance of science, whatever the development of our economics, whatever

the increase in the numbers of humanity, the world would go on much the same.

We know that this is no longer true. In recent years, we have been playing with the very make-up of our planet. We have cared too little for our seas, our forests and our land. We have treated the atmosphere like a dustbin.

We must remember our duty to Nature before it is too late. That work is never completed. It lives on as we breathe. It endures as we eat and sleep, work and rest, multiply and pass away. The duty to Nature will remain long after our own endeavours have brought peace to the Middle East. It will weigh on our shoulders for as long as we wish to dwell on a living and thriving planet, and hand it on to our children and theirs.

The danger of global warming is as yet unseen. But it is nonetheless real: real enough for us to make present changes and sacrifices for the benefit of future generations.

No one should under-estimate the imagination that will be required, nor the unparalleled co-operation. We shall have to show statesmanship of a rare order. If we did not know that, we would not be here today.

I want to pay tribute to the important work which the United Nations has done to advance our understanding of global warming. Dr Tolba and Professor Obasi deserve our particular thanks for their far sighted initiative in establishing the

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

The IPCC report is a remarkable achievement. It is almost as difficult to get a large number of distinguished scientists to agree as it is to get agreement from a group of politicians. A scientist who became a politician is perhaps qualified to make this observation!

Of course, we all know that much more research is needed. We do not yet know all the answers; some uncertainties and doubts remain. Britain has played and will continue to play, a leading role in trying to answer these remaining questions and to advance our state of knowledge of climate change. This year, we have established the Hadley Centre for Climate Prediction and Research for this very purpose. We need to improve, among other things, first our understanding of the effect of the oceans on our weather and, second, our capability to model climate change.

Our understanding of climatology is imperfect. Yet we cannot take comfort and cover in the need for more research. In my judgement, there is already a clear case for precautionary action at an international level. The IPCC tells us that we cannot repair the effects of past behaviour on our atmosphere in the same way as we might cleanse a stream. It will take, for example, until the second half of the next century, until the old age of my grandson, for the hole in the ozone layer above the Antarctic to disappear. Greenhouse gases will endure in the upper atmosphere for just as long.

The IPCC tells us that, on present trends, the earth will warm up faster than at any time since the last ice age. The consequences could be irreversible - irreversible, at least, for as long as humanity today would care to contemplate. Homes would be consumed by the sea. Species would disappear for ever. And deserts would advance as green fields retreated.

Many of the precautionary actions that we need to take would be sensible in any event. It is sensible to develop sustainable sources of fuel supply; sensible to use energy prudently; sensible to take care of the world's store of energy.

And our uncertainties about climate change are not all in one direction. Climate change may occur more quickly than the present computer models suggest. Should this happen it would be doubly disastrous were we to shirk the challenge now. Nor can we be entirely sure of how global warming could change our weather. Violent storms, droughts and floods could become more regular occurrences. We cannot afford to take that risk.

We are all aware of the immense challenge. But the enormity of the task should not drive us to despair. We have already established a model of international environmental diplomacy to deal with ozone depletion. For the first time ever, rich and poor nations alike set out together to save our planet from serious danger. This painstaking work culminated in the historic agreement reached in London this year. That agreement is a real beacon of hope for the future.

The main focus in London was on protecting the ozone layer. but the agreement will have other consequences. We should not forget that CFCs are 10,000 times more powerful, molecule for molecule, than carbon dioxide as agents of global warming. We must focus on all greenhouse gases if we are to be successful in slowing the rate of climate change to acceptable levels.

Of course, at the present time, carbon dioxide is by far the most important greenhouse gas. It contributes around half the man-made greenhouse warming.

That is why the United Kingdom is prepared, as part of an international effort, to set itself the demanding target of returning carbon dioxide emissions to this year's level by 2005. That will mean stabilising emissions before that date. Taken together with action in other areas, this would lead to a cut in our present contribution to greenhouse warming from all gases before the turn of the century.

Targets on their own are not enough. They have to be achievable. We have spelt out a strategy which sets us on the road to achieving the target. We propose ambitious programmes both to save energy and to encourage the use of cleaner fuels. Many of the measures we propose have little or no cost, and we shall get on with those as quickly as possible.

We now require, by law, that at least 20% of our electricity comes from sources which do not generate carbon dioxide. We plan a tenfold increase in power from renewable sources. We also envisage a continuing important contribution from nuclear energy.

We also wish to contribute to conserving the world's forests, and to planting new ones. Trees help to reduce global warming. We intend to plant more at home. We have just announced our plans to replant one of the ancient forests of England-destroyed in an earlier phase of our development. We shall offer our expertise and aid funds to help plant and manage forests in developing countries. A year ago I told the UN General Assembly that the UK would aim to increase its funds for tropical forestry by £100m :we now have ¹¹⁵ projects underway in more than 30 countries.

I have no doubt that we shall need to associate the work we do on climate change with strengthened international co-operation on forests.

But our immediate task this week is to carry as many countries as possible with us on the road to negotiating a successful framework convention on climate change in 1992. We must also begin work on the binding protocols that will be necessary to make the convention work. To accomplish these tasks, we must not waste time and energy disputing the IPCC's report or debating the right machinery for making progress. The IPCC's work should be taken as our sign post and the United Nations Environment Programme and the World Meteorological Organisation should be the principal vehicles for reaching our destination.

We will not succeed if we are too inflexible. We will not succeed if we try to take environmental diplomacy into self-righteous point-scoring for the benefit of audiences and voters at home. We have to work sympathetically together. We have to recognise the widely different circumstances facing individual member states, with the better-off assisting the poorer as we agreed to do under the Montreal Protocol on the ozone layer.

The differences can't be drafted away in communiqués and declarations. They need to be resolved by tolerant and sympathetic understanding of our various positions. Some of us use energy more efficiently than others. Some of us are less dependent on fossil fuels. And all of us are at differing stages of economic development. These are the realities that we must face if we are to move forward towards a successful conclusion to our negotiations in 1992.

Rich and poor, North and South, West and East - all of us have to play our part if we are to succeed. And succeed we must for the sake of this and future generations.

One of our greatest poets, George Herbert, in his poem on "Man" wrote presciently:

"Man is all symmetry,
Full of propostives, one limb to another,
And all to all the world besides;
Each part may call the farthest, brother;
For head with foot hath private amity,
And both with moons and tides."

We are, as we know, in symmetry with nature. To help that precious balance, we need - all men and women - to work together for our environment. I give this pledge. The United Kingdom will work with all of you in this common cause - a common cause to save our common inheritance.