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Folder Title:
Global Change: Second World Climate Conference (1) [1 of 2] [1990]

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October 27, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR D. ALLAN BROMLEY

FROM: KEN YALE

SUBJECT: Memorandum on Second World Climate Conference

ISSUE: Attached is the memorandum for the President that we discussed on Thursday. It has undergone extensive review and revision.

BACKGROUND: You will recall that Ede Holiday and C. Boyden Gray expressed concern about the lack of coordination evidenced by the independent action of Roger Porter in responding to the request by the President.

In a conversation with Andy Card on Thursday, I noted the request from the President and Roger's response. I then indicated that the global change group, that you chair, has the action on the Second World Climate Conference and that hundreds of manhours had gone into preparations for the SWCC. Moreover, I suggested that there were inaccuracies in the Porter memo and I asked if there was something we should be doing better to coordinate the issue. Andy suggested that we speak with Roger about the issue. Cabinet Affairs staff said that Ede Holiday would discuss this issue with Roger. They also expressed surprise that Jim Cicconi did not catch the memo and forward it to you before it went to the President.

You should know there are differing opinions on some minor details in the memo. After consultation with the interested parties, neutral and accurate language was adopted for this final version. I would be happy to indicate to you the exact reasons for any of the language.

ACTIONS: The attached memo is ready to sign. It would be appropriate for us to discuss this issue with Jim Cicconi, so we do not lose the benefit of all the work that has gone into the global change groups and we are not blindsided in this fashion again. You may also want to speak with Governor Sununu. You could contact Ede to see what she plans to do and to coordinate our responses on this matter. Below are suggested talking points.

- o We would like to know when issues having to do with Global Climate Change are brought to the attention of the President, so we are not blindsided.
- o Hundreds of manhours have been invested into this issue in the DPC Global Change groups which I chair.
- o I have kept Governor Sununu fully apprised of all our activities, and Cabinet Affairs has provided coordination with the agencies and White House offices.
- o Is there anything more we should be doing to best serve the President?

October 26, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: D. ALLAN BROMLEY

SUBJECT: Second World Climate Conference

This will provide additional information on the Second World Climate Conference (SWCC), supplementing Roger Porter's memo to you of October 23.

Preparations for SWCC

The U.S. positions for SWCC have been developed through a working level group headed by the State Department, which has reported to the DPC Global Change Strategy Task Force that I chair. The task force has developed our positions on the five major issues in the draft Ministerial Declaration, reviewed and approved the alternative draft declaration discussed below, and reviewed the opening statement of NOAA Administrator Dr. John Knauss, who will head the U.S. delegation to the Ministerial portion of the meeting. Throughout this process I have kept Governor Sununu fully apprised of developments.

SWCC is controversial

SWCC is one of many international conferences held to address global climate change issues. These conferences generally have as their goals: heightening the visibility of the issues, encouraging scientific and economic inquiry into climate phenomena, and, in many instances, international political positioning.

The first part of SWCC will be a review of scientific information, including materials compiled through the U.N. sponsored Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), which has been endorsed by the U.S. government as the appropriate channel to consider climate change science. It will provide a forum for discussions that connect scientific understanding with the continuing policy debate. There are no official "delegations" to the scientific discussions.

A ministerial meeting will occur during the second week of the conference, increasing the political tone of the event. There will be pressure to begin negotiations on greenhouse gas emissions reductions. The U.S. does not recognize SWCC as the forum for substantive climate change negotiations, so Dr. Knauss was chosen to head the U.S. delegation to emphasize our view of the meeting as science-focused.

The U.S. position is that this meeting should discuss the scientific issues and preserve any negotiations for the February 1991 framework convention meeting, hosted

by the U.S. in Washington. The delegation will also try to gather support for our "comprehensive approach" to emissions reductions, which takes into account characteristics of all greenhouse gases and their effects on the environment. Some countries will seek to push agreement on elements to be included in a framework convention, but the U.S. delegation plans to hold firm in deferring such issues to the negotiations.

There are five major issues in the controversial draft Ministerial Declaration

The draft Declaration is highly controversial. Major issues for the U.S. in the draft, along with the U.S. positions, are:

(1) Targets and Timetables. We should not commit to specific targets and timetables for reducing greenhouse gases. Instead, we should take actions that are justified for other reasons. All actions should be within the context of the comprehensive approach to greenhouse gas limits.

(2) Content of a Convention. The Ministerial Declaration should not prejudge the negotiations which are to begin in Washington in February.

(3) Financial Assistance. The U.S. will not commit to providing new, additional international assistance which increases the overall budget. Existing resources and mechanisms must be fully utilized before new monies can be considered.

(4) Climate Change Science. The declaration must be accurate in describing the scientific context and uncertainties associated with potential climate change.

(5) Precautionary Principle. The U.S. will assert, as was spelled out in the Houston Economic Summit declaration, that lack of full scientific certainty is no excuse to postpone actions which are justified in their own right.

The U.S. may be isolated on a number of issues

The U.S. does not agree with many countries' broad interpretation of the precautionary principle, or their calls for targets and timetables and financial assistance. Other countries interpret the precautionary principle as urging immediate action for the prevention of environmental degradation, regardless of the extent of scientific uncertainty. The Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia may be our allies on this issue.

Press interest in the conference may be intense for a period of time because of pressure from a growing number of countries to set targets and timetables. Japan will highlight its recently developed strategy for stabilizing CO_2 at current levels by the year 2000. Australia will also be discussing its strategy to reduce all greenhouse gases 20% by the year 2005. The U.S. could be portrayed as stalling on greenhouse gas emissions reductions. In fact, actions that the U.S. is taking or planning to take are estimated to stabilize our net greenhouse gas emissions at 1987 levels by the year 2000, a significant reduction (approximately 20%) from previously anticipated levels.

An alternative declaration will be proposed by the U.S. delegation

To decrease the possibility of isolation, the U.S. has prepared an alternative draft Ministerial Declaration, which is shorter, less technical and more ministerial in tone. It will probably not be readily accepted in its entirety by SWCC participants. However, it should influence the discussions and could encourage support for the U.S. position by a number of countries uncomfortable with the current draft Ministerial Declaration. This is likely to result in greater leverage for our delegation and a compromise final declaration acceptable to the U.S..

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DRAFT TALKING POINTS ON GLOBAL CHANGE

o General circulation models reproduce the current global climate and changes of seasons fairly accurately. But the models inadequately simulate fundamental features of the Earth system, including clouds, oceans, and icepacks. As a result, computer models have been unable to specify with any certainty the magnitude, rate, or timing of future climate change. They are also totally unable to make reliable climate predictions on regional and local scales, yet these are essential if we are to be able to quantify the detailed impacts of global change.

o To reduce these uncertainties, the federal government has established the U.S. Global Change Research Program, an integrated interagency effort to monitor the Earth system and understand and predict global change. The President's FY 1991 budget called for a 57 percent increase in funding for the program, to a total of about $1 billion. This is more than any other country is spending on global change research.

o At the same time, the Administration fully realizes that enhanced levels of research are not a substitute for action. Thus, the Administration has proposed a number of policies that will reduce greenhouse gas emissions and that are justified for other reasons as well. These include phasing out the manufacture of CFC's by the year 2000; the emissions reductions resulting from the Clean Air Act; a National Energy Strategy that will include conservation as a focus; a combined public- and private-sector initiative to plant a billion trees a year for five years on private land across America; and a global forestry convention that would protect the world's forests.

o Together, these actions, plus tighter restrictions on landfill emissions, can have a substantial impact on greenhouse gas emissions. Using a measure of global warming potential that accounts for residence times in the atmosphere, these actions would hold U.S. greenhouse gas emissions at 1987 levels in the year 2000. Virtually no other country can match this commitment to greenhouse gas reductions.

o At international meetings, the United States government has advocated taking a comprehensive approach to greenhouse gas emissions, treating all radiatively active gases in terms of a scientifically determined greenhouse potential index. This would make it possible to use market-based approaches to achieving reductions of greenhouse gases. For example, a given country might find it economically advantageous to help another country reduce emissions rather than spending an equal amount to make marginal reductions in its own emissions.

o A Working Group on Global Change, chaired by Allan Bromley, that reports to the Domestic Policy Council has been coordinating the formulation of Administration policy in this area. A number of subgroups under the Working Group have been meeting in recent months on specific areas, with the full Working Group meeting less frequently to review and coordinate the efforts of the subgroups.

o During the budget process, Congress considered a 12-cent gasoline tax. The public's lack of acceptance for this tax suggests caution in making demands on our economy and on citizens' pocketbooks to address global change.

o Looking at the attitudes of the public toward nuclear energy, which could contribute to significant restraint of future greenhouse gas emissions, it is clear why formulating a U.S. policy on global change remains so difficult.

o The United States is often expected to provide financial resources for developing countries to address issues in these countries related to global change. Yet the United States has had to defend its financial resources at international climate meetings from opportunistic countries that are already receiving U.S. development funds and are seeking another opportunity for new aid from this country. The United States cannot quickly take on international obligations at substantial cost to American taxpayers.

o The Administration is not going to bow to political pressure but is going to insist that policies be based on the best available scientific and economic knowledge. President Bush has often stated his commitment to the framework convention negotiations, which is a process by which the important issues can be fully and fairly addressed. The Administration will commit itself to achievable and effective goals and not just for the sake of political positioning.

Global Change file

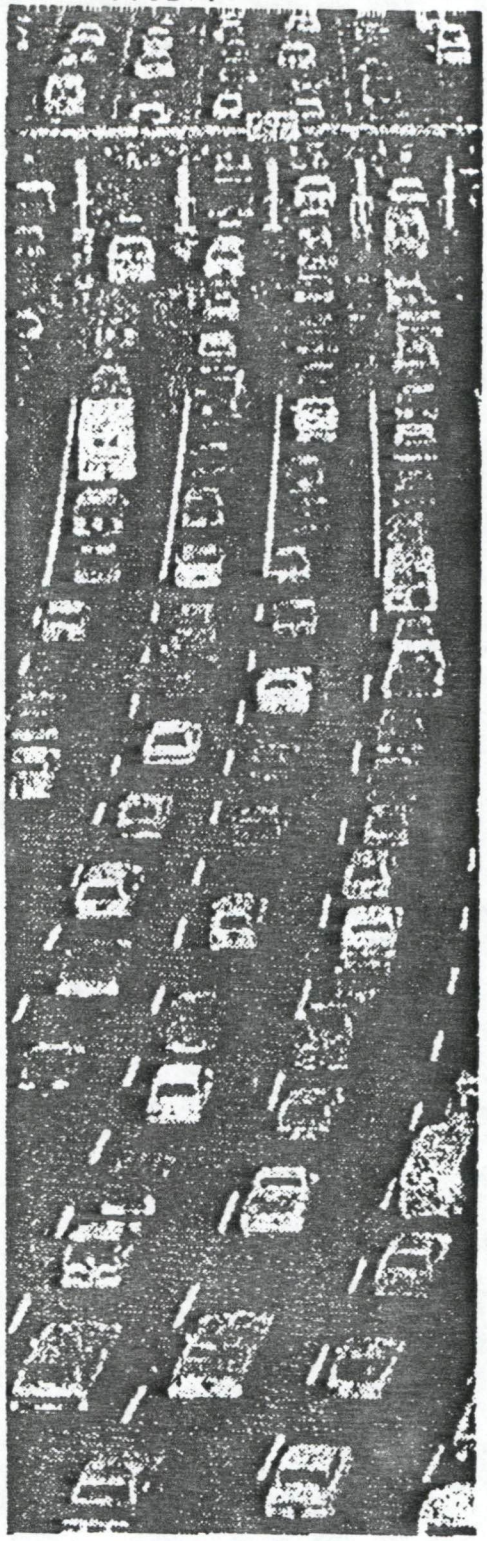
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The unfortunate Dr John Knauss is leading the United States delegation to the Second World Climate Conference. Why unfortunate? First, because Dr Knauss will have to explain why the most powerful country in the world cannot commit itself to take even the most modest steps to cut its emissions of greenhouse gases, themselves the most powerful in the world. Second, because Dr Knauss is, as the Chicago Tribune pointedly described him recently, only 'a lower-level official from the Commerce Department' (where he is undersecretary for oceans and atmosphere).

Some other nations are sending Heads of State, a number are sending Ministers, one is sending a King, most have sent officials whose seniority reflects the importance of the issue and the forum: no other major power has actually downgraded its representation from that at the meetings which built up to the SWCC.

The reason for what amounts to a US snub to this Conference, is that the US is increasingly isolated and, as Mr Alden Meyer's article in this ECO shows, trying both to back down on its previous commitments and pretend that the Second World Climate Conference doesn't exist. President Bush won't let the very words, 'global warming' cross his lips.



At the 1989 Noordwijk Ministerial Conference where the US tried to prevent industrialised countries pledging to cut greenhouse pollution, Dr Knauss's predecessors, Dr Alan Bromley and Mr Bill Riley, experienced the growing American isolation. Now many European countries,

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Worst still for Dr Knauss, after Noordwijk Dr Bromley told the Senate that "I am convinced that by November of next year we will be in a position to say what we can do, when". He meant, at the Second World Climate Conference. But nothing has happened. Mr Bromley has disappeared from the scene. So has Mr Riley. So has the promise of action. The US, having decided not to lead the world, is trying to hide from it.

Only weeks ago the US Administration helped kill (by 3 votes in the Senate) the biggest single step the US could take to curb global-warming: a Bill requiring an average 40 miles per gallon from America's huge fleet of gas-guzzling cars. The US is now 'forum shopping': it won't take action now, preferring to wait for 1992 in Brazil. But we can then expect the US to say that a Convention does not mean there is a need for action, only a need for Protocols. Which means more negotiation and yet more time. This is not leadership: it is the evasion of responsibility.

Which is perhaps why, fearing that other countries may start a shooting war in the negotiations, the Americans have kept the conducter, the first fiddle and the composer at home, and just sent the piano player.

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OPINION AND ANALYSIS

BUSH ADMINISTRATION FLIP-FLOPS ON US CO_2 POLICY

Less than one year ago, at the Noordwijk Ministerial Conference, the United States joined 70 other nations in recognising the need to stabilise emissions of CO_2 and other greenhouse gases as a first step. On November 9, 1989, the White House issued a statement on the Noordwijk Declaration saying: "President Bush announced today that the United States has agreed with other industrialised nations that stabilisation of CO_2 emissions should be achieved as soon as possible".

At Noordwijk, the Bush Administration led the fight against European proposals to set target dates and levels for stabilising industrial CO_2 emissions, saying that the United States needed to conduct further analysis of the economic impacts. The compromise agreement that "such stabilisation should be achieved by them [industrialised nations] as soon as possible, at levels to be considered by the IPCC and the Second World Climate Conference of November 1990."

