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INVENTORY FOR ARCHIVES

Office on Environmental Policy

Katie McGinty's Files

#13

July 22, 1994

Issues: International Environmental Policy

-92

2897

ENCLOSURES FILED OVERSIZE ATTACHMENTS

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U.S. ACTIONS FOR A BETTER ENVIRONMENT

A Sustained Commitment



① → group presentation
③ → Democrats: success or survival *major failure*
② → *not for Bush*

Cartoons
Articles

* WSJ Quote

DPC LUNCHEON--POST-RIO
June 25, 1992

WSJ Quote

THEMES:

o BUSH VULNERABILITY: As at pre-Rio briefing, major point to emphasize here is that the global environment is a powerful political issue for the Democrats. This was true in the lead up to UNCED in light of the bad reaction to the Administration's intransigence. It is even more powerful now in light of the powerfully negative press attention to Bush's performance there. Importantly, this issue gives the Dems an opportunity not only to condemn Bush for failing to live up to his "ENVIRONMENTAL PRESIDENT" promise, but allows them to criticize his FOREIGN POLICY skills.

Bob Graham

o APPEAL TO YOUTH/LONG-TERM STRATEGIC INTERESTS OF THE PARTY: This issue also offers the Democrats an important opportunity to appeal to youth who are compelled by and increasingly concerned about this issue.

Lautenberg

o JOBS: By exercising leadership in this arena, we also can ensure that US companies will share in the important new markets that will increasingly open for sustainable technologies. In addition, we need to encourage US industry to undertake the "environmental revolution" as a key to improving productivity, performance -- and profits. (Schmidheiny QUALITY REVOLUTION comparison). This is a question of continued economic viability and competitiveness.

o HERE TO STAY/DUTY TO SAFEGUARD US INTERESTS: While noting that most of the documents that were signed were non-binding (and therefore that there is much work to be done of the rhetoric of Rio is to changed to action), you should **EMPHASIZE THAT THE COMMITMENT AND CONVERSION** to the interconnectedness of environment and development that was evident in Rio was **REAL AND IS HERE TO STAY**. This therefore is an issue that the Democrats really must stay on top of -- the rest of the world is moving in this direction. We need to understand that movement -- and shape it -- so that US interests are ensured. To the contrary, the tack of the Bush administration has been to ignore/obstruct and try desperately to cling to the status quo. So far, that has meant mainly embarrassment for the American people -- instead of receiving commendation for the many important strides we have made on domestic envtl problems, we received only condemnation for Bush's obstructionist tactics. As the themes of Rio are increasingly translated into new economic and political rules of the road, however, the stakes increase and we stand to suffer more than embarrassment if we remain reactive and negative rather than become a proactive force.

10-20-92
11-10-92

Brief Update

✓
o Delegation meetings: The delegation had the opportunity to meet with the leading US and international figures in the UNCED process:

--Bill Reilly/Buff Bohlen/Bob Ryan
--Maurice Strong
--Stephan Schmidheiny
--Jean Ripert
--Mostafa Tolba (UNEP and BIODI convention)
--Tommy Koh (Chairman of the PrepCom

process)

--Ambassador Dasgupta (India)
--Ambassador Montagna (Mexico)
--Large delegation of NGOs

There was also an opportunity to meet with Jacques Cousteau; Jose Lutzemberger; other NGOs and with US youth groups.

✓ * The agreements: You ^{will be} distributing a report that details the history of the negotiations and the background and major themes of the documents that were signed. YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT THIS IS NOT THE FINAL REPORT -- THAT IS BEING DONE WITH SENATOR CHAFEE. THIS IS ONLY A FACTUAL BACKGROUND AND UPDATE FOR THEIR REFERENCE. FINAL REPORT WILL BE AVAILABLE SHORTLY.

✓ staff briefing -- o Brief analysis of the documents: SEE ATTACHED PAGES

o Turn to other members of the delegation to address particular issues of interest to them.

* PRIORITIES POST-RIO:

① ✓ o G7 MEETING

co-sponsor

First opportunity to keep the heat turned up on this. Together with Wirth, you will be circulating a letter for signatures that will urge President to ensure that environment and UNCED follow-through is on the agenda.

② ✓ o SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION:

co-sponsor

Could be key to whether Earth Summit is a "summit" or just a plateau....Resolution on the structure and function of this body will be drafted during the course of the summer. Vote will be held in October General Assembly meeting.

Needed action:

- ✓ (1) A resolution/letter to President that outlines our priorities for the commission -- namely, that it have broad access to information; that, to the maximum extent possible, its proceedings should be open and transparent; that, at least annually, it convene a meeting at the head of state/ministerial level; that it have access to the General Assembly and not get buried within ECOSOC.
- ✓ (2) meetings with State Department as US position is formulated
- ✓ (3) provision in this appropriations cycle for a post-UNCED home in the Executive branch that can coordinate and monitor agency performance in achieving Agenda 21 objectives.
- ✓ (4) Sustainable Development Commission within the Congress to hold hearings/collect information/monitor progress domestically and internationally

o CLIMATE CHANGE CONVENTION

* (C) October meeting of the INC is an opportunity to ensure a "prompt start" in implementing the objectives of the convention pending its ratification and entry into force.

Needed Action:

- * (1) Prompt ratification
- (2) Preparation of Action plans should be open/transparent. There should be opp'y for congressional and public input and review
- (3) Plans should be made to begin protocol process

o BIODIVERSITY CONVENTION

Needed action:

- * (1) implement the conservation provisions
- * (2) urge continued discussion with the Secretariat and with signatories to address legitimate problems
- * (3) hearings, etc. on new forest directive re: clear-cutting from Administration

co-sponsor

~~***~~

o EARTH CHARTER

- Gore - Mikulski ✓

Rio
Mulrooney

o POPULATION

- Tim Wirth

→

Need to get engaged in the preparatory meetings for the 1994 UN Conference

→ GEF

* JFEC Hearings

✓ Sustainable
development

* Environmental Justice Act

* TRADE

JOHN EDWARD PORTER
10TH DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS

COMMITTEE
APPROPRIATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEES
FOREIGN OPERATIONS

LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES,
AND EDUCATION

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE
MEMBER

CONGRESSIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS CAUCUS
CO-CHAIRMAN



Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-1310

June 17, 1992

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Dear Colleague:

Today I am introducing legislation to create a "Rio Commission." The Rio Commission, formally titled the Commission on Environment and Development, will monitor U.S. and international progress toward the goals produced at the recently concluded United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), the Earth Summit.

The Rio Commission would address a broad number of issues including climate change, ocean pollution, protection of plant and animal species, deforestation and population. Just as the Helsinki Commission has focused on international compliance with human rights and other provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Accords, the Rio Commission will monitor how well the United States and other UNCED conferees are implementing policies to move toward the goals adopted at the Earth Summit.

Membership on the Rio Commission would consist of four members each from the House and Senate and three representatives from the Executive Branch: The Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Under Secretary of State for Oceans, International Environment and Scientific Affairs, and the Chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality.

Future generations will not judge our success by the agreements we signed in Rio, but by the changes in U.S. and international policy which follow from this day forward. The Rio Commission, as a lasting body, will transcend the current wave of attention which the Earth Summit has received and will ensure that a commitment toward sustainable development is realized now and forever.

To cosponsor this legislation or for more information, please contact my staffer, Ann James at x5-4835.

Sincerely,

John Edward Porter
Member of Congress

102D CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R.
5424

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. PORTER (for himself,) introduced the following bill; which
was referred to the Committee on _____

A BILL

To establish a Commission on Environment and
Development.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMISSION.**

4 There is established a commission to be known as the
5 Commission on Environment and Development (hereafter
6 in this Act referred to as the "Commission").

7 **SEC. 2. FUNCTIONS OF COMMISSION.**

8 The Commission shall monitor the actions of the sig-
9 natories to documents of the United Nations Conference

Rev. 7/2/92

1 on Environment and Development that reflect compliance
2 with or violation of the goals of the Articles of Agenda
3 21 of the United Nations Conference on Environment and
4 Development, the Statement of Principles on the Mainte-
5 nance, Conservation, and Development of All Forests, the
6 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate
7 Change, and the Convention on Biological Diversity. The
8 Commission shall also monitor and encourage the develop-
9 ment of programs and activities by the United States Gov-
10 ernment and private organizations with a view toward ad-
11 vancing the objectives of the United Nations Conference
12 on Environment and Development.

13 **SEC. 3. MEMBERSHIP OF COMMISSION.**

14 The Commission shall be composed of 11 members
15 as follows:

16 (1) Four Members of the House of Rep-
17 resentatives appointed by the Speaker of the House
18 of Representatives. Two members shall be selected
19 from the majority party and two shall be selected,
20 after consultation with the minority leader of the
21 House, from the principal minority party. The
22 Speaker shall designate one of the House Members
23 to serve as Chair of the Commission.

24 (2) Four Members of the Senate appointed by
25 the President of the Senate. Two members shall be

majority leader?

1 selected from the majority party and two shall be se-
2 lected, after consultation with the minority leader of
3 the Senate, from the minority party.

4 (3) The Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans
5 and International Environmental and Scientific Af-
6 fairs.

7 (4) The Administrator of the Environmental
8 Protection Agency.

9 (5) The Chairman of the Council on Environ-
10 mental Quality.]

11 **SEC. 4. POWERS OF THE COMMISSION.**

12 In carrying out this Act, the Commission may re-
13 quire, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testi-
14 mony of such witnesses and the production of such books,
15 records, correspondence, memorandums, papers, and doc-
16 uments as it deems necessary. Subpoenas may be issued
17 over the signature of the Chair of the Commission or such
18 other member of the Commission as the Chair may des-
19 ignate. The Chair of the Commission, or any member des-
20 ignated by the Chair, may administer oaths to any wit-
21 ness.

22 **SEC. 5. REPORTS TO THE COMMISSION.**

23 In order to assist the Commission in carrying out its
24 duties, the President shall submit to the Commission semi-
25 annual reports which shall include--

Countries who participated

1 (1) a detailed survey of actions by signatories
2 of documents of the United Nations Conference on
3 Environment and Development; and

4 (2) a listing and description of present or
5 planned programs and activities of the appropriate
6 agencies of the executive branch and private organi-
7 zations advancing the objectives of the United Na-
8 tions Conference on Environment and Development.

9 **SEC. 6. REPORTS BY THE COMMISSION.**

10 The Commission shall report to the House of Rep-
11 resentatives and the Senate on a periodic basis with re-
12 spect to the matters described in section 2, and shall pro-
13 vide information to Members of the House of Rep-
14 resentatives and Senate as requested.

15 **SEC. 7. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**

16 To carry out this Act, there is authorized to be appro-
17 priated to the Commission for each fiscal year such sums
18 as may be necessary, which are authorized to remain avail-
19 able until expended.

? = CRS / EPA analysis of issues?

UNCED FOLLOW UP

- o DPC report - *Shane & Marla*
- o DPC lunch -
- o letter to G7 (climate protocol and then movement toward forest convention; ministerial representation on sustainable development commission) */ 677 representatives!*
- o Official delegation report - *Shadecoff / Greenhouse / all's questions? Pull in to*
- o talk to Mitchell re: continuing Observer group (but see Sustainable development commission discussion below)
- o Overview briefing on nature of the agreements reached

-- letter to Strong asking him to do?

-- all Senators? just Observer group? */ Chaper*

- o Follow up and more detailed briefings on particular substantive issues

-- follow format of pre-Rio briefings? open to all interested Senate offices?

Pelly → there are undertakings for the US.

-- focus will be implementation of agreements -- blueprint for necessary modifications to US law; inform US position on international follow-through (G7 meeting; fall General Assembly; Conference of Parties meetings; World Bank/IMF meetings)

-- detailed/substantive discussions (enviros; crs analysis)

- o Specific substantive areas:

October meeting?

-- implementation of CLIMATE convention

-- immediate contact (letter?) to state re: plans for submitting for ratification (questions have been raised with respect to specific legal status of the convention and ratification procedures that will be req'd); State's understanding of some of the undertakings in the convention (in addition to the action plans) -- e.g. will NEPA have to be modified to account for the commitment to take impact of actions on global climate into account??

*we know --
Pelly to
paul:*

*what does Admin understand its responsibility
when sent being forward*

*sequence of events to create needs to
anticipate in participation.*

-- review/hearings on the action plan we
will produce by January 1, 1993 -- monitor and comment on what admin
puts together

Ball's letter, to *no* *G 7 letter* -- further pursuit of stabilization bill?
[-- action to urge a follow-on protocol?

-- action to pursue prompt start
(Gore/Domenici; Green technologies legislation; additional measures
re: capacity building?)

[-- carbon tax -- legislation and/or harvard
study (recycle funds into sustainable city initiatives??)] *and
letter*

-- implementation of BIODIVERSITY convention

[conservation provisions -- legislation to implement the
know-how -- crs study of protection of indigenous
-- broader study of issue of intellectual
property protection; identification of sustainable technologies and
processes that are in the public domain and could be made available] *David
letter*

[Reilly memo → *investigative story / press.* -- criminal investigation re: leak of the

-- forest products labelling legislation

-- new forest directive on clear cutting
(talk to Fowler re: hearings?)

-- focus on the SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION

*Approps
process* [-- what admin mech (executive branch)
necessary domestically in order for US to effectively participate
(create new office on sustainable development to coordinate policy?)] *talk to
Scott.*

-- necessary changes to UN structure and/or
clarification of Rio agreements to ensure Commission not a dead letter
(fall General Assembly meeting -- see also GLOBAL GOVERNANCE
initiative below)

*CSG's
Commission
with congressional
Delegation / 10/93* -- Joint Congressional Committee on
Sustainable Development? continuation of Observer group

-- Series on SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

*Office of US representative to
Sustainable Development Commission*

→ similar commissions have pres. approval

** Susan Drake / John McGinnis - pulling process*

*better to
create a
commission
* Approps **

John Bolton - L.O.¹⁹⁵

-- speakers/authors series?

Chattanooga?) -- first overview then follow on hearings on what will be required re: education policy; child care; health care; housing; transportation, etc.

efforts? -- JEC hearings on Japanese and German

COMMUNITY?

~~XX~~ -- forum/meetings with US BUSINESS

~~XX~~ -- legislation calling for State Department on Environmental abuses

-- POPULATION

-- Wirth will re-introduce his bill

of Demographic Transition -- Jessie Smith Noyes foundation analysis

Declaration Resolutions -- Population Awareness Week and Amsterdam

-- WORLD BANK

-- JEC hearings on implementation of environment operational directives

~~XX~~ -- JEC hearings on the GEF / Wirth will do banking center here.

-- MAATHAI idea of NGO ombudsman

meet w/ Preston / mt. w/ El Asberry.

-- ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE ACT

-- hearings, etc.

Smith Noyes forum) -- further grassroots outreach (Jessie

Wirth from K1 to locality. [-- Smithsonian forum on DEBT-FOR-NATURE

-- GLOBAL GOVERNANCE (Sir Sonny Ramphal)

-- EARTH CHARTER

-- TRADE.



The Cousteau Society

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FROM: Rick Schwabacher

TOTAL PAGES (Including Transmittal page): 7

COMMENTS:

Tony - Attached is Cousteau's UNCED Speech.
Clark Lee will send tapes from the Chesapeake
Office along with one or two articles from
The Calypso Log on Haiti. If you don't receive
them by Monday give her a call at 804-523-2747.
I'll be on vacation Friday + all of next week.

Cheers



THE COUSTEAU SOCIETY

Rio, June the 4th 1992

CONVINCE TO CONQUER

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen,

Yesterday, the United Nations' Conference on Environment and Development was inaugurated. Whatever the difficulties encountered during the lengthy preparation of this Assembly, its importance was emphasized by President Fernando Collor de Mello when I visited him in Brasilia on December 11, 1991. He said: "We cannot permit... Rio to be just one more Conference... to discuss the problem of the devastation of the planet. To make sure that the Conference will be a success, we must insist that heads of state come to this and be ready to discuss matters that we know are not easy to tackle..."

He was mentioning the problems of demography, of disparity between poor and rich countries, of climate changes and of the threat to biodiversity.

I have had the opportunity, throughout 59 years of worldwide explorations, to witness and study two striking examples of ill-fated communities: Haiti and Easter Island, both victims of population explosions. Haiti is living through one of the most distressing ecological tragedies of our time. Easter Island has experienced the same uncontrolled development, which ended, after 1 000 years of mishaps, in the collapse of an original culture, and the physical eradication of the islanders by a "self-genocide".

Haiti is terribly overpopulated. 7.5 million people on an exiguous and impoverished land. Six children per family, but fathers of eleven are not rare. High infant death-rate, insufficient schooling, and misery due to ignorance, superstition and poor political management. Haitians, though, are beautiful, proud, intelligent, good-humored and hard-working. But they have exhausted the marine resources of their narrow continental shelf. They have deforested, without precaution, two thirds of their country and tropical rains have thereafter wiped out the soil, laying bare the ground rock and impeding agriculture for centuries to come. To cook their scanty meals, they continue to deforest, and turn wood into charcoal. We asked: "What will you do when there is no wood left at all? That will be the end of the world! Yes, the end of the world!" they answered. Until then, the men of Haiti procreate, hoping that their male children will take care of their old fathers; and women say "I am not the one to decide how many children I will have".

Political changes will fail to resolve Haiti's tragedy, as this country will be poverty-stricken for many years. Maybe forever, because in certain cases environmental destructions may reach a point of no-return.

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In the seventh century A.D., as told by petroglyphs, two large outriggers landed on a virgin, lush and uninhabited tropical island; two hundred Polynesians, men, women, children, and pigs and hens landed on the beautiful beaches of Easter Island. They came from the Marquesas Islands, where they had been ostracized and chased after a tribal war.

For eight centuries, after they settled, they cultivated, multiplied, developed a unique civilization, a society divided in three castes: peasants, sculptors and priests; their population increased wildly; they ran short of resources, and when they reached the number of 70, 000, famine, bloody revolts and social chaos brought about the total collapse of their society. When Dutch navigators landed at Easter Island in the seventeenth century, it was a barren, totally deforested piece of rock where a few hundred cannibals were hunting each other for survival. Easter Island's natural exuberance had expired under the load of too many consumers. All that remained were undecipherable tablets and proud statues, a stern warning to humankind of what will happen to Island Earth if humans do not strictly control their demography.

The fuse connected to a demographic explosion is already burning. We have less than ten years to put it out. There should be a general mobilization to reverse the trend and to avoid the "population big bang". But instead, there is a certain disarray about how to tackle such a giant threat.

Soon after World War 2, the Club of Rome has revealed the cause and effect relationship between the drain on non-renewable resources and the effects of expanding demography combined with increasing living standards. Today, such organizations as the UNDP, or the World Watch Institute, constantly reassess the consequences on the Human Development Index. The HDI is based on life expectancy, literacy and income. But all of those factors are influenced by the quality of world management and mainly by the terrifying rate at which the global population increases. In spite of some hard-won sporadic improvements, the balance sheet is bleak: some countries still have a life expectancy of only 40 years. The global illiteracy remains close to 40 percent. More than one billion people live at the absolute poverty level. Two billion human beings have a decreasing quality of life.

But today, population increase has become exponential. It is no longer the time to discuss the theories of Malthus. During my lifetime -eighty years only- the world population has more than tripled, jumping from 1 billion 700 million in 1910 to 5 billion 400 million today. If nothing drastic is done, in another eighty years, in 2070, population will triple again, reaching the absurd figure of 16 billion human beings. Every 6 months, the equivalent of France (50 million) is added. Every ten years, there is a new China born in the poorest regions of our Earth. Let us face it: whether the level off figure is 18-16-14 or even 12 billion, it is unacceptable. Even if we found a way to feed this human tidal wave, it would be impossible to provide this



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multitude with decent living conditions. Surviving like rats is not what we should bequeath to our children and grandchildren.

In November 1989, in Ottawa, Barber Conable, then President of the World Bank, expressed his anxiety about the constraints these billions of new human beings will impose on the planet, and the foreseeable drop in the quality of life of men and women.

Five months ago, speaking at the United Nations' Salas Memorial Lecture, Robert McNamara asked the basic question: is the increase in human numbers and its environmental and developmental ramifications a cause for concern?... After a thorough analysis of this crucial problem, he concluded that it is.

Meanwhile, freshwater supplies shrink, marshes and lagoons are drained dry. Acid rains and savage deforestation lead to destructions of entire ecosystems: it is estimated that about **one million species** of plants, insects, reptiles, fish, birds and mammals have already been eliminated: almost 10% of all kinds of living creatures extinct forever. The two fluids of life -hydrosphere and atmosphere- are equally threatened. In the air we breathe, the rates of carbon monoxide and carbon dioxide, of nitrogen oxide, of methane and freon increase dramatically, which may bring about the warming of the entire planet, the melting of glaciers and of ice caps, and finally a catastrophic rise of the ocean level.

A few months ago, at the initiative of their Presidents, Sir Michael Atiyah and Dr. Frank Press, two of the most prestigious scientific communities of the world, the Royal Society of London, and the U.S. National Academy of Sciences, published a statement in which one can read: "There is an urgent need to address economic activity, population growth, and environmental protection as interrelated issues, and as crucial components affecting the sustainability of **human society**. The next 30 years may be crucial!" On March 19, I interviewed Dr. Frank Press, who declared to my cameras: "Each additional person on Earth requires more resources, more food, more water, and each releases into the environment by-products that can affect the natural environment. We feel that unlimited growth of population means disaster and that Science cannot rescue the world from the consequences of an unlimited population growth".

Thus, the first priority of a concerned human community is to avoid famines. In the 1960's, an American geneticist, Norman Borlaug, developed new breeds of wheat to increase the production of food. The "Green Revolution", a consequence of his research, saved hundreds of millions of people from starvation, mainly in India, Pakistan and China. In 1970, Dr. Borlaug was awarded the Nobel Peace prize for his memorable achievements. I discussed the future of the farming technology with Dr. Borlaug, in Geneva, two weeks ago. "I call it the population Monster," he said, "that makes it impossible to improve the quality of life of the poor countries. In my

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acceptance speech for the Nobel Prize, I said that, by improving the yield of wheat, rice and maize, by a factor of 3, I had provided the leaders of the world with a provision of 30 years to find solutions to the population problem. Today, they have wasted 22 years during which they did not even discuss the matter! With only a few years left before it will be too late, I warn them: there will not be another Green Revolution!"

To hearten public opinion, some technocrats spread a reassuring statement: "Don't worry! If we ever run short of resources, we will dig into our inexhaustible reserve: the Sea". And actually, fishing enterprises have improved, in scope and in efficiency. From 20 million tons in 1950, the total catch of the world fisheries today reaches a ceiling of 90 to 100 million tons. But at what price! Bigger ships, devastating nets and traps, sonar and radar, and the unerring eyes of satellites spotting ocean temperature, tracking schools, revealing all spawning areas. But more than a reliable source of food for a hungry world, technology and larger fleets have only built a dangerous illusion: the myth of an inexhaustible Sea.

How much food can fishing provide? The oceans cover 71% of the planet, but 92% of that can be assimilated to deserts -which means that carbon production is less than 50 grams per square meter per year (man has nothing to do with this fact).

To start with, the global primary production (vegetable source of all animal forms) of the oceans is only half the primary production of land (55 against 115 billion tons).

Second: The food chain is much more efficient on land than in the sea: 10 kilos of grass produce 1 kilo of cow or sheep or goat. But 10 tons of marine grass are needed to produce 1 kilo of tuna.

Third: On land, we raise animals for food. In the sea, we hunt them (fishing is hunting). And as we already overfish, we have reduced fish stocks; overfishing is proven by the growing ratio of tonnage of ships versus the tonnage of fish.

Fourth: The tonnage of catch is stable, but it is falsified. 27% of the catch is turned into fish flour for cattle! Fish to feed herbivores! Fish as fertilizer... to feed grass! The official 97 million tons from the sea should be compared with 2 billion 400 million tons from the land. Factor of 25. To sum up, the sea produces today a maximum 35 g/day and per person, and this figure will drop to 10 g/day if the population triples.

Fifth: In fact, the prices rise faster for fish than for meat. And aquaculture has only been able to produce luxury food, like shrimps.

Conclusion: Not only are the resources from the sea negligible compared to agriculture, but we are already overexploiting, eating up the stocks to provide luxury food to the rich countries, who don't need it. If neither scientists, agronomists nor oceanographers can help solve the consequences of an exponential population growth, we should urgently find ways to fight Dr. Borlaug's population Monster, without



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resorting to any authoritarian measure: the demographic tsunami is everybody's business.

It is generally feared that obstacles to family planning are cultural (or spiritual), and as such, are impossible to get around. Facts prove the contrary. Italy, the closest land to the Vatican, has today the lowest natality in Europe and in the world, and Spain, a Catholic country, is about in the same case. The largest Muslim country, Indonesia, has developed an efficient action plan and now has a still decreasing birth rate about one-third that of Kenya. Even the Voodoo priests are softening their stand; however, two formidable obstacles remain, that must and can be overcome: the status of women, and the insecurity of old age. In all the countries with an excessive birth rate, women are segregated; deprived of appropriate health care, the rate of women illiteracy is one third higher than for men. Two examples of the importance of education of women:

South Yemén: Women illiteracy: 95%	Birth rate: 3.4%
Thailand: Women illiteracy: 15%	Birth rate: 1.3%

The same kind of proportionality exists between the birth rate and the percentage of GNP allocated to social security and eventually to retirement plans. Unfortunately, in the past 10 years, in developing countries, the mean percentage of the national product allocated to health, social security and education, has decreased about 20% while defense expenditures increased: today, in less favored nations, armies spend the same share of the budget as health and education combined, while this proportion is only 55% in the advanced nations.

