Official Statements

Below are excerpts from recent official statements in which environment and population issues are prominently cited in the context of security and national interests. The Wilson Center encourages readers to inform the ECSP Report *of other related public statements.*

Statements by William J. Clinton
President of the United States

Excerpts from President Clinton's Remarks at an address to students at Moscow State University of International Relations, Moscow, Russia
1 September 1998

Together, we can create cleaner technologies to grow our economies without destroying the world's environment and imperiling future generations. Together, we can harness the genius of our citizens not for making weapons, but for building better communications, curing disease, combating hunger, exploring the heavens. Together, we can reconcile societies of different people with different religions and races and viewpoints, and stand against the wars of ethnic, religious, and racial hatred that have dominated recent history.

Excerpts from President Clinton's State of the Union Address, Washington, DC
19 January 1999

…. [We] must ensure that ordinary citizens in all countries actually benefit from trade—a trade that … protects the environment.

…. A century ago, President Theodore Roosevelt defined our "great, central task" as "leaving this land even a better land for our descendants than it is for us." Today, we're restoring the Florida Everglades, saving Yellowstone, preserving the red rock canyons of Utah, protecting California's redwoods, and our precious coasts. But our most fateful new challenge is the threat of global warming. 1998 was the warmest year ever recorded. Last year's heat waves, floods and storms are but a hint of what future generations may endure if we do not act now.

… I propose a new clean air fund to help communities reduce greenhouse and other pollution, and tax incentives and investments to spur clean energy technology. And I want to work with members of Congress in both parties to reward companies that take early, voluntary action to reduce greenhouse gases.

All our communities face a preservation challenge, as they grow and green space shrinks. Seven thousand acres of farmland and open space are lost every day. In response, I propose two major initiatives: First, a US $1 billion Livability Agenda to help communities save open space, ease traffic congestion, and grow in ways that enhance every citizen's quality of life. And second, a $1 billion Lands Legacy Initiative to preserve places of natural beauty all across America—from the most remote wilderness to the nearest city park.

Excerpts from President Clinton's remarks at the Democratic National Convention Dinner, Washington, DC
23 March 1999

….We'll have an environmental policy that will clean up the environment, but will emphasize, insofar as humanly possible, market mechanisms and incentives, and technology and creativity to clean the environment up, so that we don't overly burden the economic machine when we're doing it.

And, to be fair, a lot of these things are possible today, and they might not have been possible in former years. For example, it is now literally possible—as a lot of our most innovative utilities have proven—to generate more energy capacity through conservation, through alternative sources of energy, through partnering with your customers, than ever before.

It is also now possible to grow an economy without increasing the use of fuel that burns greenhouse gases. But most people

don't believe it still, even in America, and certainly not in a lot of developing countries.

. . . . . .

Statements by Albert Gore, Jr.
Vice President of the United States

Excerpts from Vice President Gore's remarks at the World Economic Forum, Davos
29 January 1999

…But in the midst of new wealth and opportunity, we have also found new risk and challenge: the growing dangers of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; the slowing—and in some cases, the reversing—of reforms in important countries upon whose continued stability and progress the world depends; the breakdown of social order and consequent human suffering in too many struggling, developing societies; the devastation of millions—especially in Africa, by HIV/AIDS; the adding of another China's worth of people to the world's population every decade—95 percent of them in the world's poorest countries; the changes we are causing in the global environment, which threaten to disrupt the relatively stable climatic balance we have known since before the agricultural revolution.

…For our part, the United States is following a growth policy based on three elements never before tried in combination: eliminate the deficit, open markets, and invest in our own people. We replaced the vicious cycle with a virtuous cycle—lower interest rates, more investment, more jobs, more growth—which fuels even greater investment in our future.

…We must never lose sight of the poorest nations. We would like to see, this year, on the brink of a new millennium, decisive progress toward debt relief for the world's poorest and most indebted countries. Debt relief means removal of the overhang—that is, the burden that debts place on investment—and it means more resources for environmental protection and child survival.

…These goals—a strong economy, a clean environment, peace and security—do go hand in hand. As we move beyond the age of bipolar tensions and sharp ideological conflicts—as we deepen and extend our economic and security ties—nations are finding the wisdom that grows from our connectedness.

…There is no greater challenge for our global community than to break the vicious cycle of poverty and ignorance—and create a virtuous cycle of smaller, healthier, better-educated families—with lower child mortality, and higher incomes. In this way, we can seek a new practical idealism—grounded in self-interest, but uplifted by what is right. We have it in our power to build a world that is not just better off, but better.

. . . . . .

Statements by Madeleine K. Albright
U.S. Secretary of State

Excerpts from Secretary of State Albright's remarks on Earth Day 1998 at the National Museum of Natural History, Washington, DC
21 April 1998

…The threats we face from environmental harm are not as spectacular as those of a terrorist's bomb or missile. But we know that the health of our families will be affected by the health of the global environment. The prosperity of our families will be affected by whether other nations develop in sustainable ways. The safety of our families will be affected by whether we cut back on the use of toxic chemicals. And the security of our nation will be affected by whether we are able to prevent conflicts from arising over scarce resources.

There is much that we can do through our diplomacy to achieve these goals. Currently, to cite just three examples, we are promoting efficient management of the Nile River Basin; supporting better forestry practices in Southeast Asia; and striving to negotiate a worldwide ban on the release of pollutants such as DDT and PCBs. But if we are to move ahead as rapidly as we would like, we will also need support from our friends in Congress.

For example, we need to gain approval of the President's request for funds for USAID so that we can help other countries grow in ways that balance economic progress, social development and environmental concerns. We need support for the Global Environment Facility (GEF), which embodies the partnerships for sustainable development that was forged in Rio. This partnership is not helped by the fact that, in each of the last three years, we have fallen short of our pledged share to the GEF. We need to do better than that. We need to meet our commitments, in full, this year and every year.

As the President stressed during his recent trip to Africa, we are asking the Senate to approve the Convention Against Desertification. We are also asking the Senate to approve the Biodiversity Convention, for we cannot ensure our future if we endanger the biological base that serves the needs of every human society, no matter how rich or poor.

…A major contributor to the stress we place on the global environment is the growth in the world's population. At current rates, we are increasing by an amount equal to the population of Mexico each year. And more than 90 percent of this increase is in the developing world. As I have seen in visits to South Asia, Africa, Latin America and Haiti, rapidly rising populations make it harder for societies to cope. Even when economies grow, living standards do not rise. Even when there is planning, resources of land and water are depleted. Even when overall production of food goes up, more people go hungry.

The Clinton Administration favors a comprehensive approach that takes into account the environment, development and the rights and needs of women. This accords with the consensus created at the 1994 Cairo Conference, and it is reflected in our Child Survival and Disease Programs, and in our support for international family planning.

As is well known, there are those who would like to impose crippling conditions on our assistance to family planning. On this issue there are strong feelings on all sides. I know because my own feelings are strong, and I believe international family planning needs and deserves our support. The programs we help are voluntary. They improve people's health; they save people's lives; they reduce significantly the number of abortions; and they contribute to a more livable world.

Excerpts from Secretary of State Albright's address to the Australasia Centre of the Asia Society, Sydney, Australia
30 July 1998

Leading scientists agree that greenhouse gases are warming our planet. A warming planet is a changing planet, and not for the better. Unless we act, sea levels will continue to rise throughout the next century, swamping some areas and putting millions of people at greater risk to coastal storms. We can expect significant and sudden changes in agricultural production and forest ecosystems, leading to changing patterns of wildlife migration and forcing more people to leave home and cross borders in search of productive land. We will also see more heat-related deaths, more serious air pollution, increased allergic disorders and more widespread malaria, cholera and other infectious diseases.

…I note that the scientific backing behind the current warming projections is the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, representing the work of more than 2,000 scientists from more than 50 countries. Their report is carefully worded, factually based and it recognizes the uncertainties as well as the risks. Yet in both our nations, we have those who insist that the scientific warnings are wrong; or that, even if they are right, we can't afford to take the steps required to slow the release of greenhouse gases. But the one thing we truly cannot afford to do is wait and see. For if the warnings are right, the cost of reversing climate change and cleaning up the damage will be infinitely greater than the cost of preventing it.

Our choice is clear. We can keep pumping more gases into the atmosphere every year, invite more severe climate change, and let future generations deal with the consequences. Or we can act prudently to protect our planet, our children's home…I have to say having just recently traveled with President Clinton to China, where it is clear that while the United States is the greatest problem now, they will be the greatest problem. A message that he is delivering is one that I think is key: countries that are so-called developing countries are concerned about how putting in environmentally sound technology will affect their development. And the President argues that no one has the right to tell another country to limit its development. But that those of us that have gone through industrialization can validate the fact that often the economic situation in a country can be actually improved once environmentally sound technology is put in.

I believe ultimately, and I am confident that we can make our environment healthier and keep our economies competitive or even post economic gains through greater efficiency and the use of clean technology.