Action By the SWCC Promised

In testimony before the Senate, immediately after his return from Noordwijk, the President's Science Adviser Dr Allan Bromley, declared repeatedly that the Administration was committed to developing the information and analysis needed to make specific commitments on CO_2 emissions at the Second World Climate Conference.

Bromley stated that "We felt that we were not ready at the time of the Dutch [Noordwijk] conference. We did not understand really how we would achieve specific goals by a specific timetable. I am convinced that by November of next year we will be in a position to say what we can do, when."

Backtracking

The Bush Administration has been backtracking furiously from its generic commitment to stabilising CO_2 emissions ever since. Heading into the Ministerial portion of the Second World Climate Conference, the U.S. position is that such commitments should only be addressed as part of an overall climate change treaty. When treaty negotiations start next February, the U.S. is expected to oppose inclusion of specific CO_2 emission limits in the initial "framework convention", to be finalised by June 1992, and to press for such goals to be set only as part of follow-on agreements whose completion date would be even more distant.

These delaying tactics have not prevented other countries from moving forward since Noordwijk. In fact, virtually every other OECD country has either made, or is about to make, commitments to stabilise emissions. [see back page]

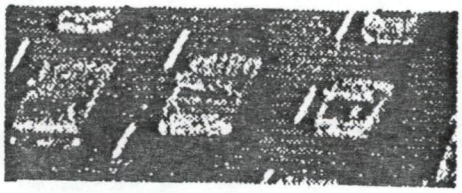
Far from being an economic hardship, countries such as Germany and Australia view their CO_2 stabilisation and reduction commitments as an investment in future economic competitiveness. It is a chance to develop the energy efficiency and renewable energy technologies that will dominate the markets of the 21st century.

Last year, the Bush Administration justified its refusal to take "unilateral" actions to reduce carbon emissions by saying that global warming is a worldwide problem requiring international solutions. At the SWCC, the United States is now the 'odd man out' among industrial nations, having made 'unilateral inaction' on CO_2 the centrepiece of its climate change strategy.

This head-in-the-sand stance ignores the growing scientific consensus as to the urgency of the global warming threat, as well as the demand by developing nations that industrial nations take clear steps to reduce their own greenhouse emissions before asking less wealthy countries to limit the projected growth in theirs.

While the projected economic cost of reducing CO_2 emissions is falling (and, in many sectors, produces net savings), the cost to the global environment of failing to do so will be high indeed. And, I predict, the political cost of inaction may turn out to be far higher than the Bush Administration may think.

Remarks of Alden Meyer, Director, Climate Change and Energy Program



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Gilbert Arum, an Ecologist with KENGO (KENYA ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT ORGANIZATIONS) reviews the case for support to African NGOs working on climate change, and the challenge they are taking up.

With Africa's present depressed state of socio-economic development, and its lack of resilience to environmental stress, there is every reason to believe that the African response to global warming will differ greatly from those proposed in industrialized countries.

Africa needs to increase levels of energy production as a prerequisite for sustained social and economic development. Anyone simply transferring Northern strategies for dealing with global warming to Africa, runs a very real risk of appearing irrelevant, or even worse, of advocating policies which actually damage African interests. This will remain the case unless the focus on global warming facilitates rather than hinders the Continent's needs.

It has been suggested in certain quarters that global climatic change is actually the strongest argument for reducing constraints and accelerating development in southern countries, to bring the poorest groups to a minimum level of development at which they can be expected to adequately handle environmental stress.

On the other hand, basic development needs such as health, energy, education and food often overwhelm available resources. Even then, it remains clear that the pace of development, the rate of population growth and the trend in the destruction of the natural resource base have now reached a level that threatens to create a natural and human catastrophe.

Much of the work being done by African NGOs is aimed at increasing self-reliance and resilience of marginalized people by promoting local resource management and control. NGO programmes in the fields of agriculture, forestry and energy are based on principles of conservation and efficient use of available resources to meet basic needs. While the immediate goals may not be the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, in the long run such policies will contribute to global efforts to curb global warming.

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By placing their activities squarely within the context of global warming, African NGOs could expect a greater hearing and greater support for their work, at home and abroad. An increased understanding of

continued on page 7

Talking Points

for Dr. Bromley's meeting with Dr. Knauss
October 31, 1990

I. Circulation of European Community position on CO2

The newly developed EC position on CO2 emission limits calls for stabilization by 2000 at 1990 levels. The european Community says it will present a proposal prior to the 1992 UNCED to establish separate global targets for CO2 and other greenhouse gases.

This has been circulated at the SWCC and has gained quite a bit of attention according to Jeff Miotke/DOS.

While the commitment is weak, the press will identify it as a commitment, and one step beyond what the U.S. has done.

II. Revised Knauss speech

The 20% reduction part was omitted? Why?

EPA in their unpublished report is now supporting that with current commitments, coupled with additional assumed environemntal initiatives, yields a 24% emissions reduction.

Total greenhouse gas emissions will be held to 1987 levels IN the year 2000.

NOTE: Stabilization of emissions does not imply stabilization of atmospheric concentrations. (The term in this context was recommended to be "dropped" by Howard Gruenspecht, CEA.)

Speech underlines separating the SWCC from the February negotiations. Good.

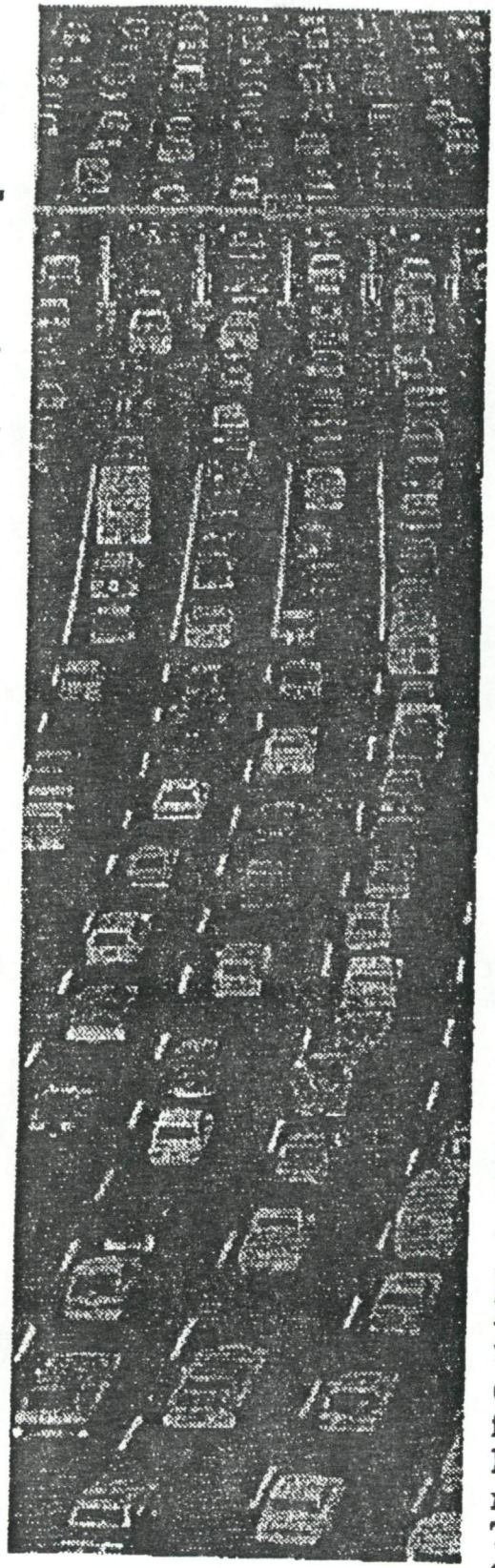
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SECOND WORLD CLIMATE CONFERENCE NGO NEWSLETTER

eco

30 OCTOBER SCIENTIFIC ISSUE

eco has been published by Non-Governmental Environmental Groups at major international conference since the Stockholm Environment Conference in 1972. This issue is produced cooperatively by groups attending the Second World Climate Conference

Global Warming Threat To World Food Supply — Studies Predict

As the Second World Climate Conference gets underway, evidence from two major studies show that global warming is likely to have politically significant impacts on world agriculture.

In a statement which accompanied its position paper on the potential effects of global warming, the FAO warned on Monday that semi-arid regions of the world could be hit especially hard. The FAO has conducted studies on the Sahelian countries and concludes that the region could be devastated by global warming.

A second report 'Climate Change and World Agriculture' released by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), and the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA), says that possible warming foreseen by the IPCC could have a severe impact on world food supplies, increasing the risk of starvation and malnutrition.

Sahel Could Be Devastated

Agriculture is more sensitive to climate change than any other sector of the economy, writes PHIL JESSOP. The Sahel, which is home to perhaps 55 million people, is particularly vulnerable to changes in precipitation. A FAO analysis has concluded that if the shortage of rainfall which characterized the period 1965-1985 continues in the future, the region's food capacity will be significantly undermined. Not only would agricultural production only be reduced, but there would be a 50 percent fall in the population that Sahelian countries could feed from their own resources. The decline in food self-sufficiency would make these countries dependent on food imports, as well as reducing foreign exchange earned from exports.

The costs of production are also expected to rise with such a change. The decline in soil moisture would reduce the effectiveness of fertilizer, and increasing evapo-transpiration would reduce the effectiveness of irrigation systems, thereby lowering the area that can be irrigated, and raising the costs of irrigation.

The FAO concludes that the Sahelian countries would not only lose their capacity to feed themselves, but income in these countries, largely dependent on farming, would also fall dramatically. Agricultural impacts now look certain to play a major role in fuelling concern among developing countries over climate change.

Report Warns of Severe Impact

Regions such as Central America, Africa and southeast Asia may experience a drop in farm yields by 25 per

US GETS ATTITUDE PROBLEM —

See pages 4 & 5

CARBON CLUB

Page 2

FEEDBACKS OVERLOOKED?

– See page 6

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10/30/90

EC position on CO_2 emission limits
- developed for SWCC

CLIMATE CHANGE POLICY

CONCLUSIONS

The present document reflects the position of the Council on climate change policy and addresses it under three aspects:

- the European Community approach to the global warming issue;
- the Community response strategies;
- the Community stance at the Second World Climate Conference.

FOREWORD

1. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), operating in the framework of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), has expressed the authoritative scientific view that "we are certain of the following": "There is a natural greenhouse effect which already keeps the earth warmer than it would otherwise be. Emissions resulting from human activities are substantially increasing the atmospheric concentrations of the greenhouse gases, carbon dioxide, methane, chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) and nitrous oxide. These increases will enhance the greenhouse effect, resulting on average in an additional warming of the Earth's surface. The main greenhouse gas, water vapour, will increase in response to global warming and further enhance it."
   The Member States of the EC fully support this view and believe that the problem of man-induced climate change,

being a global challenge, can only be countered effectively through the broadest international collaboration. The absence at present of full understanding of the complexity of the scientific inter-connections involved should not be used as a reason for postponing measures to combat climate change.

NEED FOR ACTION

2. Sectors like energy, agriculture, industry, transport, the situation in the field of forestry and other human activities contribute to the enhanced greenhouse effect. The largest anthropogenic cause of this effect are the greenhouse gases, particularly CO_2, emitted in the production and use of energy. Global emissions of energy-related greenhouse gases must therefore clearly be limited and wherever possible reduced.

3. The revision of energy and transport policies to curb global carbon dioxide released into the atmosphere should be one of the priority targets of the world, Community and international energy policy must be adjusted to this new task. At the same time, those energy-policy goals which remain valid must be maintained, such as sufficient and secure supply of energy in order to assure employment and economic growth.

4. It is in the interest of the international community, and in this framework, of the European Community, to reach an international agreement on the policy approach to protect the world climate, bringing together as many countries as possible.

OECD, Eastern countries and developing countries have common but differentiated responsibility in dealing with the problem.

5. EC wishes that such a position will be defined at the Second World Climate Conference, in Geneva. The Community and Member States intend to assume a concerted policy. To this purpose, the Council agrees on the following lines.

TARGETS/MEANS AND INSTRUMENTS

6. EC Member States and other industrialized countries should take urgent action to stabilize or reduce their CO2 and other GHG emissions. Stabilization of CO2 emissions should be in general achieved by the year 2000 at 1990 level, although the Council notes that some Member countries according to their programmes are not in a position to commit themselves to this objective. In this context countries with, as yet, relatively low energy requirements, which can be expected to grow in step with their development, may need targets and strategies which can accommodate that development, while improving the energy efficiency of their economic activities.

7. The European Community and Member States assume that other leading countries undertake commitments along the lines mentioned above and, acknowledging the targets identified by a number of Member States for stabilizing or reducing emissions by different dates, are willing to take actions aiming at reaching stabilization of the total CO_2 emissions by 2000 at 1990 level in the Community as a whole. Member States which start from relatively low levels of energy consumption and therefore low emissions measured on a per capita or other appropriate basis, are entitled to have CO2 targets and/or strategies corresponding to their economic and social development, while improving the energy efficiency of their economic activities.

8. With the aim of achieving this, the Council notes that, in pursuance of the Council Resolution 89/C 183/03 of 21 June 1989, the Commission intends to propose by the end of 1990 appropriate options and measures based on equitable burden sharing taking into account the potential and constraints

for CO_2 reductions as well as present situation of emissions in Member States in order to facilitate a coordinated participation of Member States.

9. The above objective should be achieved in Member States principally by fully exploiting the potential of energy conservation and energy efficiency of economic activities as well as the diversification of energy supply towards energy sources with lower CO_2 emission. Member States should make efforts to achieve the objective taking advantage of their individual possibilities to use "no regret" measures. In particular EC and national energy and transport policies should be reviewed, adopting measures, where appropriate, along the following lines:

   a) energy conservation and efficiency improvement in the use of energy, in particular through promoting diffusion of energy efficient end use devices and improving the efficiency of mass-produced goods, such as transport vehicles;
   b) efficiency improvements in energy supply and conversion;
   c) promoting the availability of, access to and utilization of low carbon fuels;
   d) promotion of safe CO_2 zero emission technologies, paying special attention to those exploiting new and renewable energy sources ;
   e) promotion of cost effective public transport systems for persons and goods.

10. Moreover, the Commission will present in due time before the 1992 World Conference on Environment and Development a proposal for establishing global Community emission reduction targets separately for CO2 and other GHGs, including possible strategy options aimed at progressive reductions at the horizon 2005 and 2010.

