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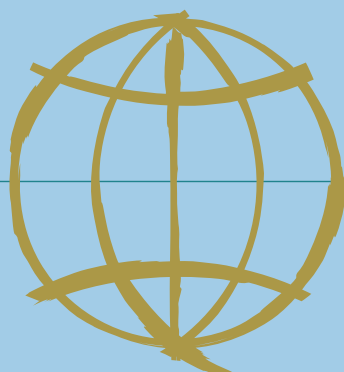
2004

GLOBAL CONSCIENCE

**Sustainable Development is  
Possible and Necessary**

## **Proceedings**

The Global Conscience Conference  
Copenhagen 23-24. May 2004



**GLOBAL CONSCIENCE**

A conference on environment, poverty and  
social development

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# **Sustainable Development is Possible and Necessary**

## **Proceedings**

The Global Conscience Conference,  
Copenhagen 23 - 24. May 2004

# Content

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| <b>Programme for the conference</b>  | page 3  |
| <b>Indledning</b>  | page 4  |
| <b>Global Conscience</b>   | page 6  |
| <b>Welcome speech by the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs - Per Stig Møller</b>   | page 8  |
| <b>Environment, Poverty and Social Development - Klaus Töpfer</b>  | page 11 |
| <b>Can the Earth bear? What can EU do? - Margot Wallström</b>  | page 15 |
| <b>Ecological Economics and Ecological Distribution Conflicts - Joan Martinez-Alier</b>  | page 18 |
| <b>Europe's global responsibility: Environmental Space and Ecological Debt or: how to overcome resource-use addiction - Martin Rocholl</b> | page 23 |
| <b>Earth democracy - Vandana Shiva</b>   | page 29 |
| <b>Reconciliation and restructuring of a society - Charles Villa-Vicencio</b>  | page 33 |
| <b>A Nairobi Consensus - A Vision from the South on Global Challenges - Elkanah Odembo</b>   | page 37 |
| <b>Sustainable development and labour rights What can the trade union movement do to promote this? - Bjørn Erikson</b>                     | page 42 |
| <b>Wolves and working places - Tarja Cronberg</b>  | page 46 |
| <b>Can we document global environmental changes? - Katherine Richardson</b>  | page 49 |
| <b>Summary of the First Day, Three Basic Conclusions - Svend Auken</b>   | page 52 |
| <b>Et bedre liv med lavere forbrug - Øystein Dahle</b>   | page 53 |
| <b>Fattigdomsbekæmpelse, en handlingsrettet status - Knud Vilby</b>  | page 55 |
| <b>Naturkamp er kulturkamp - John Holten-Andersen</b>  | page 57 |
| <b>Danmarks bidrag til global bæredygtig udvikling - Christian Ege</b>   | page 59 |
| <b>Tre historier om nyliberalisme - Kenneth Haar</b>   | page 61 |
| <b>Handelsbarrierer, civilsamfundet - Nils Brøgger Jacobsen</b>  | page 63 |
| <b>Kræv demokrati og åbenhed i de internationale institutioner - Kenneth Hermele</b>   | page 65 |
| <b>Om fagbevægelsens holdninger om bæredygtighed - Jesper Lund Larsen</b>  | page 67 |
| <b>Det Radikale Venstre: De 10 vigtigste globale udfordringer - Elsebeth Gerner Nielsen</b>  | page 69 |
| <b>Afsluttende tale - Pernille Rosenkrantz-Theil</b>   | page 71 |
| <b>Slutklæring: Global samvittighed og vilje til forandring</b>  | page 73 |
| <b>Final statement: Global Conscience and the Will to Change</b>   | page 76 |

# Programme

## **Sunday, 23. May**

Chair: Kim Carstensen

- 10.00 Welcome by the hosts
- 10.10 Per Stig Møller, Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs

### **Session A - Can the earth bear?**

- 10.25 Klaus Töpfer, Director, UNEP
- 11.10 Margot Wallström, EU Commissioner for the Environment
- 11.55 Discussion
- 12.30 Lunch

### **Session B - Simultaneous responsibility to the environment and poverty?**

Chair: Knud Vilby

- 13.30 Joan Martinez-Alier, Prof., Autonomous University, Barcelona
- 14.15 Martin Rocholl, Director, Friends of the Earth, Europe
- 14.50 Sunita Narain, Director, Center for Science and Environment (CSE), New Delhi
- 15.25 Break

### **Session C - Social redistribution at a global level - ways to control economic development**

- 15.55 Vandana Shiva, Dir., Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Natural Resources, New Delhi
- 16.40 Charles Villa-Vicencio, Director, The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, South Africa
- 17.25 Anna Lise Mortensen, Dir., Sustainable Development, Hartmann Brothers Ltd
- 18.00 Discussion
- 18.25 Round-up by Svend Auken, former Minister for the Environment, Denmark

## **Monday, 24. May - In Danish/Nordic languages**

Chair: Peder Agger

- 9.00 Welcome
- 9.15 Øystein Dahle, President, World Watch Institute
- Bjørn Erikson, Norwegian National Labour Union: Disparities of Development
- Tarja Cronberg, MP, Finland: Sustainable development at regional level
- 11.00 Knud Vilby: Fighting Poverty, an Operational Statement of Affairs
- Katherine Richardson: Is it possible to talk about global environmental changes?
- John Holten-Andersen: The Battle over Nature and Environment - is money the right yardstick?
- 12.30 Discussion
- 13.00 Lunch

Chair: Hanne Christensen

### **14.00 Stakeholders suggestions for Action. Short presentations by the following:**

- Christian Ege, The Ecological Council, Denmark
- Kenneth Haar, Attac, Denmark
- Nils Brøgger, The Trade Robbery campaign of The Danish Ass. for International Co-operation (MS)
- Kenneth Hermele, Forum South, Sweden
- Jesper Lund Larsen, The General Workers' Union
- Pia Olsen, The Danish Society for Nature Conservation
- 15.00 Break
- 15.30 Discussion
- 16.30 Elsebeth Gerner Nielsen, MF (R) and Pernille Rosenkrantz-Theil, MF (Ø)
- 17.00 End of conference: The Greenland Choires
- Elkanah Odembo present the south-paper

# Indledning

Målet med konferencen Global Conscience ("Global Ansvarlighed - miljø, fattigdom og social udvikling" eller blot "Bæredygtighedskonferencen") var at bidrage til at fastholde visionen om bæredygtig udvikling som princip for verdens fremtid. Det vil i den konkrete sammenhæng sige, at levere et stærkt fagligt budskab om hvordan kampen mod fattigdom og for et bedre miljø hænger uløseligt sammen.

Dermed har vi ønsket at kritisere den snævre økonomiske verdensopfattelse, der anser penge for at være den eneste ressource, der er knaphed på, og ud fra hvilken alle andre problemer må prioriteres. I stedet for at sigte mod enkle (forenklede) problemstillinger anskuet ud fra økonomiens ofte snævre synsvinkel sigter vi mod en værdibaseret anskuelse af verden i al dens dynamiske sammensathed. Løsningen af de globale problemer er et spørgsmål, der først og fremmest må afgøres på det demokratisk-politiske niveau, - ikke kun af eksperter og slet ikke kun af økonomer.

Sådan lød formuleringen af målet med den konference, der blev afholdt på Christiansborg i København den 23.-24. maj 2004, og hvis program og skriftlige bidrag bringes på de følgende sider. Arrangørerne var: Folkekirkens Nødhjælp, Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke, Danmarks Naturfredningsforening, WWF Verdensnaturfonden, SiD, NOAH, Tidsskriftet Salt, Det Økologiske Råd, OVE, Øko-net, Le Monde Diplomatique, Attac-Danmark samt en række forskere og u-landseksperter.

Ideen med hele arrangementet var aktualiseret af, at det danske Institut for Miljøvurdering (IMV) havde en lukket konference under forberedelse, hvor et panel af ni internationalt fremtrædende økonomer var sat til at foretage en prioritering af klodens efter arrangørernes mening 10 mest påtrængende problemer.

Den lukkede form, uklarheden om hvordan de 10 problemer er (og blev) udvalgt, deres utilstrækkelighed og den rent økonomiske tilgang påkaldte en alternativ konference. Dette blev underbygget af den hidtidige erfaring med IMV's og dets leders verdensopfattelse og omgang med viden og medier. På den baggrund fandt vi, at der var endnu mere brug for ikke en 'mod-' men en 'med-konference', der anskuede tingene åbent, i en bredere sammenhæng og i en større kompleksitet, end det økonomer forankret i et IMV-arrangement kunne forventes at få (og fik) øje på.

Klodens miljøproblemer er ikke afhjulpet, men mindst ligeså alvorlige som de var for 10 år siden og på

flere punkter værre. Løsningen på miljøkrisen kræver grundlæggende ændringer i den måde, som produktion og forbrug foregår på. Der må skabes andre rammer for dagliglivet både i og udenfor arbejdslivet, det vil sige for både borgere og arbejdstagere, og forholdet mellem de industrialiserede lande og udviklingslandene må ændres.

Løsningen på miljøproblemerne kan ikke ske på bekostning af løsning af fattigdomsproblemerne og omvendt. De hænger uløseligt sammen. Bekæmpelse af fattigdom er en forudsætning (men ikke en garanti) for at løse miljøproblemerne. Og bekæmpelse af miljøproblemerne er en forudsætning for at kunne leve et rigere - ikke et fattigt liv. Ligeledes er forbedring af arbejdstagerrettighederne en væsentlig faktor, når man ønsker at mindske fattigdomsproblemerne. Løsningen af de 10 problemer, som IMV har stillet op (og fik prioriteret), er ikke noget vi skal vælge imellem. Det giver ingen mening at sige, at uddannelse af analfabeter skal vente indtil klimaproblemet er løst - eller omvendt.

Vi skal derimod se på de grundlæggende rammer, der skaber problemerne. Derfor er det også en diskussion af hele vækstfilosofien. Det er indiskutabelt, at der er behov for vækst i u-landene. Men medvirker mere materiel vækst i de rige lande til at løse problemerne eller øger de blot deres omfang, så der ved siden af fattigdomsbekæmpelse også er brug for en "overflodsbekæmpelse"? Vi skal derfor diskutere, hvilken form for udvikling der er relevant. Dvs. kvaliteten af udviklingen, hvilket fører til fokus på temaet "udvikling" i stedet for traditionel vækst. Samtidig skal der skabes betingelser for, at u-landene kan udvikle deres produktion og eksport. Det kræver bl.a., at de rige lande afskaffer deres produktionsfremmende landbrugssubsidier samt fjerner eksportsubsidier i forhold til U-landenes landbrugsprodukter.

Vi sigtede med konferencen mod at skabe enighed om bl.a. følgende synspunkter:

- De industrialiserede lande har tilstrækkelige ressourcer til at kunne forbedre miljøet og bekæmpe fattigdommen på samme tid. Det er ikke nødvendigt at vente med det ene indtil man har ordnet det andet.
- Miljøforbedringer som f.eks. begrænsning af udslippet af drivhusgasser er ikke kun en omkostning. Det vil også kunne fremme forbedringer i industrien i øvrigt. Og kombinerede med ændringer i produktions- og forbrugsmønstre vil de kunne fremme beskæftigelse og velfærd.

