

**SPEECH AS CHAIRMAN OF THE EP COMMITTEE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY AND PRESIDENT OF GLOBE  
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Honored Chairman, distinguished colleagues in this Global Partnership Summit, fellow members of the endangered species Homo Sapiens,

It is with a heavy sense of the responsibility of the moment that I address this Summit on behalf of Global Legislators for a Balanced Environment. As three hundred environmentally-committed Parliamentarians spread across thirty parliaments around the world, we make no claim to universality, but we do aspire to re-state the traditional role of the legislator.

As we watch the emergence of the structures of global governance since the Rio Earth Summit, we applaud the intention and marvel at the gossamer-like safety net being thrown across the chasm of man's previous errors to create a bridge towards a saner tomorrow. We know that such efforts require the support of a democratic legitimacy, that can only be conferred by parliamentarians. We endorse the efforts of the diplomats and ministers, but we know that their efforts will be in vain if we cannot build a living connection to the electorates of the planet. We recognise that the duty of parliamentarians goes beyond scrutiny and budget oversight, to a deeper role as interpreters of the world to our populations; story-tellers and myth-makers to the tribes of our nations. So much of what matters in politics, especially in environmental politics, is about words, is about the rooting of words in the individual consciousness and reality of millions of electors and consumers.

If we look at the papers documenting the progress in the five years since Rio, they tell us the usual human story of some successes and some disappointment. We can see advances both intellectual and technical. We can see a greater philosophical and scientific appreciation of the inter-connectedness of our activities, be that the operation of the climate system or the inter-action of fiscal instruments and attitudes to production.

We are an adaptive and creative species; technically ingenious but sociologically slow to draw the institutional and political consequences of our own cleverness. In the field of foreign affairs and security we are only just beginning to realise that our relations one with another are not a series of unconnected and unrelated crises, but respond to a deeper rhythm of environmental and public health realities. Our indiscipline in matters of population and consumption patterns destroys such fragile political stability as we have achieved and ignites resource conflicts and migratory flows that turn daily from dry statistics into CNN footage before our eyes.

Our failures since Rio are political, diplomatic and philosophical. They are rooted in our reluctance to confront and communicate the crisis in values of a species that must change its behavior if it is to survive in the 21st century. We need to learn how to transcend the traditions of our individual national sovereignties into a shared sovereignty without endangering our hard won and much loved identities. The experience of the nations of the European Union in their fifty years process of integration offers lessons for the rest of humanity. We need to learn how to manage more effectively the great step changes in interest group behavior that are necessary for stability. Never again must we suffer the delay and denial imposed on the climate change process by the public affairs muscle of the fossil fuel lobby. It should not be necessary to have to threaten to name hurricanes after oil companies and their chief executives in order to find paths of adaptation between the great interest groups and the commonwealth of humanity. We need to learn, in a world whose communications condemn us to a constant state of mutual awareness, that we are not spectators in a clash of civilisations, but participants in a partnership project forced on this generation by both the genius and the stupidity of our ancestors.

Nowhere is this awareness of our shared fate more urgent than in the climate change process that will climax later this year in the appropriate setting of ancient Kyoto. The diplomatic and technical details

can only be resolved in full awareness of the principle of equity between national emitters of greenhouse gases over the period from 1860 to 2100. If we accept that as an intellectual framework, human ingenuity will fill in the details. I refer in particular to a recent statement by Mr. Akihito Furuya on behalf of the Government of Japan on the Quantified Emission Limitation and Reduction Objectives. He said: "Emission per capita is an equitable objective on the premise of equity in the emission of carbon dioxide among all human beings. This objective can be a reference to the emission per capita on the global scale and thus instrumental in strengthening long term global efforts to protect the climate system".

What the Rio process lacked in the last five years was a deep root in the new reality of our politics. Perform Agenda 21 had to be negotiated against the immediate background of our traditional divisions between North and South, Rich and Poor, Capitalists and Socialists. Five years on the challenges remain, but we recognise that the old simplicities no longer serve us well. Lester Brown tells us that there are nearly as many high-spending consumers in countries that we traditionally defined as developing, as in the developed world. Similarly I detect that the diplomats and governments of the North, used for generations to dictating the evolution of the world, now begin to realize that we no longer live on a command planet. You can lead and suggest, but you can no longer instruct or decide unilaterally. Consent is the ethos of our emerging global civilisation.

As environmentalists we also need to be aware that you cannot scare the electorate of the planet into changing their behavior. Fear of the future paralyzes the political process rather than energizing it. The models of democracy that much of the planet has now adopted put a premium on political skills. As I said in my opening this needs parliamentarians aware of their responsibility as channels of ideas and visions. If I might misquote Sir Winston Churchill, "Give us the words and we will finish the job". These words have been most eloquently provided this week by the Benchmark Draft for the Earth Charter produced in Rio by amongst others Maurice Strong and Wakako Hironaka. The text has real energy, real ki. I appeal to this Partnership Summit to adopt their words as they stand and not to let the processes of traditional diplomacy obfuscate their power to speak directly to our citizens.

We stand today on the cusp of a new humanity, and with suitable symbolism a great comet is visible in our skies. As a English Conservative I place myself in the tradition of Edmund Burke who gave wings to the idea of what UN-speak would have us describe as "inter-generational responsibility". Similar lessons can be drawn from the other great traditions of our planet. I am indebted to a Japanese businessman who recently sent me a book of Confucian analects adapted for use in Japanese business practice. So let us have the confidence to go forward "knowing what we know but also knowing what we don't know". Let us go forward with courage but without arrogance, with humility but without despair. I would not wish to be one of those who "recite the analects without understanding them", there are those in this room who are far wiser and more learned than myself. I look to them to confirm that Confucius stressed the importance of people's minds, and saw the world as a set of people mutually connected by complex linkages. It is the understanding of that insight that holds out the prospect of a safe path "on foot across the rapid stream in winter" towards a resurgence of the human spirit.