11. Economic and fiscal instruments, e.g. taxes or charges, may play an important role in achieving structural changes in the energy sector aimed at limiting or reducing CO_2 and other GHGs emissions in the most efficient manner. To this aim the Council notes that the Commission will present

FORESTS

as. forest destruction contributes to global warming through the emission of CO_2, methane and other gases. The rate of deforestation must be reduced and the potential of the world forests to act as a sink for greenhouse gases must be increased through vigorous programmes of forest protection and development. Such programmes should include the [illegible] strengthening or development of measures for the protection of forests against atmospheric pollution and fires as well as for reforestation and afforestation in suitable areas of Europe, such as the arid Mediterranean areas, and in other suitable areas of the world.

SECOND WORLD CLIMATE CONFERENCE

13. The Council strongly believes that the Second World Climate Conference should agree a Declaration which demonstrates the commitment of the international community to work together to tackle the problems of climate change.

To this end, the Council wishes, and the Member States commit themselves thereto, that in this declaration

- the concern of the IPCC about the increase of greenhouse gas emissions from human activities, "resulting on average in additional global warming", be recognised ;

- it be recognised that industrialized countries and developing countries have a common but differentiated responsibility in dealing with problems arising from climate change and the need for the developed countries to assist developing countries to play their full part in an international response to climate change, through the provision of financial resources and appropriate transfer of environmentally sound technologies ;

- a recommendation be expressed in favour of the negotiation of a framework Convention on Climate Change

negotiation of a framework Convention on Climate Change and related protocols, under the auspices of UNEP/WMO, which should start without delay and be completed before the 1992 World Conference on Environment and Development.

The protocols should notably set targets for the limitation and/or reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, in particular CO_2, and establish measures to curb deforestation and promote sustainable forest management and afforestation.

The EC and Member States should take a leading role in the SWCC. As part of that role the EC and Member States should seek to persuade all industrialized countries to set, as a first step, stabilization targets comparable to those adopted by the Community and its Member States, under the conditions set out in paragraph 7.



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Abdallah Saleh Ashtal, right, who abstained in the Security Council vote to censure Iraq.

New Censure of Iraq

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groundwork for possible future resolutions holding Iraq liable for financial damages and putting Iraqi officials on notice that they could be tried for human rights abuses.

It also demanded that Iraq "ensure immediate access to food, water and basic services for diplomatic missions in Kuwait." That point has been pursued strongly by the United States, one of two countries still maintaining its embassy in Kuwait despite Iraqi efforts to seal it off from vital supplies and services.

U.S. officials, in discussing this provision, have stressed its humanitarian aspects for the benefit of the small cadre of American diplomats still in Kuwait and their ability to look out for other U.S. citizens there. The officials and other U.N. diplomats gave no indication that this provision was intended to be a possible pretext for future military action to rescue the embattled embassy.

Nevertheless, Pickering told the Security Council today after the vote: "The continued denial of food, water and basic services, the refusal to permit departure of any and all who seek to depart, the imposition of virtual siege and terror—these are unacceptable. . . . Every nation has a duty to protect its citizens. This is a fundamental obligation. The United States will do that which is necessary to meet its obligation to its own citizens.

"The international community is speaking out clearly against Iraq's efforts to destroy the sovereign state of Kuwait through organized looting, destruction and even murder," Pickering said.

The military staff committee is supposed to be composed of the highest-ranking officers of each of the Security Council's five permanent members. Before today, however, they usually have been represented by officers below general rank. In addition to Carns, officers attending today's talks were Vice Adm. Alain Coatanea, director of France's Joint Military Staff; Col. Gen. Bronislav Omelichev, first deputy chief of the Soviet General Staff; Maj. Gen. Edwin H. A. Beckett, head of the British Defense Staff in Washington; and Maj. Gen. Du Kuanyi, senior military member of China's U.N. delegation.

Quick Action Urged to Curb Global Warming

Associated Press

GENEVA, Oct. 29—The top U.N. environment official today urged immediate steps by industrialized countries to curb global warming, saying delay will only worsen a disaster looming over future generations.

Mostafa K. Tolba, head of the U.N. Environment Program, said a "complete change in attitudes and lifestyles" is needed to avert a danger "potentially more catastrophic than any other threat in human history."

A decade of research has made clear that only drastic reductions in emissions of carbon dioxide and other heat-trapping "greenhouse gases" will stop warming of the planet, Tolba told the opening session of a U.N. climate conference.

He said "large gaps in our knowledge" about the phenomenon should not be an excuse for inaction.

About 500 scientists attending the 10-day conference are expected to draft a new program proposing ways to fight the greenhouse effect.

A final meeting of about 80 ministers is expected to draw several heads of government, including Margaret Thatcher of Britain and France's Michel Rocard. The United States, still opposed to binding emission cuts, has sent a lower-level delegation.

The conference is supposed to launch formal negotiations on an international convention against global warming, to be ready for signing by mid-1992. Ministers are expected to provide the basis for the talks in a final declaration Nov. 7.

But Tolba said industrialized nations, which contribute three-quarters of all man-made greenhouse gases, must cut emissions even before a convention is in place. "The longer we delay, the worse the disaster will be for our children, and for our children's children," he said.

He said curbing emissions will be costly and requires great changes in "economic, legal and institutional systems." Developing countries would need more time and Western help.

"We are used to war and its price. We must now learn to live in peace, and to know and pay its price," said Federico Mayor, director-general of the U.N. Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 10/25/90

TO: Dr. Allan Bromley

FROM: JAMES W. CICCONI
Assistant to the President and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff

The attached has been forwarded
to the President.

[redacted]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

21-90

'RESIDENT

ger Porter

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rld Climate Conference in Geneva?

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[redacted]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

[redacted]

DATE: 1021-90

FROM THE PRESIDENT G

To: Roger Porter

How do we stand for
World Climate Conference in Geneva?

Will we be isoltaed.??

Issues??

[redacted]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 23, 1990 90 OCT 23 PM 9:17

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER RBP

SUBJECT: The Second World Climate Conference

This responds to your request for an assessment of prospects for the Second World Climate Conference, which will be held in Geneva from October 29 to November 7.

The Conference will address the climate change agenda for the 1990s.

The First World Climate Conference, held in 1979, defined the world climate program that has been the basis for joint action over the past decade. The broad objective of the Second Conference is to set the international agenda for climate change activities for the next decade.

The Conference will review three reports of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) -- on scientific evidence, potential effects, and response strategies. It will then attempt to identify principles for negotiations on a framework convention on climate change. These negotiations will begin next February (in Washington) and run at least through March 1992.

The U.S. will be a leader in discussions on research.

The Conference is divided into two parts. During the first week, scientists will discuss changes needed in the world climate research program for the next ten years. While no official delegations have been invited, U.S. scientists will be led by Dr. Joe Friday, head of Commerce's National Weather Service. Because the U.S. is the world leader in global climate change research (spending nearly $1 billion in 1991), we will urge greater research commitments from others, including developing countries.

We may be isolated in negotiations on the declaration.

During the second week, ministers will attempt to remove the extensive brackets in a draft declaration. The U.S. is likely to be isolated on three familiar issues.

- There will be wide support for endorsing the precautionary principle, which would obligate

governments to attack climate change problems regardless of the uncertainty over causes and solutions.

- The northern Europeans and the Nordics want to establish targets and timetables. We have refused, citing the probable negative effects on growth.

- Developing countries want a commitment to receive new and additional resources to address climate change problems. We have challenged the view that resources for the environment should be isolated from resources for other activities.

We also may be criticized for our refusal to endorse the report of the IPCC's science panel. We question the report's analysis of the threat posed by the greenhouse effect and its call for prompt action. Because the U.S. position is well known, however, other countries are likely to criticize us less stridently than in the past.

The U.S. will attempt to focus attention on practical next steps.

The head of our delegation, NOAA Administrator John Knauss, will take a pragmatic approach. He will refuse to get drawn into extensive debates over rhetoric in the draft declaration. If necessary, we will table a no-frills draft that we could sign. Instead, he will focus on our willingness to begin negotiations on a framework convention on climate change. He will also emphasize the strong U.S. record of action on climate change -- notably the recent Clean Air Act.

Our strategy appears sound. Any lingering criticism will probably dissipate by February, when attention will turn to the framework convention.

The U.S. is being unfairly criticized for its level of representation.

The press has criticized the U.S. for sending John Knauss, when Prime Minister Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl may attend. In fact, if Thatcher and Kohl attend, they will address the Conference at the beginning of its second week. For the rest of the week, all countries will be represented by environment ministers. Knauss is accepted in this group, having been the U.S. delegate at the Bergen and Noordwijk Conferences.

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Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Science and Technology Policy, Office of (OSTP)
Series: Bromley, D. Allan, Files
Subseries: Global Climate Change Files - Conferences/Meetings
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Global Change: Second World Climate Conference (1) [1 of 2] [1990]

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E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: SENV, ENRG, KSCA, WMO, UNEP
SUBJECT: SECOND WORLD CLIMATE CONFERENCE MINISTERIAL DECLARATION

REF: (A) 90 STATE 342230

~~N~~AIROBI INFO UNEP PERMREP, GENEVA INFO USUN

1. IN PREPARATION FOR THE SECOND WORLD CLIMATE CONFERENCE SCHEDULED TO BEGIN OCTOBER 29 IN GENEVA, POSTS ARE REQUESTED TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING POINTS TO THE APPROPRIATE HOST OFFICIALS AND REPORT THEIR REACTION TO THE DEPARTMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE:

--THE UNITED STATES PARTICIPATED ACTIVELY IN THE RECENT THREE-DAY MEETING IN GENEVA (SEPTEMBER 27-29) TO PREPARE THE DECLARATION FOR THE MINISTERIAL PORTION OF THE SECOND WORLD CLIMATE CONFERENCE.

~~B~~ASED ON OUR EXPERIENCE AT THAT MEETING, WE WOULD LIKE TO SHARE WITH YOU A NUMBER OF OBSERVATIONS:

A) THE MINISTERIAL SHOULD SERVE TO STRENGTHEN PROSPECTS FOR EARLY CONCLUSION OF A FRAMEWORK ~~CONVENTION~~ ON CLIMATE CHANGE RATHER THAN DEEPEN EXISTING DIVISIONS RELATED TO KEY NEGOTIATION ISSUES.

B) UNFORTUNATELY, THE DRAFT MINISTERIAL DECLARATION PRODUCED BY THE SWCC SECRETARIAT DID NOT HELP PARTICIPANTS IDENTIFY COMMON GROUND. LENGTHY AND DIFFICULT DISCUSSIONS [illegible] COURSE OF THE SESSION RESULTED ONLY IN A HEAVILY BRACKETED REVISED DRAFT DOCUMENT REPLETE WITH ALTERNATIVES ON WHICH NO CONSENSUS COULD BE FOUND. (AS DESCRIBED REFTEL)

C) CONTINUED EFFORTS TO DEVELOP A CONSENSUS BASED ON THIS REVISED DRAFT WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT AND COULD, IN FACT, HAVE A COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE EFFECT ON THE NEGOTIATIONS.

--OUR DELEGATION AT THE GENEVA PREPARATORY MEETING LEFT CONVINCED THAT THE MAJORITY OF PARTICIPANTS HAD SERIOUS MISGIVINGS ABOUT THE DIRECTION OF THE DRAFTING PROCESS.

--IN OUR VIEW, IT MAY USEFUL TO CONSIDER A NEW APPROACH BASED ON A MUCH SHORTER DRAFT MINISTERIAL DECLARATION WITH A LOFTIER, LESS TECHNICAL TONE. SUCH A DECLARATION COULD:

A) RECOGNIZE THAT WE ARE NOW ON THE EVE OF SERIOUS, COMPLEX NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH WE MUST CONFRONT A WIDE RANGE OF DIFFICULT ISSUES, AND NOTE BOTH WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED AND WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE;

B) HIGHLIGHT BOTH THE RISKS AND THE UNCERTAINTIES WE FACE IN DEALING WITH GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE AND ACKNOWLEDGE THE NEED FOR RESPONSIBLE ACTION;

C) ACKNOWLEDGE THE VARIETY OF CONCERNS AND PERSPECTIVES HELD BY DIFFERENT COUNTRIES, WITHOUT SEEKING NOW TO RESOLVE THEM; AND

D) ENUNCIATE THAT OUR STRATEGY TO ADDRESS CLIMATE CHANGE SHOULD BE UNIVERSAL, COMPREHENSIVE, EQUITABLE, PRAGMATIC, AND FARSIGHTED.

--WE BELIEVE THAT SUCH AN APPROACH TO THE MINISTERIAL DECLARATION WOULD BE LESS DIVISIVE, MORE PRODUCTIVE, AND MORE MINISTERIAL.

--WE WOULD BE WILLING TO HELP DEVELOP SUCH A DRAFT AND ARE INTERESTED IN KNOWING YOUR THOUGHTS ON THIS MATTER. WE LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU TO PRODUCE A CONSENSUS STATEMENT AT THE PREPARATORY SESSION ON NOVEMBER 2.

BAKER

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

ALTERNATIVE DRAFT
MINISTERIAL DECLARATION
FOR THE
SECOND WORLD CLIMATE CONFERENCE

PREAMBLE

WE, MINISTERS FROM __ COUNTRIES, ASSEMBLED IN GENEVA, SWITZERLAND, FROM 6 TO 7 NOVEMBER 1990 AT THE SECOND WORLD CLIMATE CONFERENCE.

CONSCIOUS OF OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO PRESENT AND FUTURE GENERATIONS TO PRESERVE AND PROTECT OUR FRAGILE PLANET;

DEEPLY CONCERNED BY RECENT EVIDENCE THAT OUR ACTIONS MAY BE ALTERING THE ATMOSPHERE WHICH NURTURES LIFE AND SETS EARTH APART FROM ALL OTHER PLANETS;

RECOGNIZING THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS OF THE PAST DECADE BY THE WORLD CLIMATE PROGRAM, WMO, ICSU, AND UNEP TO IDENTIFY AND RESOLVE SCIENTIFIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC ISSUES RELATED TO CLIMATE CHANGE;

WELCOMING THE TIMELY COMPLETION OF THE FIRST ASSESSMENT REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE WHICH PROVIDES THE FIRST COMPREHENSIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE SCIENCE, IMPACTS AND POSSIBLE RESPONSES TO CLIMATE CHANGE;

UNCERTAIN STILL OF WHAT MAY FOLLOW, AND AT WHAT COST, BUT CONCERNED THAT DELAY COULD CONSTRAIN OUR ABILITY TO ACT;

WE EMBARK NOW WITH COMMON RESOLVE ON AN EFFORT WHICH WILL REQUIRE PERSEVERANCE, RESOLUTION AND STEADFAST PURPOSE, AN EFFORT WHICH WILL TEST EVERY VIRTUE OF OUR PEOPLES, BUT WITHOUT WHICH WE CAN HAVE NO HOPE OF SUCCESS.