A rough estimate of what an efficient plan would cost, to provide drinking water to all, to implement the social promotion of women and a decent security in old age, amounts to 400 billion dollars a year, or about one third of the aggregate global military budgets. In a world of debts, deficits and armed conflicts, such a plan surely appears utopian. But the countdown has started, and future generations would not forgive us for having deliberately spoiled their last opportunity.

The capacity of our planet to sustain life -in other words the habitability of Earth- is extremely difficult to assess. Temporary necessities or even simple temptations have unfortunately much more influence on the behavior of human beings, than regards for the preservation of our heritage. Thus, developing nations, where, today, the only thing that develops is population, claim that the main problem is an equitable sharing of resources rather than overpopulation or environmental protection, while many ecologists from more favored nations cry shame when people in Asia or Africa deforest for survival. This misunderstanding between rich and poor countries is becoming bitter and may lead to violence. In the Southern nations, the 20th century has generalized poverty and hunger, while in the North and the West, it has generated confusion. Confusion between instruction and education, pleasure and joy, money and morality, tradition and innovation, individual risk and risks imposed on others,

THE COUSTEAU SOCIETY

even on those yet unborn. Universities have become employment agencies; free enterprise is leading to scandalous inequalities; the reign of the Golden Calf, to whose law we submit, is putting the finishing touches on the assassination of morality, which no society has yet been able to do without.

Students are incited to despise tradition for the sake of innovation, while it is tradition that offers the most fertile ground for creativity. From this confusion, from this absence of internal discipline, emerges the "Me Society", whose byword is: "Everyone has the right to everything -including the superfluous- immediately".

In Africa, my heart broke to see little girls running ten kilometers to fetch a small pail of potable water instead of going to school. In Amazonia, intrigued by the children swarming around a cottage on stilts, I asked the master of the house how many children he had: "I don't know anymore," he said. "My wife knows, surely!"

One look from these youngsters is enough to stir rebellion: Let us stop this delayed-action genocide! Let us cease thinking only of ourselves and reasoning only in the short term. Let us assure for the children to come the same rights that have been declared for their parents.

We are living an interminable succession of absurdities imposed by the myopic logic of short-term thinking: The population big bang. The North-South divorce. The climatic changes of all sorts. The elimination of thousands of species. The new dictatorship of materialism. All these evils must be cured urgently, and the only medicine is a recourse to Utopia. In a remarkable speech at the Ateneo Veneto on April 6, 1990, Federico Mayor, Director General of Unesco, said: "Since the Renaissance, one has often ascertained that today's utopias are the realities of tomorrow..." and: "Utopia is the necessity to get over and break the barriers of established order."

I wish that at this Rio Conference, heads of state and their delegates realize the urgency of drastic, unconventional decisions. You have an extraordinary opportunity to change the course of the world... but only if you decide to challenge the huge problems with radical solutions. The people of the world are anxiously awaiting a new light. This is our responsibility, as we hold in our hands the future of tomorrow's exacting generations.

Katie -

Final draft

MEMORANDUM

TO: Senator Gore, Senator Wirth
FROM: Katie McGinty, David Harwood
DATED: June 17, 1992
SUBJECT: Earth Summit follow-up pursuant to NGO meeting

At your meeting last week with NGO representatives attending the Earth Summit, an ambitious follow-up agenda was discussed. The purpose of this memo is to outline that agenda and to propose next steps.

1. **ANALYSIS OF AGENDA 21** -- There are three avenues to pursue in analysing Agenda 21 and the commitments agreed to by the United States. First, the enviros proposed that a letter be sent to the EPA requesting that they analyze what specifically the United States agreed to in Rio. It may be useful to narrow this request to several key areas and to determine if it makes sense to direct several inquiries to relevant agencies of the federal government. We will consult with the enviros on this front. The purpose of this effort would be to force the Administration to clearly state what commitments it must fulfill, and to have a written document that can be used in the future to ensure full implementation.

Second, the enviros hoped that Senators would help establish an alternative template of the agreed upon commitments. Through floor speeches and perhaps a resolution, the NGOs hope to define an alternative view of the agreements reached in Rio.

Third, and finally, it would be useful for the Senate observer group to request a briefing by Maurice Strong or another UNCED representative to hear the Secretariat's assessment of Agenda 21 and the UNCED.

2. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION -- The NGOs stressed the importance of rapid and careful establishment of the Commission. The Commission is widely viewed as one of the most important outcomes of the Earth Summit. NGOs are interested in ensuring that the Commission is properly structured, that NGOs are represented in the Commission's deliberations, that national reporting mechanisms on Agenda 21 implementation be established, and that the Commission receive reports from the full range of UN institutions. It is hoped that the Commission will be established at the next meeting of the UN General Assembly. The NGOs suggest that there be vigorous oversight and encouragement of a detailed U.S. position on the establishment of the Commission. A resolution could be introduced immediately by the Senate Observer Group to encourage the development of U.S. positions on the Commission. It would be useful to set up a briefing for the observer group to explore the range of issues surrounding the establish of this Commission within the UN. Finally, the U.S. representative to the Commission was viewed as critical. Therefore, it would propably be wise to solicit from the NGOs suggestions for this slot and to send a short list on to the Administration at some future date.

There is also an important domestic follow-up agenda. It is uncertain at this time which agency or agencies will have the lead responsibility for Agenda-21 oversight and implementation. Katie

has scheduled meetings with some of the NGOs to explore these issues and to develop an agenda on domestic implementation and governmental organization.

3. REAUTHORIZATION OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT -- The NGOs stressed the importance of reauthorizing the Foreign Assistance Act with aggressive environmental provisions. Unfortunately, it is highly doubtful that this legislation will be acted on during the remainder of this Congress.

4. HEARING ON THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT FACILITY -- Given the importance of the GEF as a window for funding Agenda 21 and treaty obligations, it was suggested that the Congress pursue oversight on this. Senator Wirth offered to encourage the Senate Banking Committee to hold a hearing on the GEF. The NGOs were encouraged to outline a proposed hearing. In addition, the Joint Economic Committee, on which Senator Gore serves, will be looking at the menu of World Bank environmental programs.

5. APPROPRIATIONS AMENDMENTS -- John Adams of NRDC emphasized the importance of holding the Administration's feet to the fire on reform of forestry practices. He noted that natural resource management issues were perhaps the most important area for the U.S. to demonstrate its commitment to sustainable development. It was suggested that amendments be added to the relevant Appropriations bills to: a) ban clear-cutting (removing the loopholes in the Administrations proposal); and b) eliminate below-cost timber sales -- Senator Fowler has taken the lead on this issue in the past. On the clear-cutting issue, it would be useful to explore whether or

not the Energy or Agriculture Committee's would be interested in holding a hearing on the Administration's proposed plan. This would help determine where the Administration's plan is weak, and how to improve it.

6. OVERSIGHT OF CLIMATE CONVENTION ACTION PLAN -- Under the Global Climate Convention, the United States must develop an action plan on greenhouse gas emissions. The NGOs stressed the importance of Congressional and NGO oversight of this process. The NGOs also noted the importance of a specific plan for coordinating the plans development within the government. Therefore, the Senate Observer Group may be able to facilitate implementation of the action plan and to encourage NGO participation and inter-agency coordination. The observer group may wish to explore some of the other obligations agreed to in the Climate Convention as well. A letter from the Senator Pell and others to the State Department offers the opportunity to encourage swift ratification of the Convention and to explore some of the other issues discussed above.

7. BIODIVERSITY PANEL -- The United States announced in Rio an initiative to survey, inventory and organize data on Biodiversity. As part of this initiative, the Administration proposed the establishment of a scientific committee, under the auspices of UNEP and ICSU. The Administration proposed that the first meeting of the committee be held in the United States during the fall of 1992. The NGOs requested help in ensuring that the Biodiversity panel not be exclusively comprised of scientists. They noted the need for environmental experts. A letter to the Administration would begin the process of addressing NGO concerns.

In addition, Senator Gore may wish to pursue the Administration's initiative through the Science Subcommittee. This is essentially a scientific exercise and thus fair game for the subcommittee.

8. POPULATION -- It was suggested that efforts be launched to build on the broad consensus that emerged in Rio for aggressive population programs. Senator Wirth noted the population bill he introduced last year and that Senator Gore will carry in the future. Senator Wirth expressed his intention to try to reintroduce the population bill this summer to attempt to garner more support. In addition, it was suggested that efforts be launched to support the 1994 Conference on Population and Development. It might be useful for population experts, such as Sharon Camp, to brief the observer group.

9. G-7 SUMMIT -- Most urgently, efforts need to be launched to place UNCED follow up high on the agenda of the upcoming meeting of the G-7. Chancellor Kohl noted his hope that the summit permanently include environment on the Agenda in his plenary speech. NGOs expressed the opportunity for the United States to take to Munich plans on energy efficiency assistance for Eastern Europe.

It was proposed that a meeting be requested with Bob Zoellick and that a letter be sent, perhaps by the Observer Group, to encourage U.S. initiatives on UNCED/environment at the economic summit.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

For Immediate Release

June 12, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ADDRESS TO
THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON
ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Assembly Hall
RioCentro Conference Center
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

3:19 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: President Collor, Mr. Secretary General, Heads of Delegation. May I first express my admiration to Secretary General Boutros-Ghali and my gratitude to Secretary General Maurice Strong for his tireless work in bringing this "Earth Summit" together. This is truly an historic gathering.

The Chinese have a proverb: If a man cheats the Earth, the Earth will cheat man. The idea of sustaining the planet so that it may sustain us is as old as life itself. We must leave this Earth in better condition than we found it.

Today this old truth must be applied to new threats facing the resources which sustain us all -- the atmosphere and the ocean; the stratosphere and the biosphere. Our village is truly global. Some find the challenges ahead overwhelming. I believe that their pessimism is unfounded.

Twenty years ago, at the Stockholm Conference, a chief concern of our predecessors was the horrible threat of nuclear war -- the ultimate pollutant. No more. Upon my return from Rio, I will meet with Russian President Yeltsin in Washington, and the subject we will discuss is cooperation -- not confrontation.

Twenty years ago, some spoke of the limits to growth. Today we realize that growth is the engine of change and the friend of the environment.

Today, an unprecedented era of peace, freedom, and stability makes concerted action on the environment possible as never before. This summit is but one key step in the process of international cooperation on environment and development. The United States will work to carry forward the promise of Rio. Because as important as the road to Rio has been, what matters more is the road from Rio.

There are those who say that cooperation between developed and developing countries is impossible. Let them come to Latin America, where debt-for-nature swaps are protecting forests in Costa Rica and funding pollution control in Chile.

There are those who say that it takes state control to protect the environment. Let them go to Eastern Europe, where the poisoned bodies of children now pay for the sins of fallen dictators -- and only the new breeze of freedom is allowing for cleanup.

MORE

There are those who say that change can never come because the interests of the status quo are too powerful. Well, let them come right here to Brazil, where President Collor is forging a new approach that recognizes the economic value of sustaining the rainforest.

There are those who say that economic growth and environmental protection cannot be compatible. Well, let them come to the United States -- where, in the 20 years since Stockholm, our economy has grown by 57 percent, yet we have cut the lead going into the air by 97 percent, the carbon monoxide by 41 percent, the particulates by 59 percent. We've cleaned up our water and preserved our parks, wilderness, and wildlife.

There are those who say that the leaders of the world do not care about the Earth and the environment. Well, let them all come to Rio.

Mr. President, we have come to Rio. We've not only seen the concern, we share it. We not only care, we're taking action. We come to Rio with an action plan on climate change. It stresses energy efficiency, cleaner air, reforestation, new technology. And I am happy to report that I have just signed the Framework Convention on Climate Change.

And today, I invite my colleagues from the industrialized world to join in a prompt start on the convention's implementation. I propose that our countries meet by January 1st to lay out our national plans for meeting the specific commitments in the Framework Convention. Let us join in translating the words spoken here into concrete action to protect the planet.

We come to Rio with a proposal to double global forest assistance. We stand ready to work together, respecting national sovereignty, on new strategies for forests for the future. As a downpayment, we will double U.S. forest bilateral assistance next year. And we will reform at home, phasing out clear-cutting as a standard practice on U.S. National Forests; and working to plant one billion trees a year.

We come to Rio with an extensive program of technology cooperation. We stand ready, government and private sector, to help spread green technology and launch a new generation of clean growth.

We come to Rio recognizing that the developing countries must play a role in protecting the global environment, but will need assistance in pursuing these cleaner growths. So we stand ready to increase U.S. international environmental aid by 66 percent above the 1990 levels, on top of the more than \$2.5 billion dollars that we provide through the world's development banks for Agenda 21 projects.

We come to Rio with more scientific knowledge about the environment than ever before and with the wisdom that there is much, much we do that's not yet known. And we stand ready to share our science and to lead the world in a program of continued research.

We come to Rio prepared to continue America's unparalleled efforts to preserve species and habitat. And let me be clear. Our efforts to protect biodiversity itself will exceed -- will exceed -- the requirements of the treaty. But that proposed agreement threatens to retard biotechnology and undermine the protection of ideas. And unlike the climate agreement, its financing scheme will not work. And it is never easy, it is never easy to stand alone on principle, but sometimes leadership requires that you do. And now is such a time.

Let's face it, there has been some criticism of the United States. But I must tell you, we come to Rio proud of what we have accomplished and committed to extending the record on American leadership on the environment. In the United States, we have the world's tightest air quality standards on cars and factories, the most advanced laws for protecting lands and waters, and the most open processes for public participation.

And now for a simple truth. America's record on environmental protection is second to none. So I did not come here to apologize; we come to press on with deliberate purpose and forceful action. And such action will demonstrate our continuing commitment to leadership and to international cooperation on the environment.

We believe that the road to Rio must point toward both environmental protection and economic growth, environment and development. And by now it's clear, to sustain development, we must protect the environment; and to protect the environment, we must sustain development.

It's been said that we don't inherit the earth from our ancestors, we borrow it from our children. And when our children look back on this time and this place, they will be grateful that we met at Rio. And they will certainly be pleased with the intentions stated, and the commitments made. But they will judge us by the actions we take from this day forward. Let us not disappoint them.

Mr. President, once again, my congratulations to you, sir. Mr. Secretary General, our sincere thanks. And thank you all very, very much. (Applause.)

END

3:28 P.M. (L



(Translation)

Statement by Mr. Li Peng,
Premier of the State Council of the People's
Republic of China, at the Summit
Meeting of the United Nations Conference on
Environment and Development

Mr. Chairman,
Your Excellencies,
Mr. Secretary General,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Friends,

The convocation of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development is a major event which has attracted worldwide attention. It is the first time since the founding of the United Nations for so many state leaders to meet here to discuss ways to deal with problems of global environment and development. I would like to extend, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, our warm congratulations to the Conference, our heartfelt thanks to the Brazilian Government and the preparatory committee for the efforts they have made for the smooth convocation of the Conference, and to pay a high tribute to the Ministerial Meeting for its fruitful work. I would also like to take this opportunity to convey the cordial greetings of the Chinese people to the people of our host country, Brazil.

Environment and development are two major concerns of the international community.

Through its arduous efforts of many years, especially those made since the Industrial Revolution, mankind has made brilliant achievements in transforming nature and developing economy. Yet neglect of environment in the course of industrialization, particularly the irrational exploitation and utilization of natural resources, has caused global environmental pollution and ecological degradation, posing a real threat to the survival and development of mankind. It is therefore an urgent and formidable task for all countries around the world to protect the ecological environment and maintain a sustainable development. The convocation of this Conference conforms to the call of the times and the aspirations of the peoples of the world. It will once again sound a warning of an environmental crisis to the international community, and provide a forum for exploring ways to solve environmental and development problems. It will turn a new page in the world history of environmental protection and development.

Mr. Chairman,

In recent years, dramatic changes have taken place in the international situation, and the world is in a historical period of transition from the old world pattern to a new one. This presents the international community with difficulties and challenges, as well as hopes and opportunities. The Cold War is over and the confrontation between the two military blocs of the East and the West has dissipated. But the equilibrium in the world has been disrupted; conflicts and destabilizing factors

have increased; and hegemonism and power politics still exist. On the one hand, developed countries are getting richer, on the other hand, many developing countries are getting poorer. All this shows that the two lasting major issues of peace and development facing the world people have not yet been resolved. The Chinese Government maintains that a just and rational new international political and economic order should be established according to the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter, and particularly to the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. This would be a guarantee for world peace and development and a vital prerequisite for resolving environmental and development problems.

Mr. Chairman,

Environmental protection and economic development bear on the future of mankind, and affect each country, each nation and indeed each individual. Therefore, solution to these two global issues calls for extensive and effective international cooperation. The current Conference, the two important instruments to be adopted -- the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21 -- and the two conventions to be signed -- the Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biological Diversity -- will lay a good foundation for an enhanced international cooperation in this area. With a view to achieving in all its aspects the goal of strengthening international

cooperation as set forth at this Conference, the Chinese Government would like to put forward the following propositions for discussion with other participants:

-- Economic development should be pursued in parallel with environmental protection. Economic development is essential for the very survival and progress of mankind. Furthermore, it provides a material guarantee for the protection and improvement of the global environment. For many developing countries, their primary task is to develop economy and eliminate poverty. Their reasonable and urgent needs should be taken into full consideration when we try to tackle the question of global environment. The international community should take practical steps to improve the position of developing countries with regard to debt, trade, finance, etc. and help them with their economic development. On the other hand, no country can afford to develop its economy in disregard of its pressure on environment. It is, therefore, imperative to work out a development strategy that will ensure a virtuous cycle of the eco-system so as to attain a balance between economic growth and environmental protection.

-- To protect the environment is a common task of mankind as a whole. However, economically developed countries bear a greater responsibility. As mankind share one earth and environmental problems sometimes transcend national and regional boundaries, a global approach is in the common interest of all countries and regions. Historically, environmental problems stemmed mainly from the

excessive consumption of natural resources and massive discharge of pollutants by developed countries in the course of their industrialization. Even today, their consumption of natural resources and discharge of pollutants, whether in terms of total volume or per capita share, far exceed developing countries. Therefore, they should assume major responsibility for the deterioration of the global environment. Furthermore, they have greater economic strength and more sophisticated technologies for environmental protection. It is only natural for them to undertake a greater obligation for its solution. They should provide developing countries with new and additional funds and transfer technologies of environmental protection under concessional terms to help the latter improve their own environment and participate in the protection of the global environment. This is only wise for developed countries to do, for it serves their own interests as well as those of developing countries.

-- International cooperation should be based on respect for state sovereignty. All countries, large and small, rich and poor, strong and weak, are entitled to participate in international activities relating to environment and development on an equal footing. Issues concerning global environment and development should be solved in such a manner as not to prejudice a state's independence and sovereignty. Each country enjoys sovereign rights over its natural resources and biological species. It has the right to draw up its own strategies for

environmental protection and development in the light of its national conditions and adopt corresponding policies and measures. At the same time, no country should tap and exploit its natural resources to the detriment of the environment of other countries.

-- Environmental protection and economic development would be impossible without world peace and stability. Wars and turbulence will not only inflict heavy losses on lives and property, but also cause serious degradation to the eco-environment. While promoting world environmental protection and development, all countries should endeavour to maintain stability at home, safeguard world and regional peace, settle all disputes through peaceful negotiation instead of resort to force or threat of force.

-- In tackling environmental problems, consideration should be given to both the immediate interests of various countries and the long-term interests of the whole world. At present, while paying attention to such global environmental questions as climate change and bio-diversity, one should give priority to addressing the problems of environmental pollution and ecological degradation in developing countries like soil erosion, desertification, diminished vegetation, droughts and floods. Solution to these problems will not only remove a serious threat to the environment and development of developing countries, but also contribute significantly to the protection of global environment and economic growth. The international community should understand and

support the reasonable demands of developing countries in this regard.

Mr. Chairman,

China has been pursuing economic development as its central task and adhering to the policy of reform and opening-up in its socialist modernization drive. It now enjoys sustained economic growth, political stability and national harmony and unity. The living standards of the people keep improving. We in China pay much attention to environmental protection in the course of economic development. We have made environmental protection one of our basic state policies and made unremitting efforts towards this end. In light of the country's actual conditions, we have devised a strategy of synchronized planning, implementation and development in terms of economic development, urban and rural construction, and environmental protection, a strategy that would bring harmony of economic, social and environmental returns. We have adopted three major principles, i.e. to put prevention first, to hold those who cause pollution responsible for cleaning up and to strengthen environmental control and management. We have improved the legal system in respect of environmental protection and set up relevant organs at various levels and an inter-ministerial coordination agency at the national level. We have pooled the efforts of various quarters to clean up urban environment and to prevent and control industrial pollution. We have conducted extensive education in environmental protection to awaken the whole nation to its importance. We have

vigorously promoted scientific and technological research on environment. Meanwhile, we have launched a large-scale soil improvement campaign, which includes building shelterbelts along river banks, coastal areas and in areas prone to sandstorms. The Northern Shelterbelt, which is as long as 4,480 kilometers, has become a green Great Wall against sandstorms. More than 600 nature preserves have been set up in China, covering an area of 400 thousand square kilometers and providing effective protection to a large number of rare wild animals and plants. In addition, China's family planning helps ease off the tremendous pressure of population growth on environment. In the past decade or more since the introduction of reform and opening-up programme, China's GNP has more than doubled. Yet the quality of China's environment has remained basically stable, or even improved in some areas. Our environment and development strategy suited to China's conditions has proved to be successful. However, China is a developing country and its economic strength is limited. Like many other developing countries, China regards it a long-term, arduous task to address issues concerning economic development and environmental protection.

Mr. Chairman,

China's environmental problems are part and parcel of the global problems. China is keenly aware of its responsibility and role in the protection of the earth's eco-system. So it has attached importance to and taken an active part in the U.N.-sponsored discussions concerning environment and development. It has

signed a number of relevant international conventions or agreements. Last year, China hosted the Ministerial Conference of Developing Countries on Environment and Development, at which Beijing Declaration was adopted. This is a positive contribution China and other developing countries have made to the promotion of world environmental protection and development. We have also established China Environment and Development International Cooperation Committee composed of well-known Chinese and foreign figures who offer advice in these two areas. This gives expression to China's sincerity and resolution in tackling the environment and development issues. We will further implement the policy of reform and opening-up, assimilate and draw on all achievements of human civilization, accelerate the pace of economic growth, and at the same time do a good job in our environmental protection. We stand ready to undertake international responsibilities and obligations compatible with our development level and expand international cooperation in the world environmental protection and development.

Mr. Chairman,

There are a lot to be done and many difficulties to be surmounted in environmental protection and development. But I am convinced that, as long as all countries help each other like passengers in the same boat, conduct fruitful cooperation and work hard, it is possible to protect the global environment and expand economy at the same time so that the earth will become a beautiful homeland where people can live and work happily together.

Thank you.

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

EMBARGOED UNTIL 3.30 PM BST

(11.30 BRAZIL TIME)

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN MAJOR MP
AT UNCED
RIO DE JANEIRO
12 JUNE 1992

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Mr Chairman,

This meeting is unlike any other. We are all used to summits on this or that crucial issue where each of us fights hard for our national interest.

Today we are here not to argue for a national cause but for the future of our planet.

It was Ruskin, a century ago, who said that God had lent us the earth for our lifetime. We are here as leaseholders. Leaseholders with a huge responsibility. On our efforts are pinned the hopes of billions of people. It falls to us to try to reconcile their diverse and sometimes divergent needs. It falls to us to reconcile the needs of the living with our obligations to future generations.

The contrasts are striking. In today's world more people are healthier and live longer than ever before. And yet more people than ever before, 1 billion of them, live in abject poverty.

The pressures to industrialise are greater than ever. Today, most people still live in rural areas. In another 40 years the opposite will be true. Twice as many of us will be urban dwellers as country dwellers. By the end of the century there will be 21 cities in the world with populations of more than 10 million people. 17 of these will be in developing countries.

We have to find a balance between the needs of people and the environment in which they live. We have to find a balance between the exploitation of that environment which is vital to peoples' survival and the conservation of that environment which is vital to its survival. We have to find a balance between the needs of the living and our obligations to future generations.

There will be people who decry the achievements of this conference. But this conference is proof of a dramatic shift over the last decade: the environment is no longer the specialist concern of a few - it has become the vital interest of us all.

What we have gained over the last decade or so is, above all, knowledge.

Much of the damage that we have done to our environment has been inflicted not out of greed or malice, but out of ignorance. What every child knows today few scientists knew the day before yesterday. I suspect that for many of us it was not until we saw the pictures of earth taken from outer space that we realised just how small, fragile and precious our globe is.

Those of us who have come to this meeting cannot any longer plead ignorance. Even where we cannot be certain, the evidence requires us to be cautious. That does not make our choices easy ones. We know the effects of acid rain. We know the importance of the rainforests for climate, for animals and for plants. We know the dangers of degradation as land is over exploited. It is tempting to propose the most radical solution for the sake of future generations. But it is not easy to say to the miner in Europe that his job must be forfeit; or to a developing country

that it should no longer market its principal resource; or to an expanding population that they should not cultivate the land they so vitally need.

That is why there has been negotiation and compromise. The results may not go as far as some would like. We, for example, wanted this conference to agree binding commitments on the management of forests. We may have to content ourselves with a statement of principle. But that statement must be more than just words. And it must involve effective follow-up. I welcome President Bush's forestry initiative. My country already sponsors more than 200 forestry projects overseas at a value of £160 million.

That example alone illustrates the extent of international co-operation. We have now gone further.

We have recognised that the earth is our common inheritance and we are setting about the task of managing it for the common good. The climate convention and biodiversity convention are not the end of the road. They are crucial milestones. They commit us to binding obligations to manage our national affairs to our common benefit. They launch the process. They demand effective follow up.

I would like today to announce further commitments by my country.

It was Charles Darwin who first identified the full significance of man's relationship to other species. I am launching today a Darwin initiative for the survival of the species.