Our cooperation is also essential to solve the other half of the climate change puzzle, which is to create a global action plan to which both developed and developing nations contribute. This is critical if we want to make not just short-term headlines, but long-term improvements. For it is expected that, within two decades, the largest emitter of greenhouse gases will not be the United States, but China. And that, by ten years after that, the developing world will have become the source of the majority of such emissions.

Industrialized nations created the global warming problem and must take the lead in responding. But clearly, no solution will work unless developing countries play a part in it.

Global warming may look like an insurmountable problem, and its potential economic effects can seem too large to confront. But in contemplating the challenge, we should recall the many times when naysayers predicted that protecting the environment would be too hard, too costly, and too cumbersome. From America's waterways cleanup in the 1970s, to Australia's stewardship of the Great Barrier Reef, to the global effort to close the ozone hole, environmental preservation is working, and it is working in ways that keep our economies growing.

. . . . . .

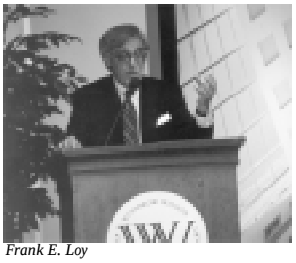
Statements by Frank E. Loy
U.S. Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs

Excerpts from Under Secretary Loy's remarks entitled "Environmental Diplomacy in the 21st Century," Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, DC
8 March 1999

It seems to me when you look at today's world, what strikes you when you try to make environmental progress is that we have a number of issues that are not at all resolved, and some of them are not in very good shape. The first one is the problem of treaties. How do you make progress in a multilateral world when you have a hard time getting treaties negotiated, and then when you have a hard time getting them ratified? The second issue I want to talk about is the new role of science, and the problem of thinking about science in a policy fashion, and getting agreement on science, and getting people to sign on to scientific conclusions. The third problem I want to talk about is what I would call the residue of the North-South problem. That is, the tendency in discussions that we have with developing countries for an emergence of a conversational tone which reminds you, really, of the 60s and 70s in some way. It reminds you of attitudes which sometimes are gone when you talk to developing countries, but often are present when you talk to them about environmental issues. At least I have had that experience. The next item I want to talk about is alliances, and some examples of how we would have not done well without alliances. And last I want to talk about the G-word, globalization, and what it really tells us about environmental progress.

I want to illustrate some of these problems and their application by talking about some specific treaties that we are working on in one way or another. On the issue of treaties, we have had a very hard time getting environmental treaties approved; to be precise, to get the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States to some treaties, some of which, by common consent, are not even controversial. We have before the Senate now the Law of the Sea Convention, Convention on Biological Diversity, a number of conventions regarding fish, and several others. The only one recently we have had actually ratified is an agreement on straddling fish stocks. We have had a very hard time getting the Senate to take up and agree to treaties.

The arguments against environmental treaty ratification are threefold. The first argument is that in some way, the treaty gives up some degree of sovereignty. The second argument is that the treaty will involve a substantial new bureaucracy, which is true sometimes and not true others. And third, it will cost money. And in the discussions I have had, I have agreed frequently that all three of those may be the case. They are not always the case, but they are frequently the case. The money is not usually very big, but I have had a very hard time getting anyone to discuss these in terms of a cost-benefit analysis. Is the benefit we get [from the treaties] worth these three costs?


Frank E. Loy

It is striking that in none of the agreements that I have just listed that are before the Senate, for example, have we been successful. The Law of the Sea Convention, which was rejected some time back, in the Reagan Administration, because of certain provisions regarding mining and exploitation of the bottom of the international sea, has been corrected. Almost everybody agrees that the present provision deals with the objections that were set forth at that time. But nevertheless, we have not been able to get that past the Senate. We have even pulled out the big guns at Department of Defense (DoD). The DoD has made it clear that it would benefit from the Law of the Sea Convention, and because it has rights of transit enshrined in it. But we have been unable to get that done.

It requires some thinking as to whether [these difficulties in passing treaties] are going to change. What alternative methods of international lawmaking can one come up with that would in some measure have a similar effect? One can have various [strategies] such as "act and review," for example, where nations act and then there is sort of a peer review. The next person will not act unless that review shows that the first act is really meaningful. You try to step up a ladder in this fashion, by reciprocal steps, and then look back to see what the other guy is doing. That works pretty well in bilateral agreements. We have had de facto agreements, in some cases, in the arms control area, where there was no binding agreement, but where there were these reciprocal steps. It is a little harder to do when you have 150 countries, and in fact it may not be possible. There are other techniques one can talk about. This is an area where I think the world of scholarship and the world of policy can actually collaborate rather usefully, because that is an area where we need intellectual input.

The second thing I listed was the role of science. The Department of State has been criticized very sharply by the science community for not being science literate, for not taking science seriously, for not knowing what to do with scientific information when it gets it, and for not having a senior scientist on its staff. Otherwise, they are happy with us. I might say that on the 15th of April I am talking to the AAAS [American Association for the Advancement of Science] and I hope to unveil the answer to these charges and talk about what should be the role of science in the department. That is not really my point today. My point is how do you undergird agreements that you make with a scientific data and scientific understanding and scientific analysis that will be credible?

We recently had a negotiation, a very tough negotiation in Cartagena, Colombia, that involved the trade in genetically modified organisms (genetically modified agricultural products). And the negotiation cratered; it did not succeed. And it did not succeed, in large part, because I think there were serious differences, gut differences, between different countries, particularly the European countries and the United States (and the United States was joined in this case by five other countries: Argentina, Canada, Australia, Chile, Uruguay). [Differences persisted] on the question as to whether genetically modified agricultural products were potentially harmful to human health. And I am not sure that in this particular case, if science—better science—would have answered the question or would have resolved the dispute.... So there were other cases in other parts of Europe, including the beef hormone case, where science may not be the answer to that problem. But nevertheless, we have the problem of demonstrating scientifically some very complex things, more complex than they used to be; the most complex, perhaps, being the issue of climate change.

I think we have to analyze, how do we go about finding the best way to present good science? I think in climate change we did it right, we have something called the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change which is maybe the world's largest peer review group. It is quite respectable, and it has had enormous consequences, in the sense that in many respects, the science dispute is settled. On the other hand, even in that case, and certainly in every other case, we have what you might call rogue scientists. I am not describing their character necessarily; I am suggesting they are outlyers from the mainstream of scientific opinion. They get a lot of airtime in our society, especially when journalists try to balance views to establish the proposition that they are being fair. They do that by presenting both the mainstream view that may be agreed to by 2,000 scientists, and the view of a scientist from upstate Maryland. And the problem for the journalist of how to present that, and the problem for us how to think about that, and the problem of the confusion that is created by that, is something we have not resolved. So I would say the issue of how to structure scientific inquiry that is not only scientifically sound, but is a sound way of presenting science to publics that have to make decisions about things, is very difficult. And the problem of

the rogue scientists is a subsidiary problem of that.

The third problem I mentioned that we deal with in today's world is the north-south problem. And it is not new, but I meet it in ways that I have not been able to break through. Admittedly, I have only been at it for four months, but I have tried. The problem is totally understandable, but it is one that is very difficult to deal with, and that is the feeling that the environmental agenda is not the agenda of the developing country. "The environmental agenda is your agenda, and if I go along with it as a developing country, I am going along with you, because you want it." And then you talk about what is important, and what are the consequences of not going along, and what are the benefits. You can do that and sometimes you get through, but frequently the filter through which that information has passed, which is that "it is your agenda and you want me to do you a favor."

And again, let us go back to climate change. It is most notable in climate change. As you may or may not know, the concept that we have and that is mandated by the Congress of the United States on a resolution that they passed, and which I think in principle is a sound resolution, is that we ought not to try to make an agreement on climate change that is not global in reach, to which the developing countries do not sign up in some fashion. And I think that makes sense: if you have a global problem, it would be nice to have a global solution. On the other hand, when you try to talk to developing countries, you get this reaction that I described, or various versions of that. As a result we have, as of today, exactly two developing countries that have agreed in principle to make commitments of the kind we are looking for. One of them is Argentina, the other is Kazakhstan. And we do not have a lot of people in the pipeline. That tells you something. That tells you it is not viewed by developing countries as their agenda. You say "look, we have the consequences of climate change, which we're talking about." And you go into that in some detail. "We are not going to be the only loser, we are all going to be losers, that includes you, and in fact we are not going to be the worst loser, because we can probably adapt a little better than you can!" And so far that has not been persuasive. And I think it has not been persuasive because of an attitude, which is the north-south attitude. This says (and again there is truth to this, but it leads you in different directions), "look, you guys got rich burning fossil fuels, and you are burning most of them right now." So you are going to this little emitter (we talk about emitters) and you are saying "you help fix it" and that is crazy! "It is your problem, you fix it and after you fix it I will talk to you." You get various versions of that and it is understandable, but it is also reasonably frustrating. And my sense is, we are trying to make modern environmental policy in an era which still has a very substantial north-south mentality, whether it is applicable to the case or not.