RISKS AND UNCERTAINTIES

1. SCIENCE TELLS US THAT GREENHOUSE GASES ARE ACCUMULATING IN THE ATMOSPHERE BECAUSE OF HUMAN ACTIVITIES. MOST OF THESE GASES ARE PRODUCED NATURALLY AND ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE HABITABILITY OF OUR PLANET; STILL, THE HUMAN CONTRIBUTION, PARTICULARLY SINCE THE DAWN OF THE INDUSTRIAL AGE, HAS DISTURBED THEIR BALANCE IN THE ATMOSPHERE.

2. SCIENCE ALSO WARNS US THAT UNRELENTING ACCUMULATION OF GREENHOUSE GASES PRODUCED BY HUMAN ACTIVITIES WILL LEAD INEVITABLY TO A GLOBAL WARMING, PERHAPS AT RATES FASTER THAN ANY MANKIND HAS EXPERIENCED. SCIENCE PREDICTS THAT THE WARMING WILL NOT BE EVEN, THAT IT IS LIKELY TO VARY BY LATITUDE AND SEASON, AND THAT THE LONG ATMOSPHERIC LIFETIMES OF SOME GREENHOUSE GASES MAY MAKE CONTROL DIFFICULT.

3. THE STATE OF OUR KNOWLEDGE IS IMPERFECT -- MANY IMPORTANT UNCERTAINTIES REMAIN. STILL WE ARE AWARE THAT SIGNIFICANT CLIMATE CHANGES MAY HAVE HARMFUL CONSEQUENCES FOR OUR PLANET AND OUR PEOPLES. SEAS MAY RISE, STORMS MAY INCREASE AND INTENSIFY AND MANY SPECIES OF LIFE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO ADAPT.

4. FACING THESE RISKS, BUT ACKNOWLEDGING GREAT UNCERTAINTIES, WE MUST DETERMINE HOW EXTENSIVELY WE MUST ACT, WHAT THE COSTS OF ACTION AND INACTION MAY BE, AND WHAT MEASURE OF SUCCESS WILL LIKELY GRACE OUR EFFORTS.

5. AT THIS SECOND WORLD CLIMATE CONFERENCE WE REAFFIRM OUR SUPPORT FOR THE WORLD CLIMATE PROGRAMME AND FOR OTHER COOPERATIVE SCIENTIFIC INITIATIVES TO RESOLVE THE QUESTIONS BEFORE US.

PAST AND PROLOGUE

6. THIS ENDEAVOR IS NOT WITHOUT PRECEDENT. OUR NATIONS HAVE ALREADY DEVELOPED A COMMON STRATEGY TO ADDRESS A RELATED GLOBAL CRISIS -- STRATOSPHERIC OZONE DEPLETION. FROM A MODEST BEGINNING IN 1985, WE HAVE QUICKLY NARROWED SCIENTIFIC UNCERTAINTIES AND SUMMONED THE RESOLVE TO TAKE MORE STRINGENT BUT NECESSARY ACTION. THAT ACTION IS ALSO THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FIRST STEP TO REDUCE THE ACCUMULATION IN THE ATMOSPHERE OF GREENHOUSE GASES FROM HUMAN ACTIVITIES.

7. WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN AN UNPRECEDENTED INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO ANALYZE THE SCIENCE, IMPACTS, AND RESPONSE OPTIONS FOR FURTHER DEALING WITH CLIMATE CHANGE. THIS EFFORT, INITIATED UNDER THE JOINT AUSPICES OF THE WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION AND THE UNITED NATIONS ENVIRONMENT PROGRAMME, HAS PRODUCED THE FIRST ASSESSMENT REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE. THE REPORT HAS HEIGHTENED OUR AWARENESS AND ENLISTED AN INCREASING NUMBER OF NATIONS IN THE SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS.

8. WE HAVE THUS SET THE STAGE FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON A FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE. WE NOTE WITH SATISFACTION THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BEGIN IN FEBRUARY 1991 AND THAT ALL PARTIES HAVE RESOLVED TO COMPLETE THE CONVENTION, TOGETHER WITH ANY RELATED LEGAL INSTRUMENTS AS MAY THEN BE AGREED, BY THE TIME OF THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN JUNE 1992.

9. WE FURTHER NOTE THAT THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY WILL SHORTLY CONSIDER WAYS, MEANS AND MODALITIES FOR FURTHER PURSUING THESE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE BASIS OF RECOMMEN- DATIONS PRODUCED A MONTH AGO BY GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES.

CALL FOR A GLOBAL STRATEGY

10. WHILE UNCERTAINTY COMPLICATES OUR TASK, IT WILL NEITHER DELAY NOR DETER US. WE MUST DEVELOP A GLOBAL STRATEGY TO PROTECT OUR ATMOSPHERE. THE STRATEGY MUST BE:

-- UNIVERSAL, INVOLVING ALL NATIONS OF THE WORLD, FOR ONLY TOGETHER CAN WE HOPE TO PREVAIL.

-- COMPREHENSIVE, ADDRESSING ALL SOURCES AND SINKS OF THE GASES WE PRODUCE, WHICH MUST BE CONSIDERED TOGETHER IF OUR EFFORTS ARE TO SUCCEED.

-- EQUITABLE, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT OUR DIFFERING OPPORTUNITIES TO ACT AND OUR DIFFERING CONTRIBUTIONS TO PRESENT AND PREDICTED FUTURE ACCUMULATIONS OF GREENHOUSE GASES.

-- PRAGMATIC, RECOGNIZING THE COMMON DESIRE TO GROW AND PROVIDE FOR OUR PEOPLES, WITHOUT WHICH PROSPECT HOPE FOR HUMAN PROSPERITY AND DIGNITY WILL WHITHER; AND

-- FARSIGHTED, RECOGNIZING THAT INNOVATION WILL OPEN POSSIBILITIES AS YET UNKNOWN, IF WE BUT DIRECT OUR COLLECTIVE INGENUITY TO SHAPE THAT FUTURE.

THE EFFORT REQUIRED

11. THE CHALLENGE BEFORE US IS GREAT. WE ARE AWARE THAT THE COLLECTIVE EFFORT REQUIRED WILL BE AMONG THE MOST COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT EVER UNDERTAKEN. OUR SUCCESS OR FAILURE WILL INFLUENCE LIFE ON OUR PLANET. WE MUST FIND WAYS TO ACCOMMODATE A WIDE RANGE OF LEGITIMATE CONCERNS WHILE ENSURING THAT WE DEVELOP A SPECIFIC PROGRAM OF ACTION.

12. FOREMOST AMONG THESE CONCERNS IS THAT SHARED BY ALL COUNTRIES -- THAT THE ACTIONS WE AGREE TO TAKE NOT UNDULY CURTAIL ECONOMIC GROWTH. THIS CONCERN IS PARTICULARLY ACUTE AMONG DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WHO HAVE NOT YET ATTAINED THE LEVEL OF PROSPERITY THAT PREVAILS AMONG COUNTRIES OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD. STILL, THE NEED FOR GROWTH IS NOT UNIQUE TO THEM, FOR DISPARITIES EXIST AS WELL WITHIN THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD.

13. WE MUST ALSO FIND WAYS TO ACCOMMODATE:

--THE CONCERNS OF COUNTRIES NOW DETERMINED TO LIMIT AND REDUCE GROWING EMISSIONS OF GREENHOUSE GASES AS WELL AS THE CONCERNS OF COUNTRIES WHOSE GROWTH DEPENDS ON FOSSIL FUEL;

--THE CONCERNS OF COUNTRIES, WHOSE FORESTS ARE INTEGRALLY TIED TO THEIR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT YET WHOSE FORESTS PROVIDE A CRITICAL ELEMENT OF THE WORLD'S DEFENSE AGAINST GLOBAL WARMING;

--THE CONCERNS OF COUNTRIES WHICH BEAR A PROPORTIONATELY LARGE DEGREE OF RISK FROM THE IMPACTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE, PARTICULARLY COUNTRIES IN ARID AND SEMI-ARID REGIONS AND SMALL, LOW-LYING COASTAL AND ISLAND COUNTRIES; AND

--THE CONCERNS OF ALL WHO UNDERSTAND THAT THE BURGEONING GROWTH IN OUR PLANET'S POPULATION MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN OUR EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE.

14. WE ACKNOWLEDGE THAT WE MUST ALSO DEAL ANEW WITH ISSUES WE HAVE ENCOUNTERED IN OTHER FORA, ISSUES WHOSE RESOLUTION OFTEN STILL ELUDES US. IN PARTICULAR, NEGOTIATORS MUST DEVELOP:

--WAYS TO ASSURE THAT ADEQUATE FINANCIAL RESOURCES ARE MADE AVAILABLE TO COUNTRIES THAT WOULD OTHERWISE BE UNABLE TO JOIN FULLY IN THIS COMMON EFFORT;

--WAYS TO ASSURE THAT KNOW-HOW AND TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION CONTINUE TO ADVANCE AND ARE MADE WIDELY AVAILABLE TO SOLVE THIS COMMON PROBLEM;

--WAYS TO ASSURE THAT KNOWLEDGE AND INFORMATION ARE FULLY AND OPENLY SHARED; AND

--WAYS TO ASSURE THAT THE EDUCATIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC INFRASTRUCTURE IN ALL COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, IS EXTENDED AND ENHANCED TO ENABLE EACH OF US FULLY TO APPRECIATE THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS FOR CLIMATE CHANGE, THE POTENTIAL IMPACTS OF SUCH CHANGE AND EVALUATIONS OF PRACTICAL RESPONSE STRATEGIES.

OUR COMMON FUTURE

15. GENERATIONS PAST ONCE RELIED ON FAITH IN MOVING TOWARD THE FUTURE. LATER GENERATIONS PLACED THEIR FAITH IN REASON. AS WE MOVE NOW TOWARD THE SECOND MILLENNIUM WE MUST SEEK TO MARRY FAITH AND REASON. WE MUST URGENTLY RESOLVE THE UNCERTAINTIES THAT CONFRONT US. WE MUST ALSO ACCEPT THAT FULL KNOWLEDGE MAY ELUDE US FOR SOME TIME. WE MUST BEGIN NOW TO TAKE SUSTAINED, PRAGMATIC ACTION TO SECURE OUR COMMON FUTURE. WE DEDICATE OURSELVES HENCEFORTH TO DEVELOP A PHASED, FLEXIBLE RESPONSE THAT WILL ENABLE US TO TAKE ACTION NOW EVEN AS WE SEEK TO RESOLVE REMAINING UNCERTAINTIES AND DEVELOP A COMPREHENSIVE ACTION PLAN FOR THE FUTURE.

Major Policy Issues
Second World Climate Conference
Ministerial Declaration

1. Targets and timetables for reducing greenhouse gas emissions

2. Stipulating the nature and content of a convention on climate change

3. Financial Assistance

4. Statement concerning the scientific understandings associated with climate change

5. Precautionary Principle

1. Targets and timetables for reducing greenhouse gas emissions

Ministerial Declaration:

> 20. We stress, as a first step, the need to stabilize, while ensuring stable development of the world economy, emissions of greenhouse gases not controlled by the Montreal Protocol. We note with appreciation the unilateral commitments of some industrialized countries to stabilize emissions at present level or reduce them by the year 2000;
>
> 21. We agree that stabilization of greenhouse gas emissions should be achieved by industrialized countries by the year (2000) and should be set at (present) emission levels;
>
> 22. We urge industrialized countries to establish greenhouse gases reductions programmes aiming at achieving at least 20% reduction of their current contribution to global warming potential, possibly by the year 2005 and in any case not later than the year 2010;

USG position:

We should not agree to specific targets and timetables. We should take a comprehensive approach that includes all sources and sinks of greenhouse gases and, in the short-term, take those actions which are justified for reasons other than climate change. USG proposed language for paras. 20 and 21 follows on page 3; para 22 should be deleted.

Houston Summit Communique:

> "We are committed to undertake common efforts to limit emissions of greenhouse gases, such as carbon dioxide.... The Second World Climate Conference provides the opportunity for all countries to consider the adoption of strategies and measures for limiting or stabilizing greenhouse gas emissions, and to discuss an effective international response."

21. We recognize that the most effective response strategies, especially in the short-term, are those which are:

- Justified for reasons other than climate change and also provide beneficial influence on potential climate change;
- Economically efficient and cost effective,;
- Able to serve multiple social, economic, and environmental purposes;
- Easily modified to respond to increased scientific and economic understanding of climate change;
- Compatible with the concept of a comprehensive approach addressing all sources and sinks of greenhouse gases;
- Compatible with the concept of sustainable economic growth and development;
- Administratively practical and effective in terms of application, monitoring, and enforcement;
- Inclusive of obligations by both industrialized and developing countries.

22. We recommend that limitation and adaptation strategies be considered as an integrated package that complement each other to minimize net costs. These strategies should include measures which limit emissions from greenhouse gas sources as well as those which increase the ability of natural systems to utilize greenhouse gases. A comprehensive approach is needed which considers the costs of options for reducing emissions of different greenhouse gases and the effects of those reductions on potential

2. Stipulating the nature and content of a convention on climate change

Ministerial Declaration:

> 23. We recommend that the specifications of the obligation to stabilize and reduce greenhouse gases emissions be realized in the form of separate Protocols to the Climate Convention. Some of these protocols could be negotiated concurrently with the framework convention.
>
> 40. We recommend further that the Climate Convention and associated protocols contain specific obligations and address in particular:
> (i) the enhancement of research and systematic observation of climate
> (ii) the control of greenhouse gas emissions
> (iii) the adaptation to the adverse effects of climate change in coastal areas
> (iv) the needs of developing countries for financial assistance in their development efforts and transfer of technology
> (v) appropriate institutional and decision-making procedures.

USG position:

The declaration should not prejudge the negotiations. We support the negotiation of a framework convention; at a minimum, the declaration should be general and should advocate a comprehensive approach that includes sources and sinks of all greenhouse gases. USG would propose deleting para. 23; new USG version of para. 40 follows on page 5.

Houston Summit Communique:

> "We reiterate our support for the negotiation of a framework convention on climate changes;...implementing protocols...should consider all sources and sinks."

35. We recommend that such negotiations consider the possible elements compiled by the IPCC, and that the Framework Convention be framed in such a way as to gain the support of the largest possible number of states. We recommend that the Framework Convention contain, at a minimum, general principles and obligations, and that it advocate a comprehensive approach that includes sources and sinks of all greenhouse gases.