Our initiative will build on Britain's recognised scientific and commercial strengths in places like the Botanical Gardens at Kew and Edinburgh. It will involve international studies of natural resources; help set goals for research; and build up an inventory of the most important species and habitats. It will help us to exchange skills and information.

On climate change I am today announcing an initiative to ensure that developing countries can share the benefits of technology through partnership with British companies. We shall hold a Global Technology Partnership Conference in Britain early next year to set this on its way.

Mr. Chairman, money is the root of all progress. All of us will have to meet the cost of commitments undertaken to tackle our common global problems. The developing countries will need our help. The British government is ready to commit new and additional resources through the global environment facility. The British Government believes this facility should be replenished at a level of \$2-3 billion.

More effective than concessionary aid will be the expansion of trade and private capital investment and the reduction of debt. We need a swift and successful conclusion to the GATT Round. It is within our grasp. We need further early and significant reductions in the burden of debt. Britain has taken a lead. I will continue to press my fellow leaders hard for further action in those fields. I hope the developing countries will help by

following policies which encourage inward investment, including all the principles of good government to which members of the Commonwealth are already committed.

Even with better trade and reduced debt the poorest countries will need concessional finance. Britain will therefore mobilise its aid programme in support of the goals of Agenda 21. We are planning to make available substantial extra resources to assist forestry conservation, biodiversity, energy efficiency, population planning and sustainable agriculture over the next two years. Britain also supports a substantial tenth replenishment of the International Development Association during which we must consider a special Earth Increment.

Agenda 21 is the most far-reaching process we have launched here in Rio. It is a framework for action on sustainable development. Its most important provision is to call on Governments and UN bodies to report periodically and publicly on implementation. One custodian of this process will be the new Sustainable Development Commission which we have agreed to establish.

This Commission can only do its work if it has the right information from national governments and international bodies. Public confidence is built on transparency and information. That confidence cannot be built without the NGOs.

We have already adopted an open approach in the UK. I have been a keen supporter of NGO participation in the preparations for this Conference. I am therefore pleased to announce today that the United Kingdom will convene, next June, a major global forum of the NGO community to examine and clarify their role in the practical implementation of Agenda 21.

If the emerging generation of young people is to have a chance in life at least as good as my generation, then the Rio process must succeed. But it has no chance of success if we do not do much better in our efforts to slow the growth of population. Britain has long supported action which enables all women to have children by choice. We shall continue to help improve access to family planning. We must improve education more generally.

Mr. Chairman, for nearly two generations we lived with the threat of a nuclear confrontation which could destroy the world. That risk is now vastly diminished. But we have awoken to a new threat. The threat that by our own actions we could, insidiously, but just as certainly, achieve the same result: the destruction of the globe. We are alive to the danger. We know the remedy.

I said at the beginning of my speech that we were leaseholders in the planet. We are partners too. Whatever the differences strongly expressed here and which remain, it must be as partners that we go from this meeting.

Voltaire's luckless hero, Candide, decided to turn his back on the world and to stay at home "to cultivate his garden".

We do not have that choice. The world is our garden and, together, we must cultivate it.

UNCED LEADERSHIP DIALOGUE

PRESENTATION BY SHRIDATH RAMPHAL MODERATOR

I wish to use my time in this Dialogue as we head towards the Summit at Rio to make two points. One about making it a success in practical terms, the other about ensuring follow-up which sustains the prospect of continued progress.

The first concerns the conclusion at Rio of the two basic Conventions on Climate Change and Bio-diversity. The PrepCom, for anyone who endured it, was a rigorous course, a process more akin to attrition than to high intellectual stimulation. But it was a process that, in the end, produced results. Agenda 21 was virtually agreed, dependent on the similar process taking place on the Climate Change Convention and the Bio-diversity Convention; and, in the end, they too had virtually reached agreement.

These political will in the North faltered, political considerations, and perhaps doctrinal ones as well, pointed the United States away from binding commitments under the Climate Change Convention; and those same considerations and, no doubt others, persuaded that Administration to go back on the agreements its representatives had registered at Nairobi and abstain as well the Bio-diversity Convention. And all this, of course, lest we forget, has consequences for Agenda 21, still in draft, waiting to fill in those square brackets: references to those Conventions and conclusions on the crucial issue of resources.

I do not believe we should take issue here and now over the US abstentions. They are a matter for genuine regret and, given the long tradition of the United States - particularly in the first half of this century in evolving a workable internationalism - a matter for sadness. But it will not have escaped your notice that I have spoken of 'abstentions'; my central point is to ask why for Earth's sake are we turning those abstentions into vetoes? No one, no country, no President or Prime Minister, no species for that matter, has a veto on survival, on life on this Planet. There are some issues that transcend group solidarity and special relations. They include issues that cannot be explained away with those kinds of reasons when, for example in the middle of the next century (amid climate change and sea-level rise) a young child asks: 'what did grandfather do at Rio when they discussed global warming?'

There are going to be times in human affairs when the most dominant country in the world, in terms of economic strength or military power or sheer dominance imposed from a combination of

them, will not also give leadership to the world on all matters. Perhaps it would be strange were it otherwise. Certainly, neither in the time of the Roman superpower nor of Pax Britannica, to take recent examples, did imperial power always run hand in hand with wisdom? Why should we expect it to be different now? In such moments, others must lead; others must come forward, preferably in numbers, to insist on the right way forward and to begin that journey confident that abstention will in time give way to partnership - perhaps sooner than we think.

The target of stabilising CO2 emissions at 1990 levels at the year 2000 is simply the most modest of targets - the governments and peoples of other OECD countries that were ready to take that political decision and make that national commitment, must still do so.

Even while they sign the Treaty without them, their leaders can come here at Rio Centro and give those commitments to the world. They can then pledge their continued efforts to working for a protocol to the Convention which will give these commitments Treaty effect and which would, by then, hopefully, bring all OECD countries on board. But their word would be their bond now and it would greatly advance agreement on Agenda 21. To do anything less is to put far too much at risk for no good substantive reasons.

The same holds, of course, for the Convention on Biodiversity - already agreed by virtually all OECD countries until the United States withdrew its support post-Nairobi. If the rest of the world believes that what is agreed at Nairobi is important - both developed and developing countries - this is not the time for allowing abstention to vitiate the Convention. Of course the United States is a major player on climate change, on biodiversity and on resources. But it is not so big a player that the play cannot go on without it; at least go on until it is ready to be part of the consensual scene again. Those who make the inability of one justification for the failure of all are, in the end, the bigger offenders.

My second point, in the context of our not failing, addresses briefly the issue of follow-up. If it is right that we have to chart and pursue a path of enlightened change, journeying together towards progress that is universal and sustainable, what we put in place here in Rio to ensure that we develop and pursue that path is absolutely crucial. We cannot look ahead to periodic Rios. No doubt some other gathering of world leaders on issues of environment and development will follow Rio, as Rio has followed to Stockholm. But, the pace of environmental destruction has quickened; we cannot rely on merely taking stock 20 years from now. We have to set in train machinery appropriate to our needs.

Agenda 21 and the wider PrepCom discussions encompass some machinery, principally an inter-governmental Commission within the UN system labouring away, like the Disarmament Committee, on making small gains through an unending adversarial contest. I do

not denigrate such machinery or those efforts; but do any of us really believe it is adequate? No doubt there will be non-governmental councils or commissions or institutes, working at many levels to ensure that we do not relapse into complacency. But I believe something else is necessary; something that captures what is best in the Rio process and keeps it alive to serve humanity.

What is best, I suggest, is the element of summitry that has galvanised world public opinion and that has held the public gaze on our processes here. They may falter and fall short at the Summit; but that they have come together is a monumental achievement, and a point from which there must be no turning back.

Let us assume Rio achieves even some of its potential, that those who are ready to proceed with an effective Climate Change Convention find a way of doing so, that the Bio-diversity Convention is adopted with a single reservation, that resources are provided with others besides the United States taking the lead, perhaps Japan showing the way of support for environmental security as the contribution they make to a human society that helps in turn to sustain their prosperity. Suppose we achieve all this - as I believe we can - and agree Agenda 21 as the basis for action: do the leaders disband and go back to their domestic pursuits, leaving follow-up to Environment Ministers and international agencies?

Should they not on this central issue, so critical to everything else - and especially to what now we see as the real issue of security - should they not - quite apart from formal machinery - entrust to a few of their number the task of keeping an eye on that follow-up: ten or fifteen Heads of Government, entrusted with the duty of being the Earth Summit's 'Trusteeship Committee', working (as they will do) through their personal representative; following the progress of Agenda 21 or the lack of it; monitoring issues like global warming and ozone shield depletion, and deforestation, and population growth; producing perhaps a periodic State of the Planet report for their peers - the world's political leaders - to tell them in political terms how it has been going since Rio; to blow the whistle when there is slippage and deterioration; to sound the alarm if new environmental horrors appear after we have left this place - as they appeared in the form of the hole in the ozone layer over Antarctica after the Stockholm meeting had ended; and, generally, to be on call at their high level to summon humanity to action as and when that action is needed.

In its pre-Rio meeting in London in April, the Brundtland Commission made just such a proposal. It is worthy of attention now - before this unique conclave of the world's political leaders disbands in Rio. It will cost next to nothing; but it can help to win the world.

Rio
4/6/92

THE EARTH SUMMIT
UNCED SPECIAL LECTURES

SHRIDATH S RAMPHAL

RIO AND THE FUTURE OF 'OUR COUNTRY, THE PLANET'

5 JUNE 1992
RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

This is one of those occasions when the sheer privilege of being invited to speak carries with it a responsibility to speak plainly. I shall try to do so and in doing so to refer to some matters little mentioned in the formal speeches here..

The Earth Summit is by definition an inter-governmental occasion. A high point of visibility for, and hopefully dialogue between, our political leaders. But it is not with the Heads of Government that I wish to begin; it is with others.

Those others are the non-governmental actors - and I do not mean by that the non-governmental organisations alone. NGOs are the symbol, and the reality, of action to save the Planet beyond that which governments take, or fail to take. But beyond the NGOs themselves are people all over the world - in North and South - whose lives have already been changed by Rio and who, in the context of Rio, have already helped to change the world for the better. I think of the millions of people of all ages who have been making efforts, whether through recycling or buying organic products or simply turning off electricity; I think of the millions of children who have sent leaves for the Tree of Life; I think of the media professionals at every level who have, by television, radio and the print media, galvanised the world's people not merely into expecting great things of Rio but into an awareness of the need for great changes at Rio and beyond.

The world's people are anxious; and in industrial countries they are conscious that they are in the front line of the struggle to save the Planet because they know they have been and continue to be the ones who place the greatest burden on it. But in developing countries too, more and more people, especially young people, are aware of their responsibilities if the South is not to replace the North in environmental wrong-doing. So, I begin with a salute to these ordinary people who are here, symbolically through the NGOs at Flamingo Park, but who in their millions have their eyes upon us at this inter-governmental level.

In recent weeks they have begun to despair; wrongly in my view, for reasons I will try to advance; but understandably. Understandably, because they expect more than they seem to be getting from governments. More seriousness, more caring, more commitment to change, more enlightenment, more vision and much much more political courage and leadership. Many have already written off the Summit; but their despair is more about the inter-governmental process than about the future itself. They have a deep faith in their own empowerment, and if governments are not alert, they themselves will be marginalised - or, at the very least, will become the followers. It cannot, alas, be so across the board. There is in the end no comprehensive substitute for enlightened political leadership; but we must not believe that the alternatives are that leadership or nothing at all. In the end, this may be the big test of Rio - and its major lesson.

It is, therefore, on these kinds of issues that I should like to spend a few moments. What is happening with the political process? The PrepCom, for anyone who endured it, was a rigorous course, a process more akin to attrition than to high intellectual stimulation. But it was a process that, in the end, produced results. Agenda 21 was virtually agreed, dependent on the similar process taking place on the Climate Change Convention and the Bio-diversity Convention; and, in the end, they too had reached agreement save for one abstention on the Climate Change Convention. Our much maligned ambassadors and technocrats were edging forward to consensus. Small steps, it is true, but forward steps that held promise of a journey.

What happened? Political will faltered, political considerations, and perhaps doctrinal ones as well, pointed the United States away from binding commitments under the Climate Change Convention; and those same considerations and, no doubt others, persuaded that Administration to go back on the agreements its representatives had registered at Nairobi and abstain as well the Bio-diversity Convention. And all this, of course, lest we forget, has consequences for Agenda 21, still in draft, waiting to fill in those square brackets: references to those Conventions and conclusions on the crucial issue of resources.

I do not propose in this Lecture to take issue over the US abstentions. They are a matter for genuine regret and, given the long tradition of the United States - particularly in the first half of this century in evolving a workable internationalism - a matter for sadness. But it will not have escaped your notice that I have spoken of 'abstentions'; my central point is to ask why for Earth's sake are we turning those abstentions into vetoes? No one, no country, no President or Prime Minister, no species for that matter, has a veto on survival, on life on this Planet. There are some issues that transcend group solidarity and special relations. They include issues that cannot be explained away with those kinds of reasons when, for example in the middle of the next century (amid climate change and sea-level rise) a young child asks: 'what did grandfather do at Rio when they discussed global warming?'

There are going to be times in human affairs when the most dominant country in the world, in terms of economic strength or military power or sheer dominance imposed from a combination of them, will not also give leadership to the world on all matters. Perhaps it would be strange were it otherwise. Certainly, neither in the time of the Roman superpower nor of Pax Britannica, to take recent examples, did imperial power always run hand in hand with wisdom? Why should we expect it to be different now? In such moments, others must lead; others must come forward, preferably in numbers, to insist on the right way forward and to begin that journey confident that abstention will in time give way to partnership - perhaps sooner than we think.

The world cannot be heard to complain of an American veto of progress at Rio if it is a veto of our collective making. That is why I begin by explaining that, for me, this is not a moment for recrimination. It is a moment for excoriating ourselves, all of us who may be tempted to abandon progress because we have failed to consummate the partnership to the last degree. Europe had agreed on binding commitments under the Climate Change Convention. Japan surely is prepared to share that. So too must Canada and so, I know, are the Scandinavians. But for the American position on those modest commitments - for the target of stabilising CO2 emissions at 1990 levels at the year 2000 is simply the most modest of targets - the governments and peoples of other OECD countries were ready to take that political decision and make that national commitment. It can still be done, the target can be reinserted and the binding commitments given.

But there is another way. The OECD countries, who were ready to sign the Climate Change Convention on the basis of those targets, can even while they sign the Treaty without them, come here at Rio Centro at the level of their Heads of Government and give those commitments to the world. They can then pledge their continued efforts to working for a protocol to the Convention which will give their stated commitments Treaty effect and which would, by then, hopefully, bring all OECD countries on board. But their word would be their bond now. To do anything less is to put far too much at risk for no good substantive reasons. Certainly, we know enough about the working of the global economy and of trans-national corporations within it to know that industries need have no fear of losing a competitive edge. Not only will such commitments given here contribute to the quality of Earth's climate - they will contribute greatly to the climate of the Earth Summit itself where the gap that remains to be closed is largely one of binding commitment by industrial countries.

And if this holds for the Climate Change Convention, how much more so for the Convention on Bio-diversity - already agreed by virtually all OECD countries until the United States withdrew its support post-Nairobi. If the rest of the world believes that what is agreed at Nairobi is important - both developed and developing countries - this is not the time for allowing abstention to vitiate the Convention. Of course the United States is a major player on climate change, on bio-diversity and on resources. But it is not so big a player that the play cannot go on without it; at least go on until it is ready to be part of the consensual scene again. Those who make this inability of one justification for the failure of all are, in the end, the bigger offender.

I have no doubt that this Earth Summit will succeed. I believe it has already succeeded in ways that I outlined in the beginning. More than 8000 of the world's media can't be wrong. What we can do is fall short of our potential - limit our success in ways that are avoidable and, therefore, unforgivable when we consider what is at stake. We must not do that.

One way to not fall short is to ensure that some matters of central importance not adequately reflected, if reflected at all, on the Rio Agenda, are not ignored in the Rio conclusions. I think, for example, of over-consumption which is central to the issue of human survival. It is human impact on the biosphere that is producing environmental stress and endangering the planet's capacity to sustain its life-forms. That impact is made essentially through the energy and raw materials that people worldwide use or waste. If use was even roughly equal among people, measuring human impact would be a relatively simple matter of multiplying the amount of energy and raw materials each person uses by the number of the world's people. But there is no such equivalence in our use of resources. The vast majority who are poor make only a minimal call on them. The very opposite is true for the rich, who are prodigal in their consumption. Energy, especially the use of fossil fuels, is at the very heart of the matter. A quarter of the world's population sequestering four-fifths (80 per cent), of the world's commercial energy.

But that is not the only commodity sequestered by the rich; so too is 90 per cent of the world's traded hardwood, 84 per cent of its paper, 80 per cent of its iron and steel, 70 per cent of its milk and meat, 60 per cent of its fertilisers and the distortions go on and on. This will inevitably become more gross as average consumption spending in major OECD countries continues to escalate.

We are enjoined not to talk about over-consumption. Yet in many ways it is the heart of the matter. Unless this distortion in the consumption of the Earth's resources is acknowledged as the unacceptable face of 20th century civilisation, we will waste much precious time attending the many symptoms of the disease that afflict the environment and fail to come to grips with its real cause. And the same is true for the other 'no go' area: population.

At the time of Stockholm in 1972 there were about 3.8 billion people on Earth. As the Earth Summit reconvenes in Rio this week there are over 5.4 billion people on our small planet: 1.6 billion, 42 per cent increase, in just 20 years. Beyond Rio, in the 33 years between 1992 and 2025, world population will increase by a further 3 billion - as many people as the whole world had in 1960, and had taken since the emergence of homo sapiens on the Planet to reach. We will add that number in a matter of over 3 decades.

The pressures of population on the environment are widely manifest. Even when all proper allowance is made for distortions in consumption, excessive population growth remains one of the massive pressures we are placing on our planet's resources, and one of the self-destruct mechanisms we are building into our future prospects.

The best chance we have lies in creating a socio-economic climate in which couples will make the decision for themselves that small families are best. Confidence about livelihoods, economic and social security, all that is encompassed in genuine economic development, are central elements of that climate. Putting them in place for the three-quarters of the world's people who feel driven to enlarge their numbers in order to escape the consequences of poverty - only to be even more entrapped as a result - ought to be a world priority. It is the whole world that is imperilled as human numbers exceed the capacity of our planet to support us all.

Why then such silences on consumption and population? Over-consumption implies changing life-styles - perhaps, in the process improving the quality of life - but changing life-styles nonetheless. Reducing population growth means alleviating poverty by facilitating development. Is this why we rather deal with symptoms than causes? Are these the reasons for our large silences?

But silence will not change reality. In the last resort, the rich are no more isolated from the environmental stress of poverty and overpopulation than the poor are from the environmental stress of affluence and excessive consumption. Rich and poor are locked together in an environmental free fall; they must cling to each other if they hope to parachute to safety, and pull the release cord in time. That time is surely now!

Both over-consumption and the link between population and poverty will therefore have to be addressed, if not at Rio then in the unfolding of Agenda 21 and the evolution of the relevant Conventions. The same is not wholly true, however, of the final matter I wish to mention: the ethical dimension of our human predicament. We are tempted to ignore such matters as not the business of inter-governmental negotiations; but it may yet turn out to be the bedrock of any sustainable future. In a context of issues not talked about, it deserves a moment of notice at Rio.

Historians will record that in the last decade of the 20th century the leaders of the world's people met at an 'Earth Summit' in Rio in an emergency discussion on humanity's common future. But they will also record that the leaders met behind flags that were a constant reminder of the narrow domestic walls that kept them apart and of the constituencies within those walls whose short-term interests they felt obliged to serve. The old instinct to secure survival by protecting turf persists; and it is strongest among those who believe they have most to protect. Such instincts, more appropriate to another time in human evolution, undermine our capacity to secure our common future under the single banner of one Earth. At the Global Forum there are only Earth flags. That is why it is a Global Forum and this is an inter-governmental conference. We cannot change those realities; but we need to draw some lessons from them; in particular, we need to find a way of making inter-governmental

dialogue less adversarial and vision neutral, and more informed by a pervasive ethic.

In responding to the crisis of the environment, nothing would be more calamitous than for us to be influenced by considerations of otherness; the division of the world into 'we' and 'they', 'our side' and 'the others'; a ritual patriotism which blocks dispassionate judgement and hardens division. - the very opposite of the values necessary to create a global alliance for sustainable living. Without those values, without a sense of human identity transcending national loyalties, without an acknowledgement of others on the planet as fellow countrymen and women, without a conception of the world as one human community, without the vision of a world beyond frontiers and sovereignties, we are unlikely to summon up the will to act together to save ourselves.

The ethical dimension of our situation is really inescapable. It was given poignant expression in September 1990 by the Dalai Lama when he warned: 'Mother planet is showing us the red warning light; she is telling us to take care of our house the planet!' The same year, Vaclav Havel, just released from imprisonment for his stand for freedom in Czechoslovakia, delivered a moving address to the United States Congress in Washington. Among the many important things he said was this:

Without a global revolution in the sphere of human consciousness, nothing will change for the better in our being as humans, and the catastrophes toward which our world is headed will be unavoidable. Responsibility to something higher than my success, my family, my country, responsibility to the order of being where all our actions are indelibly recorded and where, and only where, they will be judged.

As we contemplate at Rio our responsibilities to the planet, including responsibility to ourselves, we must recognise that it is only such a revolution in human consciousness that will provide the ethical impetus for change, and only such an impetus that will change our relationship with nature and secure our common future. As the emblem of the Earth Summit reminds us, we hold the future of the Planet 'In Our Hands'; but if we are to hold it safely that resolve has to come from within us, from our minds and our hearts. Before we can be reliable guardians of our common future, we have to understand why we should and agree that we must. If we make that inner commitment at Rio, everything after Rio will become much easier. There is no better time or place to do so. That, at the end of the speeches and declarations, is what the supportive people of the world are looking for most of all from the Earth Summit.

Does it matter if we fail? In cosmic terms, perhaps not. Whether we go by a nuclear bang or an environmental whimper, Earth, the 'mother of our humanity', will heal her wounds, however grievous; our planet's flora and fauna, however transfigured by the manner of our going, will have a better

chance to survive and flourish because we have gone. Having made ourselves the planet's greediest predator, we may not be missed. But that surely cannot be the end of the matter. What of our duty to our humanity itself, to our own worthiest qualities and the highest purposes of our human existence, to the generations that should succeed us? Our species has a duty to sustain life that transcends our capacity to destroy it. I hope there is room at Rio to acknowledge this.

As we enter the global phase of human evolution, it becomes obvious that each man has two countries, his own and Planet Earth.

Those were the concluding words of the Introduction to 'Only One Earth', the book which Barbara Ward wrote with René Dubos to set the scene for the UN Conference on the Human Environment of 1972 in Stockholm - the first global effort to get to grips with environmental problems. They were new words for new concepts. 'One world' as a vision of internationalism was not new. It had helped to inspire the League of Nations much earlier in the century. Even before that, social and political scientists, philosophers, religious leaders and others had advanced the idea of 'the family of man'. But 'my country the planet' was different; it looked not only beyond countries but even beyond people. It looked in fact to our earthly habitation and the whole of creation, with new insights of a planetary order founded on the concept of a shared biosphere and secured by strategies for survival. The era of the environment was beginning.

When Maurice Strong asked me 2 years ago to write a book that would cover the issues on the Agenda of the Earth Summit and be both a personal statement out of a varied experience and a world view that took account of the perceptions of developing countries, 'Only One Earth' was my natural starting point. My title ('Our Country, The Planet') comes from those concluding words of Barbara Ward and René Dubos. As with so much about Stockholm they seem so much more apposite now. Then 'Our Country, The Planet' seemed a very distant vision; today it has become a living reality. Each of us, man, woman and child, rich and poor, of whatever faith, whatever race, whatever religion, must begin to take up our natural dual citizenship. We must all of us belong, and have a sense of belonging, to two countries: our own and the Planet.

CLIMATE ACTION NETWORK

Rio de Janeiro, June 8, 1992

The world-wide Climate Action Network is made up of a large number of environmental and development non-government organizations in North America, Europe, South America, Africa and Asia. We have actively participated as NGOs in all negotiations leading to the Climate Convention now open for signature in Rio. Many are represented here at the Rio Earth Summit. We are actively involved in our own countries in efforts to limit CO₂ and other greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions and to protect forests, particularly primary forests.

While we urge all countries to sign and ratify the Climate Convention and proceed expeditiously with the development of national plans, we are disappointed that the Convention does not require the industrialized countries to stabilize by the year 2000, let alone reduce, their CO₂ and other GHG emissions. Combustion of fossil fuels accounts for 70-85% of the world's CO₂ emissions. The first order of business for the industrialized countries must be to take actions - greater energy efficiency in all sectors, increased reliance on renewable sources of energy etc. - to reduce their CO₂ emissions and to adopt protocols that mandate these actions.

We view suggestions of a forest convention or the U.S. forest initiative in this context, as a way for the industrialized countries to divert the attention of their own citizens and the whole world away from their fossil fuel practices to the status of tropical forests that are mostly located in developing countries. We are insulted by the references in the U.S. initiative that the World's forests, particularly the tropical forests, sequester large amounts of carbon, when the U.S. is unprepared to take aggressive action to reduce its CO₂ emissions - over 20% of the world's total fossil fuel CO₂ emissions. We would urge the European Community and other OECD countries not to bail the U.S. out of its self-imposed environmental isolation by endorsing this initiative.

Furthermore, we find the U.S. claim unfounded that halting further loss of forests in developing countries is a much more cost-effective way of limiting global CO₂ emissions than stabilization of CO₂ emissions from fossil fuels in the industrialized countries. The White House knows little about the economic or human aspects of a halt to loss of these forests.