The fourth thing I mentioned I want to talk about is alliances. The United States right now is probably as powerful a country as we have had, in relative terms to others. Certainly you can talk about the British Empire at its height, and before that you probably have to go to the Roman Empire. I mean, we are the sole superpower and everybody knows it. And in fact that causes part of the problem. We have to be very careful about how to exercise that power because we are constantly being accused, in every negotiation, in every context, with the sin of hegemony, and with throwing our weight around. So there is no way to avoid that, I think. That comes with the status that we have, and the only way to deal with that is to form alliances. And we have done that, I think, assiduously, and intellectually honestly, and well. But it is striking how important that is even though, in theory, you have all this power. In the case of the agreement on the trade in genetically modified agricultural products, we would have been out of luck if we had not put together a very strong alliance group. And we had to make adjustments and we had to give and take in order to keep that group together. It was absolutely worthwhile and it was absolutely the right thing to do, but however strong we are, we needed Uruguay. We needed Uruguay and we needed Chile because we could not handle the texture of the negotiation on our own, in part because of this charge of hegemony. So I simply stress that to some extent the stronger you are, at the moment, it strikes me, the more you need these alliances.

The last thing I would simply say, is the issue of globalization, another place where I think we need some intellectual work. To me, globalization means the increased exchange in trade and goods and in capital among nations. [It means] the movement, even of people, but particularly of trade and capital, in a way that puts people, working people and businesses in the United States, in competition with those in Malaysia, in a way that was not true a long time ago. And the consequences of that, we are still in a sense sorting out. But the fact that that is a phenomenon that is dominant in today's economy very much impacts our environmental diplomacy of the 21st century. The fear of the environmental community, of course, always is that this will lead to a reduction in environmental standards: the famous race to the bottom. If an American manufacturer has a ten percent cost for a smokestack chemical precipitator, or some other environmental device or environmental process, which the competitor in a developing country or some other country does not have, the fear is one of two things: either that the manufacturer will move his operations to that other country; or more likely, that he will not do that, but he will go to the government of the United States and say "look at that guy over there, he does not have that ten percent cost that I do, that is an intolerable competitive situation. You have to reduce your environmental standards in order to make us on an even keel." That is the fear. One of the questions, and this where I think some additional work could usefully be done, is to what extent that is true. The German Marshall Fund a long time ago did some interesting work on whether companies choose sites on the basis of the environmental laws and their strictness or their non-strictness. They found mostly that was less true than more true. That is a somewhat rough description of a very elaborate study. But I think the question is to what extent that fear is true today.

But the second question is, which is the more true of the two competing scenarios? One scenario, feared by some, says more trade equals more wealth equals more consumption equals more environmental degradation. And the other competing

claim says more wealth means more countries with more middle class, more disposable income, more ability to choose how to spend dollars, and more ability and willingness to deal with environmental issues. Poor countries cannot do it, they do not have that luxury, they do not have the resources. Therefore wealth means better environment. I am putting these in the crudest sense, but that debate is absolutely unresolved in the American environmental community today. And it hurts us in several ways.

Next week I am going to be in Geneva, at a high-level symposium of trade people and environment people. It was proposed by the President in his speech last year. And the idea is to see whether we can make this trade body environmentally more responsible. At least half of the American environmental community did not really want to do that, I think, because they think this trade body is fatally flawed. And fixing it up is not the answer. Curbing it is the answer, or building a parallel and competitive environmental organization may be the answer, but that is a hopeless organization if you believe some people. We are working on the opposite assumption: that it is an organization that can, over time, successfully take account of environmental considerations. We will have to see. But the issue of how to deal with this phenomenon, and whether the phenomenon helps or hurts the environment, the phenomenon of globalization, is an element in today's environmental negotiation that simply did not exist twenty years ago. If it existed, people did not think of it in those terms and they did not accord it those values.

I think of those five issues, five phenomena if you will, shaping environmental diplomacy in this century and the next. And none of them are by any means intellectually resolved, and they certainly are not resolved in terms of negotiations. And they come up again and again in almost every discussion we have and every dispute we have. Let me just say a couple specific words about the climate change negotiation, because it is, in a sense, the "biggie." We certainly spend more effort on that and I see people in the audience who spend equally much time on that, and are equally or more knowledgeable about that [issue].

We have two big problems. The one I alluded to already: we have a global problem, and we do not have a global agreement. We have an agreement, the Kyoto Agreement, which only consists of the developed world. That is understandable in the sense that in a decision made some time back. The developed world sort of gave the developing world a bye, and said "we will go first." This is called the Berlin Mandate. I think it was a decision that is now technically no longer in force because it was overtaken by Kyoto, but it is in force in people's heads. But it will not work that way, I think. It will not work that way because very soon the developed world will not be the biggest emitter of greenhouse gases that cause the global climate change. If you look at the curves of the two, you will find that agreement among the developed world is simply not going to cut it. It is not going to make a big enough difference. So, for that reason, an agreement among the Kyoto parties alone is not going to work. And secondly, politically, as I alluded to earlier, the Senate of the United States has made it very clear that it is not going to ratify an agreement that is not in some way global in reach. So there are two reasons why [developing country participation] is necessary. I just came from two days in Mexico last week (a self-defined developing country, according to them), and we made some progress. But as I left I had my pen out and they did not choose to grab it and sign anything. So we will have to wait.

The other problem is cost. There is no question that there is a cost to taking the measures that are necessary in order to reduce greenhouse gases. Now, our argument is there is not a net cost, in the sense that the cost of the damage done by climate change is substantially greater than the cost of trying to curb climate change. But there is a cost. How much that cost is, is a matter of substantial debate. And two things about that cost need further work. One of them is, what is the difference between the cost of reducing greenhouse gases if you do it all in your home territory, and if you do some in your home territory and for the other you use the trading mechanisms that are built into the Kyoto Agreement? It sounds like a terribly arcane subject matter, but it is not arcane, and the reason it is not is because we know that the cost difference is huge. And it seems to me quite improbable that we can actually agree to an agreement that does not give us a method of complying with it that is the lowest-cost method we can devise. That seems to me so sensible that I am constantly surprised when I go to Europe, and I meet people that say "Ah! No, we have got to limit the extent to which you can use these mechanisms, these trading mechanisms, that would reduce cost." And when I say, "Why?" Well, the answers are various. Some of them are honest and some of them are maybe otherwise. Part of it, in my opinion, is kind of what I call the "Lutheran" view of Europe, which is that "you guys (Americans) are living a profligate life. You are using too much energy, energy's too cheap, you are not saving it, you are buying big cars, you are not turning off the lights, et cetera, and we are going to punish you." That is a big part of it. Nobody will say that, but I am convinced that is one thing. And another one is, some people suspect there is a kind of a competitive concern here that is, "if we make it expensive for the United States, we (the Europeans) will be ahead." I do not think that is the biggest part of the deal. I think part of it is, the NGO community in Europe again is outraged at our energy prices, and believes that in some way or other we are just trying to get rid of the problem without really paying any costs. That is a hard problem at the moment to fix. I think in some way we will get over that, but I mention it only to indicate the kinds of problems we are having in applying both science and diplomacy to the task of developing a truly global agreement on climate change.

One word more on an agreement that is done and that is a relatively good agreement, although it is by a factor of fifty easier than climate change: the Montreal Protocol on ozone-depleting chemicals. The reason that agreement, I think, worked, is because there was relatively modest cost, and relatively few emitting countries, and there was a technological substitute for the offending agents. What is good about the agreement, though, is that it managed to deal with the north-south issue rather well. It ended up giving different timetables, different

requirements for the south, and a pot of money, which is not all there yet, but a pot of money to help them adjust to the problems that would come as they changed from one agent to another. The most remarkable thing about the Montreal Protocol, is it goes back to the science issue. This is an agreement that was adopted to ward off a threat at a time when not a single person could show any damage from the phenomenon that we were trying to guard against. There was no death, there was no injury, there was no skin cancer, there was nothing. It was all in the future, and it was all based on scientific projections, which in fact have turned out to be accurate. That gives me a lot of hope, because it seems to me that if we can do that there, even though that was a so much simpler agreement than some others, it may be that we can apply science sensibly and effectively in other agreements.

This is not an elegantly formed talk. It is intended to throw out some ideas and to give you some sense of what I consider to be the interesting milieu in which we are trying to do environmental diplomacy at the turn of the century. Some of the problems that we have, some of the agreements that we are working on, and some of the solutions we are trying to find. And in all of that, I welcome the help of the Woodrow Wilson Center, and any other scholars who want to contribute to our solution of some of these problems, and to the negotiation of some of these agreements.

. . . . . .

Statements by Melinda L. Kimble
U.S. Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs

Excerpts from Acting Assistant Secretary Kimble's remarks at the Sixth Session of the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development
29 April 1998

…[F]reshwater is as essential to sustainable development as it is to life. Water has economic, social and environmental values that are inextricable, mutually supportive and intimately linked to other international discussions taking place. Water is, however, primarily a local and national issue, and actions and solutions need to be generated, supported and implemented primarily on local and national levels.