- Prioritering af økonomiske ressourcer i samfundet er en nødvendighed. Men det giver ingen mening alene at prioritere mellem miljøforbedringer og u-landsbistand. Ressourcer spenderet på militær, rumfart og meget andet må også med i en samlet prioritering.
- Ulandshjælp virker, hvis den er ordentlig tilrettelagt, og den bør kombineres med bedre adgang til i-landenes markeder for u-landenes produkter.
- Tab af arbejdspladser i de industrialiserede lande som bl.a. følger af en sådan forbedret marked-sadgang, kan kompenseres med passende instrumenter. I stedet for at fremme jobløs vækst ved at give skattelettelser til de rige, bør man satse på bæredygtighed ved f.eks. at fremme grønne skatter og afgifter samtidigt med en nedsættelse af skat på arbejde.

Dette var baggrunden for den konference hvis indlæg bringes på de efterfølgende sider. Desværre har det ikke været muligt at få skriftlige bidrag fra Sunita Nahrain, Anna-Lise Mortensen og Pia Olsen, hvorfor de ikke er med.

Indføjet findes også dokumentet "A Nairobi Consensus". Det er et svar fra et lille hold udviklingsekspertter fra syd på den samme udfordring, som den konferencen beskæftigede sig med. Det blev præsenteret på konferencen, og redaktørerne har fundet det naturligt at inkludere det i hæftet. Derudover findes bagerst den sluterklæring "Global samvittighed og vilje til forandring", der efter at have været åben for diskussion på konferencens anden dag, efterfølgende blev færdigredigeret og offentliggjort af arrangørerne bag konferencen.



# Global Conscience

The aim of The Global Conscience Conference (*The Sustainability Conference*) was to contribute to the maintenance the vision of sustainable development as a guiding principle for the future development of the world. Tangibly this means procuring a vigorous interdisciplinary message that the fight against poverty and the struggle for a better environment are inseparably linked together.

We intend to criticise any narrow minded economic perception of the world implying that money is the only scarce resource on earth from the perspective of which all other problems can and must be prioritized. Instead of going for a consensus on one-dimensional (over-simplified) positions of problems viewed from the often restricted horizon of the economic sciences, we shall seek to promote a more value based concept of the world in all of its dynamic complexity. Solving the Global problems should be dealt with at a democratic political level, never to be left to experts - let alone solely to economists.

This was the aim formulated for the conference held at Christiansborg in Copenhagen, May 23-24, 2004, the programme of work and the written contributions are brought at the following pages.

The organisers were: Danish Church Aid, Mellem-folkeligt Samvirke (one of the biggest Danish development NGOs), The Danish Society for Nature Conservation, WWF-Denmark, The General Workers Union (SID), NOAH/Friends of the Earth Denmark, the periodical Salt, The Ecological Council, The Organisation for Renewable Energy, Le monde Diplomatique, Attac-Denmark as well as individuals - researchers and experts on environment and developing countries.

The actual occasion for the Global Conscience Conference was that The Danish Institute for Environmental Assessment (Institut for Miljøvurdering, IMV) was planning to host a closed conference known as the Copenhagen Consensus. Here a panel of nine internationally renowned economists were asked to rank what the organizers of this conference saw as the world's ten most insistent problems today.

The fact that this conference was closed to the public, was lacking clarity as to how the organizers had selected their issues of priority, and an inadequate definition of problems, based on an all out economic approach required an alternative conference. Further it was organised by the IMV, and we knew the worldview of the director of IMV and his skills in attracting

media attention. This has made us realize that we needed a parallel -conference, not a 'counter', but rather a 'co'-conference seeking to view things more openly, in a wider context, and at a higher degree of complexity, than what could be expected from a board of economists at an IMV-arrangement.

The environmental problems of the earth have not yet been solved; they are as serious as they were ten years ago - in some respects even worse. Solving the environmental crisis calls for fundamental changes in the organization of production and consumption. A new framework for everyday life inside as well as outside of working life must be created i.e. both for citizens and employees and the present relationship between industrialized countries and developing countries must be changed.

Solving environmental problems should not take place at the expense of poverty problems and vice versa. They are tied inextricable together. Fighting poverty is a precondition - although no guarantee - for solving environmental problems; on the other hand fighting environmental problems is a precondition for a richer, not a poorer life. Improvements of labour rights likewise play an important role in relieving poverty problems. We should not choose which of the 10 problems listed by IMV must be prioritised. It makes no sense to assert that dealing with illiteracy should await a solution of climate problems and vice versa.

On the contrary we shall take a good look into the basic framework where problems seem to be generated. Hence we will have to include discussions of the very philosophy of growth. Growth in the developing countries is beyond any doubt highly urgent. Will increased material growth in the rich countries, however, contribute to solving problems or will it rather add to their escalation - thereby necessitating a fight against affluence as well as a fight against poverty? We shall discuss the appropriateness of various types of development, i.e. discuss the value of development and by so doing accentuate the difference between development and traditional growth. At the same time conditions beneficial to increased production and exports in developing countries should be established. This among other things demands that rich countries abandon growth-promoting subsidies to their own agriculture and remove import restrictions on agricultural products from developing countries.

With the conference we aimed at consensus on among others the following assumptions:

- The industrialized countries have enough resources to improve the environment and fight poverty at the same time - there is no excuse for the postponement of one task to take care of the other.
- Improvements of the environment, like for instance reductions of greenhouse gas emissions, is not solely to be viewed as a social cost; they have a great potential for innovations in industry at large. A combination of changes in production and consumption patterns can be beneficial to employment and general welfare.
- Prioritisation of the use of financial resources is a must. An assumption, however, that only resources allocated to environmental improvements and to aid to developing countries must be prioritised towards each other makes no sense - resources allocated to military, space adventures etc. should be part of the prioritization as well.
- Aid for developing countries makes a positive difference as long as the aid is properly organized. Aid to developing countries should be combined with a better access to the Western markets for goods produced in the developing countries.
- The loss of jobs in the industrialized countries following such improved market access could be counteracted through a variety of political and financial instruments in the industrialized world. Instead of stimulating a jobless growth through tax cuts to high income earners politicians should attempt to stimulate sustainable growth by for instance implementing green tax reforms based on reduced taxation of labour and increased taxation of energy resources, raw materials and substances adverse to the environment.

This was the background for the conference. The contributions are found on the following pages.

Unfortunately we did not manage to get written contributions from Sunita Nahrain, Anna-Lise Mortensen and Pia Olsen.

Therefore these are missing in the proceedings.

Included is also the document 'A Nairobi Consensus'. It is an answer from a small team of development experts from South to the same challenge as the conference was dealing with. It was presented at the conference, and the editors found it relevant to include in this booklet also. Further at the end is inserted the final declaration 'Global conscience and the will to change', that after having been open for discussion at the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of the conference, subsequently was edited and published by the organisers of the conference.

# Welcome speech by the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs

**Per Stig Møller**

**Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs**

## **Prioritising is a political job**

The problems of the world are interrelated like Rubik's Cube. As soon as one side of the cube is well arranged, problems occur on the other side. And when those problems are solved, there will be new problems elsewhere.

One might say that the up-coming Copenhagen Consensus Conference - through application of an economic cost-benefit approach to the world's challenges - will seek to arrange one side of Rubik's Cube. I am sure that we can learn something from the Copenhagen Consensus, but not everything. This parallel conference on "Global Conscience - environment, poverty and social development" will show some problems which will occur on the other side of the Cube, and is therefore a very welcome complementary initiative.

In a complex reality, no sound choices can be built on a single premise or rationale. The right to choose cannot and should not be handed over to experts or NGOs. In the end, accountable politicians must make the difficult decision on priorities and the relevant policy mix to achieve them. That is our job. That is representative democracy.

## **Big problems have to be solved simultaneously**

The problems we face are demographic, democratic, ecological and economical. And we may as well eliminate the extreme solutions right away. If a country decides to be the cleanest in the world, it will soon also be the poorest. Regulations and price increases will put a halt to the productive capacity. Exports and income will decrease, workplaces will disappear and so will the possibilities for taking care of health problems and social problems. The country will be clean and poor, misery will spread, there will be social unrest, the government will be overthrown and the new regime will decide to produce its way out of poverty.

This regime will move to the other extreme: Producing wealth without caring for anything else. The natural resources will be exploited, there will be an

unlimited consumption of energy, cheaper products, growing exports, employment will increase, the population will be well off seen from a material point of view, and everything will seem fine. But only for a while. Then the problems will begin to emerge. Health problems, environmental degradation, loss of natural resources. Environmental movements will appear, there will be social unrest, and also this regime will be overthrown.

Both of these extreme regimes are therefore unsuited when it comes to solving our problems.

We live in a world where problems need to be related to one another. We need to seek solutions that are balanced over a longer timespan. Solutions that are well thought out, broadly agreed upon and maintained over many years.

Sustainable solutions thus call for determination, time and perseverance.

This means that we have to prioritise among problems and solutions. The priorities must be a result of careful considerations as well as a careful scientific and democratic debate. When I became minister for the environment in 1990, I actually started such a debate. I invited 25 scientists and NGO's to a meeting where I asked each of them to mention the three most pertinent environmental problems. To my surprise they pointed at the same three problems. This created the basis for financial allocations that were broadly agreed, and a situation where problems suddenly launched as new threats by newspapers on the front page were already known and part of the overall policy.

But the environmental problems cannot be solved in isolation. They are related to the other big problems, I mentioned earlier. These problems also have to be solved and they all have to be solved simultaneously. If not, we're back to Rubik's Cube.

If the demographic problems are not solved, the environmental problems will not be solved either. The hundreds of millions of new citizens that will be born in developing countries in the coming 20 years will

need employment. Like the rest of us they will need to produce and export to create economic and social progress and this will inevitably strain the world's natural resources and energy resources further.

We need a growing economy to improve the livelihoods of the world's poor. This is a precondition for a peaceful future. If two thirds of the world's population is marginalized, regional and international conflicts as well as terrorism will grow. This will lead to a disaster for all of us. We need a free and fair international trade system to spur this growing economy. But the economy must grow in respect for local, regional and global environmental problems. Therefore we need international environmental agreements. And we need to combine development policies with environmental policies, policies to enhance democracy, to fight terror and to fight corruption. The objective of our development policies continues to be to eradicate poverty. But poverty has many faces and causes. Poverty is measured in economic terms but is accompanied and often reinforced by lack of access to clean drinking water, education, and health care, as well as exposure to HIV/AIDS and environmental degradation.

The absence of reforms and democracy creates the basis for extremist developments and thereby ultimately for terrorism. It causes tension, unrest, lack of investments and an economic situation that leaves the poor even poorer. When more than 30 percent of a population is under 30 years old and these young people have neither access to education or jobs, they turn to desperate action of some kind - or they will leave their home country in a vague hope for a more prosperous future elsewhere.

### **“A World of Difference”**

As we can see there is not one single, easy solution, but there are many solutions. These need to point in the same direction, they need to be implemented coherently and in a long-term perspective. At the same time we need some results in the shorter run for people not to lose faith and withdraw their support. If they do we, will end where we started, applying the short-term solutions that waste money and resources and that lead to growing tension and unrest.