There are deep economic and social reasons for forest loss in developing countries. These reasons are rooted in the nature of poverty, lack of control over the management of these forests by local communities that have a vital interest in protection of these forests, trade relations and debt. To argue that halting forest loss would be easier and a substitute for industrialized countries taking aggressive actions to reduce their use of fossil fuels is

indefensible. Indeed, many studies in the U.S. and the European Community countries indicate that substantial reductions in their fossil fuel energy consumption would achieve net economic savings.

In addition, we are astounded at the willingness of the White House to call for a halt to global forest loss when it condones and promotes continued destruction of old growth forests in its own northwest further endangering biodiversity and refuses to sign the Biodiversity Convention. For any U.S. forest initiative or any proposal for a forest or desertification convention to have credibility in developing countries, the U.S. and other industrialized countries must put their own forest and energy houses in order. We would be happy to work with the White House, the U.S. Congress, the European Community and other industrialized countries to accomplish this worthy objective.

Bangladesh Centre for Advanced Studies
Brazilian NGO Forum for UNCED
Centre for Science and Environment - India
Climate Network - Europe
Environmental Defense Fund -U.S.
Environmental Protection Society - Malaysia
Foro Mexicano de la Sociedad Civil - Mexico
Fundacion Pro-Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta - Columbia
Instituto Ecologica Politica - Chile
Kenya Energy and Environment Organization
National Audubon Society - U.S.
National Wildlife Federation - U.S.
Natural Resources Defense Council - U.S.
Sierra Club - U.S.
Union of Concerned Scientists - U.S.
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June 10, 1992

FOREST PRINCIPLES: KEY CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE MAIN COMMITTEE

Preamble (g): Paragraph should be retained, recognizing the global value of forests within the context of national sovereignty and shared responsibility.

In particular, the principle of fair prices for timber and non-timber forest products to embody full environmental and replacement costs should remain in this paragraph.

8 (d): The bracketed text should be retained, to recognize the importance of internationally agreed methodologies and criteria for sustainable forest management.

8 (h): [and other] should be retained, to ensure that environmental assessments are not limited to direct government actions only.

11: The entire paragraph should be retained, to ensure that new and additional resources for sustainable forest management will be provided.

15 (a): This paragraph is unacceptable as it stands. WWF prefers positive measures to create incentives for sustainable management of timber resources, but considers that trade measures provide a necessary complement. GATT should be reformed to ensure that measures to promote sustainability are not contrary to its provisions.

15 (b): This paragraph should be retained, to emphasise the need for positive measures to encourage trade in forest products from sustainably managed forest resources.



NON-PAPER ON CHAPTER 38 PREPARED BY THE ISSUE COORDINATOR
(after informal consultations on June 6, 1992)

38.11. In order to ensure the effective follow-up of the Conference, as well as to enhance international cooperation and rationalize the intergovernmental decision-making capacity for the integration of environment and development issues and to examine the progress of implementation of Agenda 21 at the national, regional and international levels, a high-level Commission on Sustainable Development should be established in accordance with Article 68 of the Charter of the United Nations. This Commission would report to the ECOSOC in the context of the Charter role of the Council vis-a-vis the General Assembly. It would consist of representatives of States elected as its members with due regard to equitable geographical distribution. Representatives of non-member States of the Commission would have observer status. The Commission should provide for active involvement of organs, programmes and organizations of the United Nations system, international financial institutions and other relevant intergovernmental organizations, and encourage the participation of non-governmental organizations, including industry, business and scientific communities. The first meeting of the Commission should be convened no later than 1993. The Commission should be supported by the secretariat envisaged in paragraph 38.19. Meanwhile the Secretary-General of the United Nations is requested to ensure adequate interim administrative secretariat arrangements.

38.12. The General Assembly, at its 47th session, should determine specific organizational modalities for the work of this Commission, such as its membership, relationship with other intergovernmental United Nations bodies dealing with matters related to environment and development, frequency, duration and venue of its meetings. These modalities should take into account the on-going process of revitalization and restructuring of the work of the United Nations in the economic, social and related fields, in particular measures recommended by resolutions 45/264 and 46/235 and other relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. In this respect, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, with the assistance of the Secretary-General of UNCED, is requested to prepare for the Assembly a report with appropriate recommendations and proposals.

38.13. (Chapeau) The Commission on Sustainable Development should have the following functions:

38.13. (b) To consider information provided by Governments, including for example in the form of periodic communications or national reports, regarding the activities they undertake to implement Agenda 21, problems they face such as on financial resources and technology transfer and other environment and development issues they find relevant;

38.13. (f) To consider, where appropriate, information regarding the progress on implementation of environmental conventions which could be made available by the relevant Conferences of Parties;

The following should be added to paragraph 38.10: "The Economic and Social Council should organize a periodic review of the work of the Commission on Sustainable Development envisaged in para 38.11, as well as of system-wide activities to integrate environment and development with full use of its high-level and coordination segments."

In paragraph 38.13(g) add the words "through the Economic and Social Council" after the words "the General Assembly".

* * *

Issues related to Section N "Legal Matters" should be addressed in the context of Chapter 39 "International legal instruments and mechanisms".

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Final Points of Negotiation on Chap 38 AGENDA 21



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ADOPTION OF AGREEMENTS ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Non-legally binding authoritative statement of principles
for a global consensus on the management, conservation
and sustainable development of all types of forests

PREAMBLE

(a) The subject of forests is related to the entire range of environmental and development issues and opportunities, including the right to socio-economic development on a sustainable basis.

(b) The guiding objective of these principles is to contribute to the management, conservation and sustainable development of forests and to provide for their multiple and complementary functions and uses.

(c) Forestry issues and opportunities should be examined in a holistic and balanced manner within the overall context of environment and development, taking into consideration the multiple functions and uses of forests, including traditional uses, and the likely economic and social stress when these uses are constrained or restricted, as well as the potential for development that sustainable forest management can offer.

(d) These principles reflect a first global consensus on forests. In committing themselves to the prompt implementation of these principles, countries also decide to keep them under assessment for their adequacy with regard to further international cooperation on forest issues.

(e) These principles should apply to all types of forests, both natural and planted, in all geographic regions and climatic zones, including austral, boreal, subtemperate, temperate, subtropical and tropical.

(f) All types of forests embody complex and unique ecological processes which are the basis for their present and potential capacity to provide resources to satisfy human needs as well as environmental values; and as such their sound management and conservation is of concern to the Governments of the countries to which they belong and are of value to local communities and to the environment as a whole.

(g) Forests are essential to economic development and the maintenance of all forms of life.

(h) Recognizing that the responsibility for forest management, conservation and sustainable development is in many States allocated among federal/national, state/provincial and local levels of government, each State, in accordance with its constitution and/or national legislation, should pursue these principles at the appropriate level of government.

PRINCIPLES/ELEMENTS

1. (a) "States have, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, the sovereign right to exploit their own resources pursuant to their own environmental policies and have the responsibility to ensure that activities within their jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the environment of other States or of areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction".

(b) The agreed full incremental cost of achieving benefits associated with forest conservation and sustainable development requires increased international cooperation and should be equitably shared by the international community.

2. (a) States have the sovereign and inalienable right to utilize, manage and develop their forests in accordance with their development needs and level of socio-economic development and on the basis of national policies consistent with sustainable development and legislation, including the conversion of such areas for other uses within the overall socio-economic development plan and based on rational land-use policies.

(b) Forest resources and forest lands should be sustainably managed to meet the social, economic, ecological, cultural and spiritual human needs of present and future generations. These needs are for forest products and services, such as wood and wood products, water, food, fodder, medicine, fuel, shelter, employment, recreation, habitats for wildlife, landscape diversity, carbon sinks and reservoirs, and for other forest products. Appropriate measures should be taken to protect forests against harmful effects of pollution, including air-borne pollution, fires, pests and diseases in order to maintain their full multiple value.

(c) The provision of timely, reliable and accurate information on forests and forest ecosystems is essential for public understanding and informed decision-making and should be ensured.

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(d) Governments should promote and provide opportunities for the participation of interested parties, including local communities and indigenous people, industries, labour, non-governmental organizations and individuals, forest dwellers and women, in the development, implementation and planning of national forest policies.

3. (a) National policies and strategies should provide a framework for increased efforts, including the development and strengthening of institutions and programmes for the management, conservation and sustainable development of forests and forest lands.

(b) International institutional arrangements, building on those organizations and mechanisms already in existence, as appropriate, should facilitate international cooperation in the field of forests.

(c) All aspects of environmental protection and social and economic development as they relate to forests and forest lands should be integrated and comprehensive.

4. The vital role of all types of forests in maintaining the ecological processes and balance at the local, national, regional and global levels through, inter alia, their role in protecting fragile ecosystems, watersheds and freshwater resources and as rich storehouses of biodiversity and biological resources and sources of genetic material for biotechnology products, as well as photosynthesis, should be recognized.

5. (a) National forest policies should recognize and duly support the identity, culture and the rights of indigenous people, their communities and other communities and forest dwellers. Appropriate conditions should be promoted for these groups to enable them to have an economic stake in forest use, perform economic activities, and achieve and maintain cultural identity and social organization, as well as adequate levels of livelihood and well-being, through, inter alia, those land tenure arrangements which serve as incentives for the sustainable management of forests.

(b) The full participation of women in all aspects of the management, conservation and sustainable development of forests should be actively promoted.

6. (a) All types of forests play an important role in meeting energy requirements through the provision of a renewable source of bio-energy, particularly in developing countries, and the demands for fuelwood for household and industrial needs should be met through sustainable forest management, afforestation and reforestation. To this end, the potential contribution of plantations of both indigenous and introduced species for the provision of both fuel and industrial wood should be recognized.

(b) National policies and programmes should take into account the relationship, where it exists, between the conservation, management and sustainable development of forests and all aspects related to the production, consumption, recycling and/or final disposal of forest products.

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(c) Decisions taken on the management, conservation and sustainable development of forest resources should benefit, to the extent practicable, from a comprehensive assessment of economic and non-economic values of forest goods and services and of the environmental costs and benefits. The development and improvement of methodologies for such evaluations should be promoted.

(d) The role of planted forests and permanent agricultural crops as sustainable and environmentally sound sources of renewable energy and industrial raw material should be recognized, enhanced and promoted. Their contribution to the maintenance of ecological processes, to offsetting pressure on primary/old-growth forest and to providing regional employment and development with the adequate involvement of local inhabitants should be recognized and enhanced.

(e) Natural forests also constitute a source of goods and services, and their conservation, sustainable management and use should be promoted.

7. (a) Efforts should be made to promote a supportive international economic climate conducive to sustained and environmentally sound development of forests in all countries, which include, inter alia, the promotion of sustainable patterns of production and consumption, the eradication of poverty and the promotion of food security.

(b) Specific financial resources should be provided to developing countries with significant forest areas which establish programmes for the conservation of forests including protected natural forest areas. These resources should be directed notably to economic sectors which would stimulate economic and social substitution activities.

8. (a) Efforts should be undertaken towards the greening of the world. All countries, notably developed countries, should take positive and transparent action towards reforestation, afforestation and forest conservation, as appropriate.

(b) Efforts to maintain and increase forest cover and forest productivity should be undertaken in ecologically, economically and socially sound ways through the rehabilitation, reforestation and re-establishment of trees and forests on unproductive, degraded and deforested lands, as well as through the management of existing forest resources.

(c) The implementation of national policies and programmes aimed at forest management, conservation and sustainable development, particularly in developing countries, should be supported by international financial and technical cooperation, including through the private sector, where appropriate.

(d) Sustainable forest management and use should be carried out in accordance with national development policies and priorities and on the basis of environmentally sound national guidelines. In the formulation of

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such guidelines, account should be taken, as appropriate and if applicable, of relevant internationally agreed methodologies and criteria.

(e) Forest management should be integrated with management of adjacent areas so as to maintain ecological balance and sustainable productivity.

(f) National policies and/or legislation aimed at management, conservation and sustainable development of forests should include the protection of ecologically viable representative or unique examples of forests, including primary/old-growth forests, cultural, spiritual, historical, religious and other unique and valued forests of national importance.

(g) Access to biological resources, including genetic material, shall be with due regard to the sovereign rights of the countries where the forests are located and to the sharing on mutually agreed terms of technology and profits from biotechnology products that are derived from these resources.

(h) National policies should ensure that environmental impact assessments should be carried out where actions are likely to have significant adverse impacts on important forest resources, and where such actions are subject to a decision of a competent national authority.

9. (a) The efforts of developing countries to strengthen the management, conservation and sustainable development of their forest resources should be supported by the international community, taking into account the importance of redressing external indebtedness, particularly where aggravated by the net transfer of resources to developed countries, as well as the problem of achieving at least the replacement value of forests through improved market access for forest products, especially processed products. In this respect, special attention should also be given to the countries undergoing the process of transition to market economies.

(b) The problems that hinder efforts to attain the conservation and sustainable use of forest resources and that stem from the lack of alternative options available to local communities, in particular the urban poor and poor rural populations who are economically and socially dependent on forests and forest resources, should be addressed by Governments and the international community.

(c) National policy formulation with respect to all types of forests should take account of the pressures and demands imposed on forest ecosystems and resources from influencing factors outside the forest sector, and intersectoral means of dealing with these pressures and demands should be sought.

10. New and additional financial resources should be provided to developing countries to enable them to sustainably manage, conserve and develop their forest resources, including through afforestation, reforestation and combating deforestation and forest and land degradation.

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11. In order to enable, in particular, developing countries to enhance their endogenous capacity and to better manage, conserve and develop their forest resources, the access to and transfer of environmentally sound technologies and corresponding know-how on favourable terms, including on concessional and preferential terms, as mutually agreed, in accordance with the relevant provisions of Agenda 21, should be promoted, facilitated and financed, as appropriate.

12. (a) Scientific research, forest inventories and assessments carried out by national institutions which take into account, where relevant, biological, physical, social and economic variables, as well as technological development and its application in the field of sustainable forest management, conservation and development, should be strengthened through effective modalities, including international cooperation. In this context, attention should also be given to research and development of sustainably harvested non-wood products.

(b) National and, where appropriate, regional and international institutional capabilities in education, training, science, technology, economics, anthropology and social aspects of forests and forest management are essential to the conservation and sustainable development of forests and should be strengthened.

(c) International exchange of information on the results of forest and forest management research and development should be enhanced and broadened, as appropriate, making full use of education and training institutions, including those in the private sector.

(d) Appropriate indigenous capacity and local knowledge regarding the conservation and sustainable development of forests should, through institutional and financial support, and in collaboration with the people in local communities concerned, be recognized, respected, recorded, developed and, as appropriate, introduced in the implementation of programmes. Benefits arising from the utilization of indigenous knowledge should therefore be equitably shared with such people.

13. (a) Trade in forest products should be based on non-discriminatory and multilaterally agreed rules and procedures consistent with international trade law and practices. In this context, open and free international trade in forest products should be facilitated.

(b) Reduction or removal of tariff barriers and impediments to the provision of better market access and better prices for higher value-added forest products and their local processing should be encouraged to enable producer countries to better conserve and manage their renewable forest resources.

(c) Incorporation of environmental costs and benefits into market forces and mechanisms, in order to achieve forest conservation and sustainable development, should be encouraged both domestically and internationally.

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(d) Forest conservation and sustainable development policies should be integrated with economic, trade and other relevant policies.

(e) Fiscal, trade, industrial, transportation and other policies and practices that may lead to forest degradation should be avoided. Adequate policies, aimed at management, conservation and sustainable development of forests, including where appropriate, incentives, should be encouraged.

14. Unilateral measures, incompatible with international obligations or agreements, to restrict and/or ban international trade in timber or other forest products should be removed or avoided, in order to attain long-term sustainable forest management.

15. Pollutants, particularly air-borne pollutants, including those responsible for acidic deposition, that are harmful to the health of forest ecosystems at the local, national, regional and global levels should be controlled.

development and environmental protection to the top of the global political-diplomatic agenda, both for governments and for the people of the world. Political leaders, news media and other powerful institutions must be deeply impressed by the fact that history's first truly global summit meeting of heads of government was devoted to environment and development rather than to military security or world trade issues.

Overview of UNCED Agreements

The Climate Convention: The climate convention signed in Rio by the United States and other industrialized countries as well as some developing countries fails to commit any government to control greenhouse gas emissions within a given time period. The European Community (EC) and other developed countries were forced by U.S. insistence to drop their demand for targets and timetables for stabilizing greenhouse gas emissions as a first step toward addressing the threat of climate change. Nor did developed countries accept any commitment to assist developing countries in controlling their emissions of greenhouse gases by facilitating technology transfer.

However, the convention creates a Conference of the Parties that is capable of agreeing in the future on targets and timetables for controlling greenhouse gas emissions. And the agreement does not rule out the negotiation of a protocol that would focus on such targets and timetables. The EC issued a statement when it signed the convention calling for an early start on the negotiation of such a protocol. The convention also requires that states adhering to the agreement issue reports detailing their actions to mitigate climate change for review by the Conference of the Parties.

The Biodiversity Convention: The biological diversity convention negotiated in Nairobi in May is similar to the climate convention in that its main features take the form of broad principles rather than legal obligations. It calls for the development of national

Depending on one's expectation, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) was either a major step forward for global environmental protection or a failure on the part of nation states to commit themselves to adequate targets, timetables and financial contributions to translate its ideals into action. By all accounts, the agreements reached at the Earth Summit June 3-14 in Rio de Janeiro fall short of what is needed to ensure that the world will be put on a sustainable path of economic development in future decades. But viewed in the context of multilateral diplomacy, they represent a remarkable achievement.

Because United Nations conferences operate by consensus, requiring virtual unanimity to get agreement on any given issue, they inevitably reduce agreements to the lowest common denominator. Developing and developed countries tend to reinforce one another in reducing the level of commitment rather than raising it. Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland sharply criticized, in her formal speech to the summit, the fact that the need for consensus slows progress to "the pace of the most reluctant mover in each field."

Negotiating needed policy reforms and North-South partnerships under these circumstances requires a "lead state" with the commitment and the diplomatic clout to get other key states to join it in making tough decisions. The United States is the only state with the potential to play that lead role, but on several key issues it opposed higher commitments rather than urging other countries to join in them. Combined with its decision against signing the biodiversity convention, that stance made the United States the object of widespread criticism from developed and developing countries alike.

Even if the agreements adopted by the Earth Summit fall short of what is needed, however, they do provide institutional mechanisms and benchmarks for holding governments accountable for progress in integrating environment and development and in forging more effective North-South cooperation. Moreover, the Earth Summit itself represents a fundamental transformation of world politics. The conference raised the issue of sustainable

strategies for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity and for inventories of species to be conserved. But there is no deadline for completing such inventories, and most of the convention's substantive provisions regarding biodiversity conservation are diluted by "as far as possible" and "as appropriate," so that any legal obligation is weak to nonexistent.

The United States was the only developed country that refused to sign the convention, objecting to language on intellectual property rights, biotechnology safety and the financial mechanism. But the provisions on access to and transfer of technology are conditioned on "adequate and effective protection of intellectual property rights," so it is hard to read those provisions as in any way harming the intellectual property rights of U.S. companies. Moreover, as the United Kingdom (U.K.) pointed out in announcing its intention to sign the convention, the U.S. concern that the language of the financial provisions could be read as permitting a developing country majority to determine the amount of assistance to be provided by developed countries can be met without rejecting the agreement. The U.K. argued in explaining its decision to sign the biodiversity convention that the rules of procedure of the Conference of the Parties must be agreed to by consensus, so the donor countries cannot be forced to contribute financially to the funding mechanism against their will.

Agenda 21: Agenda 21 is intended to be a comprehensive workplan for national actions and international cooperation for sustainable development and global environmental protection well into the 21st century. It contains 36 chapters of non-binding recommendations spanning the full range of social, economic and environmental issues. Scattered through the document are a number of suggestions for constructive and innovative actions by governments of both developed and developing countries. But there are some notable omissions and weaknesses, reflecting lack of commitment or determined opposition from some governments. In particular, Agenda 21 does not provide the levels of funding needed

to support far-reaching policy reforms and new sustainable development programs in developing countries, nor does it chart a path to reform of the existing system of North-South economic relations.

Among the most constructive provisions of Agenda 21 are:

* Governments are urged to adopt their own national strategies for sustainable development, which are to be developed with the widest possible participation. While the World Bank already requires recipient countries to draw up environmental action plans, these documents are not the basis for funding decisions by donor agencies or consultative groups, so they are not taken seriously. If they were to be treated with much greater seriousness by both developing countries and donor countries, these strategies could be the focal point for future international cooperation for sustainable development.

* In several different chapters (combatting poverty, sustainable agriculture, desertification, land degradation), developing countries are called on to adopt a community-based approach to sustainable development. Among the recommendations included in these chapters are decentralizing decisionmaking on natural resources management to the community level, giving rural populations and indigenous peoples land titles or other land rights and expanding services such as credit and agricultural extension for rural communities. These recommendations are potentially far-reaching in their implications, and many countries will presumably be leery about going as far as they suggest. But they constitute benchmarks that donor governments and non-government organizations in developing countries can use to put pressure on reluctant governments to make policy and institutional changes.

* Governments are called upon to adopt national strategies for eliminating the obstacles to women's full participation in sustainable development by the year 2000 and to establish by 1995 mechanisms at national, regional and international levels to assess the impact of development and environmental policies on women's status. UNIFEM (United Nations Development Fund for Women) is asked to consult with development

agencies to promote sustainable development activities that strengthen the participation of women.

* All states are urged to remove or reduce subsidies that are not consistent with sustainable development and to improve price signals through environmental charges and taxes. If taken seriously by the United States, these recommendations would have far-reaching effects. It would mean eliminating below-cost timber sales as well as budgetary subsidies for fossil fuels. The United States is in danger of being in the position of supporting such policy reforms for developing countries but refusing to adopt them itself. All countries are urged as well to adopt policy frameworks for sustainable consumption patterns -- an innovative concept that does not require commitment in advance to any new policy measures but could help to build support in the long run for appropriate changes.

There are also a number of notable gaps and weaknesses in Agenda 21:

* The chapter on finance fails to commit significant new financial resources in support of the implementation of the entire Agenda 21 workplan. A proposal for a commitment by donor countries to increasing overseas development assistance as a percentage of gross national product finally failed to get consensus from the European Community's membership. Another proposal to increase the replenishment of the International Development Association's capital for concessional lending to the poorest developing countries specifically for environmental and sustainable development projects became simply a commitment to give "special consideration" to the idea.

Japan committed major new funding in the immediate future for support of Agenda 21, increasing its environment-related aid from \$3.1 billion over the last three years to more than \$7 billion over the next five years. The European Community pledged, subject to approval by the parliaments of its member states, to provide \$4 billion as an "initial commitment" of support for Agenda 21. The United States announced an additional \$150 million annually, specifically for forest-related problems. It is unclear whether these pledges will be sufficient to persuade developing countries to increase their own policy, budgetary

and manpower commitments to national sustainable development strategies and Agenda 21 programs.

* The chapter on international policies for accelerated development does not advance any new proposal for addressing the issue of developing country debt burdens, nor does it propose increased financial resources for that purpose. The United States objected to relatively mild language calling for further action by developed countries to reduce developing country commercial bank debt, on the ground that there was no mechanism for carrying it out. It also opposed the statement that additional financial resources for debt reduction "are essential."

* The chapter on technology transfer also fails to advance any new mechanism or program for assisting developing countries in acquiring environmental technologies, such as energy efficient equipment. Again, even very cautious language calling for favorable consideration to financial assistance for developing countries to acquire such technology on the international market was eliminated from the text sent to Rio.

* Agenda 21 fails to suggest any new mechanisms for accelerating change in energy use patterns on a worldwide scale. The United States joined Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in objecting to provisions that called on governments to redress the present imbalance between conventional energy sources and renewable energy in research and development spending and called on developed countries to set targets for reducing per capita energy consumption. In the final hours of negotiation, the Saudis also managed to get all references to "full-cost pricing" of energy removed from the text. However, in another chapter, countries are urged to make prices "reflect the relative scarcity and total value of resources and contribute towards the prevention of environmental damage."

* In its chapter on deforestation, Agenda 21 fails to call for any international mechanism to replace the failed Tropical Forestry Action Plan in addressing the worldwide deforestation problem. It refers only to strengthening existing international organizations' capacities for supporting sustainable management of forests. Because those issues were

the subject of sharp negotiations in the forest principles document, the chapter shies away from policy recommendations for sustainable management of forests that would be controversial with Malaysia.

* The chapter on population fails to reflect the importance of the issue to global sustainable development. It avoids the term "family planning" and makes only oblique reference to contraceptive technologies and information. There is no reference to targets for stabilizing global population growth already agreed to by the world community, and no specific recommendations for action. A provision calling for equal rights for women in deciding on the number and spacing of their children is qualified by the phrase "in accordance with country-specific conditions and legal systems."

Forest Principles: While the United States and other developed countries tried to negotiate principles on the world's forests that would put at least moral pressure on countries to preserve more of their native forests, the Group of 77 developing nations, led by India and Malaysia, were determined to resist any such concepts. The text of the forest principles was heavily bracketed at the end of PrepCom 4, reflecting the intensity of disagreement among developed and developing countries on a series of issues. In the negotiations in Rio, the developing countries prevailed on small key issues. They won the elimination of language calling for negotiation of an international legal instrument on forests and the elimination of the idea that forests "are of value to the global environment." Finally, the idea that international trade in "sustainably managed forest resources" should be facilitated was eliminated at the insistence of Malaysia. The result is a set of principles which tends to legitimize existing policies of some countries that imperil natural resources rather than pushing for changes in those policies.

The Rio Declaration: The Rio Declaration of principles regarding environment and development could have far-reaching political and legal consequences in future decades, just as the Helsinki Declaration has had on policies toward human rights in former Communist states. The declaration fails to reflect the full range of fundamental issues linked to global sustainable development.