3. Financial Assistance

Ministerial Declaration:

> 27. We recommend that additional resources should progressively, be mobilized to help developing countries take the necessary measures to address climate change consistent with their development needs.

USG position:

We will not commit to providing new and additional funding which increases the overall budget. We are already giving the environment a higher priority in our assistance funding, both bilateral and multilateral, and believe that existing resources and mechanisms must be fully utilized before new monies can be considered. It will also be necessary to quantify the costs associated with any actions in this area before consideration of new funds can be justified. We will also note that the provisions of the Montreal Protocol are not a precedent for other environmental issues.

We understand that other countries may try to strengthen this paragraph, calling for explicit reference to "new and additional funding". USG proposes that para. 27 be deleted.

Houston Summit Communique:

> "We recognize that developing countries will benefit from increased financial and technological assistance to help them resolve environmental problems..."

4. Statements concerning the scientific understandings of climate change.

Ministerial Declaration:

> 4. Climate has varied in the past. But the temperature increase which is predicted to occur in the decades to come due to the increasing accumulation of the greenhouse gases in the atmosphere has not been encountered in the last 100,000 years at least; nor has the past rapidity of change been as fast as that predicted. The greenhouse gases result from a host of human activities such as the burning of fossil fuel, deforestation, mining operations and waste management.
>
> 8. Global warming poses environmental threat of a magnitude the world has never known. Human activities which have lead to the emissions of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere have so far committed the Global Commons to an irreversible warming so far.... It is therefore important that emissions of greenhouse gases, especially carbon dioxide and other long lived greenhouse gases, be reduced as soon as possible.... The long lived gases (CO2 and N2O) would require at least 60% reductions in emissions, and methane 15-20% reduction in emissions in order to stabilize their concentration in atmosphere at today's level.

USG position:

The declaration must accurately describe the scientific context and uncertainties associated with potential climate change. USG proposed language follows on page 8.

Houston Communique:

Does not address the scientific underpinnings.

4. Climate has varied significantly in the past; however, the potential change in global mean temperatures over the next century associated with human activities is predicted to be larger and more rapid than those seen in the last 10,000 years. The magnitude, timing, rate and regional distribution of these predicted climate changes are uncertain because of limitations in our present scientific understanding of climate processes and in our ability to model the behavior of climate systems and components. The human-caused emissions of greenhouse gases, while significant, are much smaller than the exchange between the atmosphere and natural systems. Stabilization of atmospheric concentrations of long-lived gases at today's levels, for example, would require either a 60 to 80% decrease in anthropogenic emissions or a 2 to 3% increase in absorption by natural systems.

8. The potentially serious consequences of human-induced climate change, however, give sufficient reasons to begin adopting response strategies that are fully justified for other reasons, even in the face of significant uncertainties. These strategies could include: improved energy efficiency, use of lower greenhouse gas-emitting sources; improved forest management; development of comprehensive coastal management plans; use of practices to recycle and reuse CFC gases and their substitutes; and improved agricultural practices.

5. Precautionary Principle

Ministerial Declaration:

> 17. In order to achieve sustainable development, we must base ourselves on the precautionary principle. Environmental measures must anticipate, prevent and attack the causes of environmental degredation. Where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty should not be used as a reason for postponing measures to prevent environmental degredation.

USG position:

This definition was agreed to in the Bergen Declaration. We expect other countries to reopen this language, at which time we will seek to have the definition include a reference to the no-regrets strategy. USG proposed language follows on page 10.

Houston Summit Communique:

> "We agree that in the face of threats of irreversible environmental damage, lack of full scientific certainty is no excuse to postpone actions which are justified in their own right."

In order to achieve sustainable development, we must base ourselves on the precautionary principle. Environmental measures must anticipate,. prevent and attack the causes of environmental degradation. Where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty should not be used as a reason for postponing measures to prevent environmental degradation which are justified in their own right.

3 pm 19/X/90

Opening Statement of Dr. John Knauss

Second World Climate Conference

November 6-7, 1990

A great American statesman, philosopher, and sometime scientist, Benjamin Franklin once observed that science is an essential element of public service and public policy making. The Second World Climate Conference and this Ministerial are testament to the fact that science and environmental policy are but two sides of the same coin.

The science which has resulted from the World Climate Program, initiated from the First World Climate Conference in 1979, is now an essential element in public policy making. Based on concerns then which included the effects of greenhouse gases; depletion of stratospheric ozone; widespread, persistent

drought and the possibility of global cooling, the First World Climate Conference began a process to study the key issues that are now the center of our current policy discussions. The World Climate Program has served as a focus for international scientific cooperation and provided much of the information available today. Many contributed to this effort. Naturally, I am proud of the U.S. role and the role of U.S. scientists made to this successful Program.

We must now reaffirm our commitment to the World Climate Program and to associated programs dealing with research on climate and climate change. The U.S. pledges to continue its support of international climate and climate change research. We also pledge our continued support for the infrastructure that supports these programs, such as the World Weather Watch, the International Global Ocean Observing System, the Global Atmosphere Watch and the Climate Studies Fund.

I have studied the Conference Statement from the scientific proceedings carefully. This Statement identifies the key issues that must be address if the science in this area is to contribute to the public policy debate.

Several themes from this past week's conference have

emerged. We must ensure that all of our often disparate activities are fully coordinated. We must engender broad participation in these global efforts, particularly from developing countries.

Data and information are the foundation of understanding. It is essential that there is full, open and efficient access to and exchange of information and data. Without this full and open exchange, our efforts are for naught. Closely linked to this is our ability of our institutions to use the information and data to translate scientific understanding into policy decisions.

If these themes are put into practice, they will make a good scientific program better. In many respects, the work of the World Climate Program is the foundation of the Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). The IPCC Report provides the first complete assessment of the science, impacts and possible responses to climate change. It summarizes our present state of knowledge. It brings to light the gaps and uncertainties and it suggests actions to address them. The World Climate Program can, and I believe, will respond to the challenge this presents.

Yes, there are gaps, there are unanswered questions, and

the models are based on assumptions which are not certainties. But that doesn't mean we should not act. More knowledge, more information, better models will always be required. The United States is not waiting: we are already taking action.

We are taking actions now that, although they may affect the climate, have other benefits. We estimate that current U.S. environmental initiatives, when implemented, will reduce net emissions of greenhouse gases.

These initiatives include:

- phasing out the production of CFCs, halons, and other ozone depleting substance by the year 2000 ((under the Montreal Protocol))
- reducing transportation emissions of reactive gases ((Clean Air Act amendments, just signed into law by President Bush))((to be resubmitted to the U.S. Congress when it reconvenes in 1991))
- improving energy efficiency ((DoE initiative, proposed regulations, Clean Air Act Amendments))
- controlling emissions of methane from landfills ((EPA initiative, no proposed regulations))
- increasing the forested areas in the U.S. through an

aggressive tree planting program ((Presidential initiative, America the Beautiful))

This is a comprehensive approach to a technically, economically and politically complex issue.

There is a desire among the global community to leave for our grandchildren an atmosphere not significantly different than the one we now enjoy. From a scientific perspective and based on our current scientific understanding, this means our objective should be to focus on the concentrations of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. To do this, we must consider all sources and sinks and understand, as best we can, the dynamic processes involved. How we set specific objectives can only be decided in the context of international negotiations, with the widest possible participation. The U.S. is eager for such negotiations to get underway in the appropriate forum.

Science and environmental policy are but two sides of the same coin. This Conference is the bridge between science and policy decisions. Our role here is not to determine a framework convention on climate change. That is a task assigned to our negotiators beginning in February 1991 in

Washington, D.C. We should not attempt to predetermine the results of those negotiations any more than scientists should predetermine the results of scientific research. Let us use our time to reflect on how best to meld science with policy. Let us use our time here to build a strong, yet flexible bridge to make science an essential component of public policy making.

Japan Presents Plan on Global Warming Issue

By 2000, 'Greenhouse Gases' To Be Held to Current Levels

By T. R. Reid
Washington Post Foreign Service

TOKYO, Oct. 23—Japan's government established a multifaceted program to combat global warming today, setting targets to stabilize emissions of so-called "greenhouse gases" at current levels by 2000.

The Japanese program, announced just in time for the second World Climate Conference, which convenes next week in Geneva, leaves the United States as one of the few developed countries that has not set targets to control the gases that may cause global warming.

"They pushed this out in time for the conference, which means we'll be all by ourselves in Geneva," said a U.S. Embassy official. "But our position is that the scientific community has still not made up its mind about global warming, and we are not setting targets in an unsettled situation."

The Japanese plan expresses no doubt about the concept of global warming—the theory that the burning of fossil fuels has changed the earth's atmosphere and is gradually raising average temperatures.

"Global warming is a grave concern which is likely to pose a serious threat to the very foundation of human life," the report says, citing the risk of environmental changes and possible social consequences. It stresses the prediction—rather fearsome to an island nation with many big cities on the coast—that global warming could melt polar ice packs and raise the level of the oceans, submerging low-lying areas.

Japanese emissions of carbon dioxide, the most important of the greenhouse gases, already are low compared to other industrialized countries. According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Japan's emissions in 1988 came to about 2.5 tons per person, lower than most other wealthy countries. The U.S. rate was more than twice as high, at 6.14 tons.

Under the program announced today, carbon dioxide emissions will be capped in 2000 at 1990 levels, increased only to match population growth. Officials here estimated that Japan's economic growth would increase carbon dioxide emissions by 5 to 10 percent over the next decade, if no corrective steps were taken. There would be no assurance that the current level will be maintained through the 1990s, however.

The Japanese program calls for various steps to reduce the use of fossil fuels, which release carbon dioxide when burned. In particular, the plan calls for cutting

See JAPAN, A14, Col. 1

Japan Presents Plan to Rein In Global Warming

JAPAN, From A12

oil's share of total energy consumption from the 1989 figure of 58 percent to 51 percent by 2000 and 45.3 percent by 2010.

To achieve those reductions, the government said Japan should increase construction of nuclear-powered generating plants, which do not emit significant greenhouse gases. The plan also calls for increased use of hydrogren fuels, although it is not clear that the technology exists to do so within the next decade.

Also mandated is more use of mass transportation, which may be an ambitious goal in a country where trains and subways are already the main form of daily transport for a large majority of the population.

The government is to use "administrative guidance"—a sort of official nudging that is often highly effective—to make auto manufacturers produce lighter cars that use less gasoline. In 1988, according to Japan's Environmental Agency, cars here averaged 27.2 miles per gallon, about 30 percent higher than the American average. The plan says this figure should increase by 10 percent before 2000 and 15 percent by 2010.

The program also calls for Japan to switch to daylight saving time, known here as *samma tymuh* or "summer time." That would save energy now used for air conditioning in the morning and lighting offices in the evening.

Japan's global-warming targets represent a compromise between proposals by the Environmental Agency and the concerns of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, which protects business interests. The two agencies squabbled for months over the plan, according to reports here, and finally settled their differences so that Japan could present formal targets at the Geneva conference.

"Europe has already settled on targets, and now Japan has decided," said Taku Omura, a planning official in the Environmental Agency. "The U.S. has been behind the others in this area."

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Memorandum	To: John Sununu From: Allan Bromley Re: Global Change Strategy Task Force Meeting (2 pp.)	10/24/90	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Science and Technology Policy, Office of (OSTP)
Series: Bromley, D. Allan, Files
Subseries: Global Climate Change Files - Conferences/Meetings
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Global Change: Second World Climate Conference (1) [1 of 2] [1990]

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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		**Disposition Date:**	
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AR Disposition:		**MR Disposition:**	
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Ken,
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THE WHITE HOUSE *BULLETIN*

BULLETIN BROADFAXING NETWORK, 309 CAMERON ST., ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314 703/684-2020 (FAX) 703/684-6860

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. ALLAN BROMLEY
OSTP
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: **TODAY'S BRIEFING**

DATE: **THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1990 – 11:00 AM**

SINCE THE MORNING PAPERS:

*** CIA Director Webster, in a speech today, reported that more Iraqi troops have moved into Kuwait and are along the Kuwaiti border. *** Defense Secretary Cheney says US will continue its military buildup in the Middle East. Another 20,000 troops may soon be deployed to join the already 220,000 troops in the region. If conflict breaks out, up to 100,000 more troops may be sent. *** Five Americans have arrived in New York from Iraq, with nine more expected to arrive later today Meanwhile, Iraq has said it will release all French hostages. *** President Bush signed a temporary spending bill to keep the government going through midnight Saturday, and has canceled campaign plans to stay in Washington today and keep tabs on the budget. *** Israel continues to ignore two U.N. Security Council resolutions, insisting its own investigation into Palestinian deaths on the Temple Mount is sufficient. *** A famine of biblical proportions threatens the Sudan, according to a U.S. relief worker who warns that as many as 11 million people may starve to death unless relief efforts are stepped up and pressure increased on the Sudanese government to get the food to its people.

IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND AROUND THE ADMINISTRATION:

- **The Uruguay Round of the GATT negotiations are not speeding toward a timely and successful conclusion**, according to a number of Administration officials. "While the record to date paints a dismal picture," one official said yesterday, "we may see a flurry of action at the eleventh hour." Charles Schultz, Senior Fellow for Economic Studies at the Brookings Institution and former Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors under President Carter, concurred, telling the Bulletin yesterday: "It is just like the budget negotiations -- nobody likes to put their final card down until the very last minute. My instinct tells me that when President Bush and the EC prime ministers -- and it will ultimately get up to that level -- face failure right smack in the face, the prime ministers will blink. They will somehow cobble together a compromise on agriculture, enabling the other things to go through. I would guess the probability of this is around 60-40."