Martin Andersen Nexø wrote his world famous novel “Pelle the Conquerer” early in the past century. Pelle's poor and hard-working father summarizes the experiences of generations of poor people when he says to his son: “Work today, eat tomorrow, but tomorrow never comes”. In a globalized world with satellite TV this can no longer be the experience parents pass on to their children. If there is no tomorrow, if there is no hope, you take what you can get and you use whatever it takes. The world will not gain anything from this development. Those who “have” will suffer and those who “have not” will only suffer more.

Ladies and gentlemen,

When the Danish Government last year presented its visions for the Danish development assistance in the years to come, it was done under the heading “A World of Difference”. The explicit aim is to ensure that the Danish assistance is focused, effective and up-to-date to deliver on ensuring

- poverty reduction as the overriding objective
- respect for human rights, good governance and democratisation
- stability, security and the fight against terrorism
- support for refugees, humanitarian assistance and regions of origin
- environmental sustainability, as well as
- social and economic development

In line with our ambition to stay focused, effective and up-to-date, we need to enhance the effectiveness of development cooperation. At present there is too much overlapping and working at cross-purposes. And just understanding the jungle of different procedures and rules that donors employ constitute a major task for developing countries. We need to improve coherence and coordination of development cooperation and we need to harmonise donor procedures and adapt them to the national procedures of our partner countries. Denmark has already taken initiatives in this direction.

### **More coherence in Multilateral Environmental Agreements**

“A World of Difference” acknowledges the need to take into consideration the environmental sustainability of our assistance to create global stability and development. As a consequence, Denmark's support for global environmental programmes will be increased by DKK 415 million in the period 2004-08.

International environmental cooperation is, however, also an area where I am convinced that we need to enhance effectiveness to ensure implementation. Much has been said about the shortcomings of the present international environmental regime, its fragmentation, the limited authority of UNEP, and the need to ensure implementation of multilateral environmental agreements. Some decisions have been taken to remedy the situation, and some steps have been taken to implement these decisions. But I am afraid that this is not sufficient, if we wish to see a strong international environmental regime and to strengthen the possibilities for developing countries to implement the decisions made in international fora.

President Chirac of France has launched a reflection on the transformation of UNEP from a UN programme to a UN specialised agency (UN Environment Organisation, UNEO). Denmark welcomes this process of reflection. I am sure it will help to make us all wiser

and better prepared for making the right decisions in the coming years. It is however important that the process does not focus solely on how to transform UNEP while leaving aside the problems related to the proliferation of environmental agreements and of convention secretariats scattered across the globe.

The question is how we approach this problem of fragmentation, a problem which is extremely complex whether approached from a legal, an organisational or even a financial point of view. Personally, I think we need to understand the issue of fragmentation better to be able to identify options that can lead to better-informed decisions about the future structure in the field of international environmental cooperation.

I have therefore decided to launch an international study which, seen from the three angles I mentioned (legal, organisational, financial), will seek to map out the current structure around the Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEA's), to identify the challenges in reducing the fragmentation, and how these may be overcome, and to point at possible ways to link a strengthened, more coherent and efficient MEA-system to a future UN Environment Organisation.

#### **15 million for "The Africa Stockpiles Programme"**

Denmark was happy to morally and financially support the launch in December 2003 of the Environment Action Plan developed under the New Partnership for Africa (NEPAD) assisted by UNEP. The Action Plan covers a range of environmental problems facing the African continent.

One very pertinent problem - a very clear example of the interrelation between poverty and environment - is posed by the 50,000 tonnes of stockpiles of obsolete pesticides and other chemicals that are spread all over the continent. Through contamination of soil, water, air and food sources, these stockpiles pose serious threats to the health of both urban and rural populations, especially the poorest of the poor.

Supported by the NEPAD secretariat, the African countries have decided to do something about these

problems in a unique alliance with international organisations (the World Bank, FAO, UNEP), NGO's (WWF and Pesticide Action Network), as well as Crop Life International who represents chemical producers who have accepted to finance the destruction of pesticides traceable to member companies.

The challenge of "The Africa Stockpiles Programme" is to clean up the stockpiles in a safe way and to prevent stockpiling in the future.

Funds are being raised for the programme, and I am pleased to announce that Denmark is ready to contribute 15 million DKK of the co-financing needed for the first phase of this important programme which will also - and I think this is very important - encourage African countries that have not yet done so to ratify the Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants. The Convention entered into force only six days ago, on the 17th of May.

#### **Democracy is the best way**

Democracy is the best way to ensure that plans and priorities are subject to the right checks and balances, that politicians are held responsible for the choices they make, and that voices of different opinion are heard.

The fact that this conference with its very broad perspective on the challenges to sustainable development takes place almost in parallel with a conference applying an economic cost-benefit approach to 10 of the world's greatest challenges, is to me a proof of how democracy works at its best.

I sincerely hope that both conferences will give way to discussions and reflections as well as concrete action directed at tackling the global challenges of this Century. We need to get Rubik's Cube right and to prove Pelle's father wrong.

I wish you a good conference and Thank you.



# Environment, Poverty and Social Development

Klaus Töpfer

Executive Director, UNEP

*Speaking brief (requested by the conference organizers):*

1. *A short review of the state of the world in terms of poverty, environment and sustainability.*
2. *What is the UNEP strategy to fight poverty and environmental deterioration?*
3. *Can we do it at the same time? Do we have enough resources to do it?*
4. *How can poverty reduction and environmental improvement be combined with implementation of employee's rights?*
5. *What will be the next step after New York 2000 (Millennium Goals), Monterrey and Johannesburg 2002?*

## **A SHORT REVIEW OF THE STATE OF THE WORLD IN TERMS OF POVERTY, ENVIRONMENT AND SUSTAINABILITY**

The UN Secretary-General has recently expressed the view that many ills that confront this earth, such as wars, diseases, famines and environmental insecurity, have their root causes in poverty.

The consequences of not dealing with the glaring inequality between rich and poor were also spelled out last year in an article for the UNEP magazine *Our Planet* by the United States Secretary of State, Colin Powell. Sustainable development, he said, is “a security imperative”. Poverty, environmental degradation and the despair that they breed are “destroyers of people, of societies, of nations.” They provide the ingredients for the destabilization of countries, even entire regions.

Since the 1992 Rio Earth Summit the number of people living in absolute poverty, particularly in developing countries has increased. According to the 2003 UN Human Development Report, there are 900 million people living in absolute poverty in rural areas. The trends are not much better in the cities, where 1 billion people live in slums. More than 1 billion people lack access to clean water supplies and more than 2 billion people worldwide lack access to adequate sanitation.

The first Millennium Development Goal is to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger. The targets, which have to be achieved by 2015, are to:

- reduce by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day; and to
- reduce by half the proportion of people who suffer hunger.

## **The Links between Poverty and Environment**

*(Source: UNDP Poverty and Environment Initiative)*

- **Livelihoods.** The poor often depend directly on a diversity of natural resources and ecosystem services for their livelihoods. They are the most severely affected when the environment is degraded or their access to natural resources is limited or denied.
- **Health.** The poor suffer most from unclean water, indoor air pollution and exposure to toxic chemicals. Environmental risk factors are a major source of health problems in developing countries.
- **Vulnerability.** The poor are particularly vulnerable to environmental hazards (such as floods, prolonged drought and attacks by crop pests) and environment-related conflict, and have the least means to cope when they occur. (For example many people in Central America have yet to recover from the effects of Hurricane Mitch)

UNEP's *Global Environment Outlook 3* shows that the environment is deteriorating in many regions due to natural and man-made pressures. Such pressures include climate variability, rapid population growth and rising consumption trends that are leading to over-harvesting of resources and the pollution of air, water and land.

The report also points out that these environmental changes impact human livelihoods by reducing food security, increasing vulnerability to natural hazards and disease, and limiting opportunities for economic growth.

### **WHAT IS THE UNEP STRATEGY TO FIGHT POVERTY AND ENVIRONMENTAL DETERIORATION?**

UNEP's Governing Council has agreed that two broad issues urgently need more scientific study.

One is the **link between environmental degradation and conflict**. Unravelling this will become even more pressing in the 21st century as the number of people living on this planet rises beyond the current 6 billion.

The other is the **link between poverty and the environment**. Or, put the other way, the link between a healthy environment and wealth and prosperity. Instinctively, these relationships seem to exist, but quantifying and pinpointing them precisely needs more examination.

These issues are increasingly the focus of much of UNEP's work.

In March this year, the UNEP Governing Council/Global Ministerial Environment Forum issued the "Jeju Initiative", aimed at accelerating action to address environmental decline, particularly in the areas of water, sanitation and human settlements.

At the heart of the Initiative is the issue of poverty reduction. The Ministers and other Heads of Delegation who drafted the Initiative observed that a sustainable approach to poverty reduction, economic development and the improvement of public health necessitates the incorporation of environmental issues in national poverty reduction and sustainable development strategies.

Upon request from its Governing Council, UNEP has developed a conceptual framework analyzing the links between poverty and environment. This will help governments to better integrate key environmental concerns into socioeconomic frameworks, including poverty reduction strategies.

UNEP will now test this conceptual framework on the ground in seven African countries: Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Mozambique, Mauritania, Mali and Rwanda.

The object of UNEP's work will be the formulation of national guidelines to mainstream environment into national development plans and poverty reduction strategies.

On the ground it means that environmental benefits in terms of development will be empirically measured

in areas such as energy, fisheries, agriculture, the role of small and medium enterprises, access to water etc. This work will be undertaken in close collaboration with the private sector.

There are a number of underlying principles for achieving the goals of sustainability, poverty reduction and human well-being:

- Development that emphasizes managing and preserving the natural carrying and productive capacity of ecosystems;
- A more balanced approach to production and consumption in the developed world;
- Fairer terms of trade, with a bias towards primary products from developing countries; notably products from agriculture, forests, fisheries and minerals;
- Gender equality and empowerment of women and girls.
- Access by the poor to markets, credits and ecosystem services
- Attention to both the material (income, education, health) and non-material (cultural and spiritual) constituents of human well being;
- Addressing the vulnerability of the poor to climate change and other environmental hazards such as droughts, floods and pollution.

### **CAN WE FIGHT POVERTY AND ENVIRONMENTAL DETERIORATION AT THE SAME TIME? DO WE HAVE ENOUGH RESOURCES TO DO IT?**

The short answer is that we HAVE to do it at the same time. The two issues of poverty and environmental deterioration are closely linked.