The Rio Declaration does include a number of legal principles vital to achieving sustainable development, such as environmental impact assessments, public access to government information on the environment, the precautionary principle and prior and timely notification of activities with significantly harmful transboundary environmental effects. In addition, the document acknowledges for the first time the "special responsibility" of developed countries for global environmental restoration, given their technological and financial capabilities and the pressures that their resource consumption and pollution places on the global environment. It also refers to the "right to development," despite U.S. opposition to the concept. But the declaration does not touch on issues of North-South economic relations and their linkages to the global environment and sustainable development.

U.S. at the Earth Summit: Isolated and Challenged

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 9 — As the Earth Summit enters its final phase, Europe and Japan are showing increasing independence from the United States on environmental issues, worsening American isolation and creating a diplomatic challenge for Washington.

News Analysis President Bush strained relations with industrialized countries and the third world when he rejected detailed targets in a treaty to curb global warming and refused to join a pact to preserve plant and animal life.

The traditional northern allies are still trying to build bridges to the increasingly beleaguered American delegation because they realize that without Washington's participation, no agreements made here can be effective. But they are constrained by the fact that they see the problem differently.

They do not agree with President Bush that the measures should be rejected or modified because they could threaten jobs. Unlike the Administration, they see safeguarding the environment as an unavoidable challenge that will strengthen their industry in the long run, not as a new and sinister threat to their way of life.

Forfeited U.S. Leadership

"What we see emerging in the United States is something like 'ecologism' — fear of a new Communism hidden behind ecology," Environment Minister Klaus Töpfer of Germany told reporters here recently.

That view may be extreme. But America's lonely position at the Earth Summit does appear to represent a departure from the recent course of post-cold-war diplomacy.

While the United States has had little difficulty getting its way in other multilateral organizations, like the United Nations Security Council, since the Soviet Union broke up, it has forfeited its leadership role here, and neither Europe nor Japan are able to step in.

A powerful reason why some of America's closest allies do not share the Administration's apprehension about the economic costs of cleaning up the world is that they expect to benefit from such a commitment.

Japan's Reluctant Stance

Japanese and German industries in particular have led the development of "clean" technologies, and they hope the Earth Summit plan to endorse Agenda 21, a global cleanup proposal, and to give third-world countries money to pay for it will translate into fat orders for their companies.

"Of course, there are short-term costs," said the European Community spokesman, Laurens Jan Brinkhorst, this morning. "But in the end energy efficiency is good for industry, not bad."

Dr. S. S. Kasenally, Environment Minister of the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius, said, "It's difficult to see how America is protecting jobs by not signing a biodiversity convention that would allow its drug companies to experiment with our natural genetic resources."

Japan certainly appears to take the meeting more seriously than the Uni-

ed States, fielding a delegation of more than 100 officials compared with 45 American officials. But diplomats say it remains reluctant to give a clear lead that cuts across American interests.

As the world's largest market, the European Community clearly has potential clout, but it often lacks unity of purpose. Despite economic difficulties caused by unification, Germany is often closer to the neutral Scandinavian countries in its enthusiasm for

Independent stance of Europe and Japan.

green causes than Britain, Spain, and Portugal, who shy away from new financial burdens.

Western diplomats generally see the roots of the present Administration's grudging approach in the political pressure of a Presidential election campaign, an economic recession and a high budget deficit.

"The United Nations must learn never to hold an international conference during an American election year," says Thomas K. Koh, the respected Singapore diplomat who heads the main negotiating committee.

The major United States initiative, an offer of \$150 million in bilateral aid to save third-world forests, backfired because most countries saw it as an attempt to distract attention from Mr. Bush's unpopular decisions.

In an effort to change that impression, Britain and Germany want the American offer accepted as a first contribution toward a new world agreement they eventually hope to negotiate on preserving forests.

The European Community and the Nordic countries also rejected as unnecessarily anti-American a plan suggested by the Netherlands, Switzerland and Austria for a joint statement criticizing the global-warming convention that President Bush weakened and pledging to strengthen it.

Instead, the European Community adopted a uniform statement setting targets and timetables for reduction of carbon-dioxide emissions to 1990 levels by the end of the century — a position at odds with that of the United States.

But the 12 also offered the Bush Administration a face-saving way of signing the convention on biodiversity by agreeing to make a statement setting out their own interpretation of contentious clauses. The White House has shown no interest in going along with it.

Meanwhile, the Europeans are increasing America's isolation by trying to persuade small island states as well as India, which all face severe flooding if the climate warms, to back their call for tougher commitments on cutting warming gas emissions.

That sense of isolation may increase further when heads of state and government start addressing the meeting at the end of the week. For President Bush is unlikely to be able to pledge the third world as much help with making its future development environmentally sustainable as his counterparts from Europe and Japan.

U.S.'s Stubborn Stance at Earth Summit Hurts Its Ability to Influence Decisions

By ROSE GUTFELD

And FRANK EDWARD ALLEN

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

RIO DE JANEIRO — The stubborn U.S. stance at the Earth Summit is damaging America's ability to influence major decisions here, and the political fallout may continue long after the conference ends.

Moreover, with the world's attention focused on the environmental forum, President Bush is likely to be greeted with scorn when he arrives late tomorrow night for a brief appearance — a blow both to his record on foreign affairs and to his promise to be the "environmental president."

After weakening a treaty on climate change by refusing to agree to binding targets for reducing greenhouse gases, and balking at signing a treaty on protecting biological diversity, the U.S. is now trying to make changes in the blueprint to integrate environment and development. Those changes are angering developing countries.

Germany and Japan Capitalize

While the U.S. has long been the target of criticism abroad for its environmental positions, the current attacks are more significant because of their intensity and timing. Two of the closest U.S. allies, Germany and Japan, are capitalizing on America's weak posture. Almost every day, they make announcements or pursue initiatives that appear designed to upstage or isolate the U.S.

In Washington, the Bush administration has tried to launch a counter-offensive. At a White House briefing yesterday, senior administration officials defended U.S. environmental policies as "the best in the world." They also belittled the European pledges for stronger action on global warming, contending that those nations are merely trying to be "politically correct" and aren't likely to live up to their pledges.

Still, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who deliberately arrived ahead of Mr. Bush, is basking in his country's growing role as environmental "good guy." In a calculated move, Germany disclosed details yesterday of its five-year, \$165 million contribution to protect rain forests in Brazil. By contrast, the recent U.S. offer of \$150 million next year to help protect forests world-wide was viewed by many delegations as a meager and belated effort to divert attention from criticism.

"It's like you promised to marry someone and then say, 'No, no marriage, but I have these earrings for you,'" scoffs a

Latin American delegate.

Japan also has a formidable presence here. Tokyo's delegates have reserved the news briefing room at prime times, and the Japanese office space at Riocentro, the conference headquarters, is about twice the amount leased by other countries. As if to underscore its isolation, much of the U.S. operation is clustered at the Sheraton Hotel about 10 miles from the conference center.

Many delegations are openly criticizing the U.S. positions on global climate change, biodiversity and other major issues of the conference. For example, the Germans are leading a drive to get the 12-nation European Community and other countries to join them in stronger pledges to curb the growth of greenhouse-gas emissions.

The Yankee Scandal

"Many countries are deeply disappointed in the U.S.," according to Leonor Ribeiro da Silva, a senior aide in Portugal's ministry of foreign affairs. A delegate from Chile refers to U.S. unwillingness to sign the biodiversity treaty as "the Yankee scandal."

A centerpiece of the "scandal" has been the embarrassing disclosure late last week of a White House rebuff of efforts by William Reilly, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency and chief of the U.S. delegation. In a confidential memo, Mr. Reilly sought White House permission to negotiate further changes in the biodiversity treaty to make it acceptable to President Bush. The White House turned him down, but not before the memo was leaked in Washington to the New York Times.

Mr. Reilly, whose personal stature at the conference has risen in the wake of the White House episode, still staunchly defends the U.S. environmental record. "The sum of our experience [with environmental actions] is so much better," he says, citing strict U.S. laws on endangered species and air pollution. "We really have no apologies to make."

At the briefing in Washington, the senior officials used unusually blunt language to hit back at U.S. allies, but wouldn't allow their names to be used.

One of them indicated there was no chance of a last-minute compromise that would lead to President Bush's signing the biodiversity treaty, citing provisions requiring developed countries to share scientific secrets gleaned from environmental research. Unless private pharmaceutical and biotechnology companies could be assured that they would receive patent protection and thus be able to profit from such research, they wouldn't undertake it in the first place, the official said.

As they fend off criticism here, Mr. Bush's aides at the White House and his re-election campaign hope to score political points with moderate and conservative voters by appearing to stand up to environmental extremists. But in the last few days, campaign aides have fretted that such efforts have been undercut by the controversy over the Reilly memo.

Here at the summit, the negotiations continue on a proposed set of principles for forestry management, but the U.S. has been unsuccessful so far in convincing other countries to support its views. And while other major U.S. allies had doubts and reservations about the biodiversity treaty, the U.S. appears almost totally isolated in its refusal to sign.

John Harwood in Washington contributed to this article.

OPINION USA

COMMENT

Earth Summit: The road from Rio

U.S. should end confrontation, start cooperating

James Gustave Speth says the Earth Summit dramatized the need for North-South partnership in facing common problems.

The Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro demonstrated that a dramatic shift has occurred in international affairs.

Since World War II, our world has been dominated by East-West confrontation and the Cold War. In Rio, this traditional superpower rivalry was nowhere to be found.

But in its stead emerged another cleavage that may prove equally difficult: the divide between the rich countries of the North and the poor countries of the South.

Earth Summit negotiators from Europe and Japan seemed to understand that the post-Cold War world will be dominated by North-South issues, including the large and growing gap in incomes and other tensions between the

haves and the have-nots. But the United States did not and was caught unprepared.

President Bush's go-it-alone policies sparked repeated North-South confrontations. The administration seemed not to recognize our huge national stake — economic, environmental and political — in the success and friendship of the nations of Latin America, Africa and Asia.

The 130 developing nations of the South already have four-fifths of the world's people and one-sixth of the economic output, and most of the population growth and much of the economic expansion will occur in these regions.

Most of the flash points for military violence are there, as are the principal challenges of

democracy and human rights.

The most serious deterioration of natural resources and local environments is there.

The gravest problems of hunger, disease and poverty are there, and the sharpest contrasts in equity and social justice emerge along this North-South axis.

Originally designed to "fight communism around the globe," U.S. policies toward the developing world are out of date and no match for these challenges.

Rio has made that obvious to all.

The Earth Summit has ended on a positive note. Many important things were accomplished there. But the ill will the U.S. stance has generated will be healed only with a new attitude and new policies.

Both the Bush administration and the U.S. Congress should now turn to the task of forging a wholly new U.S. program aimed at cooperating

with developing countries in achieving broad-based and environmentally sustainable growth.

This program should be responsive to the gravity of the environmental, poverty and population challenges these countries face. It should reflect the concern and the generosity of the American people and our desire to leave a better, more secure world to our children.

This new U.S. program must address the need to expand greatly U.S. development assistance but also recognize the limits of traditional "foreign aid" approaches.

A responsive program must integrate U.S. policy across a wide front: public and private financing, technology cooperation, debt reduction, mutually advantageous trade reforms and setting the right example here at home.

The president and members of Congress must lead in rais-

ing public awareness of the far-reaching changes that are occurring in the post-Cold War world.

New values, new sources of international strength and new challenges for world leadership are coming to the fore. Environmental security and greater international equity are prominent among them.

The Earth Summit brought these challenges front and center, and it dramatized the need for North-South partnership in meeting them.

In a way, the United States discovered the post-Cold War world in Rio.

The result was not pretty, but we can hope it will lead to a new U.S. commitment to positive cooperation with the developing world.

James Gustave Speth is president of the World Resources Institute and former chairman of the Council for Environmental Quality.

Post 6-10-92 ASD

Opportunities Missed at Rio

FOR PRESIDENT Bush and the United States, the U.N.'s environmental conference in Rio de Janeiro is turning into a huge fiasco. The Americans have got themselves entirely isolated and are now publicly browbeating small countries such as Austria and Switzerland for supporting positions that embarrass the United States. It's hardly a display of deft diplomacy. But it's not central to this gigantic meeting, either.

The Rio conference is important because it marks the point at which just about all of the world's governments have acknowledged, at least in principle, that they can deal with their deepest environmental concerns only by working together across borders. That means sending resources—money as well as technology—from the rich countries to the poor ones in exchange for more effective conservation and pollution control. The terms of that exchange are far from clear, even in the treaties now before the Rio conference. They raise issues that are much more difficult, and more interesting, than the bickering over American tactics might suggest.

At Rio the Bush administration wanted, above all, a world agreement on management of forests. There are two especially compelling reasons for international action to preserve forests—to protect the diversity of life that inhabits them and to help stabilize the global

climate. Since the administration flatly refuses to have anything to do with the two treaties at Rio on biodiversity and global warming, it's not surprising that Third World governments suspect the United States of trying to impose its own interests on them without committing itself in return to anything more than a modest amount of foreign aid.

But it's not only Mr. Bush who thinks that the biodiversity treaty, in particular, is flawed. There's a respectable argument that it would transfer money much too loosely and jeopardize established patent rights. Unfortunately the administration hasn't bothered to make that case. Instead, led by the president, it has been playing up to that part of its constituency that regards the whole environmental movement as little more than a left-wing invention to hobble economic progress. The administration's performance has distracted attention in this country from the chief purpose of the conference.

The chief purpose is not to examine inept American tactics, or even to debate the prospect for global warming. It is to consider the terms of life on the planet over the next generation and to search for ways to keep a hugely expanding population, scrambling for a better life, from making life much worse for everyone in rich and poor countries alike. That's not a new concern, but in the 1990s it's getting more urgent.

Japan Promises Lead Role In Battle Against Pollution

By JAMES BROOKE
Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 13 — Vowing that Japan will "play a leading role" in future world pollution control, Japan's Prime Minister promised today to increase foreign aid for environmental projects and embrace pollution control as a scientific challenge.

Over the next five years, Japan's environmental aid will average \$1.45 billion a year, well over the \$1 billion level of the last three years, Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa said in a speech circulated here. Mr. Miyazawa did not join the other 116 world leaders gathered here because of debates in Japan's Parliament.

Developing countries have said they want the Western industrialized nations to make good by the year 2000 on a promise they made more than 20 years ago to raise development aid to 0.7 percent of their economic output.

Japan now contributes 0.3 percent of its gross domestic product. It has committed itself to the 0.7 percent figure without agreeing to the target date.

A Promise to Share Benefits

Mr. Miyazawa promised to "continue to work for technological breakthroughs, the benefits of which we hope to share with the rest of the world."

Japan's plans, coupled with increased aid offered by President François Mitterrand of France and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany, seemed to heighten the isolation of President Bush from environmental policies advocated by the other six major industrialized nations. Mr. Bush left Rio today without making any major financial initiatives, but reaffirming his defense for his environmental policies and practices.

Today, as planned, Japan and the European Community reaffirmed a target to stabilize carbon dioxide emissions by the year 2000 at levels registered in 1990. President Bush had objected to any targets or timetables in the treaty intended to reduce the threat of global warming and would only agree to sign it after the specifics were removed and the treaty diluted.

After being overshadowed by leaders of such nations as Britain, Germany and the United States, today's sessions were dominated by voices from smaller nations.

Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway, one of only a handful of women to address the plenary, raised an environmental issue that has been largely invisible during the 10-day Earth Summit: population growth rates.

"We must curb population growth by more effective means than we were able to agree upon here and which recognize and reinforce the links to poverty and the rights of women," Mrs. Brundtland said.

Unexpected support came from Pakistan, this year's chairman the Group of 77, through which third world countries work collectively at United Nations forums.

'Share of Responsibility'

"Developing countries must assume their full share of responsibility in limiting population growth to manageable levels," Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan said. "Although overpopulation is a symptom and not the root cause of poverty, a meaningful effort must be made to control it."

A similar plea for universal access to family planning was raised by one voice with particular resonance in Latin America, that of Felipe González, Prime Minister of Spain.

"The reduction of demographic growth is a key element to make environmental protection compatible with development," Mr. González said. "On the contrary, problems of food, health, water, and urban planning will dramatically sharpen."

The Issue of Financing

Clauses in documents concerning population growth were watered down after closed-door lobbying by delegates from the Vatican and Saudi Arabia, both for religious reasons.

Today, Angelo Cardinal Sodano, the Vatican's Secretary of State, warned against wealthy nations turning to poor nations and "deciding in a devastating tyranny how many children they can have, and threatening to link aid for development to that dictate."

In a rare note of harmony between

North and South, Mr. Sharif of Pakistan and Mrs. Brundtland of Norway criticized what they called low levels of financial commitments made here by the seven industrialized nations.

Mr. Sharif spoke of the third world's "anxiety on the question of financing."

Mrs. Brundtland, representing the world's largest per capita donor to United Nations agencies, expressed her nation's "disappointment" over "the lack of adequate financial commitments made" in Rio.

In the mid-1970's, Norway surpassed the foreign aid target of contributing to 0.7 percent of its gross domestic product by the year 2000.

"We are heading towards a crisis of uncontrollable dimensions unless we change course," Mrs. Brundtland, who in 1987 led a United Nations commission to study the relationship between development and environment. "The north as well as the rich in the south will have to change consumption and production patterns."

Peruvian's Warning on Cocaine

Alberto K. Fujimori, president of Peru, warned assembled leaders that the cultivation of coca leaves and the chemical production of cocaine was causing "dramatic deterioration of the Peruvian Amazon."

"We are bracing ourselves for an ecological catastrophe caused by the empire of cocaine," warned Mr. Fujimori, whose country supplies 60 percent of the world's raw material for cocaine production.

Warning that coca leaf growers annually cut down 500 to 1,000 square miles of rain forest in Peru, Mr. Fujimori said, "The soil is also degraded and life in rivers is killed because they receive tons of sulphuric acid and kerosene."

Rio Organizer Says Summit Fell Short

Environmental Principles Approved

By Michael Weisskopf
and Julia Preston
Washington Post Staff Writers

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 14—The largest high-level meeting of governments gave final approval today to new principles of environmental stewardship but failed to pledge the financial resources and tough controls widely deemed necessary to curb the excesses of man.

Amid self-congratulatory speeches by Earth Summit delegates, Maurice Strong, organizer of the 12-day United Nations conference, criticized the outcome as "agreement without sufficient commitment."

"When we thought we did it in Stockholm, we didn't," said Strong, a Canadian, choking back tears as he recalled the 1972 conference on the environment in Sweden. "And we don't have another 20 years now. I believe we are on the road to tragedy. As we leave Rio, we have not satisfied that concern. We have the basis for progress, but we have to push ahead."

"The current level of commitment is not comparable to the size and gravity of the problems," U.N.

Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali told delegates as he bade farewell to the plenary session.

The conference, a raucous gathering of 178 nations that split North from South—and the United States from nearly everyone—resulted in an unprecedented number of environmental agreements.

Treaties were signed to control global warming and the loss of rare plant and wildlife species. Nonbinding agreements were reached on a statement of forest conservation principles, the Rio Declaration of environmental ideals and Agenda 21, a blueprint for combatting toxic waste, ocean pollution and energy inefficiency.

Uniting nations of widely varying living standards, the accords are the first to try to harmonize the inherent clash of development and environmental interests, acknowledging the mutual interests of rich and poor.

Despite the pessimistic U.N. assessments, others said they found progress in the outcome. Environmental Protection Agency chief

See SUMMIT, A13, Col. 3

SUMMIT, From A1

William K. Reilly, head of the U.S. delegation, said the agreements "will serve as standards against which performance will be measured," much as the Helsinki Accords became a nonbinding international charter to protect human rights.

As frameworks to be fleshed out later, the agreements call for studies and plans that could serve as the basis for periodic reviews by signatory nations. But the agreements fall short of the tough medicine many experts advocated. For example, no new controls will be placed on emissions of "greenhouse" gases that these scientists say threaten to overheat the Earth's surface in less than 50 years, with dire consequences.

No new limits will be placed on exploitation of natural resources, despite the annual worldwide loss of forests equal in size to the state of Connecticut—and warnings that continued deforestation will eradicate 20 percent of the species of tropical forests in 30 years.

Nor will developed nations open their treasuries and technology banks as generously as U.N. organizers had hoped to save the Third World from the excesses of industrialization encountered in the West.

More than \$6 billion a year in new funds was pledged here for "green projects" in developing nations, a seven-fold increase over the pool of money that the Global Environment Facility now dedicates to environmental programs. Strong had sought \$125 billion in annual aid.

Formally named the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development, the Earth Summit was in-

tended to broaden the scope of past conferences, such as Stockholm's, where primary attention was focused on natural resource protection within national boundaries. Threats such as global warming and depletion of the protective ozone layer, being worldwide in reach, have provoked calls for international responses.

This "environmental linkage," as Brazilian Environment Secretary Jose Goldemberg calls it, gave unusual bargaining power to the Third World and transformed the nature of talks here.

With their dense forests serving as sponges for greenhouse gases and a biological cornucopia for pharmaceutical houses, developing nations were in better position to extract compensatory aid from the West. And because their modernization plans threaten to boost greenhouse emissions, they intensified demands for energy conservation technologies.

The new diplomatic stakes left developed nations scrambling for position, leading Brazil's chief negotiator, Marcos Azambuja, to observe that "the world now has a varying geometry, in which alliances form on an ad hoc basis in response to specific issues. There are more nations, fewer actors."

Once the world's environmental standard-bearer, the United States refused to go along with what a White House official called the guilt-ridden responses by other industrialized nations, such as Germany and Japan, to Third World demands, and took a hard line on Third World demands for concessions.

Only the United States boycotted the forest biodiversity treaty, citing its open-ended financial obligations and the extra regulatory burdens it

could pose for U.S. biotechnology interests. Washington, alone among industrialized nations, opposed specific targets and schedules for reducing greenhouse emissions because of the costs to heavy industry.

Japan, supposedly ready to make its debut on the world stage, was tentative in negotiations and less generous than many had predicted. Its contribution of \$1.4 billion a year in environmental aid marked a 50 percent increase over past funding.

The United States increased its environmental aid by the same percentage, pledging \$750 million for next year.

Germany's delegation moved to fill the leadership vacuum, pushing the European Community to reassert its pledge to stabilize greenhouse gases in 2000 and brokered a compromise on forest conservation principles. Bonn has pledged to triple its multilateral aid for green projects.

The Rio Declaration leaned more to rhetoric than actual commitment, stating, for example, that "states shall cooperate in a spirit of global partnership to conserve, protect and restore the health and integrity of the Earth's ecosystem."

But even common rhetoric on such complex, centrifugal issues was seen by some as an important first step in bridging the historic differences between North and South. According to President Bush, who spoke here Friday among 116 heads of state, "As important as the road to Rio has been, what matters more is the road from Rio."

The agreements, however, only vaguely map out a future course. The global-warming accord requires industrialized nations to sub-

mit reports six months after the treaty takes effect to describe their policies "with the aim of returning" their emissions of greenhouse gases to 1990 levels. But no deadline is given for returning to 1990 levels.

In the biodiversity treaty, nations are required to inventory their species to set a base line for conservation. But there is no timetable for completing the survey, no guidelines for posting the findings and no requirement to follow up the survey to determine how endangered they are.

Although a developed nation is supposed to share the benefits of products derived from tropical forests with the countries in which those forests are located, the treaty does not specify the terms of partnership beyond calling for "fair and favorable" rewards.

The forest declaration calls for environmental management of timberlands, but it avoids standards for measuring such conservation and sets no deadline for compliance.

"Knowing that they depend on the South for resources slightly constrained the developed countries from pushing us into the corner," said Tian Wen Lian, a Malaysian diplomat. "This is a beginning."

With the biodiversity and global warming issues negotiated before the summit, virtually all of the actual discussions here centered on Agenda 21, a book-sized document intended to lay out a course of action on environment and development until 2000 and point the way toward the next century.

It recognizes throughout a link between environmental action and developmental progress through the concept of "sustainable development" and calls on rich countries to help poor countries take this road.

Lessons of Rio: A New Prominence and an Effective Blandness

NYT 6/14/92
By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

Special to The New York Times

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 13 — The Earth Summit, history's largest gathering of world leaders, is winding up after a fractious 12 days of diplomatic free-for-all among 178 nations. A few clear lessons may already be emerging from the fracas.

One is the new-found prominence of the environment as an international issue, bidding to rank with economics and national security.

After Rio, "You can't be treated as a world leader on any issue without being a player on the environment," said Dr. Michael Oppenheimer, a senior scientist with the Environmental Defense Fund, a research and advocacy organization.

Many diplomats here remarked on the paradox that the Bush Administration, immobilized in placating the American right wing during an election year, is abdicating leadership of the worldwide environmental movement just as the issue is moving to center stage.

'Landmark in a Process'

A second lesson is that blandness can sometimes prove a surprisingly effective bludgeon. The parcel of treaties signed here have been portrayed by disappointed advocates as pitiful gutless creatures with no bite. But they have hidden teeth that will develop in the right circumstances.

That is why seasoned diplomats like Richard E. Benedick, the former State Department official who helped negotiate the ozone-layer treaty, said on the very first day, "The history books will refer back to this day as a landmark in a process that will save the planet from deterioration."

The Earth Summit, he said, "should not be judged by the immediate results, but by the process it sets in motion."

It might be years, he said, before the results are apparent.

A case in point is the climate treaty which, at Washington's insistence, has no targets or timetables for reducing emissions of greenhouse gases. Yet it commits ratifying countries to control emissions so as to protect natural ecosystems.

The treaty also has built-in flexibility allowing for stronger measures if the threat of global warming appears more serious than at present. The recent complete phase-out of chlorofluorocarbons was set off by just such a provision in the Montreal protocol governing protection of the ozone layer.