All governments need to redouble efforts to address water issues. This is as true for the United States as it is for other countries. In February, President Clinton and Vice President Gore announced a new Clean Water Action Plan (http://www.epa.gov/cleanwater/action/toc.html) budgeted at more than half a billion dollars in our next fiscal year to restore and protect the waters of our country.

The plan deals with the real issues of sustainable development. Agriculture is one important example. We need to ensure food security, but at the same time, this sector—which uses 70 to 80 percent of all water resources—must become more efficient in its use and ways must be found to reduce its impact on water quality and quantity. In the United States, we support education and action plans that increase awareness and we support the successful the implementation of programs to protect wetlands and watersheds, to control erosion, and to reduce non-point farm pollution. Wetlands are another, even more specific, aspect of water in which we regulate the conversion of wetlands to farmland and offer incentives to farmers to conserve wetlands and even to restore them.

The United States is making a concerted effort to share the experience it has in water management—including lessons it has learned, and the expertise it has developed—in support of sustainable development around the globe. In our bilateral development assistance program administered by the United States Agency for International Development we provide approximately US $330 million dollars per year in freshwater related activities.

In Central and South America, the Caribbean, Africa and Southeast Asia we actively support integrated watershed management efforts. In Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia, we are helping governments reduce industrial and agricultural pollution. Other efforts are focused on helping governments to establish regulatory frameworks to protect water resources.

An essential part of the United States' efforts to support sustainable development of water resources is focused on effective local participation in decision-making about water resources and their sustainable development.

In Asia we are supporting farmer management of irrigation districts. In Africa, the Middle East and Latin America, we are supporting local decision-making in the development of drinking water supplies and sewage treatment. These efforts include a special focus to include women at all stages from decision making to implementation and management, to collecting and providing gender-disaggregated data.

The report from this meeting shall stress ways in which governments and the international community can take practical steps, using a watershed and river basin approach, to integrate the sectors using water.

Reflecting our national experience and the lessons we have learned in our development assistance programs we have tried to emphasize the following points in these meetings.

- That an integrated approach to water management is necessary to sustainable development.
- That education—formal and informal—is crucial to implementing watershed management and planning.
- That population changes and demographic trends must be factored into watershed planning and management.
- That local involvement in decision making is essential, including in particular the active involvement of women.
- That use of ecosystem approach to encourages integrated land and water management is necessary to watershed management is useful in integrating land and water

management.

The purpose…is to generate dialogue between governments, business and industry representatives, trade unions, NGOs and other major groups on the role and responsibilities of industry, which, if exercised wisely, will lead to higher living standards, increased social development and enhanced quality of the environment.

. . . . . .

Statements by Julia V. Taft
U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees, and Migration

Excerpts from Assistant Secretary Taft's remarks to participants in the International Diploma in Humanitarian Assistance Center for International Health and Cooperation and City University of New York, Hunter College, New York, NY
6 July 1998

…Because you're working in the international humanitarian field, it may be useful to understand U.S. policy on international family planning, an issue that has become unfortunately politicized. U.S. population policy is a critical element in our comprehensive strategy for sustainable development. Sustainable development integrates goals for population and health with those of protecting the environment, building democracy, and encouraging broad-based economic growth—again, linking us back to several of the national interests of the Department.

World population is expected to reach 6 billion within the next year with most of the current annual increase of 81 million people occurring in the developing world. More than 120 million couples around the world want, but do not have access to, quality voluntary family planning services, and even more are without related reproductive health services. Our goal is to help couples and individuals to determine freely and responsibly the number and spacing of their children and to address related reproductive health needs.

I should note here that no U.S. government funds are spent to perform or lobby for abortion as a method of family planning. In fact, there is extensive evidence that family planning plays a key role in reducing unintended pregnancies and preventing abortion. This evidence is unfortunately often ignored in the perpetual political debates on population issues.

Refugee women, in particular, often lack even the most basic elements of reproductive health care, yet, by the very nature of their refugee status, are at even greater risk of sexual violence, STDs [sexually transmitted diseases] and HIV/AIDS, and pregnancy complications. Our policies, and the programs of my Bureau, in particular, recognize that these women need appropriate health care and greater protection from sexual and gender-based violence. We support the programs of international organizations and NGOs [nongovernmental organizations] seeking to achieve these goals….

. . . . . .

Statements by William S. Cohen
U.S. Secretary of Defense

Excerpts from Secretary of Defense Cohen's remarks to the Coalition to Advance Sustainable Technology (CAST), Denver, CO
26 June 1998

… We recognize that we have got to find ways to conduct our business and yet do less damage to the environment. So we're looking at alternative fuels as far as our systems are concerned. Sherri [Goodman, Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Environmental Security] has been instrumental in this. We tasked our military to go out and find creative ways to engage in the activities we have to engage in, but to find ways to save energy, to find ways in which we can reduce pollution. We give awards out once a year and she organizes this and does an outstanding job for the awards that we give to all of the services who actually compete, go out and say, "Here's how we can save energy, here's how we can reduce pollution, here's how we can take advantage of working with business to come up with an innovative idea." That goes on every day of the year.

Teddy Roosevelt…was also a great environmentalist. He said, "You can't ride roughshod over the land. If you skin and exhaust the land you will undermine the days of our children. Our natural resources are the final basis of national power and perpetuity." We believe that. So what we want to do is to continue to make sure that we don't ride roughshod and skin the land and work together to find constructive solutions on how we can measure up to our responsibilities.

. . . . . .

Statements by Sherri W. Goodman
U.S. Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Environmental Security

Excerpts from Deputy Under Secretary Goodman's prepared remarks, to the Oklahoma Association for Environmental Education, Fort Sill, OK
13 February 1998

…[T]he focus of our efforts are on protecting people, equipment, facilities, and natural and cultural resources, all of which are necessary to conduct the defense mission, and maintain the readiness of our troops.

This responsibility involves managing the natural areas under our stewardship, cleaning up sites that have been contaminated in the past, developing programs and technologies to prevent pollution from the outset, protecting the safety and health of people, and complying with the law. To accomplish this, environmental factors are now integrated into all defense activities—everything from designing lead-free bullets to

developing technologies for the first paintless aircraft, the Joint Strike Fighter (painting and depainting is the source of over 80 percent of our hazardous waste).

…[E]nvironmental education and training is a critical link to meeting our environmental objectives. This center is an integral part of achieving our environmental education and training goals. Our program has five parts.

- First, environmental education is provided to all DoD [Department of Defense] employees worldwide from the newest recruit to the most senior general.

- Second, training courses are available to all our environmental professionals. Last year, this center alone taught over 8,000 people in everything from emergency spill response and hazardous materials management, to water quality sampling and ecosystems management techniques.

- Third, we have a special program to educate what we call our "acquisition" work force. This is particularly important because much of our hazardous waste is created in the acquisition process, where tanks, airplanes, ships, weapons and other equipment are designed, built and purchased.

- Fourth, environmental education is offered at the department's senior military leadership schools. We are preparing future generals and admirals, not only to make sure they can manage hazardous materials, but to think about where and under what circumstances environmental factors contribute to conflict and instability, and how to protect troops and the environment during military operations. Gen. [Anthony C.] Zinni, commander in chief of the Central Command, who will command our troops should we be forced to take military action against Iraq, is one of the most knowledgeable generals on how environmental factors are important in military operations…

- Lastly,…the defense environmental community has a strong commitment to sharing our environmental expertise with people who live in communities surrounding installations. Almost all installations have a wide range of environmental education facilities and programs.

. . . . . .

Statements by Daniel R. Glickman
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture

Excerpts from Secretary Glickman's remarks on the occasion of the release of the *U.S. Action Plan on Food Security*, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, DC
26 March 1999

With all that this world has achieved—from space travel to organ transplants—perhaps the greatest challenge we face, is one that has eluded us for centuries. One in seven of the world's people suffer from hunger and undernutrition.

Two years ago, I led the U.S. delegation to the World Food Summit in Rome in 1996. 186 countries came together to try to find a way to eradicate the scourge of global hunger. We set a goal of reducing by half the number of undernourished people in the world by the year 2015. That meant helping 400 million people move from hunger to food security in less than 20 years. Each country agreed to create a national plan of action to help reach that goal.

Today I am announcing the *U.S. Action Plan on Food Security*, a giant step toward meeting the commitment we made in Rome. As of today, only the United States and Canada have announced comprehensive food security action plans and together our two countries are taking the lead in this worldwide effort.

History has taught us that it is neither affordable nor productive to simply throw food at the problem. If we are to make actual inroads against hunger, then we can't just rush from famine to famine. To beat hunger, we have to get at its root causes—poverty, income inequality, political instability, inadequate natural resources, lack of infrastructure and more.

The action plan is a road map for ending hunger by using innovating partnerships to unite the public and private sectors. That's why there are no less than 18 federal agencies and departments involved. That's why there are countless individuals, organizations, universities, religious organizations, private companies—you name it—involved.