- **A U.S. delegation led by NOAA Administrator John Knauss will take the message of "let's get serious in February" to the Second World Climate Conference in Geneva,**

The White House Bulletin is a fax-delivered bulletin board reaching over 1,000 of Washington's influential offices, including 70 media organizations. The Bulletin welcomes information from Administration officials and observers. Call 684-2020.

according to a number of involved Administration officials. The international conference -- which will begin with scientific discussions this Monday, with the ministerial session scheduled for November 6 and 7 -- will address the issue commonly referred to as global warming. During the Geneva meeting, the U.S. expects a number of Western European governments along with Japan to push strenuously for targets and timetables for greenhouse gas reductions, "as they have been doing at every international meeting in the last year." Japan will unveil its target to stabilize carbon dioxide emissions on a per-capita basis, in the year 2000 and beyond at about the same level as 1990. These expected pronouncements from other nations were criticized this morning by an involved Administration official: "While the Japanese position looks like stabilization at 1990, it is not. It is an 18% increase over 1988, steadily increasing as the population grows. Australia wants to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases by 20% by the year 2005, but this declaration is really no more than a feasibility study and has no legal significance unless adopted by the territories. France has set a stabilization target which is actually above its current emission level. The U.S. is not in favor of continued political statements in the form of declarations. This is all a shell game with these countries and they are not making legal commitments. Even the UK, which says it is going to stabilize to 1990 levels by 2005, seals its lips when you ask how long after 2005 they will hold at that level." While these nations are expected to push strongly at the end of the meeting for a declaration which includes targets, the U.S. negotiating position will be that the opening round of negotiations on a framework convention (scheduled for early February in Washington, D.C.) is the right time and setting for such discussions. The President's Science Advisor Allan Bromley recently chaired a meeting at which the instructions for the Knauss delegation were provided. The U.S. will issue a statement to the conference restating Secretary Baker's "no regrets policy." The statement will highlight progress that the U.S. has already made on the issue -- CFC reductions, the clean air act, the President's tree-planting initiative, energy-efficiency initiatives, as well as the leading role provided by the U.S in providing climate-change research. According to one U.S. official, "these actions will bring the U.S. to 1987 levels of net greenhouse gas emissions by the year 2000, which is really better than the other nations are doing."

- **While reserving judgement, the White House is optimistic that the final language of the clean air bill will allow the President to sign it into law**. According to one Administration official, "We haven't seen the fine print yet, so that is a caveat, but we are optimistic. The President very much wants the bill. We think it will be okay, but I want to reserve judgement until we see the bill."

- **The House Republican vote on the budget package is expected to be in the neighborhood of 115-60 against,** according to sources on Capitol Hill, whose formulations are based on predictions that those Republicans who opposed the summit package will also oppose the current package, and that the "Group of 71" who voted for the original summit package will likely lose between 10 and 15 votes. Republican Deputy Whip Robert Walker,

however, told the Bulletin this morning that "as certain elements inside the package become known to Members, there is some chance that there will be even greater defections from the Group of 71." Walker mentioned specifically a provision in the budget agreement that would eliminate the option to withdraw lump-sum retirement benefits for all federal employees except Members of Congress. "My guess is that will be seen as the feathering of a nest that most Members are not willing to countenance."

o **Speculation is mounting that Connie Newman is already on the short, short list to replace Elizabeth Dole at the Labor Department.** Newman has several things going for her. For starters, she is very well thought of among the government employee unions. And, the political advantages she carries being a woman and Black are further accented by what some say would be almost a storybook ascension up the government career ladder from a G-2 secretary to cabinet secretary.

o **Vice President Quayle will travel to Indiana and Illinois on Friday and Saturday.** On Friday, Quayle will attend a VIP reception and convocation at DePauw University in Greencastle, Indiana, after which he will attend a fundraising reception for Rick Hawks in Fort Wayne. On Saturday, Quayle will travel to Chicago, where he and Indiana Senatorial candidate Dan Coats will begin a "Dan Coats Victory Train Ride" from Randolph Street Station to Hammond, Indiana, and then to New Carlisle, Indiana. Quayle will attend an event for John Hiler for Congress in South Bend, Indiana, and from there will travel to Springfield, Illinois, where he will stump at a picnic for gubernatorial candidate Jim Edgar. Quayle will return to Washington Saturday evening.

o **President Bush has canceled his campaign schedule today** which would have taken him to Albuquerque with Interior Secretary Lujan. Instead, Lujan and HUD Secretary Kemp will be stumping there for gubernatorial candidate Frank Bond.

BUDGET FIGURES:

o **The budget package agreed to by the Democratic leadership would:**
- -- Raise the federal gasoline tax from 9 cents a gallon to 14 cents a gallon.
- -- Raise top marginal income tax rate from 28 percent to 31 percent.
- -- Tax capital gains at 28 percent, three percent lower than the top marginal income tax rate.
- -- Phase-out personal exemptions for individuals whose taxable income is between $100,000 and $200,000 and for those filing jointly with taxable incomes between $150,000 and $275,000.
- -- Reduce itemized deductions for the next five years by three percent of the amount of gross income over $100,000.
- -- Increase the income subject to Medicare payroll tax from $51,300 to $125,000.

- Not levy a surtax on millionaires.

POLITICAL ANALYSIS:

This morning, the Bulletin invites two Republican political consultants and two Republican Congressmen to discuss if and how President Bush and the Republican Party can increase their party's political fortunes going into the 1990 elections.

BULLETIN: Can the President still turn his political fortunes and those of his party around before the election, and, if so, how?

Doug Bailey, Republican Publisher of the Political Hotline: It would be very difficult, but the beginning would be to articulate the domestic priorities of his administration. That is his biggest problem. There is nothing for candidates to hold on to. They don't know where the President is anymore, which is to say, his agenda -- the "vision thing." Unless those priorities are communicated, it is very difficult for candidates to know what it is they are supposed to say. That, of all problems, is the biggest one.

I think that the President's slide in the polls came quickly, but that's the nature of the TV world. The shelf life of moods; the shelf life of issues; the shelf life of phrases, the shelf life of opinion is not very long these days. Good news can replace bad news in a hurry. But in terms of what is in his control to do, the single most important thing for him to do is articulate what the priorities of the White House are. Without that, many candidates are left high and dry.

BULLETIN: What sort of spin can Republican Congressmen put on this budget deal going into their election?

Lyn Nofziger, Republican political and communications consultant: The only thing that Republicans who vote for this package can do is to go out and say: "Well, it would have been worse if we hadn't held the line. And if we hadn't fought all this time, the Democrats would have raised our taxes more than is now the case. We were outnumbered. And if you vote those guys into office this election, then you're going to see more and more taxes, and they're going to hit the middle class, because that's where they always hit. We held this to a minimum."

If I were a Republican in the Congress, I'd vote against any bill that increases gasoline taxes because you're hitting everybody. You're hitting the lower middle-class guy who's moved 40 miles out so he can afford to buy a house. And all of sudden you're increasing his gasoline prices. When you increase gas prices, you increase the price of every product that is shipped -- and most of our products are shipped by truck.

If I were up for re-election I would vote against this bill. If I voted for it, I'd say: "Listen, this is

the best we could get; we held it to a minimum. The Democrats would have raised taxes a lot more and they will raise your taxes again."

BULLETIN: What should Republican Congressmen be doing as they go into the final days of the election?

Congressman John Kyle (R-AZ): Our strategy up to now has been to run on the Republican philosophy that you should not need to raise more revenues to achieve deficit reduction. That should be done primarily through spending reductions. Secondly, the worst thing you could do for the economy is things like raising gas taxes -- things which are antithetical to spurring economic growth. After this package passes -- if it does -- I think it will not be too long before it is evident that this country is digging itself deeper and deeper into a recession. Frankly, the points I'm going to be making going into the election and even after the election are similar to what I had to do with catastrophic health insurance. I'll have to say: "I am predicting to you that this will result in disaster." I'll hate to say "I told you so," but I'll bet you that I'll have to. Then we'll have to get to work fixing it. The problem is, however, that it's going to be tough to fix the economy once we've gone deeper into recession.

Congressman Robert Walker (R-PA): The political climate on matters of taxation hasn't changed in over a decade. The strong generic support for the Republican Party has come from younger voters. That's where we have gained over the years. Those younger voters are families struggling to make it. They don't want to pay more taxes as they struggle with raising kids and paying for education and all the things which come along with having to live and work in society. That is where our base of support is. When they become convinced that we no longer care about them, they are not going to vote for Republicans. Events of the last five months have begun to concern them about the Republican commitment to keeping their taxes down. Republicans who reaffirm their support for no new taxes will get overwhelming approval from the people who are making up our generic vote nationwide. Those who do not may not do so well.

PERSONNEL:

- **Solly J. Thomas has been appointed the Executive Director of the Federal Labor Relations Authority** A graduate of Notre Dame, Thomas came to the Authority from the U S. International Trade Commission where he served since 1987 as Executive Assistant to the Chairman.

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EUROPE AGREES TO FREEZE GLOBAL WARMING GASES, U.S. ISOLATED
(Eds: updating with agreement to freeze emissions of gases)
By Randall Palmer
GENEVA, Reuter - European nations agreed Monday to freeze emissions of the gases most responsible for global warming by the year 2000, Swiss Interior Minister Flavio Cotti said.
But at the parallel Second World Climate Conference here, resistance from the United States helped water down a statement from nearly 100 countries that disappointed environmentalists by setting no target dates for controls on gas emissions.
Cotti said the Europeans' decision came at a meeting of the six-nation European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and the 12-member European Community (EC) shortly before the conclusion of a conference on what to do about global warming, known as the greenhouse effect.
The EFTA-EC decision means the United States and Turkey are the only two members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) not committed to a freeze or cut in carbon dioxide emissions.
``It certainly makes the U.S. more isolated,'' said Dan Becker of the U.S.-based Sierra Club.
The draft agreement to be signed Wednesday at the end of the 10-day Second World Climate Conference said emissions of carbon dioxide and other pollutants must be stabilized and called on developed countries to set targets.
But the draft proposed no concrete targets or dates for action itself, even by rich countries.
Highlighting the hesitation of countries such as the United States and Soviet Union to make any commitment to cuts now, European Environment Commissioner Carlo Ripa Di Meana said of the EFTA-EC plan to cut emissions : ``The decisions taken will reinforce the position of Europe.''
U.S. delegates say they do not want to agree to a commitment before formal negotiations on a climate treaty begin in Washington in February.
That treaty will not be ready before June 1992. The United States wants to postpone any commitments to specific reduction targets until after that.
Seven hundred scientists ended their first week of debate Sunday by calling for action now, saying cuts in carbon dioxide emissions would not in fact be expensive, as Washington fears.
``It's basically a polluters' charter, which allows these countries to carry on doing what they are doing,'' said Stewart Boyle of the British-based Association for the Conservation of Energy.
Carbon dioxide is produced by burning coal, oil, gas and wood. People add to the ``greenhouse effect'' every time they use electricity, turn on the heating or drive their cars.
Some scientists say the effect may raise sea levels, flood islands and coastal regions, eliminate thousands of species and cause mass famine in some regions.
REUTER

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SWCC MINISTERIAL DECLARATION -- COMMENTS -- OCTOBER 10, 1990

PREAMBLE

[OMB] NO CHANGES
[EPA] NO CHANGES
[CEQ] NO CHANGES
[NOAA] NO CHANGES

We, Ministers from ___ countries, assembled in Geneva, Switzerland, from 6 to 7 November 1990 at the Second World Climate Conference.

Conscious of our responsibility to present and future generations to preserve, protect and defend our fragile planet;

[DOE] CHANGE
generations to preserve and protect our planet;

[CEA] CHANGE
generations to exercise true global stewardship; {note: "not critical"}

Replace with "Concerned"

Alarmed by recent evidence that our actions may be altering the atmosphere which nurtures life and sets Earth apart from all other planets;

[DOE] CHANGE "Alarmed"
Concerned by recent evidence that human activities

[DOJ] CHANGE "Alarmed"
Deeply concerned

[DOE] INSERT
Recognizing the national and international efforts of the past decade by the World Climate Program, WMO, ICSU and UNEP to identify and resolve scientific and socioeconomic issues related to climate change;

Welcoming the timely completion of the First Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change which provides the first comprehensive assessment of the science, impacts and possible responses to climate change;

3 agency/dept comments on this line.

Uncertain still of what may follow, and at what cost, but convinced that delay will constrain our ability to act;

Use CEA language or leave as is.

[DOE]

convinced that there are many measures that can be taken which would reduce greenhouse gases and also serve other objectives.

[DOJ]
convinced that both undue delay and excessive haste would constrain our ability to act effectively and intelligently;

[CEA}
concerned that delay could constrain

We embark now with common resolve on an effort which will require strength resolution and steadfast purpose, an effort which will test every virtue of our peoples but without which we can have no hope of success.

[DOE] CHANGE AND DELETE

require perseverance, resolution and steadfast purpose, and our collective efforts in science, technology development and economic assessment to chart a sound course.

[DOJ]
RECOMMENDED DELETING ENTIRELY, BUT SUGGESTED SUBSTITUTE LANGUAGE:

will test every skill and resource of our peoples and our institutions and which will be essential to our future.

RISKS AND UNCERTAINTIES

[EPA] NO COMMENTS
[CEQ] NO COMMENTS

1. Science tells us that gases produced by human activities -- the so-called greenhouse gases -- are accumulating in the atmosphere. Many of these gases are produced naturally and are essential to the habitability of our planet; still, human contribution, particularly since the dawn of the industrial age, has perturbed their delicate balance in the atmosphere.

CEA language is more accurate

[DOE]

Science tells us that greenhouses gases are accumulating in the atmosphere because of human activities; . . .

contribution, since the dawn of the industrial age, has increased their concentrations.

[DOJ]

has altered their delicate balance . .

(NOTE: "natural GHGs have fluctuated for millennia; and "perturb suggests a change of the sort in Para. 2, not just altered composition.)

[CEA]
has perturbed their balance in the atmosphere.

[OMB]

is beginning to perturb the balance which produces the existing climate to which all of earth's life is adapted.

(NOTE: We should not talk about a "delicate balance", which seems to imply that is would be easy to cause a disastrous upset. Furthermore, it's incorrect to talk about "a balance of gases". The balance that is relevant is that between "short wave radiation in" and "long wave radiation out" which is brought into equilibrium by temperature and other physical changes.)

[NOAA]
atmosphere. Greenhouse gases are essential to the habitability of our planet and most are produced naturally. . .

2. Science also warns us that the accumulation of greenhouse gases produced by human activities will lead inevitably to a global warming, perhaps at rates faster than any experienced since life as we know it began. Science predicts that the warming will not be even that it is likely to occur more rapidly at higher latitudes, but that, once begun, we may neither be able to control or reverse.

DOE quantified.

[DOE]
Many scientists predict that the accumulation of . .

to increased average global warming . . .

since life as we know it began. Many scientists predict that the warming will not be an even, but that once begun, we may neither be able to control or reverse, for decades or centuries after taking action.

[DOJ]
Science also warns us that the unrelenting accumulation of green house gases will lead to a global warming . . .

[CEA]
{NOTE: "no science supports this!" ---we may neither be able to control or reverse it.}

[OMB]
since life as we know it began. Science predicts that the changes in the globe's climate, including warming, will not be even, that warming is likely to occur more rapidly at higher latitudes, but that by the time that we are able to be sure that we detect them, we may be committed to significant changes that can not be reversed.