"This is a launching pad, not a quick fix," said Maurice Strong, the executive secretary of the conference.

Everything depends on how well the principles enunciated and the bargains struck in Rio between rich and poor countries are put into force.

The climate treaty, already signed by most of the 178 nations attending the conference, is now widely seen as a promising start to the arduous task of curbing the heat-trapping gases, chiefly carbon dioxide, that threaten to disrupt the earth's climate.

Most countries, the United States being the chief exception, also signed a

The environment moves to center stage.

treaty aimed at better conserving the world's dwindling inventory of living species. The two treaties are far from perfect, but between them they set in motion a long-term process for dealing with the two most pressing environmental concerns.

Guide for Issues

By the end of the conference, despite early pessimism, an agreement emerged on basic principles for managing and conserving the world's forests. Of all the issues that divided north and south, haves and have-not countries, that was among the most contentious.

The new accord enables the United Nations to start negotiations on an international forest treaty, a result fervently sought by the United States but flatly resisted by certain third-world countries jealous to preserve sovereignty over their forests. Environmentalists attacked the pact as hopelessly

weak, even a step backward, but it appears to have put forest management firmly on the international agenda for the first time.

Another important product of the Rio deliberations is a general statement of principles for sustainable development, along with a voluminous compendium of rather general recommendations, called Agenda 21, for nations to follow as a guide on virtually every known environmental issue. Probably no one has yet read or digested it all.

On the debit side, the agreements all tend to run toward the lowest common denominator, perhaps an inevitable result when an entire planet's welter of interests clash on matters involving economics.

Attention to Population

Population, while it is addressed in Agenda 21, clearly received less attention than deserved even though, along with rich countries' wasteful consumption patterns, it lies at the root of the global environmental problem. A major world conference on population is scheduled for 1994.

Most important, despite all-night negotiations as the summit talks neared an end early today, delegates had still not reached an agreement on mechanisms and commitments for transferring money from rich countries to impoverished ones to promote economic development compatible with the environment. Nor had they agreed on the establishment of institutions to carry out the summit talks' recommendations.

On the scorecard of north versus south, the developing countries clearly succeeded in their goal of making economic development as important as environmental protection. While almost everyone agrees that economics and environment must go hand in hand, some environmentalists were disturbed that the Rio Declaration, the summit talks' over-all statement of principles, says explicitly that "human beings are at the center of concerns" for sustainable development.

Putting humans at the center of things, with the implied right to dominate and exploit the rest of nature, is what has caused the problem in the first place, environmentalists contend.

Many delegates say that the confer-

ence would have been more productive had the United States adopted a leadership stance instead of a "defensive crouch," in the words of Jessica Mathews, a vice president of the World Resources Institute.

Had it done so, said Russell E. Train, chairman of the World Wildlife Fund in the United States, its specific objections on particular issues might have been taken more seriously. The United States stance is widely attributed to President Bush's need, in a three-way Presidential race, to shore up the Republicans' core conservative constituency.

Tommy Koh of Singapore, the take-charge gavel-wielder who was chairman of the conference's main working session, was heard to remark that "This will teach the United Nations not to hold a conference in an American election year."

Delegates from many other countries readily agreed with Mr. Bush's assertion in his speech here yesterday that the United States domestic record on the environment is exemplary. But American allies expressed regret that he had brought so few international initiatives with him.

Following U.S. Lead

The Americans challenged the allies to join in a doubling of international aid for protection of forests, sweetening the proposal with an initial down payment of \$150 million a year. Europeans reacted with interest, but reserved judgment pending a further review of the proposal and their budgetary situations.

"We've always been very happy to follow the American lead when we felt it was going in the right direction said Margaret Brusasco-Mackenzie, head of the European Commission's Division of the Environment. But the re-

sponse she would now give to the President, she said, is that: "You've stopped somewhere down the road. We would like you to look outside instead of inside at the elections."

In the end, judging the conference's immediate accomplishments is essentially an exercise in the half-empty, half-full problem.

Mr. Benedick, who attended the Rio talks as a special adviser to Mr. Strong, said the results "are definitely on the high end of my expectations."

He noted that "You can't expect the world to change overnight, and on balance I think all the countries did move from their original positions on whatever issue you can name, and that's significant."

'Think About These Treaties'

The fact that so many heads of state "are coming together and putting their political seal on this is, I think, simply without precedent," he continued, adding, "It's a watershed."

William K. Reilly, the Environmental Protection Agency chief who headed the American delegation, said the talks were "going to force everybody to take stock of his or her government's performance on the environment, prepare to defend it, and think about these treaties, and how to respond to their demands in the future."

"The business of government is such that there are many more claims competing for your attention at high levels than you can possibly attend to," he continued. "And so an affair like this has the effect of elbowing to the fore, and pushing some things out of the way for a moment or two, and I suspect a little longer than that."

Once what a country did in its own backyard was its own concern. After the Rio conference, the world is more likely to be watching.



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Agenda item 9

ADOPTION OF AGREEMENTS ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Draft chapter 33 of Agenda 21

1. The following text is a draft of chapter 33 of Agenda 21, entitled "Financial resources and mechanisms", as approved by the Plenary of the Conference in informal consultations held on 13 June 1992.

Chapter 33

Financial resources and mechanisms

INTRODUCTION

33.1. The General Assembly, in resolution 44/228 of 22 December 1989, inter alia, decided that the Conference on Environment and Development should:

Identify ways and means of providing new and additional financial resources, particularly to developing countries, for environmentally sound development programmes and projects in accordance with national development objectives, priorities and plans and to consider ways of effectively monitoring the provision of such new and additional financial resources, particularly to developing countries, so as to enable the international community to take further appropriate action on the basis of accurate and reliable data;

Identify ways and means of providing additional financial resources for measures directed towards solving major environmental problems of global concern and especially of supporting those countries, in particular developing countries, for which the implementation of such measures would entail a special or abnormal burden, owing, in particular, to their lack of financial resources, expertise or technical capacity;

Consider various funding mechanisms, including voluntary ones, and to examine the possibility of a special international fund and other innovative approaches, with a view to ensuring, on a favourable basis, the most effective and expeditious transfer of environmentally sound technologies to developing countries;

Quantify the financial requirements for the successful implementation of Conference decisions and recommendations and identify possible sources, including innovative ones, of additional resources.

33.2. This chapter deals with the financing of the implementation of Agenda 21, which reflects a global consensus integrating environmental considerations into an accelerated development process. For each of the other chapters, the secretariat of the Conference has provided indicative estimates of the total costs of implementation for developing countries and the requirements for grant or other concessional financing needed from the international community. These describe the need for a substantially increased effort both by countries themselves and by the international community.

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BASIS FOR ACTION

33.3. Economic growth, social development and poverty eradication are the first and overriding priorities in developing countries and are themselves essential to meeting national and global sustainability objectives. In light of the global benefits to be realized by the implementation of Agenda 21 as a whole, the provision to developing countries of effective means, inter alia, financial resources and technology, without which it will be difficult for them to fully implement their commitments, will serve the common interests of developed and developing countries and of humankind in general, including future generations.

33.4. The cost of inaction could outweigh the financial costs of implementing Agenda 21. Inaction will narrow the choices of future generations.

33.5. For dealing with environmental issues special efforts will be required. Global and local environmental issues are interrelated. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biological Diversity address two of the most important global issues.

33.6. Economic conditions, both domestic and international, that encourage free trade and access to markets will help make economic growth and environmental protection mutually supportive for all countries, particularly for developing countries and countries undergoing the process of transition to a market economy (see chapter 2 for a fuller discussion of these issues).

33.7. International cooperation for sustainable development should also be strengthened in order to support and complement the efforts of developing countries, particularly the least developed countries.

33.8. All countries should assess how to translate Agenda 21 into national policies and programmes through a process that will integrate environment and development considerations. National and local priorities should be established by means that include public participation and community involvement, promoting equal opportunity for men and women.

33.9. For an evolving partnership among all countries of the world, including, in particular, between developed and developing countries, sustainable development strategies and enhanced and predictable levels of funding in support of longer term objectives are required. For that purpose, developing countries should articulate their own priority actions and needs for support and developed countries should commit themselves to addressing these priorities. In this respect, consultative groups and roundtables and other nationally based mechanisms can play a facilitative role.

33.10. The implementation of the huge sustainable development programmes of Agenda 21 will require the provision to developing countries of substantial new and additional financial resources. Grant or concessional financing should be provided according to sound and equitable criteria and

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indicators. The progressive implementation of Agenda 21 should be matched by the provision of such necessary financial resources. The initial phase will be accelerated by substantial early commitments of concessional funding.

OBJECTIVES

33.11. To establish measures concerning financial resources and mechanisms for implementation of Agenda 21.

33.12. Provision of new and additional financial resources should be both adequate and predictable.

33.13. Full use and continuing qualitative improvement of funding mechanisms to be utilized for the implementation of Agenda 21 should be sought.

ACTIVITIES

33.14. Fundamentally, the activities of this chapter are related to the implementation of all the other chapters of Agenda 21.

MEANS OF IMPLEMENTATION

33.15. In general, the financing for the implementation of Agenda 21 will come from a country's own public and private sectors. For developing countries, particularly the least developed countries, ODA is a main source of external funding, and substantial new and additional funding for sustainable development and implementation of Agenda 21 will be required. Developed countries reaffirm their commitments to reach the accepted United Nations target of 0.7 per cent of GNP for ODA and, to the extent that they have not yet achieved that target, agree to augment their aid programmes in order to reach that target as soon as possible and to ensure a prompt and effective implementation of Agenda 21. Some countries agree or have agreed to reach the target by the year 2000. It was decided that the Commission on Sustainable Development would regularly review and monitor progress towards this target. This review process should systematically combine the monitoring of the implementation of Agenda 21 with a review of the financial resources available. Those countries which have already reached the target are to be commended and encouraged to continue to contribute to the common effort to make available the substantial additional resources that have to be mobilized. Other developed countries, in line with their support for reform efforts in developing countries, agree to make their best efforts to increase their level of ODA. In this context, the importance of equitable burden-sharing among developed countries is recognized. Other countries, including those undergoing the process of transition to a market economy, may voluntarily augment the contributions of the developed countries.

33.16. Funding for Agenda 21 and other outcomes of the Conference should be provided in a way which maximizes the availability of new and additional resources and which uses all available funding sources and mechanisms. These include, among others:

(a) The multilateral development banks and funds:

Environment *Preservation*
(i) International Development Association (IDA). Among various issues and options that IDA Deputies will examine in the forthcoming 10th Replenishment, special consideration should be given to the statement made by the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development at the Conference in plenary meeting in order to help the poorest countries meet their sustainable development objectives as contained in Agenda 21.

(ii) Regional and subregional development banks. The regional and subregional development banks and funds should play an increased and more effective role in providing resources on concessional or other favourable terms needed to implement Agenda 21.

(iii) The Global Environment Facility, managed jointly by the World Bank, UNDP and UNEP, whose additional grant and concessional funding is designed to achieve global environmental benefits should cover the agreed incremental costs of relevant activities under Agenda 21, in particular for developing countries. Therefore, it should be restructured so as to inter alia:

Encourage universal participation;

Have sufficient flexibility to expand its scope and coverage to relevant programme areas of Agenda 21, with global environmental benefits, as agreed;

Ensure a governance that is transparent and democratic in nature, including in terms of decision-making and operations, by guaranteeing a balanced and equitable representation of the interests of developing countries, as well as giving due weight to the funding efforts of donor countries;

Ensure new and additional financial resources on grant and concessional terms, in particular to developing countries;

Ensure predictability in the flow of funds by contributions from developed countries, taking into account the importance of equitable burden-sharing;

Ensure access to and disbursement of the funds under mutually agreed criteria without introducing new forms of conditionality;

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English

Page 6

(b) The relevant specialized agencies, other United Nations bodies and other international organizations, which have designated roles to play in supporting national Governments in implementing Agenda 21;

(c) Multilateral institutions for capacity-building and technical cooperation. Necessary financial resources should be provided to UNDP to use its network of field offices and its broad mandate and experience in the field of technical cooperation for facilitating capacity-building at the country level, making full use of the expertise of the specialized agencies and other United Nations bodies within their respective areas of competence, in particular UNEP and including the multilateral and regional development banks;

(d) Bilateral assistance programmes. These will need to be strengthened in order to promote sustainable development;

(e) Debt relief. It is important to achieve durable solutions to the debt problems of low- and middle-income developing countries in order to provide them with the needed means for sustainable development. Measures to address the continuing debt problems of low- and middle-income countries should be kept under review. All creditors in the Paris Club should promptly implement the agreement of December 1991 to provide debt relief for the poorest heavily indebted countries pursuing structural adjustment; debt relief measures should be kept under review so as to address the continuing difficulties of those countries;

(f) Private funding. Voluntary contributions through non-governmental channels, which have been running at about 10 per cent of ODA, might be increased.

33.17. Investment. Mobilization of higher levels of foreign direct investment and technology transfers should be encouraged through national policies that promote investment and through joint ventures and other modalities.

33.18. Innovative financing. New ways of generating new public and private financial resources should be explored, in particular:

(a) Various forms of debt relief, apart from official or Paris Club debt, including greater use of debt swaps;

(b) The use of economic and fiscal incentives and mechanisms;

(c) The feasibility of tradeable permits;

(d) New schemes for fund-raising and voluntary contributions through private channels, including non-governmental organizations;

(e) The reallocation of resources presently committed to military purposes.

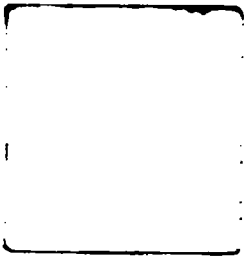
33.19. A supportive international and domestic economic climate conducive to sustained economic growth and development is important, particularly for developing countries, in order to achieve sustainability.

33.20. The secretariat of the Conference has estimated the average annual costs (1993-2000) of implementing in developing countries the activities in Agenda 21 to be over \$600 billion, including about \$125 billion on grant or concessional terms from the international community. These are indicative and order of magnitude estimates only, and have not been reviewed by Governments. Actual costs will depend upon, inter alia, the specific strategies and programmes Governments decide upon for implementation.

33.21. Developed countries and others in a position to do so should make initial financial commitments to give effect to the decisions of the Conference. They should report on such plans and commitments to the United Nations General Assembly in the Fall of 1992 at its forty-seventh session.

33.22. Developing countries should also begin to draw up national plans for sustainable development to give effect to the decisions of the Conference.

33.23. Review and monitoring of the financing of Agenda 21 is essential. Questions related to the effective follow-up of the Conference are discussed in chapter 38. It will be important to review on a regular basis the adequacy of funding and mechanisms, including efforts to reach agreed objectives of this chapter, including targets where applicable.



CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

EMBARGOED UNTIL 3.30 PM BST

(11.30 BRAZIL TIME)

SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN MAJOR MP
AT UNCED
RIO DE JANEIRO
12 JUNE 1992

CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

Mr Chairman,

This meeting is unlike any other. We are all used to summits on this or that crucial issue where each of us fights hard for our national interest.

Today we are here not to argue for a national cause but for the future of our planet.

It was Ruskin, a century ago, who said that God had lent us the earth for our lifetime. We are here as leaseholders. Leaseholders with a huge responsibility. On our efforts are pinned the hopes of billions of people. It falls to us to try to reconcile their diverse and sometimes divergent needs. It falls to us to reconcile the needs of the living with our obligations to future generations.

The contrasts are striking. In today's world more people are healthier and live longer than ever before. And yet more people than ever before, 1 billion of them, live in abject poverty.

The pressures to industrialise are greater than ever. Today, most people still live in rural areas. In another 40 years the opposite will be true. Twice as many of us will be urban dwellers as country dwellers. By the end of the century there will be 21 cities in the world with populations of more than 10 million people. 17 of these will be in developing countries.

We have to find a balance between the needs of people and the environment in which they live. We have to find a balance between the exploitation of that environment which is vital to peoples' survival and the conservation of that environment which is vital to its survival. We have to find a balance between the needs of the living and our obligations to future generations.

There will be people who decry the achievements of this conference. But this conference is proof of a dramatic shift over the last decade: the environment is no longer the specialist concern of a few - it has become the vital interest of us all.

What we have gained over the last decade or so is, above all, knowledge.

Much of the damage that we have done to our environment has been inflicted not out of greed or malice, but out of ignorance. What every child knows today few scientists knew the day before yesterday. I suspect that for many of us it was not until we saw the pictures of earth taken from outer space that we realised just how small, fragile and precious our globe is.

Those of us who have come to this meeting cannot any longer plead ignorance. Even where we cannot be certain, the evidence requires us to be cautious. That does not make our choices easy ones. We know the effects of acid rain. We know the importance of the rainforests for climate, for animals and for plants. We know the dangers of degradation as land is over exploited. It is tempting to propose the most radical solution for the sake of future generations. But it is not easy to say to the miner in Europe that his job must be forfeit; or to a developing country

that it should no longer market its principal resource; or to an expanding population that they should not cultivate the land they so vitally need.

That is why there has been negotiation and compromise. The results may not go as far as some would like. We, for example, wanted this conference to agree binding commitments on the management of forests. We may have to content ourselves with a statement of principle. But that statement must be more than just words. And it must involve effective follow-up. I welcome President Bush's forestry initiative. My country already sponsors more than 200 forestry projects overseas at a value of £160 million.

That example alone illustrates the extent of international co-operation. We have now gone further.

We have recognised that the earth is our common inheritance and we are setting about the task of managing it for the common good. The climate convention and biodiversity convention are not the end of the road. They are crucial milestones. They commit us to binding obligations to manage our national affairs to our common benefit. They launch the process. They demand effective follow up.

I would like today to announce further commitments by my country.

It was Charles Darwin who first identified the full significance of man's relationship to other species. I am launching today a Darwin initiative for the survival of the species.

Our initiative will build on Britain's recognised scientific and commercial strengths in places like the Botanical Gardens at Kew and Edinburgh. It will involve international studies of natural resources; help set goals for research; and build up an inventory of the most important species and habitats. It will help us to exchange skills and information.

On climate change I am today announcing an initiative to ensure that developing countries can share the benefits of technology through partnership with British companies. We shall hold a Global Technology Partnership Conference in Britain early next year to set this on its way.

Mr. Chairman, money is the root of all progress. All of us will have to meet the cost of commitments undertaken to tackle our common global problems. The developing countries will need our help. The British government is ready to commit new and additional resources through the global environment facility. The British Government believes this facility should be replenished at a level of \$2-3 billion.

More effective than concessionary aid will be the expansion of trade and private capital investment and the reduction of debt. We need a swift and successful conclusion to the GATT Round. It is within our grasp. We need further early and significant reductions in the burden of debt. Britain has taken a lead. I will continue to press my fellow leaders hard for further action in those fields. I hope the developing countries will help by

following policies which encourage inward investment, including all the principles of good government to which members of the Commonwealth are already committed.

Even with better trade and reduced debt the poorest countries will need concessional finance. Britain will therefore mobilise its aid programme in support of the goals of Agenda 21. We are planning to make available substantial extra resources to assist forestry conservation, biodiversity, energy efficiency, population planning and sustainable agriculture over the next two years. Britain also supports a substantial tenth replenishment of the International Development Association during which we must consider a special Earth Increment.

Agenda 21 is the most far-reaching process we have launched here in Rio. It is a framework for action on sustainable development. Its most important provision is to call on Governments and UN bodies to report periodically and publicly on implementation. One custodian of this process will be the new Sustainable Development Commission which we have agreed to establish.

This Commission can only do its work if it has the right information from national governments and international bodies. Public confidence is built on transparency and information. That confidence cannot be built without the NGOs.

We have already adopted an open approach in the UK. I have been a keen supporter of NGO participation in the preparations for this Conference. I am therefore pleased to announce today that the United Kingdom will convene, next June, a major global forum of the NGO community to examine and clarify their role in the practical implementation of Agenda 21.

If the emerging generation of young people is to have a chance in life at least as good as my generation, then the Rio process must succeed. But it has no chance of success if we do not do much better in our efforts to slow the growth of population. Britain has long supported action which enables all women to have children by choice. We shall continue to help improve access to family planning. We must improve education more generally.

Mr. Chairman, for nearly two generations we lived with the threat of a nuclear confrontation which could destroy the world. That risk is now vastly diminished. But we have awoken to a new threat. The threat that by our own actions we could, insidiously, but just as certainly, achieve the same result: the destruction of the globe. We are alive to the danger. We know the remedy.

I said at the beginning of my speech that we were leaseholders in the planet. We are partners too. Whatever the differences strongly expressed here and which remain, it must be as partners that we go from this meeting.

Voltaire's luckless hero, Candide, decided to turn his back on the world and to stay at home "to cultivate his garden".

We do not have that choice. The world is our garden and, together, we must cultivate it.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

For Immediate Release

June 12, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ADDRESS TO
THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON
ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Assembly Hall
Riocentro Conference Center
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

3:19 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: President Collor, Mr. Secretary General, Heads of Delegation. May I first express my admiration to Secretary General Boutros-Ghali and my gratitude to Secretary General Maurice Strong for his tireless work in bringing this "Earth Summit" together. This is truly an historic gathering.

The Chinese have a proverb: If a man cheats the Earth, the Earth will cheat man. The idea of sustaining the planet so that it may sustain us is as old as life itself. We must leave this Earth in better condition than we found it.

Today this old truth must be applied to new threats facing the resources which sustain us all -- the atmosphere and the ocean; the stratosphere and the biosphere. Our village is truly global. Some find the challenges ahead overwhelming. I believe that their pessimism is unfounded.

Twenty years ago, at the Stockholm Conference, a chief concern of our predecessors was the horrible threat of nuclear war -- the ultimate pollutant. No more. Upon my return from Rio, I will meet with Russian President Yeltsin in Washington, and the subject we will discuss is cooperation -- not confrontation.

Twenty years ago, some spoke of the limits to growth. Today we realize that growth is the engine of change and the friend of the environment.

Today, an unprecedented era of peace, freedom, and stability makes concerted action on the environment possible as never before. This summit is but one key step in the process of international cooperation on environment and development. The United States will work to carry forward the promise of Rio. Because as important as the road to Rio has been, what matters more is the road from Rio.

There are those who say that cooperation between developed and developing countries is impossible. Let them come to Latin America, where debt-for-nature swaps are protecting forests in Costa Rica and funding pollution control in Chile.

There are those who say that it takes state control to protect the environment. Let them go to Eastern Europe, where the poisoned bodies of children now pay for the sins of fallen dictators -- and only the new breeze of freedom is allowing for cleanup.

MORE

There are those who say that change can never come because the interests of the status quo are too powerful. Well, let them come right here to Brazil, where President Collor is forging a new approach that recognizes the economic value of sustaining the rainforest.

There are those who say that economic growth and environmental protection cannot be compatible. Well, let them come to the United States -- where, in the 20 years since Stockholm, our economy has grown by 57 percent, yet we have cut the lead going into the air by 97 percent, the carbon monoxide by 41 percent, the particulates by 59 percent. We've cleaned up our water and preserved our parks, wilderness, and wildlife.

There are those who say that the leaders of the world do not care about the Earth and the environment. Well, let them all come to Rio.

Mr. President, we have come to Rio. We've not only seen the concern, we share it. We not only care, we're taking action. We come to Rio with an action plan on climate change. It stresses energy efficiency, cleaner air, reforestation, new technology. And I am happy to report that I have just signed the Framework Convention on Climate Change.

And today, I invite my colleagues from the industrialized world to join in a prompt start on the convention's implementation. I propose that our countries meet by January 1st to lay out our national plans for meeting the specific commitments in the Framework Convention. Let us join in translating the words spoken here into concrete action to protect the planet.

We come to Rio with a proposal to double global forest assistance. We stand ready to work together, respecting national sovereignty, on new strategies for forests for the future. As a downpayment, we will double U.S. forest bilateral assistance next year. And we will reform at home, phasing out clear-cutting as a standard practice on U.S. National Forests; and working to plant one billion trees a year.

We come to Rio with an extensive program of technology cooperation. We stand ready, government and private sector, to help spread green technology and launch a new generation of clean growth.

We come to Rio recognizing that the developing countries must play a role in protecting the global environment, but will need assistance in pursuing these cleaner growths. So we stand ready to increase U.S. international environmental aid by 66 percent above the 1990 levels, on top of the more than \$2.5 billion dollars that we provide through the world's development banks for Agenda 21 projects.

We come to Rio with more scientific knowledge about the environment than ever before and with the wisdom that there is much, much we do that's not yet known. And we stand ready to share our science and to lead the world in a program of continued research.

We come to Rio prepared to continue America's unparalleled efforts to preserve species and habitat. And let me be clear. Our efforts to protect biodiversity itself will exceed -- will exceed -- the requirements of the treaty. But that proposed agreement threatens to retard biotechnology and undermine the protection of ideas. And unlike the climate agreement, its financing scheme will not work. And it is never easy, it is never easy to stand alone on principle, but sometimes leadership requires that you do. And now is such a time.

Let's face it, there has been some criticism of the United States. But I must tell you, we come to Rio proud of what we have accomplished and committed to extending the record on American leadership on the environment. In the United States, we have the world's tightest air quality standards on cars and factories, the most advanced laws for protecting lands and waters, and the most open processes for public participation.

And now for a simple truth. America's record on environmental protection is second to none. So I did not come here to apologize; we come to press on with deliberate purpose and forceful action. And such action will demonstrate our continuing commitment to leadership and to international cooperation on the environment.

We believe that the road to Rio must point toward both environmental protection and economic growth, environment and development. And by now it's clear, to sustain development, we must protect the environment; and to protect the environment, we must sustain development.