At the federal level we recognize that international food security depends largely on policy reform around the world. The plan calls for the United States to encourage an enabling environment in foreign countries and to enhance coordination of its foreign assistance with other donor nations; promote freer trade to enhance global access to food; improve research capacity and enhance people's ability to help themselves, particularly through education of girls and women; target more food aid to the most needy and improve the efficiency and effectiveness of food aid programs such as Food for Peace; and support the work of the Codex Alimentarius Commission in setting international food safety standards. *Our Africa: Seeds of Hope* effort is one example of how we are working toward these goals.


Daniel R. Glickman

Of course, hunger and malnutrition are not problems that plague only developing countries. We haven't beaten it here in the United States. No country has which tells us that defeating our enemy is far more complex than simply producing enough food.

…Over the past century we've made enormous progress in our battle against hunger and malnutrition. There's a lot to be proud of. But the bottom line is, the new century will see world population reach nearly eight billion people in just 25 years. There will be more mouths to feed, on top of the hungry

that exist today. If we've learned anything in this crusade, it's that to succeed everyone must participate. Whether it means donating food during a local food drive, or volunteering at a food bank, or working full-time in an anti-hunger organization, or farmers gleaning from their harvest, we all can play a part we all can make a difference.

I close with the words of Woodrow Wilson, "America is not anything if it consists of each of us. It is something only if it consists of all of us." It will take all of us to really defeat hunger and malnutrition. As the world's food superpower, if we succeed, we will set a standard for the entire community of nations, where all people have ready access to good health, nutritious food and a decent standard of living.

Editor's Note: The full text of Secretary Glickman's speech can be found at http://www.usda.gov/news/releases/1999/03/0133. A pdf version of the plan is available at http://www.fas-usda.gov/icd/summit/usactpl.pdf.

. . . . . .

Statements by Bill Richardson
U.S. Secretary of Energy

Excerpts from Secretary Richardson's remarks to the U.S. Oil & Gas Association Meeting, San Antonio, TX
16 October 1998

…There used to be a robust government dialogue on energy, spearheaded by a federal interagency group called the "International Energy Security Group." This group was charged with assessing the implications of—as well as for—the energy sector on our national, economic and environmental security. Energy was deemed so important that the National Security Council had the lead in running this effort.

Unfortunately, we have lost a little of this sense of purpose—along with the valuable clarity it provided—and it is my sincere hope that when I leave DOE [Department of Energy], I will have helped turn complacency into commitment, and apathy into action.

. . . . . .

Statements by Carol M. Browner
Administrator, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency

Excerpts from Administrator Browner's prepared remarks to the Committee on Finance, United States Senate, Washington, DC
28 January 1999

…One of the major goals of EPA's Strategic Plan under the Government Performance and Results Act is aimed at reducing global risks that affect health and environment in the United States. EPA's efforts under this goal are grouped in five major areas: (1) protecting North American ecosystems, including marine and Arctic environments, (2) meeting U.S. commitments under the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change, (3) reducing stratospheric ozone depletion in conformance with U.S. commitments under the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, (4) protecting public health and ecosystems from persistent organic pollutants that circulate at global and regional scales, and (5) strengthening environmental protection worldwide and achieving cleaner and more-effective environmental protection in the United States.

EPA's international environmental programs help protect the health and environment of American citizens. They enlist the cooperation of other nations in reducing transboundary and global environmental threats to the United States and reduce the cost of the nation's environmental protection. They also serve the nation's broad foreign policy, economic and national security interests.

…As emphasized by the General Accounting Office in its recent review of international environmental programs across the U.S. government, "EPA's international programs also serve important U.S. economic, foreign policy, and security interests." Working closely with other U.S. agencies, for example, EPA has actively supported regional cooperation under the auspices of the Middle East Peace Process Multilateral Working Group, including bringing together regional parties to cooperate on reducing risks from pesticides, small community wastewater, and preventing and responding to chemical accidents or oil spills.

The Agency's emphasis on community-based environmental management plays an important role in encouraging the development of more responsible, participatory decision-making in countries around the world. Reduced environmental problems can relieve pressures for illegal immigration, promote economic and political stability, and serve other national security interests.

. . . . . .

Statements by David Sandalow
Associate Director for the Global Environment, Council on Environmental Quality

Excerpts from Mr. Sandalow's remarks on President Clinton's meeting with five leading environmental experts from the African continent, Gaborone, Botswana
29 March 1998

…[T]he themes that emerged were, first of all, the linkage between poverty and the environment. Several participants spoke quite eloquently to that, one saying environmental degradation leads to poverty, leads to environmental degradation, and the cycle continues.

A second theme that emerged was the importance of engaging local communities in managing natural resources and protecting the environment. A third theme that emerged was the need for broad public education including education of children in order to address environmental issues.

…Desertification, the spread of deserts and the degrading of drylands, is a large problem in Africa and a main priority of the Africans in discussions about the environment. Desertification, or the degrading of the drylands, results from over-grazing, from agricultural practices such as mono-cropping, from over-utilization of limited water supplies, and from drought.

The international community has been engaged in efforts to combat desertification on this continent and other continents for quite a while, and there is now an international treaty called the Desertification Convention, agreed to several years ago.

I should say that the convention is a good government treaty. It has innovative provisions to encourage local governments and communities to get involved in efforts to fight the spread of deserts—in this way, it is very resonant with the discussion that the President had at the roundtable today—and it also has mechanisms to improve the coordination of foreign assistance. It imposes no obligations on the United States.

A second area in which we're announcing new efforts is in promoting community-based natural resource management; again, significant resonance with the discussion today. The United States already is spending roughly US $80 million a year for environmental assistance in Africa.

…Finally, is the topic of climate change, an environmental topic that has received considerable attention in the last several months. Here in Africa, erratic weather patterns have been seen, both in Southern Africa and in Eastern Africa. In Eastern Africa there has been very heavy rainfall in the last several months. President Clinton today announced that NASA will initiate the first ever scientific assessment of the environment in Southern Africa. Working with local partners, NASA is going to use satellite and ground-based technologies to provide an assessment for measuring changes in the environment, improving drought prediction, and helping assess the impact of climate change…

. . . . . .

Statements by J. Brian Atwood
Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development

Excerpts from Administrator Atwood's remarks at the University of Texas Law School, Austin, TX
12 February 1998

…There is a clear connection between large populations of young people, a lack of economic opportunity and the potential for societies to collapse in violence. A variety of prominent organizations ranging from the Central Intelligence Agency to the Carnegie Commission on Violence, to the Congressional Budget Office, have looked at the factors that cause nations to erupt into civil war. While the methodologies used by these organizations in their studies varied, there was a remarkable confluence in their findings.

Those nations at greatest risk were characterized as sharing common dynamics: high infant mortality rates, rapid population growth, high population density, large youth populations, a lack of strong democratic institutions, a history of ethnic disputes, and sharp and severe economic distress. As the Congressional Budget Office study found, there is "A fairly striking correlation between economic malaise on the one hand and domestic unrest on the other."

Now when you consider the 1.3 billion people living on a dollar a day and the three billion people we will have on the planet under the age of twenty, you see that around the globe the ground is extraordinarily fertile for more of the conflicts we have seen since the end of the Cold War. Equally clearly, the international community needs to do a better job addressing these fundamental underpinnings of social unrest and underdevelopment or we will pay a very high price. The human, social and economic costs of failed nation states are immense and many of these conflicts have been propelled, in part, by populations of disaffected youth.

The bottom line is: we need to begin thinking in terms of prevention if we are ever going to get ahead of the curve. And we need to pay more attention to these young people. The problem is that a great many people have a hard time thinking about the world as it is, not as it was. We still spend more time studying the bends in the river rather than its currents. It is still considered soft-headed to examine development problems like poverty, environmental decay and the youth explosion even though it is clear that these phenomena produce war, refugees, terrorists and drug traffickers.

As a nation we find it easier to spend US $2 billion on a single Seawolf submarine than to spend US $2 billion dollars on a development assistance budget that today may offer more security than a submarine. U.S. foreign aid programs account for less than one half of one percent of the federal budget. The costs of prevention are minuscule when compared with the costs of deadly conflict.

. . . . . .

Statements by Lee H. Hamilton
U.S. Congressman from Indiana

Excerpts from Congressman Hamilton's remarks on Earth Day 1998, Washington, DC
29 April 1998

…On this, the 28th anniversary of Earth Day, we can take great pride in the advances that have been made in environmental protection. We have succeeded in reducing the levels of lead and other dangerous pollutants from the air. Lakes and rivers, once so contaminated they could catch on fire, now

support large fish populations. Forests are rebounding. Endangered species, like the eagle and the buffalo, have been saved from extinction and are now thriving.


Lee H. Hamilton

…Despite our achievements, we face daunting environmental challenges. First, a growing population and expanding economy continue to put stresses on our environment.

…Second, the environmental challenges are more complicated…Furthermore, many environmental problems, like global warming, ozone depletion, and threats to our fisheries, are global in nature, but achieving global consensus on any issue is not easy.

Third, our environmental laws need updating…I believe we need to rethink how we regulate the environment.