{NOTE: We should remind readers that there are other climate changes likely to be produced, since with improved science we may find that they are either more important than warming or that they largely mitigate it.}

{NOTE: The existing text seems to imply that it could go "out of control" or become a runaway greenhouse. I am aware of no scientific support for the latter.}

[NOAA]

Science predicts . . .

to a global warming, perhaps at rates faster than any that mankind has experienced. Science also predicts that the warming will not be even, that it is likely to vary by latitude and season and that, once begun, it will take decades or even centuries to control or reverse.

3. The state of our knowledge is imperfect -- many important uncertainties remain, still we are aware that a significant warming may have harmful consequences for our planet and our peoples. Seas may rise, storms may increase and intensify and many species of life may not be able to adapt.

[DOE]
uncertainties remain, still we are aware that significant changes in climate warming . . .

may have both beneficial and harmful
{delete last sentence entirely}

[DOJ]
The state of our knowledge is quite imperfect

[NOTE: "IPCC Working group said 'storms may increase'"]

ADD AT END: Meanwhile, same areas may proper from longer growing reasons and related effects.

[OMB]

scientific, economic, and technological uncertainties remain.

{NOTE: We should stress that the uncertainties are in all three of the above areas. Otherwise, it will be read simply as "scientific uncertainties" and it will be argued that IPCC Working Group I's report ought to be sufficient to justify actions beyond "no regrets" action.}

[NOAA]

uncertainties remain, e.g., regarding the role of clouds and oceans,

4. Facing such risks, but acknowledging great uncertainties, we must determine how extensively we must act, what the costs of action and inaction may be, and what measure of success will likely grace our efforts.

[DOE]

Acknowledging great uncertainties <u>in any of these outcomes</u>, . . .

action and inaction may be, and <u>the effectiveness of our responses</u>.

[DOJ]

<u>accompany</u> our efforts.

[CEA]

we must determine how extensively we must act, <u>taking account of</u> the costs of action and inaction and <u>how our actions will affect the risks we face.</u>

5. At this Second World Climate Conference we reaffirm our support for the World Climate Programme and for other cooperative initiatives to resolve the questions before us.

[DOE]

initiatives to <u>reduce the uncertainties.</u>

Special interest

[NOAA]

support for the World Climate Programme <u>and other cooperative initiatives</u> and for <u>the</u> coordination of scientific <u>activities to monitor, understand and predict climate and climate change.</u>

PAST AND PROLOGUE

[EPA] NO COMMENTS
[CEA] NO COMMENTS

6. We recall that this endeavor is not without precedent. Our nations have already developed a common strategy to address a related global crisis -- stratospheric ozone depletion. From a modest beginning in 1985, we have quickly narrowed scientific uncertainties and summoned the resolve to take a more stringent but necessary action. That action is also the most significant first step to limit the accumulation in the atmosphere of greenhouse gases from human activities.

or reduce? (see NOAA comment)

[DOE]

framework convention in 1985 . . .

uncertainties and summoned the resolve to take a stringent but necessary action in the Montreal Protocol in 1987.

[ADD TO END]
As our scientific efforts reduced uncertainty on stratospheric ozone depletion still further, within three years of adoption of the Montreal Protocol, over 60 countries took more stringent action to control this threat.

[NOAA]
uncertainties and summoned the resolve to take stringent but necessary action. That action is also the most significant first step to reduce the accumulation . . .

CALL FOR A GLOBAL STRATEGY

[CEQ] NO COMMENTS
[EPA] NO COMMENTS

range of urgency in comments

CEA, DOJ and OMB point out problem w/ "preserve" DOJ language preferred.

10. While uncertainty complicates our task, it will neither delay or deter us. We must develop a global strategy to preserve our atmosphere. Our strategy must seek both to slow the predicted rise in temperature and to help us adapt to its effects.

[DOE]
delay or deter us. In developing a global strategy to deal with potential climate change, we must seek ways both to mitigate the potential for human-activity-induced global climate change and to adapt to its potential effects. Our strategy . . .

[DOJ]
While uncertainty complicates our task, it must not deter us from taking needed actions. We must develop a global strategy to ensure the quality of our atmosphere. . . .

{NOTE: " 'preserve' is not accurate - pure stasis is not the goal, and it is the impact on human and ecological systems - not the atmosphere per se -that receives protection}

[CEA]
delay or deter us. We must develop a global strategy to slow the predicted rise in temperature and to help us adapt to its effects.

{NOTE: 'preserve our atmosphere' is too strong. Nobody proposes constant ambient CO2}

[OMB]
delay or deter us. We must develop a global strategy to address climate change. Our strategy must seek both to slow the warming and other climate changes and to help us adapt to their effects.

{NOTE: We don't want to preserve our atmosphere". "Preserve" implies that it is in danger of destruction. Secondly, it is not some particular composition of the atmosphere that is our concern, but the potential damages to human activities and values, including values we attach to the natural environment.}

[NOAA]
While uncertainty complicates our task, it must not delay or deter action. We must seek to develop a global strategy. Our strategy must reduce man's uncertainty regarding climate change, reduce man's influence on climate, and reduce man's vulnerability to change. The strategy must be implemented in the framework convention on climate change.

14. It must be pragmatic, recognizing our common desire to grow and provide for our peoples, without which prospect hope for human prosperity and dignity will wither; and

[DOE]

It must be pragmatic, recognizing our common desire for steady and stable economic growth . . .

human prosperity and dignity will diminish; and

[DOJ]

human prosperity and dignity, and environmental protection will suffer.

{NOTE: "gets in the other hall of global stewardship"}

15. It must also be farsighted, recognizing that future innovation will open possibilities as yet unknown, if we but direct our collective ingenuity to shape that future.

[DOJ]

our collective ingenuity to shape that future; and recognizing that future adaptation and current steps must be viewed as an integrated package.

[OMB]

It must also be flexible, recognizing that actions taken may need to changed in the future in the light of improved knowledge, and that future innovation will open possibilities . .

{NOTE: We should stress the need for processes and decisions that are flexible and can be adapted to changing knowledge and circumstances. The great virtue of a "no regrets" approach is its flexibility. In any event, "flexibility" is more likely to be achievable than "farsightedness".}

THE EFFORT REQUIRED

[CEQ] NO COMMENT
[EPA] NO COMMENT

NOAA, OMB did not like this language

16. The challenge before us is great. How we meet it may influence life to come on our plane. We are aware that the effort required will be among the most complex and difficult ever undertaken. Our negotiators must find ways to accommodate a wide range of legitimate concerns while ensuring that we develop a specific program of action.

[DOE]

The global challenge . . .

influence life to come on our plane. We are aware that the collective effort . . .

range of varied concerns among all nations while ensuring . . .

{ADD AT END}
We must reach a wide consensus and consider the views and situations of all countries.

[DOJ]
range of legitimate concerns while ensuring that we develop a sound program of action.

[OMB]
influence the characteristics and quality of both the human and natural environment of the planet. We are aware that . . .

{NOTE: "influence life to come" has an apocalyptic flavor to it.}

[NOAA]

The challenge before us is great. We are aware that the effort required will be among the most complex and difficult ever undertaken. Our success or failure will influence life on our planet. The negotiators of the Framework convention on Climate Change must find ways . . .

17. Foremost among these concerns is that shared by all countries -- that the actions we agree to take not foreclose economic growth. This concern is particularly acute among developing countries who have not yet attained the level of prosperity that prevails among countries of the industrialized world. Still, it is not unique to them for disparities exist as well within the industrialized world.

[DOE]
world. Still, the need for economic growth is not unique . . .

[DOJ]
{ADD TO END}
And economic growth is essential if environmental protection is to be affordable.

18. We are aware that negotiators must also find ways to accommodate:

[DOE]

We are aware that our negotiators . . .

[NOAA]

We are aware that the negotiators of the Framework Convention on Climate Change must also find ways to accommodate:

--the concerns of countries now determined to limit and reduce growing emissions of greenhouse gases as a well as the concerns of countries whose growth depends on fossil fuel production;

[DOE]

--the concerns of countries now determined to limit and reduce emissions . . .

countries whose growth depends on fossil fuel production, development and use;

--the concerns of countries, whose forests are integrally tied to their economic development yet which provide a critical element of the world's defense against global warming;

[DOE]

to their economic development yet whose forests provide major sinks for greenhouse gas emissions; missed the point.

[DOJ]

of the world's response to greenhouse gas emissions;

--the concerns of countries which bear a proportionately large degree of risk from the anticipated impacts of climate change, particularly countries in arid and semi-arid regions and small, low-lying coastal and island countries; and

[DOE]

--the concerns of countries which are predicted to bear . .

degree of risk from the projected impacts of potential climate .

--the concerns of all who understand that the burgeoning growth in our planet's population must be taken into account in our efforts to deal with global climate change.

19. We acknowledge that we must also deal anew with issues we have encountered in other fora, issues whose resolution often still eludes us. In particular, negotiators must develop:

--ways to assure that adequate financial resources are made available to countries that would otherwise be unable to join fully in this common effort; OMB makes a good point concerning implication that LDC's will not participant w/o assistance.

[OMB]
available to countries that would otherwise be unable to achieve needed economic development that is also environmentally sound and sustainable;

{NOTE: "To join fully in this common effort" implies environmental or climate change assistance that is separate and distinct from developmental assistance. The further implication is that such countries need not worry about doing anything except to the degree that such separate assistance is available.}

--ways to assure that know-how and technological innovation continue to advance and are made affordable and widely available to solve this common problem;

[DOE]
continue to advance and are made widely available. . .

--ways to assure that knowledge and information are fully and openly shared; and

--ways to assure that the educational and scientific infrastructure in all counties, particularly in the developing countries, is extended and enhanced to enable each of us fully to appreciate the scientific basis for climate change, the potential impacts of such change and evaluations of practical response strategies.

[DOJ]
{ADD NEW SECTION}
19a. Most importantly, we must urgently advance the state of understanding of climate change and potential response strategies, integrating scientific and economic expertise in an international partnership.

OUR COMMON FUTURE

[CEQ] NO COMMENT
[OMB] NO COMMENT
[NOAA] NO COMMENT

DOJ, CEA, EPA did not like the 1st 2 sentences - EPA language is better.

20. Generations past once relied on faith in moving toward the future. Later generations placed their faith in reason. As we move now toward the second millennium we must seek to marry the two. We must urgently resolve the uncertainties that confront us. We must also accept that full knowledge may elude us for some time. We must being now to take sustained, pragmatic action to secure our common future. We dedicate ourselves henceforth to develop a phased, flexible response that will enable us to take action now even as we seek to resolve remaining uncertainties and develop a comprehensive action plan for the future.

[DOE]
the future. Later generations placed their faith in reason. We must seek to unite the two. . . .

[DOJ]
{DELETE FIRST TWO SENTENCES}
{NOTE: No need to endorse "faith"! It sounds like it means acting on non-reason i.e., irrationally.}

[CEA]
{DELETE FIRST TWO SENTENCES}
{NOTE: Let's not make this a religious issue!}

We must begin to take sustained, pragmatic steps to secure . . .

comprehensive plan for the future.

[EPA]
We share our global climate with all generations. As we move toward the second millennium we must seek to ensure that our response to climate change lets all countries adapt without undue burdens. We must also accept that full knowledge may elude us for some time, and that our understanding of the climate system must always be advancing.

even as we seek to resolve uncertainties and develop a comprehensive action plan to protect present and future generations.

A-

Major Policy Issues
Second World Climate Conference
Ministerial Declaration

1. Targets and timetables for reducing greenhouse gas emissions
2. Stipulating the nature and content of a convention on climate change
3. Financial Assistance
4. Statement concerning the scientific understandings associated with climate change
5. Precautionary Principle

Ecuadorean - which are absolute problems
which to give on.

1. Targets and timetables for reducing greenhouse gas emissions

Ministerial Declaration:

20. We stress, as a first step, the ~~need to stabilize,~~ while ensuring stable development of the world economy, emissions of greenhouse gases ~~not controlled by the Montreal Protocol~~. We note with appreciation the unilateral commitments of some industrialized countries to stabilize emissions at present level or reduce them by the year 2000;

21. We agree that stabilization of greenhouse gas emissions should be achieved by industrialized countries by the year (2000) and ~~should be set at (present) emission levels~~;

22. We urge industrialized countries to establish greenhouse gases reductions programmes aiming at achieving ~~at least 20%~~ reduction of their current contribution to global warming potential, possibly by the year 2005 and in any case not later than the year 2010;

USG position:

We should not agree to specific targets and timetables. We should take a comprehensive approach that includes all sources and sinks of greenhouse gases and, in the short-term, take those actions which are justified for reasons other than climate change. USG proposed language for paras. 20 and 21 follows on page 3; para 22 should be deleted.

Houston Summit Communique:

"We are committed to undertake common efforts to limit emissions of greenhouse gases, such as carbon dioxide.... The Second World Climate Conference provides the opportunity for all countries to consider the adoption of strategies and measures for limiting or stabilizing greenhouse gas emissions, and to discuss an effective international response."

21. We recognize that the most effective response strategies, especially in the short-term, are those which are:

- Justified for reasons other than climate change and also provide beneficial influence on potential climate change;
- Economically efficient and cost effective,;
- Able to serve multiple social, economic, and environmental purposes:
- Easily modified to respond to increased scientific and economic understanding of climate change;
- Compatible with the concept of a comprehensive approach addressing all sources and sinks of greenhouse gases;
- Compatible with the concept of sustainable economic growth and development;
- Administratively practical and effective in terms of application, monitoring, and enforcement;
- Inclusive of obligations by both industrialized and developing countries.

22. We recommend that limitation and adaptation strategies be considered as an integrated package that complement each other to minimize net costs. These strategies should include measures which limit emissions from greenhouse gas sources as well as those which increase the ability of natural systems to utilize greenhouse gases. A comprehensive approach is needed which considers the costs of options for reducing emissions of different greenhouse gases and the effects of those reductions on potential

2. Stipulating the nature and content of a convention on climate change

Ministerial Declaration:

23. We recommend that the specifications of the obligation to stabilize and reduce greenhouse gases emissions be realized in the form of separate Protocols to the Climate Convention. Some of these protocols could be negotiated concurrently with the framework convention.

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(i) the enhancement of research and systematic observation of climate
(ii) the control of greenhouse gas emissions
(iii) the adaptation to the adverse effects of climate change in coastal areas
(iv) the needs of developing countries for financial assistance in their development efforts and transfer of technology
(v) appropriate institutional and decision-making procedures.

USG position:

The declaration should not prejudge the negotiations. We support the negotiation of a framework convention; at a minimum, the declaration should be general and should advocate a comprehensive approach that includes sources and sinks of all greenhouse gases. USG would propose deleting para. 23; new USG version of para. 40 follows on page 5.