It's been said that we don't inherit the earth from our ancestors, we borrow it from our children. And when our children look back on this time and this place, they will be grateful that we met at Rio. And they will certainly be pleased with the intentions stated, and the commitments made. But they will judge us by the actions we take from this day forward. Let us not disappoint them.

Mr. President, once again, my congratulations to you, sir. Mr. Secretary General, our sincere thanks. And thank you all very, very much. (Applause.)

END

3:28 P.M. (L

Office of the
Prime Minister



Cabinet du
Premier ministre

Notes

for an Address by

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney

Earth Summit

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

June 12, 1992

Check against delivery

Our generation has seen our planet from space. We know its beauty and we understand our fragility. We know that nature is part of us as we are a part of nature.

Canada's national soul breathes its life from our forests and plains and mountains and lakes. Our native peoples depend on the environment for their spiritual sustenance and material well-being. Canadians are the stewards of 10 percent of the world's forests. We are the custodians of 20 percent of the world's fresh water. And we are the guardians of the longest coast line in the world.

Ours is a history of interdependence with a vast, at times forbidding, but always beautiful and bountiful land. Ours is also a history of environmental interdependence with our neighbour, the United States, in one of the world's most successful relationships, from the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 to the Acid Rain Accord of 1991. The Acid Rain Accord which will cut acid rain causing emissions in half and which President Bush and I had the privilege of signing, has been called perhaps one of the most significant bilateral environmental agreements between any two countries in recent years.

For Canada, sustainable development is not a slogan; it is a prerequisite of our prosperity and a safeguard of our identity. It is also the standard of our responsibility to humanity. Our children will inherit a world of quickening population growth and accelerating economic development.

The reconciliation of economic development and environmental preservation is not only necessary, it is inescapable.

We are the leaders. We must assume our responsibilities to our own peoples, to each other and to history. We are here to commit our governments to action. The prevention of global climate change and the preservation of the world's animal and plant species is on the top of our agenda.

I am proud to sign both conventions on behalf of Canada. These agreements are welcome additions to the growing body of international environmental law. Canada supports the extension of international environmental law to cover the world's forests.

Countries have a right to manage their forest resources. And humanity has a right to expect that those management decisions will be ecologically wise. Canada wants clear guidelines, on which we all can agree, and a binding international convention which codifies our rights as well as our responsibilities.

Canada also supports the strengthening of international environmental law to prevent overfishing on the high seas. In Atlantic Canada over-fishing beyond our 200 mile zone has created an ecological crisis. This is why for Canada a global agreement to prevent over-fishing is quite simply crucial. We are gratified by the support we have received in our call for a diplomatic conference. We want that Conference urgently and we are pleased to invite like-minded nations represented here today to convene in St. John's, Newfoundland, in the Fall of this year to begin the process of establishing

rules we all can live by. In the meantime, we appeal to all states whose vessels fish our Atlantic shores to respect the conservation decisions of the North Atlantic Fishery Organization -- otherwise an extraordinary resource that has sustained Europeans and North Americans for 450 years could be permanently destroyed.

We have made good progress here but the success of Rio will not be found in the minutes of this conference or the eloquence of its leaders. Success will come from converting our agenda, Agenda 21, into concrete accomplishments.

To capitalize on the momentum of Rio, Canada advocates five crucial steps.

First, all countries need to develop their own plans for sustainable development, what we in Canada have called our Green Plan. Canada's Green Plan is a \$3 billion action plan with targets and timetables on a range of projects from the \$250 million program for water and sewage services on Indian reserves to a \$170 million program on sustainable agriculture. In response to the invitation made to Canada by the UNDP, we will participate in a pilot program with any nation represented here that wishes to benefit from our experience in this area.

Second, the agreements on climate change and biodiversity require urgent and constructive follow-up. For our part, we undertake to ratify both agreements this calendar year.

Third, the requisite resources are needed to ensure that developing countries can play their important roles. Canada has spent \$1.3 billion for sustainable development in developing countries over the past five years. We undertake today to do more in the 5 years ahead. This year once again Canada is contributing \$115 million in assistance to developing countries for forest management. The Government of Canada has also decided to eliminate the \$145 million ODA debt of Latin American countries by exchanging it for sustainable development projects. We will also contribute to the Rain Forest Pilot project initiated by Brazil and G-7 countries and to the work of the ASEAN Institute of Forest Management. We have decided to extend our own model forest program abroad to support forest management practices in developing countries. The Government of Canada announced last week its contribution of \$25 million to the pilot phase of the Global Environment Facility and we will provide our fair share when the GEF is replenished. It should not be forgotten that this meeting deals both with the environment and development. In Southern Africa, a major drought is presently creating wide-spread hunger and severe hardship for millions of people and death for untold numbers. To assist these developing nations, Canada is providing \$50 million in humanitarian assistance.

Fourth, multilateral institutions must be part of the solution. We will promote action on the results of this conference by the United Nations General Assembly this autumn and we will endorse the creation of the Sustainable Development Commission. Institutions that have a global perspective have a pivotal role to play.

With this in mind, the mandate of the acclaimed Canadian International Development Research Centre will be broadened so as to deal specifically with the environment and related concerns. I have invited the Secretary General, on behalf of the agencies of the United Nations, to propose the 10 non-Canadian board members of the IDRC, further internationalizing the IDRC and creating a new partnership between Canada and the U.N. Canada will continue to provide \$115 million annually in core funding to the Centre; over the next decade, Canada's contribution to this Agency alone will exceed \$1 billion.

As a well established organization, IDRC can be active and productive quickly, particularly in the area of research and technology transfer, in building an international network of centres of excellence and in helping developing countries create the capacity they need to follow-up on the responsibilities that will flow from the Rio Conference and assist them as they implement Agenda 21.

Fifth, the idea of an Earth Charter of environmental rights and responsibilities, which has slipped beyond our grasp at Rio, should be revived. We propose 1995, the 50th anniversary of the United Nations, as a target date for completion of the Earth Charter.

As political leaders, our job is to force the pace and stretch out the limits of international cooperation. The nations gathered here today have the human genius to create a world free from deprivation and secure from degradation. What remains is for governments to provide the leadership the world so desperately needs.

Let us find that will and marshall it to the task at hand on behalf of the 5 billion people we represent.

Our children, the Rio generation, will be our judges and our beneficiaries.

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND
DEVELOPMENT

SUMMING-UP BY THE PRESIDENT

HIS EXCELLENCY MR. FERNANDO COLLOR,
PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERATIVE REPUBLIC OF BRAZIL

Rio de Janeiro, 14 June 1992.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I wish to start by expressing my warmest gratitude to all those who have come from all corners of the world to contribute to the success of our Rio-92 Conference: Governments, the United Nations Secretariat, the Conference Secretariat, specialized agencies, organizations, movements, and ultimately all people dedicated to the cause of environment and development.

We know how much this great cause owes to the determination and even to the sacrifices made by non-governmental organizations. The "Global Forum" was a great and magnificent event. Here, in Rio, we have all joined hands.

I would also wish to mention that I am proud of the work carried out by Brazil in the preparation of this which was the largest international meeting of all history -- a clear testimony of our ability, and of our calling as a modern, open and enterprising country. I have noted with pleasure the numerous expressions of appreciation for the efforts we made.

My special recognition goes to the people of Rio, "cariocas" and "fluminenses", to the Government of the State of Rio de Janeiro, the Office of the Mayor, the National Working Group (GTN), organizations, companies and to each and every Brazilian involved in this endeavour. I also wish to extend my thanks to Minister Francisco Rezek, for his dedication in the beginning of preparations for the Conference.

We all owe a word of gratitude to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, to Mr. Maurice Strong, and to those who worked with them.

Lastly, I would like to express my recognition to Ambassador Tommy Koh, from Singapore, for his tireless work as Chairman of the Preparatory Committee and of the Main Committee of the Conference.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

For at least twelve days the attention of mankind was focussed on the essential questions of life, development and justice on earth.

There is a genuine and broad interest for what we have accomplished; our peoples will expect to see the implementation of the task we have started here.

The Rio Conference does not end in Rio.

The spirit that guided its debates and deliberations -- what Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali called the "spirit of Rio" -- must linger on and guide us into the future, much beyond 1992.

The Commission on Sustainable Development must be the faithful expression of that spirit.

Our aim is to forge unity.

To be sure, the Conference did not offset, decisively and definitively, the trends towards polarization between the rich and the poor. Most of all, however, it undoubtedly served the purpose of increasing the universal awareness of our common destiny.

Much more than twelve days ago, the world today is aware that the questions of environment and development cannot be treated separately.

The world is aware that it is necessary to put an end both to contamination that is admittedly the result of short term economic

interest and to contamination that is the involuntary by-product of poverty, ignorance and the daily struggle for survival.

The world is aware that there is a pressing need for international legal norms, such as those which were opened for signature here: the Conventions on Climate Change and on Biological Diversity. There is a crucial need for commitments and programmes of action, such as those embodied in the Rio Declaration, Agenda 21 and the Declaration on Forests.

Much more than twelve days ago, the world is aware that we must be able to rely upon a system of financial mechanisms to channel new and additional resources to the projects and proposals oriented towards sustainable progress, and to respond to the needs of developing countries. The decisions adopted by the Conference with respect to such mechanisms constitute an important step in that direction.

The world is aware that Rio-92 represents the starting point in the road in which nations, rich and poor, as well as men and women, will join together in the struggle for preservation of the planet, for development, for justice and, ultimately, for universal peace.

And the world is aware, also, that the United Nations have an increasingly central role to play in the history of mankind. The Rio Conference itself shows that issues of universal concern, such as environment and development, issues that are related to mankind as a whole can only be dealt with in fora where all peoples are assembled on an equal footing.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of all Brazilians, I call upon you all to keep in your minds and hearts the memory of the days spent here.

In the Rio Conference, which concluded with the "Earth Summit", our task was sowing the seeds. A good harvest will now depend on our collective effort and dedication.

As we leave this meeting, may we take with us, granted for sure, that in these twelve days we have been the protagonic actors of a historic moment of partnership and change.

It will be up to each one of us to accept the guidance of a new ethic of solidarity.

The world, as I pointed out before, is no longer the same it was on 3 June. It has become a little better, a little safer and a little more solidary.

It was worthwhile. We have taken the right direction and we will reach our goals, under the blessing and with the help of God.

I thank you very much.



EARTH SUMMIT PRESS RELEASE

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT
RIO DE JANEIRO, 3-14 JUNE 1992

ENV/DEV/RIO/30
14 June 1992

UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL'S STATEMENT AT CONCLUSION OF UN CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Following is the text of the statement by United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, delivered in Rio de Janeiro today at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED):

It is a great honour to address you on this occasion. This Conference was called to face an immense challenge. Major divisions between the participants have been narrowed. A great stride has been taken toward our goal, which is simply stated: saving our planet.

It is my earnest hope that the spirit of Rio, which is on everyone's lips at this Summit, can provide the momentum for the even larger tasks ahead; that the decisions to be taken in the future reflect our common thinking in Rio.

The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, as approved by the Conference, marks a significant advance. It places people at the centre of our concerns. It deals with both environmental and development aspects. It reflects a commitment to certain basic principles. I know that it represents a delicate compromise of various perceptions and priorities. The strength of this compromise is precisely that it is accepted by every nation in the world and not just one or another group of nations.

The greater part of the negotiating time of the 1992 process has been taken up by the negotiations on the action programmes included in Agenda 21. As I indicated in my opening address, I see this as the centrepiece of international cooperation and of coordination of activities within the United Nations system for many years to come.

(more)



UNITED NATIONS

UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INFORMATION • NEWS COVERAGE SECTION
FOR INFORMATION MEDIA—NOT AN OFFICIAL RECORD

We have now an action programme that takes the first steps toward spelling out the concept of sustainable development and planetary development in terms of specific actions.

In addition to its substantive importance, Agenda 21 is also as important as a process. We have a programme defined, not just by a few experts or by one or two groups of countries, but on a universal basis by all countries of the world. I am particularly gratified to see the commitments to poverty alleviation which are included in Agenda 21. I would also draw particular attention to the agreement on the questions relating to a convention on desertification, an issue of great concern to some of the poorest countries in the world.

The signing of the Framework Convention on the Climate Change and the Convention on Biodiversity are clearly an important part of the UNCED process. Both Conventions represent a first for the earth. In the case of biodiversity, the Convention clearly reaffirms the fact that the community of nations is committed to conserving the work of creation and prevent it from deterioration. It represents a turning point in the protection of the life forms that nourish the earth.

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change launches a process of cooperation which is aimed at keeping greenhouse gases in the atmosphere within safe limits. The initial level of commitment is not as high as many would have wished. But a low level of commitment should maximize participation -- which is one condition for effectiveness. The process of policy review should improve commitments over time. The United Nations stands ready to discharge its responsibilities in the follow-up work.

I am deeply gratified that as of today 153 countries (plus EEC) have signed the Framework Convention on Climate Change and 153 countries (plus EEC) have signed the Convention on Biodiversity.

I also note with satisfaction that your negotiations have brought a statement of principles on forests. I expect this statement to become a landmark in our continuing search for ways to better manage, develop and conserve these important resources. That you have succeeded in reaching agreement on such a politically sensitive matter is a tribute to the spirit of compromise and goodwill that has inspired you all along.

In the same spirit, you have also managed to resolve the question of the institutional mechanism at the United Nations to be entrusted with the follow-up of UNCED. I will, in accordance with your request, report to you fully at the forthcoming sessions of the General Assembly on the institutional modalities, including the work of the expected high-level Commission on Sustainable Development.

(more)

**STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
AT THE CLOSING OF THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT**

Rio de Janeiro, 13 June 1992

Mr. President,
Distinguished Heads of State and Government,
Excellencies,

It is a great honour to address you on this occasion. This Conference was called to face an immense challenge. Major divisions between the participants have been narrowed. A great stride has been taken toward our goal, which is simply stated: saving our planet.

It is my earnest hope that the spirit of Rio, which is on everyone's lips at this summit, can provide the momentum for the even larger tasks ahead; that the decisions to be taken in the future will reflect our common thinking in Rio.

The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, as approved by the Conference, marks a significant advance. It places people at the centre of our concerns. It deals with both environmental and development aspects. It reflects a commitment to certain basic principles. I know that it represents a delicate compromise of various perceptions and priorities. The strength of this compromise is precisely that it is accepted by every nation in the world and not just one or another group of nations.

The greater part of the negotiating time of the '92 process has been taken up by the negotiations on the action programmes included in Agenda 21. As I indicated in my opening address, I see this as the centrepiece of international cooperation and of coordination of activities within the United Nations system for many years to come.

We have now an action programme that takes the first steps towards spelling out the concept of sustainable development and planetary development in terms of specific actions.

In addition to its substantive importance, Agenda 21 is also important as a process. Here we have a programme defined, not just by a few experts or by one or two groups of countries, but on a universal basis by all countries of the world. I am particularly gratified to see the commitments to poverty alleviation which are included in Agenda 21. I would also draw particular attention to the agreement on the questions relating to a convention on desertification, ^{an issue} ~~a region~~ of great concern to some of the poorest countries in the world.

The signing of the Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biodiversity are clearly an important part of the UNCED process. Both conventions represent a first for the earth. In the case of biodiversity, the Convention clearly reaffirms the fact that the community of nations is committed to conserving the

work of creation and to prevent it from deterioration. It represents a turning point in the protection of the life forms that nourish the earth.

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change launches a process of cooperation which is aimed at keeping greenhouse gases in the atmosphere within safe limits. The initial level of commitment is not as high as many would have wished. But a low level of commitment should maximize participation - which is one condition for effectiveness. The process of policy review should improve commitments over time. The United Nations stands ready to discharge its responsibilities in the follow-up work.

I am deeply gratified that as of today 153 countries (plus the ~~EEC~~) have signed the Framework Convention on Climate Change and 153 countries (plus the ~~EEC~~) have signed the Convention on Biodiversity.

I also note with satisfaction that your negotiations have brought a statement of principles on forests. I expect this statement to become a landmark in our continuing search for ways to better manage, develop and conserve these important resources. That you have succeeded in reaching agreement on such a politically sensitive matter is a tribute to the spirit of compromise and goodwill that has inspired you all along.

In the same spirit, you have also managed to resolve the question of the institutional mechanism at the United Nations to be entrusted with the follow-up of UNCED. I will, in accordance with your request, report to you fully at the forthcoming sessions of the General Assembly on the institutional modalities including the work of the expected high-level Commission on Sustainable Development.

UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION

SPEECH PRONOUNCED BY
M. FRANCOIS MITTERRAND,
PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.
RIO DE JANEIRO, SATURDAY JUNE 13 1992.

MRS PRESIDENTS,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

FROM THE EARLIEST DAYS OF MANKIND, EVERY NATION HAS CREATED ITS OWN MYTHS, EITHER FRIGHTENING OR MOVING, IN ORDER TO ACCOUNT FOR THE CREATION OF THE WORLD. TODAY, HOWEVER, WE ARE DEALING WITH THE ISSUE OF ITS DESTRUCTION.

EVER SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THIS VERY LONG SPAN OF TIME, WE HAPPEN TO BELONG TO THE FIRST GENERATIONS, THREE MILLION YEARS AFTER OUR FIRST ANCESTORS APPEARED ON EARTH, WHO HAVE BECOME AWARE OF THE THE PHYSICAL LAWS BY WHICH MANKIND IS GOVERNED.

THE FIRST LAW TEACHES US THAT THE EARTH IS A LIVING SYSTEM OF WHICH ALL PARTS ARE INTERDEPENDENT AND THAT ALL LIVING TERRESTRIAL SPECIES, MEN, ANIMALS, VEGETATION DEPEND ON EACH OTHER FOR SURVIVAL.

THE SECOND LAW STATES THAT EARTHLY RESOURCES ARE LIMITED.

ACCORDING TO THE THIRD ONE, MAN CANNOT BE SEPARATED FROM NATURE BECAUSE HE IS A PART OF NATURE, LIKE WATER, TREES, WINDS AND SEABEDS. SINCE THE BEGINNING OF TIMES, MAN'S LIFE HAS ALWAYS BEEN RULED BY NATURAL ELEMENTS BUT NOW HE IS ALSO ABLE TO EXTINGUISH ANY FORM OF LIFE ON EARTH AND THEREFORE ABLE TO EXTINGUISH HIMSELF. THIS IS THE ISSUE. ONE DAY WE WILL BE ASKED : "YOU KNEW THIS AND HOW HAVE YOU DEALT WITH IT? LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THIS IS THE REAL ISSUE OF THIS CONFERENCE.

OUR DUTY IS THE SAME FOR ALL, WHOEVER AND WHEREVER WE ARE, AND IT IS TO ENSURE THAT OUR NOURISHING EARTH REMAIN OUR HOUSE AND OUR GARDEN, OUR SHELTER AND OUR FOOD.

THIS IS AN EXTRAORDINARILY AMBITIOUS GOAL, A GOAL FOR THE CENTURIES AHEAD OF US. OUR EARTH HAS BEEN SUFFERING FROM THE HARSHNESS OF CLIMATES AND FROM MANKIND'S FOLLY AND THERE IS NO WAY TO PACIFY CLIMATES IF WE ARE UNABLE TO PACIFY MEN. OUR TASK IS TO IMAGINE AND TO CREATE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS FOR BOTH THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH, PATTERNS ENABLING US TO PRESERVE AND TO RESTORE IN THE BIOSPHERE OF EVERY REGION OF THE

WORLD THE FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS FOR ALL FORMS OF LIFE. ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT ARE INSEPARABLE. SO LET US SEEK GUIDELINES FOR ACTION. I SEE FOUR WAYS TO TAKE ACTION:

FIRST OF ALL, WE MUST LEARN MORE ABOUT OUR EARTH AND ACQUIRING KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE BIOSPHERE IS A PRELIMINARY CONDITION. MANY OF YOU HAVE ALREADY CONDUCTED YOUR OWN USEFUL EXPERIMENTS AND BROUGHT YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO UNIVERSAL KNOWLEDGE. MAY I REMIND YOU THAT IN 1989, FRANCE APPEALED FOR THE CREATION OF AN EARTHWATCH OBSERVATORY AND THAT SHE DEVELOPED SPECIFIC MEANS FOR THAT PURPOSE, SUCH AS THE SPOT 4 SATELLITE AND A SPECIFIC DEVICE CALLED "VEGETATION". WE NEED MORE OF THEM.

IN AFRICA, FRANCE INITIATED THE SAHARA WATCH AND THE SAHEL WATCH WHICH ARE DESERTIFICATION CONTROL TOOLS. TODAY SHE JOINS HER EUROPEAN PARTNERS WHO SUGGEST THAT ACCESS TO SPATIAL DATA BEARING ON THE ENVIRONMENT BE MADE AVAILABLE TO ALL COUNTRIES.

SECONDLY, WE NEED A CLEARER DEFINITION OF THE ROLE AND OF THE LIABILITIES OF THE NORTHERN STATES. I FEEL THAT THEY MUST PRESERVE AND RESTORE THEIR OWN ENVIRONMENT: THEIR WATER, THEIR AIR, THEIR CITIES AND LANDSCAPES, WHICH IS MORE OR LESS WHAT GOVERNMENTS ARE NOW DOING. THAT THEY MUST REFRAIN FROM ANY HARMFUL ACTION AGAINST THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE SOUTHERN COUNTRIES. THIS IS WHY FRANCE HAS ENACTED VERY STRINGENT LAWS REGARDING THE EXPORTATION OF INDUSTRIAL WASTE. THEY MUST SET LIMITS TO THE DAMAGE CAUSED TO THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT (THE AIR, THE ATMOSPHERE, THE OCEANS AND CLIMATES) AND THIS SPIRIT HAS LED FRANCE, ALONG WITH AUSTRALIA, TO TAKE PROTECTIVE MEASURES FOR ANTARTICA. AND THIS IS ALSO WHY SHE SUPPORTS THE EUROPEAN GOAL TO STABILIZE WITHIN TEN YEARS CARBON DIOXIDE EMISSIONS DOWN TO THE LEVEL OF 1990. FURTHERMORE FRANCE HAS APPROVED THE CONVENTION ON CLIMATES WHICH SHE RECOMMENDED A FEW YEARS AGO AT THE HAGUE AS WELL AS THE CONVENTION ON BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY DESPITE THE FACT THAT SHE WAS EXPECTING BOLDER COMMITMENTS. BUT THIS IS JUST A BEGINNING. WE ARE GAINING MOMENTUM AND I HOPE THAT TOMORROW WE CAN GO ON FURTHER.

FOR THE SAME REASONS FRANCE HAS SIGNED THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLE ON FORESTS.

I ALSO HOPE THAT WE SET WITHOUT DELAY TO THE TASK OF DRAFTING A CONVENTION ON FRESHWATER BECAUSE IT IS INDISPENSABLE. I WONDER WHY THIS HAS NOT YET BEEN ACHIEVED.

I ALSO EXPECT THE NORTHERN STATES TO COOPERATE MORE CLOSELY WITH THE SOUTHERN ONES IN OUTLINING ECOLOGICAL PRIORITIES AND IN ENCOURAGING THE ACTION OF NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, WHETHER THEY COME FROM THE SOUTH OR FROM THE NORTH.

THIRDLY, THE SOUTHERN STATES, NO MATTER HOW LEGITIMATE THEIR DETERMINATION TO DEVELOP, CANNOT CONSIDER THEMSELVES EXEMPT FROM SHARING THE DUTY OF SOLIDARITY WHEN IT COMES TO PROTECTING THE BIOSPHERE WHICH IS EVERYONES'S BIOSPHERE. I MAKE THE WISH THAT THEY TAKE CARE OF THEIR CLOSE ENVIRONMENT AND UNDERTAKE THEIR OWN ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT WITHOUT POLLUTING AS MUCH AS THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES USED TO. THANKS TO THE FAST ADVANCEMENT OF TECHNOLOGY AND OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE, THEY CAN SPARE A CENTURY OF EFFORTS.

HOWEVER THIS CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY WAY OF SOLIDARITY ON A PLANETARY SCALE, OF ASSISTANCE IN TERMS OF TECHNOLOGICAL TRANSFERS, OF SHARING WHICH IS THE OBLIGATION OF DEVELOPED NATIONS. THESE NATIONS, AS I HAVE ALREADY SAID, WILL HAVE TO DEVOTE, BY THE YEAR 2000, 0,7 PER CENT OF THEIR GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT TO THIS FORM OF AID. FRANCE IS ALREADY GIVING 0,56 PER CENT AND IS DETERMINED TO MEET THE GOAL. SHE WILL DOUBLE HER CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD ENVIRONMENTAL FUND AND IS PRESENTLY ACTING IN FAVOUR OF AN EXTENSION OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT FACILITIES, E.G. THROUGH THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. SHE HAS JOINED THE EUROPEAN INITIATIVE AIMED AT FINANCING THE AGENDA 21 AND WILL TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN IMPLEMENTING IT.

FOURTH, THE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION AND THE NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS WHICH OFTEN REFLECT PUBLIC OPINION ARE DEFINITELY EXPECTING IMMEDIATE RESULTS FROM THE RIO CONFERENCE. MOST OF ALL, THEY EXPECT THE PROCESS GENERATED IN RIO TO LAST AND GROW.