…First, we should find market-based solutions to environmental problems …Second, we should encourage cooperation between the federal government and the regulated community…Third, we should give more discretion to state and local governments in managing environmental problems because they are often closer to the problems, and may have better ideas about solving them in innovating, cost-effective ways. Fourth, we should allocate federal resources to the most pressing environmental problems, particularly in an era of tight federal budgets…Federal agencies should conduct risk assessment, based on scientific evidence, and cost-benefit analysis before implementing new regulations.

Excerpts from Congressman Hamilton's remarks on U.S. Aid to Africa on National Public Radio's "Talk of the Nation"
18 May 1998

…U.S. assistance helps address transnational problems: population growth, environmental degradation, refugee flows…problems that are not confined to the borders of a state. A strong and properly directed development assistance program is an important line of defense against these threats…

[Editor's Note: Lee H. Hamilton retired from The U.S. Congress in January 1999 and became director of The Woodrow Wilson Center.]

. . . . . .

Statements by Richard G. Lugar
U.S. Senator from Indiana

Excerpts from Senator Lugar's remarks at a meeting entitled "The New Petroleum: Energy and National Security" at the Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, DC
17 March 1999

…For lesser developed countries who are often burdened with debt as a result of having to import oil, cellulosic ethanol offers some striking advantages. As an example, consider Sierra Leone, a West African country of five million people recently in the news with reports of extreme poverty and virtual collapse of its civil society. With no proven commercially viable oil reserves, Sierra Leone is forced to import all of its petroleum products in refined form. These energy imports make up a large percentage of the country's total import bill of $211 million, and contrast with exports of less than $40 million. Sierra Leone's national debt stands at over $1.1 billion. Approximately two-thirds of the imported petroleum is funded by donor aid. For a country facing civil war, rapid population growth, and widespread slash-and-burn agriculture, it is almost inconceivable that significant amounts of foreign aid need be devoted towards compensation of national and multinational oil companies. Sierra Leone is being strangled by its reliance on imported oil.

With the vast majority of Sierra Leonians engaged in subsistence farming and large tracts of arable land, the country could benefit immensely from the new biofuel technology. Freed from its oily noose, aid dollars could be spent on programs that promoted environmentally sustainable agricultural practices with a new source for income provided by agricultural wastes and energy crops. Land damaged by slash-and-burn agriculture could be planted with native grasses or trees, replenishing the soil while at the same time providing a local source of income and fuel. There are likely to be even larger effects on rural development if biomass ethanol production can lead toward using plant matter for other products as well, such as biochemicals and electrical energy. The cleanliness of renewable fuel technologies makes them particularly attractive to countries like Sierra Leone that lack a sophisticated infrastructure or network of regulatory controls.


Richard G. Lugar

Energy is vital to a country's security and standard of living. History is littered with examples of nations that have gone to war in order to procure access to energy supplies. With the need for affordable energy rising with increasing population, and the transportation sector fueled almost exclusively by fossil fuels, the Middle East will control something approaching three-quarters of the world's oil in the coming century, providing that unstable region with a disproportionate leverage over diplomatic affairs. Dependence on the Middle East entails a risk of a repeat of the international crises of 1973, 1979 and 1990—or worse. At a time when the United States confronts an ill-defined and confused drama of events on the international stage, including an increasingly bellicose China, and nuclear and missile technology proliferation to North Korea, it seems clear we should dedicate a relatively miniscule amount of money toward research that could lead to a revolution in the way we produce and consume energy. Or as presented in the recent Report of the President's Committee of Advisors on Science and Technology (PCAST), a distinguished panel of scientists and industrial experts, "…the security of the United States is at

least as likely to be imperiled in the first half of the next century by the consequences of inadequacies in the energy options available to the world as by inadequacies in the capabilities of U.S. weapons systems." The report succinctly concludes, "It is striking that the Federal government spends about twenty times more R&D money on the latter problem than on the former."

. . . . . .

Statements by Javier Solana
Secretary General, NATO

Excerpts from Secretary General Solana's remarks to the Oxford University Union Society, Oxford, United Kingdom
13 May 1998

…Nor is security cooperation confined to traditionally military matters. NATO's civil emergency planners are working with our Partners to establish a disaster response capability. NATO played a key role in providing advice and coordinating assistance during last summer's floods in Poland and the Czech Republic. Through our Science for Peace program, Western expertise can be shared to tackle problems as diverse as the conversion of obsolete and often dangerous defense equipment and the environmental disaster in the Aral Sea.

. . . . . .

Statements by Louise Fréchette
Deputy Secretary-General, United Nations

Remarks by Deputy Secretary-General Fréchette to the Forum on United Nations Sustainable Development Programs, American University, Washington, DC
23 February 1999

…We can no longer talk about economic development, environmental protection and social progress as separate matters. Rather, they are mutually reinforcing components of a single, urgent mission.

We now understand that we should not create jobs and raise incomes with short-term development that fails to take the costs of environmental damage into account. But we must acknowledge, just the same, that many problems, particularly in developing countries, can only be solved through rapid, steady economic growth, along with sound environmental and social policies.

More broadly, we see as well the links between sustainable development and most of the key issues on the international agenda. Poverty perpetuates economic stagnation, social deprivation, ill health and environmental degradation. Population pressures put strains on resources. A lack of good governance is an obstacle to effective public administration and the delivery of public services such as clean water, sanitation and infrastructure.

There is even a connection to the maintenance of peace and security, since the roots of conflict and political instability may also be found in competition over increasingly scarce resources such as land, oil or water.

We knew all of this, of course, intuitively and from long experience. Yet it wasn't until the publication of "Our Common Future" in 1987 that the many strands coalesced into the overarching idea of sustainable development.

Just five years later, the landmark meeting in Rio gave the concept a global stamp of approval. And now, just seven years along the road from Rio, more than 150 countries have established national councils on sustainable development or similar bodies, and almost 2,000 municipal governments in 49 countries are pursuing local Agenda 21 action plans.

Also during that time, a series of world conferences on other major issues reinforced the overall message: that along with interdependence among nations there is interdependence among issues, and that development must be approached in a comprehensive, integrated manner, the future firmly in view.

The net result is an internationally agreed framework for action. But let us not be lulled by what we have accomplished on paper. We should measure our gains not in conferences held or promises made but by what happens on the ground. And so we must ask: How well have we progressed since the Earth Summit? Has the United Nations—from its policy-making bodies to its agencies and programs at the country-level—risen to the challenge? Have we moved from concept to action, from intention to implementation?

As you know, two years ago the General Assembly convened a special session to carry out just such an assessment. A "critical trends" report was issued on that occasion that looked ahead to the next quarter century and noted significant progress as well as some reasons to fear the worst.

On the positive side of the ledger, growth in world population is slowing, food production is rising, the majority of people are living longer, healthier lives, and environmental quality in some regions is improving. Legally binding conventions on climate change, biodiversity and desertification have entered into force. And we have shown that determined policy intervention can make a difference in response to threats such as industrial pollution and depletion of the ozone layer.

At the same time, there is a growing scarcity of freshwater, a loss of forests and of productive agricultural land, and increasing poverty and inequality in many parts of the developing world. The fallout of AIDS has proved to be even more widespread and devastating than had been feared, especially for the economies of many African countries. Government subsidies continue to disguise the actual costs of natural resources, leading to their depletion and overuse. And we have yet to put in place sustainable patterns of energy production and use—our main concern for the long-term.

The conclusion in 1997 was that while global catastrophe was not imminent, business-as-usual was not likely to result in long-term sustainable development. That remains true today.

The role of the multilateral system in changing this state of affairs is twofold, simultaneously global and local. Globally, issues such as climate change and marine pollution that cut

across national frontiers are among the quintessential "problems without passports" which, like crime, drug-trafficking and the spread of disease, cry out for an international response.

But the global perspective is not the only one. While global threats and the global dimension of modern life have received the lion's share of attention in recent years, it is the local level that is closest to the world's people, and it is at the local level that the most creative and tangible problem-solving is being done.

The local level is also where the United Nations and its system of agencies and programs are most present in people's lives, helping countries to meet their peoples' needs. Indeed, for most men, women and children the struggle for sustainable development begins not at United Nations conferences or policy sessions but at home, amid grinding poverty, with the daily search for basics like clean water, sanitation, shelter and some fuel with which to cook and heat.

So if the role of the multilateral system is clear, still we must have a multilateral system that works. The Earth Summit served as a catalyst for changes at the United Nations which have brought us closer to that goal. The Commission on Sustainable Development, created immediately after Rio, has become a central forum to review and promote implementation of Agenda 21 and other agreements. The Global Environment Facility has emerged as an innovative financial mechanism.

We have also, in the spirit of Rio and the spirit of United Nations reform, closely examined the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and Habitat, the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements. For more than 25 years, UNEP has monitored the state of the environment, raised awareness and provided invaluable policy guidance. Today, as a focal point, within and beyond the United Nations system, for the environmental dimension of sustainable development, a strong UNEP is essential for us all.