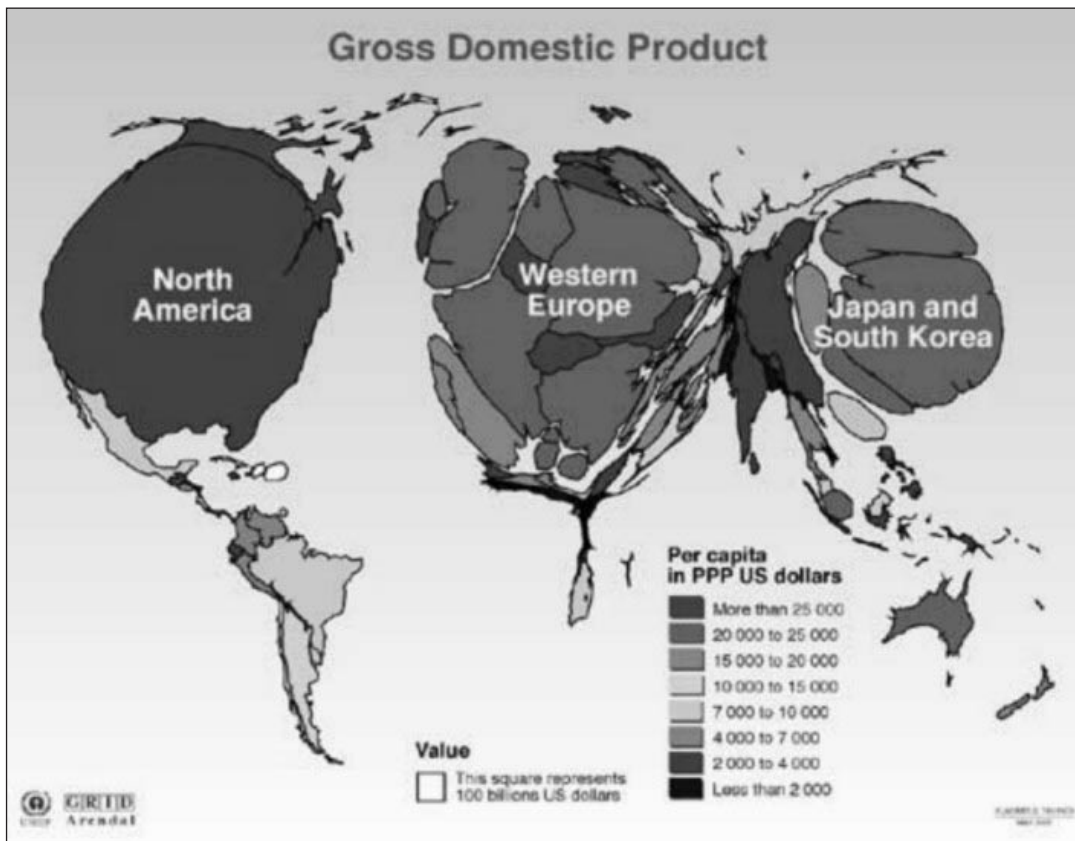
Poverty is one of the most toxic elements in the environment.

Eradicating poverty must be a priority. However, the problem is encapsulated by the question: Do we have enough resources to do it?

Almost 1.3 billion people worldwide live on less than a dollar a day. The poorest 40 per cent of the world's people account for only 11 per cent of world consumption. The top 15 per cent, on the other hand, account for 56 per cent of consumption.

According to the Ecological Footprint Sustainability Measure, an independent measure based on UN statistics, if everybody on Earth were to live like an average person in a high-income country such as Denmark, we would need an additional 2.6 planets to support us all.

Unsustainable consumption and production patterns are the greatest challenge to environmental protection and poverty eradication.



The WSSD Plan of Implementation says we must de-link economic growth and environmental degradation. It calls for “a 10-year framework of programmes towards sustainable consumption and production patterns”.

To achieve this we need to utilize the tools of life-cycle analysis and national science-based indicators; adopt the polluter-pays principle; and develop awareness raising programmes.

In relation to sustainable consumption the WSSD Plan of Implementation also encourages measures such as corporate environmental and social responsibility and accountability, through initiatives such as ISO standards and the Global Reporting Initiative; public procurement to stimulate markets; and the internalization of environmental costs and use of economic instruments.

It called for the development and dissemination of alternative energy technologies, with a greater share of the energy mix to renewable, improved efficiencies and cleaner fossil fuel technologies such as cleaner coal; better vehicle technologies and public transportation systems.

And we need to minimize waste and maximize re-use, recycling and environmentally friendly alternatives; put the highest priority on waste prevention; and soundly manage chemicals throughout their life-cycle.

These are the principles on which environmental sustainability and poverty eradication can be built.

### **HOW CAN POVERTY REDUCTION AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPROVEMENT BE COMBINED WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF EMPLOYEE’S RIGHTS?**

There is a close link between environmental sustainability and employee’s rights and working conditions. Just as the poorest people are most vulnerable to environmental risk factors, so are the poorest employees. They do the dirtiest jobs, have the least job security, and suffer more in terms of impact on health.

UNEP promotes sustainable employment and corporate environmental responsibility and accountability through its involvement in initiatives such as the Global Compact and the Global Reporting Initiative.

UNEP is planning to develop a Global Compact training package and training courses to introduce the principles of the Compact in an integrated manner. The training material will be promoted in cooperation with UNDP and UNIDO in developing countries.

The overlap between environment and labour principles is very clear in areas such as environment, health and safety. UNEP has a Memorandum of Understanding with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to address worker issues and environmental management.



## Women and poverty

We cannot talk about poverty reduction and employment rights without raising the issue of women, whose work throughout the developing world is often undervalued as well as underpaid.

The third Millennium Development Goal is to promote gender equality and empower women. This could prove to be the most important goal in achieving sustainable development. We must breathe life into the gender dimensions enshrined in the UN Millennium Development Goals, we must build on the outcomes of the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, the 1995 Beijing Conference and the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development and cement these at the Beijing Plus 10 Conference on Women and Development next year. If we ignore the role of women, all our collective hopes and aspirations for a better and more stable world, will be harder to achieve.

### **WHAT WILL BE THE NEXT STEP AFTER MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS, MONTEREY AND JOHANNESBURG 2002?**

According to the UNDP Poverty and Environment Initiative, there are four priority areas for sustained policy and institutional change for reversing environmental decline and making environmental management work for the poor:

- Improving governance to create a more enabling policy and institutional environment for addressing the poverty-environment concerns of the poor, with particular attention to the needs of women and children.
- Enhancing the assets and capabilities of the poor to expand sustainable livelihood opportunities and to reduce the vulnerability of the poor to environmental hazards and natural resource-related conflict.
- Improving the quality of growth to promote sound environmental management and protect the environmental assets and livelihood opportunities of the poor.
- Reforming international and industrial-country policies to address the poverty and environment concerns of developing countries and the poor and to ensure greater access to global public goods.

Just this month, the United Nations envoy for the world's poorest countries ended a three-day visit to Senegal with the message that the very survival of developing countries depends on their access to world markets. That access is hampered by subsidies to sectors such as fisheries and agriculture.

The OECD estimates that total agricultural subsidies are £300 billion dollars a year. That is \$50 dollars for everyone on the planet. A sickening sum when you consider that 1.3 billion people live on less than \$1 dollar a day.

According Mali's Finance Minister Bassary Toure, the money that the developed countries put into agricultural subsidies is five times what they give the developing world as development assistance.

While the developed world continues to subsidise its farmers the people of the developing world will continue to harvest the costs.

# Can the Earth bear? What can EU do?

Margot Wallström

EU Commissioner for the Environment

## Introduction

I will present 3 statements this morning:

1. Sustainable development is an idea whose time has come
2. We must find the position between the doom-mongers and the “Hakuna Matata” / don’t worry - crowd
3. As with losing weight or quitting smoking, we need a clear goal and a good plan!

Some 40 km north on this island lies Helsingör. Towering over the city, you will find Kronborg, the castle of Hamlet - maybe the most famous of all Danes, fictitious though he might be.

In a book written by Paul Harrison (a British expert on environmental issues) he describes in the prologue the plot of Hamlet in the following way:

“Claudius is swift in the commission of evil:  
There is no chink of delay between thought and deed  
But Hamlet:  
Hamlet knows from the outset that something is wrong.  
By the end of act one, he knows exactly what is wrong.  
At the end of act two, he knows what needs doing.  
Act three brings his best chance of killing Claudius  
with least damage.  
He lets it pass.  
Then Polonius, Rosencrantz, Guildenstern, Ophelia,  
Laertes and Gertrude all die unnecessarily.  
Hamlet waits until circumstances force his hand.  
Before he does what had to be done all along, Hamlet  
has less than half an hour to live.”

Hamlet’s indecision is only too understandable. We are all sometimes in the sway between the comfort of inaction and the pain of necessary but difficult decisions. However, Hamlet’s indecision and vacillation have devastating consequences for him and his whole family. Had he acted earlier, he could have avoided much of this pain.

I think this very well depicts where we stand in our policy on Sustainable Development. We know some-

thing is wrong, we know we will have to act. We also know that acting now will allow us to minimise the costs. Yet we often fail to muster the political courage to do so.

## Sustainable development: the vision

The magic of the concept of Sustainable Development: there is something more to life than money!

Sustainable Development shows us a new way. It proposes a world that is sustainable. A world where economic growth supports social progress and respects the environment. Where social policy underpins environment performance. And where environment policies create employment and economic opportunities.

There are the three main pillars of sustainability. And underpinning it all, or if you like, the precondition of it all - governance, which I consider very important. Sustainable development must be based on democratic participation and interactive exchange, the inclusion of all citizens in decision-making.

But sustainability also has two temporal dimensions. The first is an *inter*-generational dimension or simply *the future*: a responsibility to our children, our grandchildren and their children. The second is an *intra*-generational dimension, the *here and now*: a responsibility to the existing generations who share the earth with us, including all the citizens of the developing world.

This is the strength of sustainable development: its capacity to see the wholeness of any issue and the global linkages between all its components. Sustainability is also about bringing the future and the rest of the world into the picture. This is something that engages and is essential to all of us. It carries a vision, the vision of a more balanced society, and we need such visions to move forward.

## The time has come for sustainable development

I am a firm believer in human progress. The solutions do not lie in the past - we are not Luddites roaming around the countryside to smash proto-indus-

trial machines in the search back to a rural society. The solution is here and now.

Since the start of the industrial revolution, mankind has made progress that most thought would be impossible. Technological innovation has increased overall productivity. Today it takes a modern industrial worker one week to produce what took a worker in the eighteenth-century four years. In 1979, the cost of one megabyte of computing power was 17,000 euros: in 2001 it was only 2 percent of this figure. Factors like these have resulted in lower prices for goods and stimulated the explosion in consumption that we are witnessing today.

I recently read the World Watch Institute's Earth Report 2004. This year's edition is excellent, and has a special focus on consumption and on the consumer society. The facts and figures contained in the report are extremely telling and thought-provoking - to say the least. For example, private consumption expenditure has increased fourfold since 1960, and had reached more than 17 trillion euros in 2000. Some of this increase can be explained by population growth, but most of it is explained by the advancing prosperity of developing countries and by ever higher levels of consumption in the western world.

Despite enormous technological progress, the impact of our consumption in terms of abuse or inefficient use of natural resources is enormous. Our eco-systems are shrinking to make way for the rapid growth of the consumer economy. Industrial fleets have now fished out at least 90% of the large ocean fish, groundwater levels are decreasing at worrying rates in developing countries, and about half of the world's original forest cover is now gone - not to speak of what fossils fuels and global warming will do to our planet in the near future...