WE MUST MEET AGAIN WITHIN THREE TO FIVE YEARS. WE MUST GO FURTHER IN IMPLEMENTING THE FOUR GREAT CHAPTERS OF A PROGRAMME FOR THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURY, I.E. THE AGENDA 21 DRAFTED DURING THIS CONFERENCE. WE MUST HELP THOSE NATIONS WHO NEED OUR SUPPORT BY PROVIDING THEM WITH FRESH FINANCIAL RESOURCES. LET US CREATE THE ADEQUATE INSTITUTIONS AND THE PERMANENT MECHANISMS ENSURING A REGULAR CONTROL OF OUR WORK. IN THAT RESPECT, FRANCE APPROVES COMPLETELY AND WITHOUT ANY RESERVATION THE CREATION OF A "COMMISSION FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT" WHICH SHOULD COME AS THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS A HIGH WORLD AUTHORITY PROPOSED BY MY COUNTRY AT THE HAGUE AND THE "EARTH COUNCIL" SUGGESTED BY PRESIDENT COLLOR. THESE PROPOSALS ARE NOT AS IDEALISTIC AS THEY MAY SEEM. I AM GLAD TO NOTICE THAT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY COUNTRIES ARE JOINING FORCES TO DO SO. AND WHY WOULDN'T THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS RECEIVE THE MISSION TO REPORT ANNUALLY ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF AGENDA 21?

FOR THE SAKE OF BRIEFNESS, I HAVE NOT MENTIONED THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WHICH SUFFER BOTH FROM INDUSTRIAL MISMANAGEMENT IN THE SAME WAY THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES DO AND THE LACK OF ADEQUATE INFRASTRUCTURE, LIKE THE SOUTHERN NATIONS. WHAT HAPPENED TO SOME OF THEIR

NUCLEAR PLANTS SERVES AS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF WHAT COUNTRIES IN A POSITION TO PROVIDE HELP SHOULD DO. I AM CONFIDENT THAT THEY WILL EVENTUALLY DO SO. BUT THEY MUST CONSTANTLY BEAR IN MIND THAT ENVIRONMENTAL SOLUTIONS CAN ONLY BE GLOBAL AND UNIVERSAL ONES.

WE REALIZE HOW LONG THE ROAD AHEAD OF US STANDS UNTIL WE CAN MAKE OUR DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW MEET AND UNTIL WE CAN COME UP WITH NEW SOLUTIONS. BUT THIS MEETING WILL NOT HAVE BEEN A USELESS ONE IF IT HELPS THE NATIONS FROM THE SOUTH UNDERSTAND THAT ECOLOGY IS NOT A RICH MAN'S LUXURY AND THE ONES FROM THE NORTH THAT THERE IS NO GENUINE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION WITHOUT AID TO DEVELOPMENT.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, NEVER HAS HUMANITY ASSIGNED ITSELF SUCH AMBITIOUS GOALS. BUT IT HAS NEVER BEEN, LIKE TODAY, THE CONDITION OF ITS OWN SURVIVAL. WE WILL HAVE TO EXPLAIN, TO CONVINCE, TO ENCOURAGE AND ALSO TO PROHIBIT. OUR FIRST OBLIGATION WITHIN A UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION MORE AND MORE CAPABLE OF CARRYING OUT ITS ROLE, WILL BE TO PRESERVE AND RESTORE PEACE IN THE WORLD, WITHOUT WHICH NOTHING IS POSSIBLE. BUT IT WILL ALSO CONSIST IN IMPOSING COOPERATION ABOVE PAROCHIALISM, MUTUAL RESPECT ABOVE DOMINATION AND SOLIDARITY ABOVE SELFISHNESS AND CYNICISM, AND TO MAKE SURE THAT THE FUTURE IS BEING TAKEN CARE OF BEYOND ALL SHORT TERM CALCULATIONS. THE WORLD HAS THE GREATEST NEED FOR MUTUAL ECOLOGICAL ASSISTANCE. AND WE WILL NEVER INSIST TOO MUCH ON THE ROLE OF EDUCATION WHICH SHOULD BE A PRIORITY FOR ALL NATIONS.

WE ARE UNDERGOING CHANGES AS RADICAL AS THOSE THAT LED MANKIND FROM THE NEOLITHIC TO THE EARLY DAYS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THESE CHANGES ARE TO LAST SEVERAL DECADES, MAYBE LONGER.

THE "NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER" WILL BE ONE THAT COMBINES DISARMAMENT, SECURITY, DEVELOPMENT AND RESPECT OF OUR ENVIRONMENT.

WE, THE LEADERS, MUST PREPARE IT BY AVOIDING OR SOLVING CONFLICTS. OUT OF THIS NECESSITY NEW ETHICS WILL APPEAR THAT WILL DO CREDIT TO THOSE WHO ABIDE BY THEM AND THAT WILL DISHONOUR THOSE WHO DISREGARD THEM.

A FINAL WORD: DO YOU NOT FEEL THAT DRUGS, VIOLENCE, CRIME, FANATICISM ARE AMONG THE WORST FORMS OF POLLUTION AND THAT OUR VARIOUS CULTURES AND OUR ENDANGERED CIVILIZATIONS ARE BIODIVERSITIES TO BE PROTECTED AT ONCE?

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, PLEASE MAKE SURE THAT THE WORD RIO 1992 STANDS FOR HOPE.



(Translation)

Statement by Mr. Li Peng,
Premier of the State Council of the People's
Republic of China, at the Summit
Meeting of the United Nations Conference on
Environment and Development

Mr. Chairman,
Your Excellencies,
Mr. Secretary General,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Friends,

The convocation of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development is a major event which has attracted worldwide attention. It is the first time since the founding of the United Nations for so many state leaders to meet here to discuss ways to deal with problems of global environment and development. I would like to extend, on behalf of the Chinese Government and people, our warm congratulations to the Conference, our heartfelt thanks to the Brazilian Government and the preparatory committee for the efforts they have made for the smooth convocation of the Conference, and to pay a high tribute to the Ministerial Meeting for its fruitful work. I would also like to take this opportunity to convey the cordial greetings of the Chinese people to the people of our host country, Brazil.

Environment and development are two major concerns of the international community.

Through its arduous efforts of many years, especially those made since the Industrial Revolution, mankind has made brilliant achievements in transforming nature and developing economy. Yet neglect of environment in the course of industrialization, particularly the irrational exploitation and utilization of natural resources, has caused global environmental pollution and ecological degradation, posing a real threat to the survival and development of mankind. It is therefore an urgent and formidable task for all countries around the world to protect the ecological environment and maintain a sustainable development. The convocation of this Conference conforms to the call of the times and the aspirations of the peoples of the world. It will once again sound a warning of an environmental crisis to the international community, and provide a forum for exploring ways to solve environmental and development problems. It will turn a new page in the world history of environmental protection and development.

Mr. Chairman,

In recent years, dramatic changes have taken place in the international situation, and the world is in a historical period of transition from the old world pattern to a new one. This presents the international community with difficulties and challenges, as well as hopes and opportunities. The Cold War is over and the confrontation between the two military blocs of the East and the West has dissipated. But the equilibrium in the world has been disrupted; conflicts and destabilizing factors

have increased; and hegemonism and power politics still exist. On the one hand, developed countries are getting richer, on the other hand, many developing countries are getting poorer. All this shows that the two lasting major issues of peace and development facing the world people have not yet been resolved. The Chinese Government maintains that a just and rational new international political and economic order should be established according to the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter, and particularly to the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. This would be a guarantee for world peace and development and a vital prerequisite for resolving environmental and development problems.

Mr. Chairman,

Environmental protection and economic development bear on the future of mankind, and affect each country, each nation and indeed each individual. Therefore, solution to these two global issues calls for extensive and effective international cooperation. The current Conference, the two important instruments to be adopted -- the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21 -- and the two conventions to be signed -- the Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biological Diversity -- will lay a good foundation for an enhanced international cooperation in this area. With a view to achieving in all its aspects the goal of strengthening international

cooperation as set forth at this Conference, the Chinese Government would like to put forward the following propositions for discussion with other participants:

-- Economic development should be pursued in parallel with environmental protection. Economic development is essential for the very survival and progress of mankind. Furthermore, it provides a material guarantee for the protection and improvement of the global environment. For many developing countries, their primary task is to develop economy and eliminate poverty. Their reasonable and urgent needs should be taken into full consideration when we try to tackle the question of global environment. The international community should take practical steps to improve the position of developing countries with regard to debt, trade, finance, etc. and help them with their economic development. On the other hand, no country can afford to develop its economy in disregard of its pressure on environment. It is, therefore, imperative to work out a development strategy that will ensure a virtuous cycle of the eco-system so as to attain a balance between economic growth and environmental protection.

-- To protect the environment is a common task of mankind as a whole. However, economically developed countries bear a greater responsibility. As mankind share one earth and environmental problems sometimes transcend national and regional boundaries, a global approach is in the common interest of all countries and regions. Historically, environmental problems stemmed mainly from the

excessive consumption of natural resources and massive discharge of pollutants by developed countries in the course of their industrialization. Even today, their consumption of natural resources and discharge of pollutants, whether in terms of total volume or per capita share, far exceed developing countries. Therefore, they should assume major responsibility for the deterioration of the global environment. Furthermore, they have greater economic strength and more sophisticated technologies for environmental protection. It is only natural for them to undertake a greater obligation for its solution. They should provide developing countries with new and additional funds and transfer technologies of environmental protection under concessional terms to help the latter improve their own environment and participate in the protection of the global environment. This is only wise for developed countries to do, for it serves their own interests as well as those of developing countries.

-- International cooperation should be based on respect for state sovereignty. All countries, large and small, rich and poor, strong and weak, are entitled to participate in international activities relating to environment and development on an equal footing. Issues concerning global environment and development should be solved in such a manner as not to prejudice a state's independence and sovereignty. Each country enjoys sovereign rights over its natural resources and biological species. It has the right to draw up its own strategies for

environmental protection and development in the light of its national conditions and adopt corresponding policies and measures. At the same time, no country should tap and exploit its natural resources to the detriment of the environment of other countries.

-- Environmental protection and economic development would be impossible without world peace and stability. Wars and turbulence will not only inflict heavy losses on lives and property, but also cause serious degradation to the eco-environment. While promoting world environmental protection and development, all countries should endeavour to maintain stability at home, safeguard world and regional peace, settle all disputes through peaceful negotiation instead of resort to force or threat of force.

-- In tackling environmental problems, consideration should be given to both the immediate interests of various countries and the long-term interests of the whole world. At present, while paying attention to such global environmental questions as climate change and bio-diversity, one should give priority to addressing the problems of environmental pollution and ecological degradation in developing countries like soil erosion, desertification, diminished vegetation, droughts and floods. Solution to these problems will not only remove a serious threat to the environment and development of developing countries, but also contribute significantly to the protection of global environment and economic growth. The international community should understand and

support the reasonable demands of developing countries in this regard.

Mr. Chairman,

China has been pursuing economic development as its central task and adhering to the policy of reform and opening-up in its socialist modernization drive. It now enjoys sustained economic growth, political stability and national harmony and unity. The living standards of the people keep improving. We in China pay much attention to environmental protection in the course of economic development. We have made environmental protection one of our basic state policies and made unremitting efforts towards this end. In light of the country's actual conditions, we have devised a strategy of synchronized planning, implementation and development in terms of economic development, urban and rural construction, and environmental protection, a strategy that would bring harmony of economic, social and environmental returns. We have adopted three major principles, i.e. to put prevention first, to hold those who cause pollution responsible for cleaning up and to strengthen environmental control and management. We have improved the legal system in respect of environmental protection and set up relevant organs at various levels and an inter-ministerial coordination agency at the national level. We have pooled the efforts of various quarters to clean up urban environment and to prevent and control industrial pollution. We have conducted extensive education in environmental protection to awaken the whole nation to its importance. We have

vigorously promoted scientific and technological research on environment. Meanwhile, we have launched a large-scale soil improvement campaign, which includes building shelterbelts along river banks, coastal areas and in areas prone to sandstorms. The Northern Shelterbelt, which is as long as 4,480 kilometers, has become a green Great Wall against sandstorms. More than 600 nature preserves have been set up in China, covering an area of 400 thousand square kilometers and providing effective protection to a large number of rare wild animals and plants. In addition, China's family planning helps ease off the tremendous pressure of population growth on environment. In the past decade or more since the introduction of reform and opening-up programme, China's GNP has more than doubled. Yet the quality of China's environment has remained basically stable, or even improved in some areas. Our environment and development strategy suited to China's conditions has proved to be successful. However, China is a developing country and its economic strength is limited. Like many other developing countries, China regards it a long-term, arduous task to address issues concerning economic development and environmental protection.

Mr. Chairman,

China's environmental problems are part and parcel of the global problems. China is keenly aware of its responsibility and role in the protection of the earth's eco-system. So it has attached importance to and taken an active part in the U.N.-sponsored discussions concerning environment and development. It has

signed a number of relevant international conventions or agreements. Last year, China hosted the Ministerial Conference of Developing Countries on Environment and Development, at which Beijing Declaration was adopted. This is a positive contribution China and other developing countries have made to the promotion of world environmental protection and development. We have also established China Environment and Development International Cooperation Committee composed of well-known Chinese and foreign figures who offer advice in these two areas. This gives expression to China's sincerity and resolution in tackling the environment and development issues. We will further implement the policy of reform and opening-up, assimilate and draw on all achievements of human civilization, accelerate the pace of economic growth, and at the same time do a good job in our environmental protection. We stand ready to undertake international responsibilities and obligations compatible with our development level and expand international cooperation in the world environmental protection and development.

Mr. Chairman,

There are a lot to be done and many difficulties to be surmounted in environmental protection and development. But I am convinced that, as long as all countries help each other like passengers in the same boat, conduct fruitful cooperation and work hard, it is possible to protect the global environment and expand economy at the same time so that the earth will become a beautiful homeland where people can live and work happily together.

Thank you.



EARTH SUMMIT PRESS RELEASE

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT
RIO DE JANEIRO, 3-14 JUNE 1992

ENV/DEV/RIO/30
14 June 1992

UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL'S STATEMENT AT CONCLUSION OF UN CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Following is the text of the statement by United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, delivered in Rio de Janeiro today at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED):

It is a great honour to address you on this occasion. This Conference was called to face an immense challenge. Major divisions between the participants have been narrowed. A great stride has been taken toward our goal, which is simply stated: saving our planet.

It is my earnest hope that the spirit of Rio, which is on everyone's lips at this Summit, can provide the momentum for the even larger tasks ahead; that the decisions to be taken in the future reflect our common thinking in Rio.

The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, as approved by the Conference, marks a significant advance. It places people at the centre of our concerns. It deals with both environmental and development aspects. It reflects a commitment to certain basic principles. I know that it represents a delicate compromise of various perceptions and priorities. The strength of this compromise is precisely that it is accepted by every nation in the world and not just one or another group of nations.

The greater part of the negotiating time of the 1992 process has been taken up by the negotiations on the action programmes included in Agenda 21. As I indicated in my opening address, I see this as the centrepiece of international cooperation and of coordination of activities within the United Nations system for many years to come.

(more)



UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INFORMATION • NEWS COVERAGE SECTION
FOR INFORMATION MEDIA—NOT AN OFFICIAL RECORD

We have now an action programme that takes the first steps toward spelling out the concept of sustainable development and planetary development in terms of specific actions.

In addition to its substantive importance, Agenda 21 is also as important as a process. We have a programme defined, not just by a few experts or by one or two groups of countries, but on a universal basis by all countries of the world. I am particularly gratified to see the commitments to poverty alleviation which are included in Agenda 21. I would also draw particular attention to the agreement on the questions relating to a convention on desertification, an issue of great concern to some of the poorest countries in the world.

The signing of the Framework Convention on the Climate Change and the Convention on Biodiversity are clearly an important part of the UNCED process. Both Conventions represent a first for the earth. In the case of biodiversity, the Convention clearly reaffirms the fact that the community of nations is committed to conserving the work of creation and prevent it from deterioration. It represents a turning point in the protection of the life forms that nourish the earth.

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change launches a process of cooperation which is aimed at keeping greenhouse gases in the atmosphere within safe limits. The initial level of commitment is not as high as many would have wished. But a low level of commitment should maximize participation -- which is one condition for effectiveness. The process of policy review should improve commitments over time. The United Nations stands ready to discharge its responsibilities in the follow-up work.

I am deeply gratified that as of today 153 countries (plus EEC) have signed the Framework Convention on Climate Change and 153 countries (plus EEC) have signed the Convention on Biodiversity.

I also note with satisfaction that your negotiations have brought a statement of principles on forests. I expect this statement to become a landmark in our continuing search for ways to better manage, develop and conserve these important resources. That you have succeeded in reaching agreement on such a politically sensitive matter is a tribute to the spirit of compromise and goodwill that has inspired you all along.

In the same spirit, you have also managed to resolve the question of the institutional mechanism at the United Nations to be entrusted with the follow-up of UNCED. I will, in accordance with your request, report to you fully at the forthcoming sessions of the General Assembly on the institutional modalities, including the work of the expected high-level Commission on Sustainable Development.

(more)

Ainsi se présente aujourd'hui notre grand chantier planétaire. Cependant, c'est encore peu au regard des enjeux tels que je les décrivais en ouvrant cette Conférence. L'actuel niveau d'engagement n'est pas comparable à l'étendue et à la gravité des problèmes. Quoiqu'il en soit, Rio est un moment sur un long chemin; c'est un moment utile par les prises de conscience, les décisions, la mobilisation à laquelle il a donné lieu.

Déjà mille voix se sont fait l'écho à travers le monde des premiers jalons que nous avons posés ici. Nous avons une grande route devant nous. Beaucoup ont insisté sur l'importance du chemin qui reste à parcourir.

On a pu dire que Rio était un début. Cela n'est vrai qu'en partie : qu'il s'agisse du développement ou qu'il s'agisse de l'environnement, les conférences, les travaux préparatoires, les programmes n'ont certes pas manqué depuis des décennies. Ce qui est nouveau, en revanche, c'est la liaison désormais fort étroite que nous avons réussi à établir solidement entre les deux mots d'ordre : le développement planétaire et la protection de l'environnement. C'est le premier acquis de Rio.

En particulier, puisque les deux voies du développement et de l'environnement sont le fruit des efforts menés de longue date par l'Organisation universelle, je souhaiterais qu'en 1995, pour son cinquantième anniversaire, des résultats substantiels soient enregistrés. Par exemple, une nouvelle Charte de la Terre pourrait être adoptée par tous, comme l'a suggéré plus d'un chef d'Etat ou de gouvernement.

Le second acquis de notre Conférence, je crois, est que désormais notre route soit éclairée par une lumière nouvelle, ce que j'ai nommé avec beaucoup d'autres, l'esprit de Rio. Il comporte je crois trois dimensions : une dimension intellectuelle, celle de la cohérence; une dimension économique, celle du développement planétaire; enfin une dimension politique, qui est le sens de la durée, c'est-à-dire de la responsabilité.

La dimension intellectuelle, celle de la cohérence consiste à reconnaître que la planète terre est un vaste ensemble d'interdépendances. La montée des eaux menace le Delta du Gange aussi bien que Venise ou les îles du Pacifique !

La deuxième dimension de l'esprit de Rio, la dimension économique, en constitue probablement le coeur. Penser les interdépendances, suppose de comprendre le développement comme un tout; c'est ce que j'ai appelé le développement planétaire. Le sur-développement est aussi préoccupant que le sous-développement : le développement planétaire doit

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se substituer, peu à peu, à l'un et à l'autre. Je voudrais que l'on mesure toutes les conséquences logiques de ce changement : d'abord que l'effort doit être global. Il doit être consenti aussi bien par les pays du Nord que par les pays du Sud, lesquels ne sauraient se décharger de toute contribution. Une de ces contributions des pays receveurs est d'ailleurs de veiller soigneusement à l'utilisation efficace des ressources additionnelles, selon une juste formule qui a été adoptée ici. Ce n'est pas tout : le partenariat global suppose en toute logique que tous les partenaires jouent leur rôle.

C'est par une troisième dimension, plus politique, que je voudrais terminer cette rapide récapitulation. L'esprit de Rio, pour tous les responsables que vous êtes, c'est la conscience claire d'un devoir politique, celui du long terme. La politique est davantage qu'une lutte pour la conquête ou la conservation du pouvoir; l'essentiel c'est l'exercice du pouvoir, c'est-à-dire la préparation du monde pour les générations à venir. L'esprit de Rio nous ramène à cet essentiel de la politique, la préparation de l'avenir : ce que nous faisons dans cet esprit ne portera pas nécessaire des fruits dans les prochaines années, mais au-delà, quelquefois très au-delà !

Mesdames et Messieurs, ainsi se clôt notre Conférence. La route est tracée. Ce n'est pas le moment de se reposer car presque tout est à faire. Aujourd'hui, l'homme est toujours un formidable destructeur. Il en est arrivé à force de trop peser sur la terre, et de détruire la vie autour de lui, à remettre en cause sa propre survie. Aujourd'hui nous entendons limiter au taux actuel les pollutions dont nous restons coupables. Un jour il faudra faire bien davantage, et nettoyer la planète - cela dans des conditions plus difficiles puisque la population mondiale se sera accrue dans 25 ans de 2 milliards. Aujourd'hui l'ONU fait ce qu'elle peut. Elle fixe les cadres - elle lance un mouvement qu'elle espère plus profond qu'un mouvement de mode, une "mode verte" qui ne serait qu'hypocrisie. Mais la fonction de l'ONU n'est pas de masquer par le verbe, par des discours, des rapports ou des programmes l'inaction générale. A vous d'agir, à vous de prendre vos responsabilités.

Je voudrais conclure en disant que l'esprit de Rio doit créer un nouveau comportement du citoyen. Après avoir aimé son prochain comme le lui demandait l'évangile, l'homme d'après Rio doit aussi aimer le monde, y compris les fleurs, les oiseaux, les arbres - tout cet environnement naturel que nous détruisons régulièrement.

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Au-delà du contrat moral avec Dieu, au-delà du contrat social conclu avec les hommes il faut maintenant conclure un contrat éthique et politique avec la nature, avec cette Terre même à qui nous devons notre existence, et qui nous fait vivre.

Pour les anciens, le Nil était un Dieu qu'on vénère, de même le Rhin, source infinie de mythes européens, ou la forêt amazonienne, la "mère des forêts" (...). Partout dans le monde, la nature était la demeure des divinités. Celles-ci ont conféré à la forêt, au désert, à la montagne une personnalité qui imposait adoration et respect. La Terre avait une âme. La retrouver, la résusciter, telle est l'essence de Rio.

Speech by
Dr. Helmut Kohl,
Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany,

at the
United Nations Conference
on Environment and Development

Rio de Janeiro, 12 June 1992

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I.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

From this conference in Rio de Janeiro must emanate a message - a message of solidarity showing all nations working together as equal partners and sharing responsibility for the one world. We live in times of dramatic changes. We in Germany have experienced in a very special way what kind of great opportunities and challenges have developed.

Taking up these challenges also means securing global environmental protection and sustainable development through joint action of both industrial and developing countries.

The industrial countries must be conscious of their particular responsibility in this regard. We are therefore called upon to handle natural resources much more carefully than we have done to date. We must make better use of existing technology and develop new, environment-friendly technology.

We would like to employ the know-how that we have gained in the process to assist the developing countries in their development. They need our support in this.

What is decisive is the creation of national and international conditions which safeguard ecologically acceptable development. For this reason I will do my utmost to bring the GATT negotiations to a successful conclusion.

II.

This conference has brought about good progress. We have launched a new process of worldwide partnership. Agenda 21, the Rio Declaration and the declaration on the protection of forests constitute a solid foundation for further concrete measures.

The Convention on Biological Diversity and the Convention on Climate Change will contribute to a more effective global protection of the environment. I will therefore sign both Conventions here in Rio.

In the years to come, further steps to reduce greenhouse gases must follow. Germany was the first large industrial country to target a 25 - 30% reduction in CO₂ emissions by the year 2005.

We see this as a signal for a common approach by all industrial countries. I invite participating states to come to Germany for the first follow-up conference on climate change.

For a long time, the global protection of forests has been especially important to me personally. I welcome therefore the initiative of President George Bush. I hope that in spite of all difficulties we will be able to adopt a Forest Protection Convention. Together with the Convention on Desertification that we intend to decide upon this will contribute to preserving the foundations of our existence.

III.

Following the reunification of our country, we Germans are facing major challenges.

First, we have an obligation towards our 17 million fellow countrymen who have made their decision for freedom and for the unity of our country. Now, they rightly demand to be given the same opportunities we had for their own future. Great efforts on our part are needed to achieve this.

Second, Germany feels a special kind of responsibility towards its neighbours in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. We support therefore the process of rebuilding democracy and the economy in these countries with an ambitious assistance programme.

Third, in spite of these great efforts we are firmly determined to live up to our responsibility towards the developing countries. We are aware that this is also a contribution to securing our own future.

We commit ourselves therefore to an increase in official development aid and expressly confirm the 0,7% target. As soon as possible, we want to see 0,7% of the GNP earmarked for official development aid. I should point out in this respect that Germany's assistance to its neighbours in the East should be given appropriate consideration.

For global environmental measures, Germany supports an increase in the volume of the Global Environmental Facility by three billion

Special Drawing Rights. We are ready to assume our share and we ask other industrial countries to do the same. We want the developing countries to be given an appropriate influence in allocating these funds.

In the past Germany has already granted substantial debt remission. We have to date written off approximately nine billion Marks. Together with others, we are prepared to cancel further debts for the benefit of poorer countries in exchange for appropriate environmental protection measures.

In this way, the developing countries shall be given additional possibilities to promote their economic and social development in harmony with nature.

IV.

Positive developments are only possible if we do not only remove the factors that divide nations but also those that bring man into conflict with nature. A peaceful future for mankind is only assured if we also make our peace with nature.

This Earth Summit also shows how right I was in suggesting, in 1988, at the Economic Summit in Toronto that global environmental protection be added to the permanent agenda of the Group of Seven.

Coming generations will judge our actions primarily by whether we meet our obligation to preserve Creation and to combat poverty. We must think of their well-being when we henceforth make this vital task the focal point of international politics.

This conference in Rio has enabled to make progress in this endeavour. We have initiated a dynamic process which will enable us to better solve the pressing problems of mankind's future in worldwide partnership. The Federal Republic of Germany declares itself committed to shoulder this responsibility.