Towards that end, following a comprehensive review, the Secretary-General has submitted to the General Assembly a set of recommendations aimed at revitalizing both UNEP and Habitat. The recommendations covering UNEP are designed to improve coordination, forge closer links between UNEP and the environment-related conventions, and in general give UNEP greater political and financial backing. UNEP must have the status, strength and resources it needs if it is to function effectively as the environmental agency of the world community.

The changes at UNEP and Habitat are also part of the broader process of reform initiated two years ago by the Secretary-General. That effort has brought better coordination among the Organization's disparate entities, enabling them to make the necessary linkages among issues and working more effectively together at the country level.

. . . . . .

Statements by James Gustave Speth
Administrator, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

Excerpts from Administrator Speth's remarks on World Environment Day
5 June 1998

I am pleased to pay tribute to 1998 World Environment Day's theme, *For Life on Earth: Save our Seas.* The world's oceans are resilient and powerful, but they are finite ecosystems, which are heavily affected by human activity. Managing oceans responsibly today will determine whether they remain a vital and renewable resource for everyone in the next millennium.

Unfortunately, we have not been good stewards of our oceans and coasts. Rapid coastal population growth and the resulting increase in waste disposal, along with intensive agricultural and industrial pollution on or near shorelines, have damaged reefs and other vital marine habitats. More than two-thirds of the world's people live in coastal areas, and more than half the world's coastal wetlands have been destroyed by urban development. The loss of these wetlands may be costing coastal fishing communities as much as 4.7 million tons of fish a year. These pressures, combined with the vast over-capacity of international fishing fleets, have contributed to the well-publicized collapse of major fisheries around the world. Moreover, the erosion of ocean biodiversity is alarming. For the people whose livelihoods depend on our oceans, these trends could spell disaster, pushing thousands into poverty.

UNDP supports an expanding portfolio of projects that build capacity in the areas of fisheries management, mariculture, aquaculture and the sustainable use of coastal and deep-water marine ecosystems. Many of these projects are being funded by the Global Environment Facility, which UNDP co-sponsors with the World Bank and the UN Environment Programme (UNEP). UNDP is also assisting UNEP in translating regional coastal management policies into action.

In January, UNDP launched a Strategic Initiative for Ocean and Coastal Management to protect the world's seas by exchanging information about the marine environment among countries and project managers and alerting scientists and policymakers to coastal management issues and the resources to deal with them. Such efforts are part of UNDP's Water Strategy, which combines the management of fresh water resources with the management of aquatic ecosystems, ranging from watersheds, rivers, streams, lakes, aquifers, deltas, wetlands, coastal zones and oceans.

Oceans must remain at the top of the global agenda. In recognition of the importance of our water resources, the United Nations has declared 1998 the International Year of the Ocean. This action, along with the adoption of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, are milestones in the international community's commitment to reversing the rapid depletion of marine ecosystems. All countries must redouble their efforts to ensure that such agreements are honored and that marine resources are managed sustainably. Nations must learn to share

the ocean's living resources, or risk depriving future generations of the wealth and beauty they have always brought to humanity.

Excerpts from Administrator Speth's remarks on the UN Framework Convention for Climate Change, Buenos Aires, Argentina
11 November 1998

…[E]xtreme weather events are predicted by many to be one consequence of global warming, the challenge now before us. We have already come a long way. The Kyoto Protocol includes the commitments for Annex I countries to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions. I urge all Parties to ratify this landmark agreement. There are no sound reasons for costly delays.

At a press briefing yesterday, UNDP and the World Resources Institute released a report documenting how developing countries are already participating meaningfully in reducing climate-altering emissions. The initiatives we have reported—in China, India, Brazil, and elsewhere—are only the beginning, but they are certainly meaningful. China, for example, has sharply reduced coal subsidies and improved energy efficiency. Without these and other measures, its emissions of carbon dioxide would be 50 per cent higher than they are today.

It will take some 100 years before the cumulative carbon dioxide emissions from developing countries equal those of industrialized countries. Yet changes in the earth's climate will hit developing countries first—and hardest. We have already seen, with natural phenomena such as hurricanes, typhoons and El Niño, the vulnerability of development to climate events. Generations of poverty, and deforestation for fuel and farming have left many areas barren and more vulnerable to the destructive forces of floods and mudslides.

…Yet, we need not always work through conventional approaches that replicate unsustainable energy patterns. As the world community agreed at Rio, climate change objectives and poverty eradication can and must be reconciled. In the years since Rio, much has been accomplished in the promotion of new and different approaches to energy. Commercially viable and environmentally sound technologies are becoming increasingly available. Opportunities lie primarily in more efficient use of energy, enhanced use of renewable energy sources, introduction of new and better performing technologies, and improved land use and forestry practices. We must work together to promote these opportunities in order to fulfill our sustainable development and climate change mitigation objectives simultaneously.

Industrialized countries, responsible for the bulk of greenhouse gas emissions, have recognized that it is in everyone's interest that they assist developing countries in the implementation of sustainable energy strategies. The problem is that the promises of greater assistance made at Rio and elsewhere are not being fulfilled. Development finance, sound technology choices, technology transfer, environmentally-conscious pricing and trade policies, technical assistance and new partnerships with the private sector are all needed. And no mechanisms under the Kyoto Protocol can substitute for the need for an urgent reversal of recent declines in Official Development Assistance.

We at UNDP have stressed the close links that exist between poverty eradication and environmental sustainability. The ninth meeting of the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) will provide a major opportunity to review the necessary changes needed in the global energy system in order to support development that is pro-poor and pro-environment. In our work, we are reaching out to the private sector and to our partners in the United Nations system. UNDP has initiated, together with the United Nations Department of Social and Economic Affairs and the World Energy Council, a "World Energy Assessment" to provide a substantive input for the preparatory process for the Ninth CSD.

Excerpts by Administrator Speth's message on World Water Day
22 March 1999

Water is of fundamental importance to all social and economic activity and thus integral to sustainable human development. Eighty percent of common diseases in developing countries are caused either by unsafe water or by lack of sanitation. Water-borne diseases kill over 10,000 people a day, most of them children.

The theme of this year's World Water Day is "Everyone Lives Downstream". Perhaps the best demonstration of this is the way that rivers and streams flow across mountains, villages, urban settlements and even countries. Indeed, UNDP's water strategy… emphasizes the continuum of watersheds, rivers, lakes and aquifers to deltas, wetlands, coastal zones and oceans.

Many of our actions or decisions—whether the issue is housing, transportation, energy, agriculture, or economic development—are potentially linked to the use of our water resources. Likewise, many critical mistakes that can result from poorly planned development—such as storm drain overflow, mine drainage, nutrient loading, over-irrigation, sewage overflow, excessive withdrawal of groundwater, or topsoil erosion from clear-cut forests—show up in our water in the form of toxic pollution, dead fish, and dried-up streams. Let us not forget that about 80 percent of all diseases, and more than a third of all deaths in developing countries are caused by contaminated water. More than one billion people drink unsafe water, or invest hours every day collecting clean water.

Fifty-five percent of UNDP country offices now implement projects in the water sector, reflecting the high priority water holds as a concern for development and as an entry point for poverty alleviation. During the 1990s, UNDP has invested more than US$100 million annually in projects that support directly or indirectly water resources development. UNDP's project portfolio in the water sector ranges from the development of hand pumps at the community level to regional projects aimed at protecting international water bodies. Through the Global Environment Facility, UNDP, UNEP and the World Bank support local, regional and global projects that aim to protect

international water bodies, wetlands and biodiversity.

Projects that are especially close to this year's theme of World Water Day involve international river basins. One example is UNDP's support for the Nile Basin Framework Initiative and the related UNDP-World Bank Partnership Agreement on the International Waters Initiative. The goal of the riparians of these shared river basins is not only that individual nations benefit but also that there is an optimal use of the resource and the sustainable development of the basins for the benefit of all. Herein lies a shared vision that may be adopted by the global community for the benefit of the world as a whole, and as a guide for the future of water management on this World Water Day.

. . . . . .

Statements by Klaus Töpfer
Executive Director, United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)

Remarks by Executive Director Töpfer at the signing of an agreement strengthening cooperation between UNEP and United Nations Population Fund, Geneva, Switzerland
9 April 1999

A stabilized population is increasingly seen as an essential ingredient of environmental sustainability at local, national and global levels. Similarly, balanced patterns of consumption and production, which foster sustainable resource use and prevent environmental degradation are seen as key elements of an integrated approach to achieving societies' population and development goals. This new Agreement will help UNEP and UNFPA better understand the complexities of the issues involved and thus facilitate the search for solutions.

. . . . . .

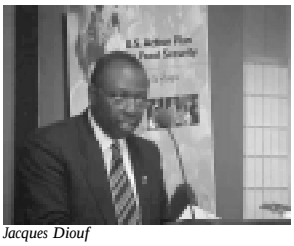
Statements by Jacques Diouf
Director-General, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

Excerpts from Director-General Diouf's remarks on the occasion of the release of the *U.S. Action Plan on Food Security*, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, DC
26 March 1999

The *U.S. Action Plan* sets out priorities and actions to address hunger both at home and in the developing world. While recognizing that the vast majority of households in America are food secure, the Plan finds that 12 million households in the United States are food insecure, that of these, nearly four million are hungry at some point over the course of a year, and that in a recent opinion poll, Americans said they considered domestic hunger to be one of the most serious national problems.