It is only very seldom that we have the courage to take a long-term perspective. If such was the case, I believe many of our policies would be very different than what they are. Or to use a Chinese proverb: "If we don't change direction, we are likely to end up where we are going." During times of economic downturn, all the other aspects of sustainable development - its social, environmental, future-oriented and intra-generational dimensions - tend to be considered 'unaffordable extras'.

### **There is progress - the business case for SD**

Luckily, things are starting to move. As Abba Eban said: "*History teaches us that men and nations behave wisely once they have exhausted all other alternatives*". Maybe we are approaching that situation.

Gradually we are starting to understand the complex interactions through which the choices that we make

in our daily lives - both at home and at work - have profound implications for our future.

Many companies, in Europe as in the US, have understood that there is no business case in degrading the environment. To take a topical example, there is no benefit for companies to use chemicals without knowing what they do to us. We are paying dearly for this mistake, for example by spending billions of € and US\$ on treating and compensating victims of asbestos and removing it from our buildings. The human tragedy is that each year thousands of people succumb to painful cancer deaths caused by past exposure to this material.

There is no business case for standing by and watching climate change unfold. The world's two largest reinsurers, Munich Re and Swiss Re, have recently made a point of calling for climate protection measures. According to Swiss Re, the economic costs of global warming threaten to double to 150 billion dollars a year in 10 years, hitting insurers with 30 to 40 billion dollars in claims.

In addition, we are taking a high security risk in being so dependent on one energy source. This makes our society and economy highly fragile, including from the point of view of security and political stability.

By "thinking ahead", these actors have realised that we are facing the end of the oil economy and that sustainable development is cost-efficient. They realise that environmental protection is opening up new business opportunities. As we are in Denmark, I think it is enough for me to mention the success story of the European wind energy business.

I do not believe in fate: I believe we can shape our future, and we must not let current trends become our destiny. I am convinced that we can still manage to bridge the gap between a growing population, rising living standards and the physical limitations of this planet. And I believe that innovation and technology, like the hydrogen combustion engine and fuel cells - u-turn technologies - are the key to spurring sustainable and equitable economic growth.

Therefore, the more I am confronted with so-called 'economic' arguments against environmental protection and sustainable development, the more I become convinced that we must argue our case also from an economic point of view.

In the European Commission, we now conduct an impact assessment for each major policy proposal, after this approach was tested in a pilot phase last year. These assessments examine the economic, social and environmental repercussions of the policies we propose. This is good - because it shows that the costs of the environmental measures we propose will be by far outweighed by the savings we will make.

## Our responsibility for the developing world

We should never lose track of the fact that: *The worst form of pollution is poverty.*'

Globalisation has certainly helped to reduce some of the world's poverty. However, the imbalances remain staggering. Of the world's population the 12 percent living in North America and Western Europe account for 60 percent of total consumption, while the 33 percent living in South-Asia and sub-Saharan Africa account for only 3.2 percent.

Two out of five humans on the planet live on less than 2 euros a day and roughly 1.2 billion people live in extreme poverty, with an average income of less than 1 euro a day. There are also huge problems with access to clean water and sanitation, energy and education. We continue to see conflict-driven humanitarian disasters, as in Sudan, where in the best case scenario 100.000 people are expected to die in the coming months due to targeted destruction of water sites and food stores.

*We* have to deliver on our international commitments. Let me give you 3 examples here.

First, we are increasing our levels of official development aid. The European Commission is closely monitoring Member States progress towards the Monterrey commitments. Our latest report shows that, not only that we are on track, but that we are towards the top of the class of OECD countries.

Second, we are spending aid more effectively. We are doing this by ensuring improved coordination of development cooperation policies, by untying aid, and by participating in the Heavily Indebted Poor Country Initiative.

Thirdly, we are supporting the reform of international institutions. For example by reviving the Doha WTO negotiations, which are aimed at taking into account the needs of developing countries in international trade. (The EU/Commission recently (on 10. May) offered to eliminate all agricultural export subsidies and make a number of other concessions in order to restart the Doha negotiations).

We have a *moral* obligation to alleviate poverty. But - as if that were not enough - we also have an *environmental* obligation to do so. In short, we must focus on moving to sustainable *lifestyles* in developing countries and create sustainable *livelihoods* in developing countries.

That is why we need an integrated approach to policy-making, and the mainstreaming of sustainability in *all* policy areas.

## Conclusion - the role of society

Implementation, integration and information are the key words. We know what needs to be done. We have an agenda. Attaining and maintaining sustainability is about how we articulate our ethical preferences, as consumers, as citizens and as fellow human beings.

Sustainable development will not happen unless there is real demand for it in society. This is another area where I see the need for action - action by governments, but also other influential actors, such as opinion makers and NGOs. All citizens have to understand their role in a more sustainable world.

We have to foster interplay with business, science and citizens, and to engage them. And we have to allow them to participate to strengthen the democratic component of sustainable development. For example, switching off the TV, the video and the satellite receiver instead of leaving them on stand by when you go to bed. If all Europeans did this we would reduce our CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by 6.3 million tonnes a year.

In short, the demand for sustainable development has to start with us. We have to learn to consume differently, more efficiently and with the objective of improving the quality of life, not only for ourselves but also for those who produce what we consume - everywhere in the world.

What makes our situation today different is the scale of our influence on the world. We are now playing for the highest stakes. Globalisation means that, for better or for worse, we all share a common future. Nobody has expressed this better than Martin Luther King: "*all of life is interrelated, we are all caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied to a single garment of history. Whatever affects one directly affects all others*".

And now I wish you a fruitful continuation of this conference.

# Ecological Economics and Ecological Distribution Conflicts

Joan Martinez-Alier

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

## Introduction

Environmental preservation and protection have been understood as values or desires, which could develop only after the material necessities of life were abundantly covered. This view was prevalent until recently. However, the movement for Environmental Justice in the USA (and also in South Africa) and the wider and more diffuse worldwide movement of the Environmentalism of the Poor have bankrupted this view.

## So-called “post-materialistic values”

The political scientist Ronald Inglehart proposed in the 1970s that there was a cultural change in values in rich countries towards human rights and the environment. This has been misnamed as “post-materialistic values”, but societies with an energy consumption of 200 GJ per person-year, and with 20 tons person-year

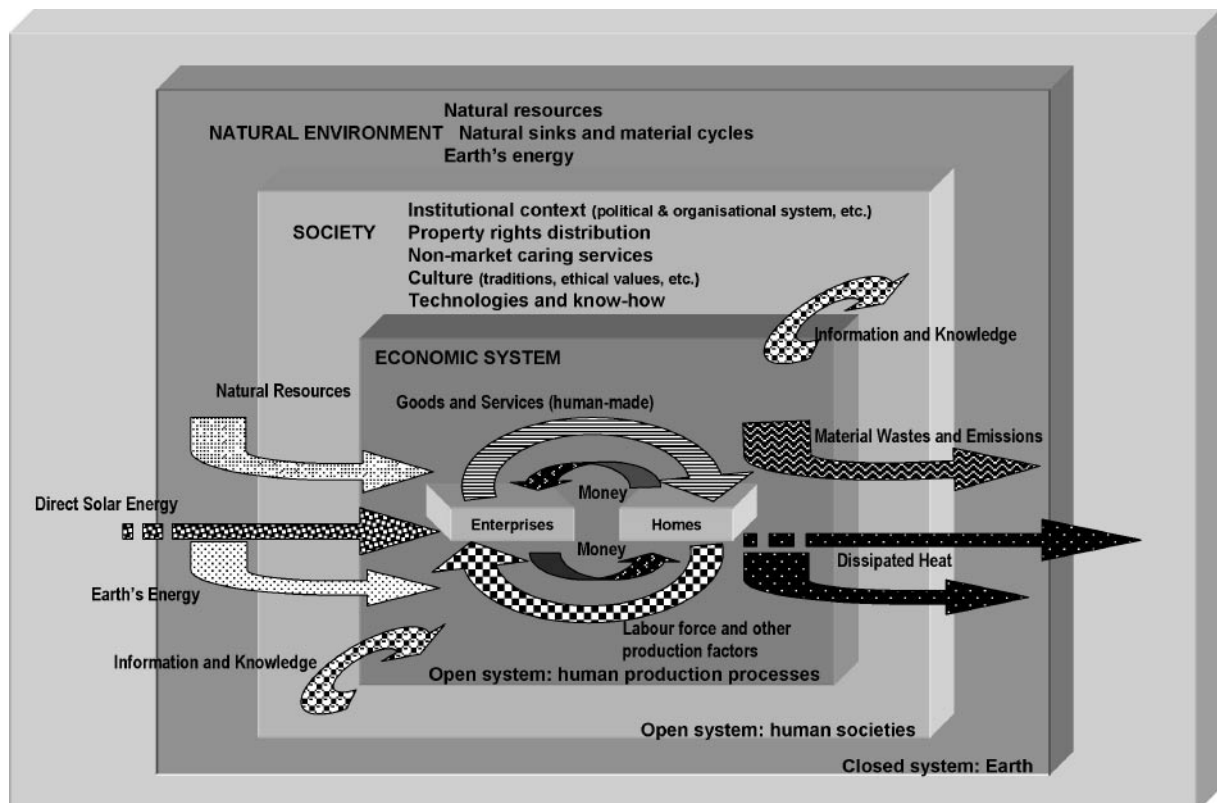
materials intensity are not post-materialistic!

Economists also tends to see the environment as a “good” with high income elasticity. They forget about the environment as a requirement for mere livelihood.

## Ecological Economics

Ecological Economics is a new discipline with a different view. The economic system is seen as a subsystem of society, which again is a subsystem of the natural environment in the closed system of the Earth.

The economic system handles the human-made goods and services, the production factors and the money flows. Society is concerned with political and organizational institutions, distribution of property rights, non-market caring services, culture, education, technologies and know-how. The environmental system





includes natural sinks and sources as energy, drinking water etc. The interaction between these systems is illustrated in Fig. 1

The main factors behind environmental degradation is economic growth and population growth. This has promoted the need for ecological economics and for new indicators like Eco-footprint. With the so-called Brundtland-report from 1987 the concept of *sustainable development* came into focus.

### Economics and Sustainability

The concept of sustainability has different definitions. In a simplified description one may distinguish between weak and strong sustainability. The weak definition is favored by traditional economists, e.g. from the World Bank. In their model “human” capital can be substituted for “natural” capital and they operate with a concept called “genuine savings” where losses of natural resources may be compensated by “human” capital.

Another school of economists including people like N. Georgescu-Roegen, W. Kapp, Kenneth Boulding, Herman Daly, J.M. Naredo, René Passet og Roefie Hueting does not accept the general substitution theory of traditional economists. In their opinion (strong) sustainability requires that future generations have the same total amount of natural resources at their disposition as the present generation. They use physical indicators instead of economic indicators to describe the state of sustainability.

### Origins of Ecological Economics

By 1860 the carbon cycle and the cycles of plant nutrients had been discovered, while the first and second law of thermodynamics had been established. The conflict between the “optimistic” theory of evolution, and the “pessimistic” second law of thermodynamics was a staple of the cultural diet of the early 1900s. As part of this conflict a number of scientists and engineers in the same period had unsuccessfully tried to promote a biophysical view of the economy as a subsystem embedded in a larger system subject to the laws of thermodynamic.