Houston Summit Communique:

"We reiterate our support for the negotiation of a framework convention on climate changes;...implementing protocols...should consider all sources and sinks."

35. We recommend that such negotiations consider the possible elements compiled by the IPCC, and that the Framework Convention be framed in such a way as to gain the support of the largest possible number of states. We recommend that the Framework Convention contain, at a minimum, general principles and obligations, and that it (~~advocate~~ incorporate) a comprehensive approach that includes sources and sinks of all greenhouse gases.

3. Financial Assistance

Ministerial Declaration:

27. We recommend that additional resources should progressively, be mobilized to help developing countries take the necessary measures to address climate change consistent with their development needs. (Woodgate)

Preferably propose deletion

USG position:

We will not commit to providing new and additional funding which increases the overall budget. We are already giving the environment a higher priority in our assistance funding, both bilateral and multilateral, and believe that existing resources and mechanisms must be fully utilized before new monies can be considered. It will also be necessary to quantify the costs associated with any actions in this area before consideration of new funds can be justified. We will also note that the provisions of the Montreal Protocol are not a precedent for other environmental issues.

We understand that other countries may try to strengthen this paragraph, calling for explicit reference to "new and additional funding". USG proposes that para. 27 be deleted.

Houston Summit Communique:

"We recognize that developing countries will benefit from increased financial and technological assistance to help them resolve environmental problems..."

4. Statements concerning the scientific understandings of climate change.

Ministerial Declaration:

> 4. Climate has varied in the past. But the temperature increase which is predicted to occur in the decades to come due to the increasing accumulation of the greenhouse gases in the atmosphere has not been encountered in the last 100,000 years at least; nor has the past rapidity of change been as fast as that predicted. The greenhouse gases result from a host of human activities such as the burning of fossil fuel, deforestation, mining operations and waste management.

fos

> 8. Global warming poses environmental threat of a magnitude the world has never known. Human activities which have lead to the emissions of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere have so far committed the Global Commons to an irreversible warming so far.... It is therefore important that emissions of greenhouse gases, especially carbon dioxide and other long lived greenhouse gases, be reduced as soon as possible.... The long lived gases (CO2 and N2O) would require at least 60% reductions in emissions, and methane 15-20% reduction in emissions in order to stabilize their concentration in atmosphere at today's level.

USG position:

The declaration must accurately describe the scientific context and uncertainties associated with potential climate change. USG proposed language follows on page 8.

Houston Communique:

Does not address the scientific underpinnings.

IPCC language

4. Climate has varied significantly in the past; however, the potential change in global mean temperatures over the next century associated with human activities is predicted to be larger and more rapid than those seen in the last 10,000 years. The magnitude, timing, rate and regional distribution of these predicted climate changes are uncertain because of limitations in our present scientific understanding of climate processes and in our ability to model the behavior of climate systems and components. The human-caused emissions of greenhouse gases, while significant, are much smaller than the exchange between the atmosphere and natural systems. Stabilization of atmospheric concentrations of long-lived gases at today's levels, for example, would require either a 60 to 80% decrease in anthropogenic emissions or a 2 to 3% increase in absorption by natural systems.

8. The potentially serious consequences of human-induced climate change, however, give sufficient reasons to begin adopting response strategies that are fully justified for other reasons, even in the face of significant uncertainties. These strategies could include: improved energy efficiency, use of lower greenhouse gas-emitting sources; improved forest management; development of comprehensive coastal management plans; use of practices to recycle and reuse CFC gases and their substitutes; and improved agricultural practices.

5. Precautionary Principle

Ministerial Declaration:

17. In order to achieve sustainable development, we must base ourselves on the precautionary principle. Environmental measures must anticipate, prevent and attack the causes of environmental degredation. Where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty should not be used as a reason for postponing measures to prevent environmental degredation. which are justified in their own right otherwise

Bergen

USG position:

This definition was agreed to in the Bergen Declaration. We expect other countries to reopen this language, at which time we will seek to have the definition include a reference to the ~~no-regrets~~ strategy. USG proposed language follows on page 10. ~~the~~ where steps should make sense for other reasons

Houston Summit Communique:

"We agree that in the face of threats of irreversible environmental damage, lack of ~~full~~ scientific certainty is no excuse to postpone actions which are justified in their own right."

In order to achieve sustainable development, we must base ourselves on the precautionary principle. Environmental measures must anticipate,. prevent and attack the causes of environmental degradation. Where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty should not be used as a reason for postponing measures to prevent environmental degradation which are justified in their own right.

leadership of delegation to 2d WCC.

Municipal — Kraus

Wide announcement, especially those are heads of state indicating they will attend

NAS - study Sen Evans

1. distill out issues of importance to budget

2. brief before 2d WCC — on contents of report informal

3

CEES. committee

Education report — circulated — DOE to go into NEES.

report of interagency task force.

— mtg 2d WCC by margin

New Haven conference

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 3, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR MEMBERS OF THE GLOBAL CHANGE STRATEGY TASK FORCE

FROM: D. ALLAN BROMLEY

SUBJECT: DRAFT MINISTERIAL DECLARATION

A draft ministerial declaration for the Second World climate Conference was distributed at the last Global Change Strategy Task Force meeting. The Department of State has asked that you review the draft and OSTP serve as the central point to collect comments. The Department of State plans to determine by Monday, October 8 an appropriate strategy to pursue for this draft.

Please review the draft and send comments by COB Friday, October 5 to Vickie Sutton at 456-6272. An additional copy of the draft declaration is attached. Please treat the draft as "close hold", for official use only.

Thank you.

DRAFT

MINISTERIAL DECLARATION

PREAMBLE

We, Ministers from __ countries, assembled in Geneva, Switzerland, from 6 to 7 November 1990 at the Second World Climate Conference.

Conscious of our responsibility to present and future generations to preserve, protect and defend our fragile planet;

Alarmed by recent evidence that our actions may be altering the atmosphere which nurtures life and sets Earth apart from all other planets;

Uncertain still of what may follow, and at what cost, but convinced that delay will constrain our ability to act;

We embark now with common resolve on an effort which will require strength, resolution and steadfast purpose, an effort which will test every virtue of our peoples, but without which we can have no hope of success.

RISKS AND UNCERTAINTIES

1. Science tells us that gases produced by human activities -- the so-called greenhouse gases -- are accumulating in the atmosphere. Many of these gases are produced naturally and are essential to the habitability of our planet; still, the human contribution, particularly since the dawn of the industrial age, has perturbed their delicate balance in the atmosphere.

2. Science also warns us that the accumulation of greenhouse gases produced by human activities will lead inevitably to a global warming, perhaps at rates faster than any experienced since life as we know it began. Science predicts that the warming will not be even, that it is likely to occur more rapidly at higher latitudes, but that, once begun, we may neither be able to control or reverse it.

3. The state of our knowledge is imperfect -- many important uncertainties remain. Still we are aware that a signficant warming may have harmful consequences for our planet and our peoples. Seas may rise, storms may increase and intensify and many species of life may not be able to adapt.

4. Facing such risks, but acknowledging great uncertainties, we must determine how extensively we must act, what the costs of action and inaction may be, and what measure of success will likely grace our efforts.

5. At this Second World Climate Conference we reaffirm our support for the World Climate Programme and for other cooperative scientific initiatives to resolve the questions before us.

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PAST AND PROLOGUE

6. We recall that this endeavor is not without precedent. Our nations have already developed a common stragegy to address a related global crisis -- stratospheric ozone depletion. From a modest beginning in 1985, we have quickly narrowed scientific uncertainties and summoned the resolve to take more stringent but necessary action. That action is also the most significant first step to limit the accumulation in the atmosphere of greenhouse gases from human activities.

7. We have also concluded an unprecedented international effort to analyze the science, impacts, and response options for further dealing with climate change. This effort, initiated under the joint auspices of the World Meteorological Organization and the United Nations Environment Programme, has produced the First Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. The Report has heightened our awareness and enlisted an increasing number of nations in the search for solutions.

8. We have thus set the stage for negotiations on a framework convention on climate change. We note with satisfaction that these negotiations will begin in three months time and that all parties have resolved to complete the convention, together with any related legal instruments as may then be agreed, by the time of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in June 1992.

9. We further note that the United Nations General Assembly will shortly consider ways, means and modalities for further pursuing these negotiations on the basis of recommendations produced one month ago by government representatives.

CALL FOR A GLOBAL STRATEGY

10. While uncertainty complicates our task, it will neither delay nor deter us. We must develop a global strategy to preserve our atmosphere. Our strategy must seek both to slow the predicted rise in temperature and to help us adapt to its effects.

11. It must be <u>universal</u>, involving all nations of the world, for only together can we hope to prevail.

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12. It must be comprehensive, addressing all sources and sinks of the gases we produce, for the problem has many aspects, which must be considered together if our efforts are to succeed.

13. It must be equitable, taking into account our differing abilities to act and our differing contributions to past and anticipated future accumulations of greenhouse gases.

14. It must be pragmatic, recognizing our common desire to grow and provide for our peoples, without which prospect hope for human prosperity and dignity will wither.

15. It must also be farsighted, recognizing that future innovation will open possibilities as yet unknown, if we but direct our collective ingenuity to shape that future.

THE EFFORT REQUIRED

16. The challenge before us is great. How we meet it may influence life to come on our planet. We are aware that the effort required will be among the most complex and difficult ever undertaken. Our negotiators must find ways to accomodate a wide range of legitimate concerns while ensuring that we develop a specific program of action.

17. Foremost among these concerns is that shared by all countries -- that the actions we agree to take not foreclose economic growth. This concern is particularly acute among developing countries who have not yet attained the level of prosperity that prevails among countries of the industrialized world. Still, it is not unique to them, for disparities exist as well within the industrialized world.

18. We are aware that negotiators must also find ways to accomodate:

--the concerns of countries now determined to limit and reduce growing emissions of greenhouse gases as well as the concerns of countries whose growth depends on fossil fuel production;

--the concerns of countries, whose forests are integrally tied to their economic development yet which provide a critical element of the world's defense against global warming;

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--the concerns of countries which bear a proportionately large degree of risk from the anticipated impacts of climate change, particularly countries in arid and semi-arid regions and small, low-lying coastal and island countries; and

--the concerns of all who understand that the burgeoning growth in our planet's population must be taken into account in our efforts to deal with global climate change.

19. We acknowledge that we must also deal anew with issues we have encountered in other fora, issues whose resolution often still eludes us. In particular, negotiators must develop:

--ways to assure that adequate financial resources are made available to countries that would otherwise be unable to join fully in this common effort;

--ways to assure that know-how and technological innovation continue to advance and are made affordable and widely available to solve this common problem;

--ways to assure that knowledge and information are fully and openly shared; and

--ways to assure that the educational and scientific infrastructure in all countries, particularly in the developing countries, is extended and enhanced to enable each of us fully to appreciate the scientific basis for climate change, the potential impacts of such change and evaluations of practical response strategies.

OUR COMMON FUTURE

20. Generations past once relied on faith in moving toward the future. Later generations placed their faith in reason. As we move now toward the second millenium we must seek to marry the two. We must urgently resolve the uncertainties that confront us. We must also accept that full knowledge may elude us for some time. We must begin now to take sustained, pragmatic action to secure our common future. We dedicate ourselves henceforth to develop a phased, flexible response that will enable us to take action now even as we seek to resolve remaining uncertainties and develop a comprehensive action plan for the future.

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Major Policy Issues
Second World Climate Conference
Ministerial Declaration

1. Targets and timetables for reducing greenhouse gas emissions

2. Stipulating the nature and content of a convention on climate change

3. Financial Assistance

4. Statement concerning the scientific understandings associated with climate change

5. Precautionary Principle

1. Targets and timetables for reducing greenhouse gas emissions

Ministerial Declaration:

> 20. We stress, as a first step, the need to stabilize, while ensuring stable development of the world economy, emissions of greenhouse gases not controlled by the Montreal Protocol. We note with appreciation the unilateral commitments of some industrialized countries to stabilize emissions at present level or reduce them by the year 2000;
>
> 21. We agree that stabilization of greenhouse gas emissions should be achieved by industrialized countries by the year (2000) and should be set at (present) emission levels;
>
> 22. We urge industrialized countries to establish greenhouse gases reductions programmes aiming at achieving at least 20% reduction of their current contribution to global warming potential, possibly by the year 2005 and in any case not later than the year 2010;

USG position:

We should not agree to specific targets and timetables. We should take a comprehensive approach that includes all sources and sinks of greenhouse gases and, in the short-term, take those actions which are justified for reasons other than climate change. USG proposed language for paras. 20 and 21 follows on page 3; para 22 should be deleted.

Houston Summit Communique:

> "We are committed to undertake common efforts to limit emissions of greenhouse gases, such as carbon dioxide.... The Second World Climate Conference provides the opportunity for all countries to consider the adoption of strategies and measures for limiting or stabilizing greenhouse gas emissions, and to discuss an effective international response."

21. We recognize that the most effective response strategies, especially in the short-term, are those which are:

- Justified for reasons other than climate change and also provide beneficial influence on potential climate change;
- Economically efficient and cost effective,;
- Able to serve multiple social, economic, and environmental purposes;
- Easily modified to respond to increased scientific and economic understanding of climate change;
- Compatible with the concept of a comprehensive approach addressing all sources and sinks of greenhouse gases;
- Compatible with the concept of sustainable economic growth and development;
- Administratively practical and effective in terms of application, monitoring, and enforcement;
- Inclusive of obligations by both industrialized and developing countries.

22. We recommend that limitation and adaptation strategies be considered as an integrated package that complement each other to minimize net costs. These strategies should include measures which limit emissions from greenhouse gas sources as well as those which increase the ability of natural systems to utilize greenhouse gases. A comprehensive approach is needed which considers the costs of options for reducing emissions of different greenhouse gases and the effects of those reductions on potential

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4. Climate has varied significantly in the past; however, the potential change in global mean temperatures over the next century associated with human activities is predicted to be larger and more rapid than those seen in the last 10,000 years. The magnitude, timing, rate and regional distribution of these predicted climate changes are uncertain because of limitations in our present scientific understanding of climate processes and in our ability to model the behavior of climate systems and components. The human-caused emissions of greenhouse gases, while significant, are much smaller than the exchange between the atmosphere and natural systems. Stabilization of atmospheric concentrations of long-lived gases at today's levels, for example, would require either a 60 to 80% decrease in anthropogenic emissions or a 2 to 3% increase in absorption by natural systems.

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USG position:

This definition was agreed to in the Bergen Declaration. We expect other countries to reopen this language, at which time we will seek to have the definition include a reference to the no-regrets strategy. USG proposed language follows on page 10.

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