At the Summit countries pledged to reduce the number of undernourished people by half by no later than the year 2015. This was a minimum goal, not a maximum goal. So it is gratifying to note that the United States has adopted an even broader commitment as a domestic goal, and is developing a target for reducing food insecurity in the U.S. through its national Healthy People 2010 initiative.

At the same time, the Plan observes that the link between world food security and the well-being of Americans is not clearly understood. To address this problem, the United States will conduct a national "Food for All" campaign and will highlight the linkages among domestic and international agriculture, hunger, food security and poverty by sharing such information with Congress, the public, and the U.S. agricultural community.


Jacques Diouf

Such an action will undoubtedly constitute a major step in spreading the awareness that in today's interdependent world, hunger anywhere is a problem for all. I believe that the seed will fall on fertile ground, for I have always been convinced that there is an important constituency in the United States which is firmly and unselfishly dedicated to the goal of freedom from hunger. This was the ideal which led to the founding of FAO, and I need hardly recall that the United States was instrumental—indeed the leader—in that process.

I take heart from the results of the University of Maryland public opinion study which found that a strong majority of the people polled favored maintaining or increasing aid to sustainable development and humanitarian programs. This can only be to the benefit of the crucially important actions outlined in sections of the Plan which address the "international dimension."

Those actions are too numerous to mention, but they bear witness to the will of the U.S. to continue playing its essential role in the international development arena, enhancing the focus of its aid programs on the multiple facets of food security.

They also recognize the needs of the low-income, food-deficit countries. There is special mention of the problems of Africa, and important initiatives to help African countries address them. And acknowledgement of the importance of implementing the Marrakech Decision on Measures Concerning the Least Developed and Net Food Importing Countries.

I am naturally gratified by the support for crucial programs such as the Codex Alimentarius Commission, run jointly by FAO and the World Health Organization, and the food insecurity and vulnerability information and mapping systems (FIVIMS), in which FAO is playing a major catalytic role with other partners. The Plan also mentions important work to be done on unifying international early warning systems with global coverage, on which FAO looks forward to continuing and strengthening dialogue and cooperation with the United States.

The message which comes through in the Plan, loud and clear, is that there are solutions to hunger, but that unless effective action is taken now, we will not meet even the minimum target set by the Summit.

We in FAO also share the conclusion that solutions are expensive, but affordable. Although different approaches and

Left to right: Geoffrey D. Dabelko, Daniel R. Glickman, and Jacques Diouf

methodologies can lead to varying quantitative estimates of the resources to be mobilized internationally, it is acknowledged that present downward trends in official development assistance must be reversed, and that the increase required is not beyond reach. The Plan calls it "sustained but modest."

We trust that the donor community will respond to this challenge, for much depends on it. Primary responsibility for ensuring the food security of their peoples rests with countries and national governments. This is an incontrovertible fact, reaffirmed in the Summit Plan of Action.

But the playing field is not level, the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" in our global community is widening, and national responsibility must be complemented by international solidarity.

I can only echo the call in the Plan for a concerted partnership of all nations to reach the World Food Summit goal, and reiterate my hope—and my conviction—that the United States will continue to be in the forefront of progress towards a food-secure future for humanity. This Plan provides a beacon along the way.

. . . . . .

Statements by Nafis Sadik
Executive Director, United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)

Remarks by Executive Director Sadik at the signing of an agreement strengthening cooperation between UNEP [United Nations Environment Programme] and UNFPA, Geneva, Switzerland
9 April 1999

It is imperative that a holistic approach be undertaken to address complex global challenges. The current growth and character of world population, the pressure on the environment and natural resources, whether on water, land, air or energy, demand our joint collaborative experiences and foresight. Building a better future for developed and developing nations alike calls for urgent action and worldwide participation. Our joint efforts will serve as a great outreach possibility for both our organizations to promote the development of new, sustainable policies for the future. Sustainability is key for population concerns as it is for environmental concerns. The future of this planet earth and its people depend on the decisions we make today; population and environmental issues are interdependent and must be resolved as such.

. . . . . .

Statements by Gro Harlem Brundtland
Director-General, World Health Organization (WHO)

Excerpts from Director-General Brundtland's remarks at the Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C.
22 September 1998

…I feel in many ways that I have spent much of my time on these specific linkages [between population, environment, health and security issues], and trying to understand them.

…We have to continue our fight against communicable diseases, which still haunt the world, especially the poor. We are engaging across a broad spectrum, and many gaps that we see between rich and poor are at least as wide as they were half a century ago, and some of them are even widening between nations and within nations. So while in most countries people live longer, life expectancy is decreasing in some others. Between 1975 and 1995, 16 countries, with a combined population of 300 million, experienced such a decrease. To many people this is surprising. Many of those countries are African countries, and recently even European countries experienced a reduction in life expectancy.

Gro Harlem Brundtland

The first World Health Assembly, in June of 1948, listed its top priorities in the following order: malaria, maternal and child health, tuberculosis, sexually transmitted diseases, nutrition, and environmental sanitation. Looking at it today, we see that they are all critical issues we have to deal with. Malaria is hitting back again, killing 3000 children every day, especially in Africa. In defining the Roll-Back Malaria Project of WHO, we will do all we can to learn from the successes and failures of the past, and mount a realistic combat to significantly reduce morbidity and mortality from malaria. WHO was created 50 years ago, and the founding fathers and mothers knew perfectly well, even then, that there are no health sanctuaries. The suffering of the many must be a common concern in an interdependent world.

We also have to mobilize in our fight against the non-communicable diseases too well known in the North, but now spreading like an epidemic in developing countries. We have to look ahead to grasp the changing time, ready and able to give the best advice on aging, on mental health, and on the

environment, as well as new challenges from injuries and violence. As much of the world steps confidently into the future, it cannot, must not, ignore the plight of those in danger of being left behind. More than one billion people live in extreme poverty, a condition of life characterized by malnutrition, illiteracy, and ill health; a condition of life beneath any reasonable definition of human decency. In the balance sheet of our century, inequality remains one of the largest social debts, but it need not be that way. We have the evidence that investing in health yields tangible results. Healthy populations help build healthy communities and healthy economies, and we need to bring this message to political decision-makers, to presidents, prime ministers and finance ministers. I believe since the future is owned and shared by the many, and not by the fortunate few, it must be for the poor, most of all, that WHO pledges itself to make a difference. WHO however, cannot do it alone, nobody can do it alone. We are, in one way or another, in it together. So that is why WHO will have to reach out to the other UN agencies; to UNICEF, UNDP, UNFPA, the World Bank, IMF [International Monetary Fund] and WTO [World Trade Organization]. And these three last ones are not less important than the first I mentioned. That is why we have to reach out to civil society and to NGOs [nongovernmental organizations], why we have to reach out to the private sector, to private industry, and mobilize together the immense creative potential for innovations.

I have called a number of roundtable meetings with industry. There may be areas, certainly, where our views differ, but I believe in open dialogue and in the search for opportunities, because there is so much that we can achieve together. Take the critical area of immunization that the Ambassador was mentioning on polio, for instance. WHO will put renewed emphasis on its efforts to forward immunization, and to engage in a partnership with other agencies and the private sector to stimulate research towards breakthroughs. In recent years some have questioned WHO's leadership role in this field. Some have even argued for the creation of a new body to coordinate vaccination efforts. I believe that would be a mistake. My attitude is simple. An organization has to earn its leadership and that is what we are ready to do. WHO is the lead agency in health, with firsthand knowledge of the anatomy and burden of the world's communicable diseases. Not by saying that we will do all, but by forging a new working relationship with our partners, providing our strengths and drawing up on the strengths of others. I pledge to demonstrate that WHO can make a real difference in this area.

Left to Right: Donna E. Shalala, Tony Fauci, and Gro Harlem Brundtland

America's Defense Monitor is a weekly television series broadcast on PBS and cable stations across the United States. It is a production of the Center for Defense Information (CDI), an independent organization based in Washington D.C. The series presents critical information on the military's impact on the political system, the economy, the environment, and society as a whole and features interviews with key experts, policymakers, and community leaders.

Photograph from the *America's Defense Monitor* episode, "Water, Land, People, & Conflict." Courtesy of CDI.

"Water, Land, People, & Conflict" was a recent episode that looked at how environmental problems, population growth, and growing shortages of vital resources threaten peace in the world community. The show featured comments from:

Michael Renner, Senior Researcher, Worldwatch Institute
Jessica Mathews, President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Geoffrey D. Dabelko, Director, Environmental Change and Security Project, Woodrow Wilson Center
Allen Hammond, Senior Scientist, World Resources Institute
Robert Engelman, Director, Population and Environment Program, Population Action International

To order a copy of this show, please visit *America's Defense Monitor* on the Internet at http://www.cdi.org/adm/. Videotapes may be ordered online, by mail, or by fax.