During the 1900s these new lines of thought were expanded and consolidated by a number of biologists, systems ecologists and economists like A. Lotka, F. Soddy, K. Boulding, K. W. Kapp, N. Georgescu-Roegen, H.T. Odum, R. Ayres, Tsuchida Murota, M. Gadgil and Herman Daly.

### Trends and Questions

The traditional economists have been successful in introducing a single indicator, which is widely

accepted as a basic policy parameter: the Gross National Product (GNP). A basic question is whether one can find a competitive indicator based on sustainability criteria with the same impact: a “greened” GNP? This single indicator should be able to balance the consequences when some indicators or indices improve and some deteriorate. A number of “green indicators” have been proposed and some of these are mentioned in the following.

**HANPP:** Human Appropriation of Net Primary Production. Recent work by Helmut Haberl has described the history of HANPP in Austria.

**MEFA accounts:** consumption of materials and energy in the economy both in absolute terms and relative to GNP.

**ECOLOGICAL FOOTPRINT:** a visual indicator translating the consumption of natural resources into the equivalent land area required to deliver these resources.

There are reasons to be critical of the use of *intensive variables* as indicators. Many governments prefer to report only on intensive variables such as energy/GNP or materials flow per GNP, but the environment does not care about relative values because it is the absolute values that matter.

The clash between economy and environment is studied by ecological economics. It does not manifest itself only in the attacks on remaining pristine Nature but also in increasing demands for raw materials and for sinks for waste in the large part of the planet inhabited by humans. The fact that raw materials are cheap and that sinks have a zero price is not a sign of abundance but a result of a given distribution of property rights, power and income. Environmental improvements in some nations may occur because of the displacement of pollution to other nations.

The case for a general “win-win” solution (better environment and economic growth) is far from proven. In the contrary, since the economy is not “dematerializing” in per capita terms, there are increasing local and global conflicts on the sharing of the burdens of pollution (including the enhanced greenhouse effect), and on the access to natural resources.

Ecological Economics emphasizes the ecological distribution conflicts and study the *languages of valuation* used in such conflicts, ranging from the demands for the internalization of externalities into the price system to claims of sacredness of particular sites.

In traditional economic theories of production and consumption, compensation and substitution reign supreme. This is not the case in ecological economics where diverse standards of value are deployed “to take Nature into account”.

In the ecological economics theory of consumption, no other good can substitute or compensate for the minimum amount of endosomatic energy essential for human livelihood. This does not imply a purely biological view of human needs, on the contrary, the human species exhibits enormous intra-specific socially caused differences in the use of exosomatic energy (to use Lotka's term).

### Needs and Satisfactors

Production may become less intensive in terms of energy and materials, but the environmental load of the economy is driven by the total consumption. Rich citizens may choose to satisfy their needs or wants by resource-intensive patterns of consumption, such as the fashion for eating shrimp imported from tropical countries at the expense of mangrove destruction. Another example is the use of gold or diamonds, which has recently given rise to conflicts on gold mining. The approach of ecological economics builds upon Georgescu-Roegen's "principle of irreducibility of needs".

According to Max-Neef, all humans have the same needs, described as:

- Subsistence
- Protection
- Participation
- Creation
- Freedom
- Affection
- Understanding
- Leisure
- Identification

There is no generalized principle of substitution among these needs, but the needs may be satisfied by a variety of "satisfactors". Research by Jackson and Marks (1999) shows a trend to use satisfactors that are increasingly intensive in energy and materials to satisfy predominantly non-material needs. The expectations that an economy that has less industry will be less resource intensive are premature. However, it supports the Optimist's Paradox: "The future is discounted because of today's optimistic views on technical change and increasing eco-efficiency. Therefore more resources and sinks are used at present than would otherwise be, thereby undermining the original view that the future will be more prosperous than today".

### Ecological Distribution Conflicts

In the following some conflicts on the access to natural resources or on the burdens of pollution will be described.

In the US one talks about *environmental racism* with

reference to the fact that a disproportionate burden of pollution is found in areas inhabited by African Americans, Latinos and Native Americans.

*Environmental Justice* is a movement against environmental racism. *Environmental Blackmail* has been used to describe situations in which either locally unacceptable land use (LULU) is finally accepted, or the local population stays without jobs. One well-known source is Bullard (1993).

*Toxic struggles* is the name given in the US to fights against risks from heavy metals, dioxins etc. Sources are Gibbs (1981) and Hofrichter (1993).

*Toxic Imperialism*: Greenpeace (1988) used these words to describe the dumping of toxic waste in poorer countries (theoretically forbidden by the Basel Convention of 1989).

*Ecological unequal exchange*: Importing products from poor countries or regions at prices, which do not take into account the exhaustion of the resources and the local externalities.

*Ecological Debt*: Claiming damages from rich countries on account of past excessive emissions (e.g. of CO<sub>2</sub>) or plundering of natural resources. See e.g. Azar (1994, for the intergenerational context) and Martinez-Alier (1997).

*Biopiracy*: The appropriation of genetic resources ("wild" or medicinal or agricultural) without payment or recognition of peasant or indigenous ownership over them.

*Plantations are not forests*: The movements against eucalyptus, pine and acacia plantations for wood or paper pulp production (often exported).

*Defence of the rivers and other water conflicts*: The movement against large dams (e.g. the Narmada movement in India). There are also conflicts on the use and pollution of aquifers and conflicts on water pricing.

*Transboundary pollution*: This concept is applied mainly to sulfur dioxide crossing borders in Europe and producing acid rain.

*Transport conflicts*: Caused by increased material inputs to the economy, conflicts over pipelines and spills, noisy traffic by trucks etc.

*Equal rights to carbon sinks and reservoirs*: The proposal for equal per capita use of oceans, new vegetation, soils and atmosphere as sinks or reservoirs for CO<sub>2</sub> (Agarwal and Narain, 1991).

*Indigenous environmentalism*: Use of territorial rights and ethnic resistance against external use of resources.

There is a *chronology of such conflicts*:

When did they start, when were they identified, when will they disappear? As an example, claims of just accounts of CO<sub>2</sub> emission will increase since the Kyoto Protocol does not modify the general situation of injustice in relation to historic emissions from the rich countries and in relation to access to carbon sinks and reservoirs.

There is also a *geography of such conflicts*. Some are local and some are global. Some are fought in an explicitly environmental language and some in other languages. Many of them are unknown to Northern public opinion, but it is increasingly difficult to separate local and global, because of the *increased horizontal, south-south networking*.

Some examples of networks or groups are:

- World Movement for Forests (against deforestation and against tree plantations, [www.wrm.org.uy](http://www.wrm.org.uy)).
- International Rivers Network
- Mangrove Action Project
- Via Campesina
- RAFI (now ETC) - Farmers' Rights, Bio-piracy
- Oil-watch
- Mines, Minerals and People

The conflicts may be increased by surprises arising from new technologies. Therefore, one should apply the *Precautionary Principle*. Some economists prefer to base the decisions on *cost-benefit analysis*. Generally speaking, this is not possible due to the exclusion of probabilistic risk and to large uncertainties in data and to complex coupling between systems.

### **Incommensurability of Values**

As Funtowicz and Ravetz (1994) explained: "The issue is not whether it is only the market place that can determine (economic) value, for economists have long debated other means of valuation; our concern is with the assumption that in any dialogue (or conflict), all valuations or "numeraires" should be reducible to a single one-dimensional standard".

The basic question is thus: who has the power to simplify complexity imposing a particular language of valuation?

### **Proposals for New International Policies**

The following proposals may not yet be backed by Southern governments and even less by Northern governments, but they are consistent with the environmentalism of the poor and the global movement for environmental justice.

TRADE:

Southern governments sometimes complain with

reason against Northern protectionism (e.g. on sugar or textiles) despite the rhetoric of free trade, but they also complain with much less reason against "green protectionism" from the North (as in the tuna-dolphin or shrimp-turtle cases).

They are wrong to emphasize "green protectionism" because the overwhelming reality is that of ill-paid energy and material flows from South to North. The isolated cases of "green protectionism" are really red herrings, in comparison to the flow of ecologically unequal trade that benefits the North.

The European Union imports four times more tons of materials than it exports, while Latin America exports six times more tons than it imports. Africa probably has a similar pattern.

Environmentally sustainable trade cannot rely solely on harmonization of environmental standards or on internalization of external costs (which anyway is not taking place). It depends to a large extent on the scale of material and energy flows, as well as on the scale of land use.

Therefore, new policies should be based on the following ideas:

- The scope and limits of Fair Trade, with its roots in consumer awareness of "unfair" trade and debates on declining terms of trade.
- The conditions under which "commodity chains" are amenable to "fair trade", e.g. "green" wood imports, "green" coffee, but not "green" copper or oil. For example, farmed shrimp implies environmental destruction compared with low-input traditional silvo-fisheries.
- The scope for international environmental commodity agreements.
- "Environmental terms of trade", computations of embodied pollution and carbon intensities of exports/imports.
- The links between the (cheap) price of raw materials imports, and recycling policies in rich countries.

### **CORPORATE ENVIRONMENTAL ACCOUNTABILITY:**

- Policies should take into account the need to curtail or redirect the de facto role of business in international environmental governance. This would be helped by the extension of environmental accounting or auditing (or certification) to overseas operations, not only relying on voluntary approaches to corporate social responsibility (CRS) in the context of foreign direct investment.
- Rules for corporate environmental liability should be developed based on specific studies of claims in court cases in order to produce recommendations for international or regional legislation.



- The principles of externality valuation taking into account irreversibilities, social and economic asymmetries between the actors, and the variety of incommensurable languages of valuation.
- Norms not only on domestic, but also on overseas application of technological standards should be enforced.
- Environmental liability as a stimulus for technological change.

#### CLIMATE CHANGE ISSUES:

- There are several guiding questions for a new North-South Deal. Should the Kyoto Protocol be seen from the South as a first step to combat climate change or as a gigantic “grandfathering” of emission rights?
- The debate on the “carbon debt” to the South (computed as unpaid abatement costs or as present-valued future damage) implies a debate on the distribution of property rights on carbon sinks and reservoirs, which might help to bring some Southern governments into a more active role towards a policy of “contraction, convergence and, in the meantime, compensation”.
- A new environmental policy is required based on eco-charges on fossil fuel extraction and exports collected in the exporting countries or by international bodies as “natural capital depletion taxes”, i.e. a fiscal implementation of a rule of “weak sustainability”.
- The revenues from such a tax should be recycled towards poverty reduction/alternative energy technologies in the South. The main actors here should be the coal, oil and gas exporting countries.

#### A NEW AGRARIAN DEAL:

- New agrarian policies should consider FAO’s “Farmers’ Rights” as a much more ambitious instrument than at present, for a world policy in support of traditional agro-ecological production, and against genetic erosion of plants and animal races.
- Monetary incentives through “fair” bio-prospecting contracts should be considered, but emphasis should be on local use values of biodiversity in order to preserve knowledge of genetic resources and the genetic resources themselves.

- The role of new global pro-peasant movements and networks (Via Campesina) should be supported. They propose an end to agricultural export subsidies, and also protection for small farmers, emphasizing the multi-functionality of agriculture. .
- Payment for environmental services and for the conservation/co-evolution of genetic resources could be the chosen instruments with a clear win-win outcome on poverty reduction and environmental quality.

New international policies are needed in the above and many other fields: fisheries, transport, urban development, water use, energy technologies etc. Unless we want to see ecological distribution conflicts increase further.

#### CONCLUSIONS

In my book *The Environmentalism of the Poor: a study of ecological conflicts and valuation* (Edward Elgar, 2002) I integrate two areas: Political Ecology and Ecological Economics.

Political Ecology studies ecological distribution conflicts, focusing on local resistance to environmental exploitation and struggles for environmental justice throughout the world.

Ecological Economics shows that economic growth requires increasing amounts of energy and materials (there is no absolute “dematerialization” in this case). It recognizes the social and ecological limitations of the economy and addresses the value of things, which may or may not be given a price, such as livelihood, quality of life, species diversity or the sacredness of indigenous peoples’ lands.

Both Ecological Economics and Political Ecology are needed for economic, social and environmental sustainability policies.

# Europe's global responsibility: Environmental Space and Ecological Debt or: how to overcome resource-use addiction

Martin Rocholl, Director

Director of Friends of the Earth Europe

## Introduction

The over-use of resources by industrialised countries is a major threat to the earth, for three reasons:

Firstly, the excessive use of resources, such as fossil fuels, steel or wood leads to major environmental problems for all people on the Earth. Climate change is the most prominent example. Other examples include the destruction caused by oil drilling and mining activities, often endangering the livelihood of communities in the South.

Secondly, using up and depleting existing resources - such as minerals, oil, coal, clean air, water or forests - leaves nothing for future generations or for (so-called) developing countries, which still need a higher resource use to provide basic needs for their people.

Thirdly, scarce resources and environmental pressures lead and will lead to conflicts, endangering global peace.

To deal with the issue of environment and global justice, Friends of the Earth has developed a concept called 'Environmental Space'. 'Ecological Debt' takes this idea further, taking into consideration the overuse of environmental space during the last 50 years by the industrialised countries. Both concepts are introduced below, including some ideas on how to campaign on Ecological Debt in Europe and how to reduce the resource over-consumption in the industrialised world.

## Environmental Space

It is almost 10 years ago that Friends of the Earth Europe finished its 'Sustainable Europe' project, which outlined our vision for a sustainable society in Europe. The project introduced the concept of 'environmental space', which was a revolutionary step for the environmental movement in Europe at that time, because it combined environmental and equity issues.

Environmental Space is based on two principles:

- On the simple fact that the Earth can only sustain a certain amount of pollution and use of resources. If we want to avoid a climate disaster, we can only put a certain amount of CO<sub>2</sub> into the air. If we want to preserve the forests, we can only fell a certain amount of timber. If we want future generations to have the same chances as we do, we have to reduce the use of non-renewable resources to the absolute minimum.
- The second principle is the equity principle: Every person in the world should have the same right to use resources of the Earth.

From these two principles one can calculate how much resource use is actually available for every person in the world. This, we call *environmental space*. In practice, environmental space is the total amount of energy, non-renewable resources, agricultural land and forests, which each person can use without causing irreversible damage to the Earth.

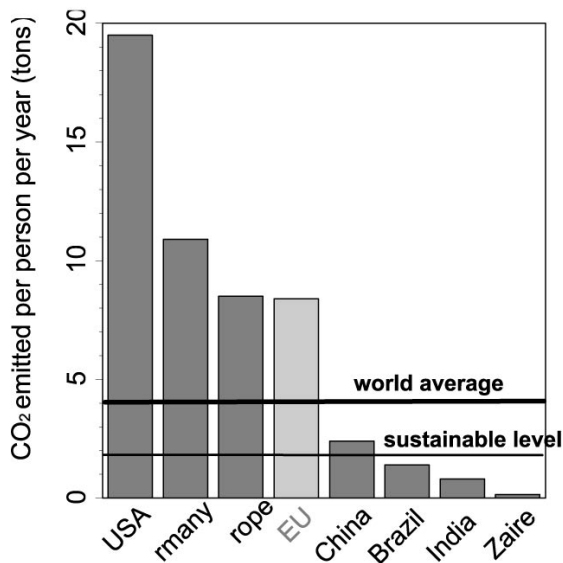
### Basic assumptions to calculate environmental space:

1. Renewable resources can only be used to the extent that they can be replaced by nature.
2. Non-renewable resources should be used in a closed circle to minimise waste and the damaging impact of their extraction.
3. The amount of pollution must not be more than the biosphere can cope with.

Put into practice, environmental space is an enormous challenge for the industrial world. Let us look at some examples:

## CO<sub>2</sub> emissions (1)

The average person in the world is currently producing approximately 4 tons of CO<sub>2</sub> per year. Climatologists tell us, that we should reduce the overall emissions of CO<sub>2</sub> by at least 50% to stabilise the world's climate. Taking population growth into consideration, the sustainable level is about 1.7 tons of CO<sub>2</sub> per person per year. Looking at current CO<sub>2</sub> emissions of industrialised countries, we realise how far away we are from this aim: the average person in the USA produces almost 20 tons of CO<sub>2</sub> per year, the average European - 8.



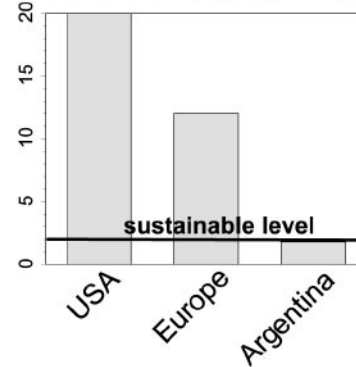
At the same time, developing countries still have some room to increase their CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. This is an important message because; previously our demands to save the world's climate were often misunderstood in the South (the so-called 'developing' world), as a trick to hinder these countries in their development. With the environmental space model, this is not the case. Both industrialised countries and 'developing' countries must develop towards a sustainable level. It is however important to notice that countries like China, Chile or Uruguay are already above the sustainable level, overusing their environmental space. Looking at the per-capita CO<sub>2</sub> emissions, one immediately sees how ridiculous the US demand is which insists that developing countries should first join efforts to reduce CO<sub>2</sub>, before the US makes any international commitments.

(1) CO<sub>2</sub> emissions or energy consumption (basically the same thing, as most energy is produced by burning fossil fuels) are a good example, because they correlate very much with environmental problems. Higher energy efficiency results in a reduction of environmental problems far beyond climate change (for example better air quality, reduced waste production, etc.).

**For the use of non-renewable resources, the same calculations can be made.**

Europeans, for example, use about 5 times more aluminium than people in the South (the so-called developing countries). North Americans use about 10 times more aluminium than what would be within the limits of environmental space.

Annual aluminium consumption per person (kg)



## Environmental Space: a radical message in Europe

In essence, the environmental space concept asks people in the industrialised world to drastically reduce their use of resources, thus leaving a fair share of environmental space to people in other continents. In Europe, the resource use would have to be reduced by 80% - 90% within the next decades. This is a radical demand to make on our societies, as it calls for fundamental changes in the economy and lifestyles.

We are often asked if that is possible. We strongly believe so: the technical and political options exist to provide the same amount of well-being, with a drastically reduced use of resources and thus a drastic reduction of the environmental problems. Household heating, a major part of the energy consumption in Europe and North America, can be reduced by up to 90% simply by building houses more cleverly. I have seen houses myself, which do not need a heating system (or air conditioning) anymore, because they are extremely well insulated and harvest the energy from the sun. Additionally, they are not more expensive to build.

More local production and consumption patterns instead of the often useless - transport of products around Europe is another area where enormous efficiency gains could be made. Finally, long lasting products, which can be repaired, instead of throw-away products would drastically reduce resource demand. These are just a few examples where we could increase our resource efficiency simply by applying more intelligent technology and introducing small changes in lifestyle.

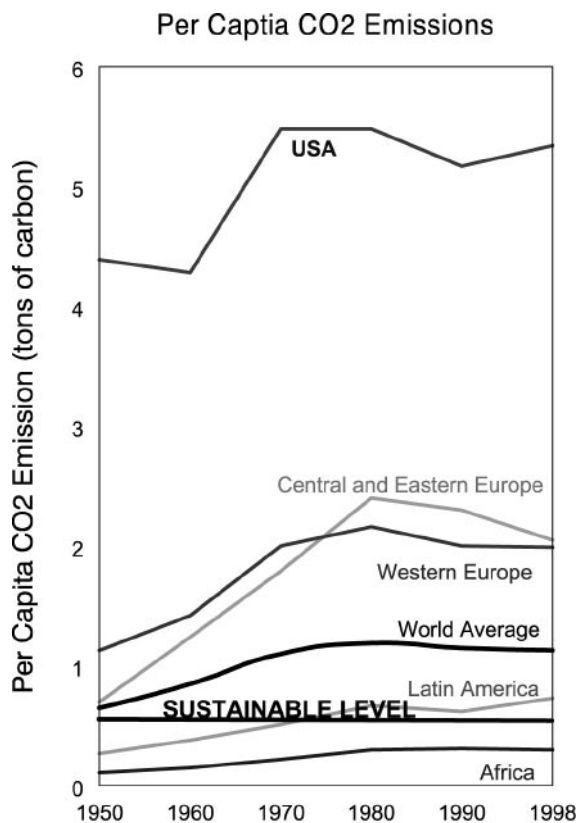
It will be the task of European groups to fight for the political framework (such as an ecological tax

reform), which makes these efficiency gains possible. The other challenge will be to move our societies away from their addiction to the advertisement driven over-consumption - a major cultural task.

FoEE's vision for a Sustainable Europe has a very positive message: it is possible to live a good life within the limits of environmental space! A life, that is equally possible for all people on the Earth.

### Overuse of environmental space by the North

Looking at the per-capita CO<sub>2</sub> emissions of different regions of the world, one can see that industrialised countries have been overusing their environmental space for at least 50 years. Today, in Europe every person is emitting about 5 times more CO<sub>2</sub> than someone in Africa and almost 3 times more than someone in Latin America. US citizens produce 18 times more CO<sub>2</sub> than Africans (2).



(2) The graph shows the per capita CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from fossil fuel burning, cement manufacture and gas flaring (Carbon Dioxide Information Analysis Center, Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Tennessee, USA and University of North Dakota, USA, July 2001). The sustainable level is an estimate, assuming that current CO<sub>2</sub> emissions should be reduced by 50% in order to stabilise the world's climate.

Comparing Central and Eastern Europe with its Western counterparts is very interesting: while producing about the same amount of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and therefore using about the same amount of energy per capita, production of goods and services in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) is far below the levels of Western Europe. This clearly shows that energy consumption and wealth do not correlate. It also points at the enormous efficiency gains possible in CEE. In the same way, no one would say that Americans live twice as well as Europeans simply because they use more than twice the amount of energy.

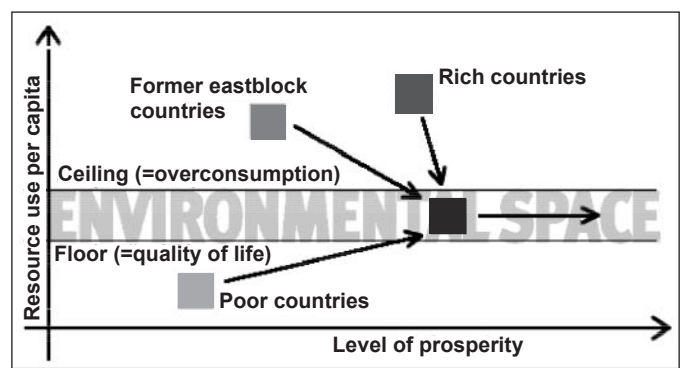
Latin America and China have been overusing their environmental space for several years now, even though they are still very much below the world average. People in Africa, as well as Asia (without China) are still living within their environmental space (3).

### Beyond Environmental Space

In Europe, we were quite proud of having developed the environmental space concept. Didn't we finally bring together the environmental and the equity question? We were therefore surprised that in other parts of the world, this concept was not greeted with equal enthusiasm. What were the reasons for that?

### Distribution of environmental space within a country

For countries with high differences in wealth and income, calculating the per-capita environmental space makes less sense. In many countries in the South, the distribution of wealth is the actual question. While a small elite might totally overuse their environmental space, the majority of people may be using fewer resources than are necessary for survival. For many people in the South, the question of the control of and power over resources is more important than calculating environmental space.



(3) The curve for China is comparable to that of Latin America but with higher growth rates in the last decade. The curve for the rest of Asia is comparable to Africa.



FoE groups in the South have added the concept of the bottom line, defining the minimum amount of resources that should be available for every person to live a dignified life. Environmental space therefore has upper and lower limits.

### Real Equity?

The environmental space concept aims for every person in the world to use only as much of his/her environmental space as is possible without destroying the world. This implies that industrialised countries have to come down from a very high level of resource use to reach the sustainable level. It also means that developing countries can still use more resources but should not move above the ceiling defined by environmental space.

While this makes sense from an environmental point of view, it is actually a rather unjust concept, as it does not take into consideration that the North has made its wealth while over-consuming during the last decades. Even worse, the North will continue to overuse its environmental space for another 50 years or so until we finally have reduced our resource consumption to sustainable levels (which is already a very optimistic future scenario).

The reaction of the South therefore is obvious: why can't we also overshoot in our use of environmental space for a while, in order to create the same level of wealth for our people?

While this is impossible from an ecological point of view (we would need 8 planets for that), it is a fully justified request from the perspective of the equity principle.

### Ecological Debt

The concept of ecological debt can be very helpful to overcome this dilemma. In our example, the ecological debt would be the overuse of the environmental space by the North - both in the past and in the future.

Environmental debt would, for example, result from the amount of CO<sub>2</sub>, which industrialised countries have put into the air and which is now causing global warming. Ecological debt can of course, be extended to many other areas. It includes the environmental damage resulting from all kinds of resource overuse by the North.

As the ecological debt is accumulated towards other people on the planet, it probably makes sense to define the world average as the line above - which a country accumulates, an environmental debt (dark areas in the graph).

### The Ecological Debt debate in Europe

How does this help us to conduct the ecological debt debate in Europe?

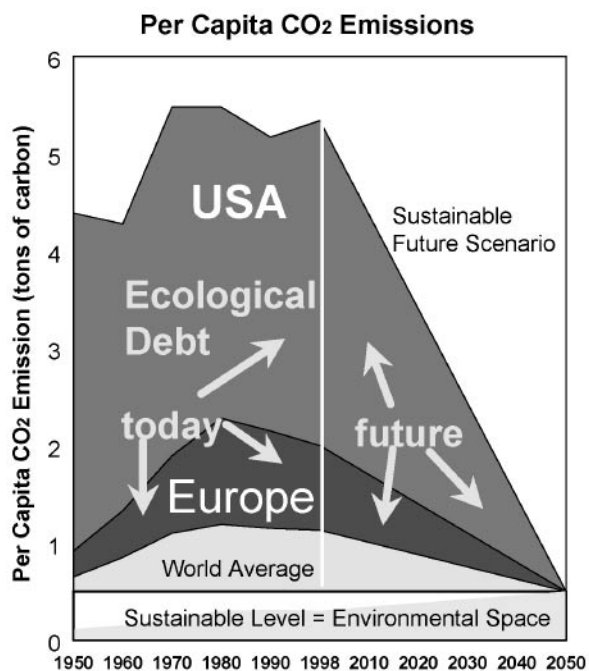
In Europe, the environmental movement succeeded in making the public aware of the importance of climate change as a threat to us all. Most people today will agree that something needs to be done about climate change and that therefore Europe needs to reduce its energy consumption.

While being a slow and painful process, Europe has started to reduce its CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. Currently, there is little hope that it will be done with the necessary speed to achieve sustainable levels within the next 50 years. Still, a start is made and people have accepted that a reduction of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions is necessary.

However, people often argue that all this reduction will be useless, if people in the South want to use amounts of energy equal to that used thus far in the North. If the South were to do that, global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions would rise sharply and the reductions in industrialised countries would be eaten up very fast. There is no question that this would lead to an environmental disaster that would affect all parts of the world - including Europe - where we can feel climate change already.

There is, therefore, a growing interest in Europe to address this problem and to convince countries in the South, not to overuse their environmental space as we did in Europe for the past decades.

How can this be done? If we agree that all people have the same right to well-being, we must find ways to improve the living conditions in the South without overusing environmental space. While there is some room for higher resource use in many Southern countries, this still means we must aim for the highest possible resource efficiency as soon as possible.



The North should pay the ecological debt, to allow the South to go on such a sustainable development path. How this payment of the ecological debt shall be done and how we make sure it is used to really improve the life of people; will have to be worked out in detail by civil society in the South. A transfer of technologies for efficient resource use - which hopefully will be developed in the North to meet the environmental challenge - to the South at the lowest or no cost, is one option. Direct financial transfers to support sustainable development or a financial debt relief (which should happen for other reasons as well) are other ideas currently being discussed.

If one calls these transfers from the North to the South the “payment of ecological debt”, I think we could find a possibility to introduce the issue to the European public. I believe that Europeans would understand that it is also in their own best interest, that countries in the South do not repeat our development mistakes. It is essential to the planet’s survival that the rest of the world does not repeat the unsustainable development path of industrialised countries. If Europeans have an interest in that, they should accept their ecological debt and start making the necessary transfers to those countries, which so far have not overused their environmental space and hopefully will not do so in the future.

## **SOME DEMANDS ON EUROPE’S POLICIES**

### **Europe must accept the equity challenge!**

European governments should accept ‘environmental space’ and ‘ecological debt’ as key concepts on which they base their actions. For Europe, this means showing real action in reducing resource over-consumption. It also means increased financial commitments and a willingness to cancel financial debts of Southern countries, in recognition of Europe’s ecological debt. On both issues, progress has so far been extremely slow. A first test case is the ‘thematic strategy’ on resource use, currently developed by the European Commission. FoEE Europe will keep a close eye on it and make sure real resource use reduction is achieved.

### **Europe is not sustainable!**

While having rather progressive environmental legislation, key areas of European policies are still miles away from being sustainable. European Union transport policy still tries to accommodate ever-growing transport needs instead of finding ways to reduce transport in general (e.g. by encouraging local production and consumption cycles). An energy policy, which tries to reduce energy demand and push energy efficiency is also lacking. Europe’s agricultural subsidies are still chiefly directed towards high intensity agriculture, with all its environmental and health problems.

A critical look and pressure from the rest of the world on the policies of the EU would be highly appreciated by European NGOs, as it will help us to fight for further reforms.

### **There is no sustainable development without financial transfers to economically less developed regions**

Within the European Union (EU) it is common sense that economically less developed countries and regions (such as Portugal, Greece or Central and Eastern Europe) need financial support to cope with the EU’s internal market. The EU spends over 30 Billion euro per year on Structural and Cohesion Funds to overcome economical disparities. This is done in order to give people in less developed regions a fairer footing in the EU’s economy (which has no borders or tariffs) and to support environmental and infrastructure measures.

When it comes to the global economy, these facts seem to be easily forgotten. Developing countries are left alone to deal with the implications of economic globalisation. To counteract this, richer countries must increase their aid to the poorer parts of the world.

One should however, learn from the use of Structural and Cohesion Funds within the EU. We have experienced, that without full involvement of civil society, problems with corruption occur and funds are used unsustainably or are even wasted completely. Civil society will have to watch decision-makers in the South, just as much as this needs to be done in the North.

### **The political framework for resource efficiency is missing**

The most efficient way to reach higher resource efficiency is to use the market economy to drive innovation forward. For this, we must make resources more expensive. Shifting taxes away from labour and onto resource or energy use is one way to do it. By increasing the costs of resources this ‘ecological tax reform’ pushes for innovations, which reduce energy or resource consumption. At the same time it makes employing people less expensive - a good measure against unemployment. This makes doubly more sense because, most energy/resource saving measures (such as insulating houses or recycling) are labour-intensive.

If we look at political realities today, we must however conclude that it has become increasingly difficult to put such measures into place.

Economic globalisation allows multinational companies to play countries against each other for the best investment conditions, resulting in lower environmental and social standards and increasingly lower taxes for corporations. Countries which do not play to these “rules” have to face increasing unemployment, because

multinational companies choose to go to other countries which offer more profitable conditions. Taxes on Corporations in Europe have decreased by 25% in the last 10 years. This is not a process, which is properly discussed or wanted. It is simply the result of countries competing with each other for the investment of multinational companies.

This situation has negative effects in two ways:

- a) It stops countries from raising the necessary resource/energy taxes.
- b) It deprives countries of the necessary income, which they need to support innovation, research and education.

Let us look at a few examples: within the EU we have been trying for more than a decade to get a European wide energy/CO<sub>2</sub> tax. The result is the so-called Monti-Directive, which is so weak and has so many loopholes that it will only achieve very small CO<sub>2</sub> reductions. In this context it is frustrating to see that the new EU constitution keeps up the veto right for every single country on European-wide environmental taxes. This will result in no progress in this area.

On the global level, we cannot even see a start in trying to move the world economy towards more resource efficiency. The only attempt - the Kyoto Protocol - is lacking the necessary enforcement mechanisms. Worse, those countries who stay-away from the global effort to save the world's climate, can even have an economic advantage by not implementing CO<sub>2</sub> reduction measures (such as higher energy taxes).

**Let me propose two ideas on how to overcome this problem:**

One could set-up a global environmental fund, which makes money available only for those countries who implement multilateral environmental agreements. It should, for example, be available for financing innovation measures, which reduce resource consumption. Such a fund should receive its money from a global tax on common goods (e.g. on kerosene) or a Tobin tax, which must be paid by all countries.

The EU, which is implementing the Kyoto Protocol, could demand import taxes on products, which are produced with high-energy input, if they come from countries, which have not ratified the Kyoto Protocol (such as the US). This would be fair, because in countries, which are taking their commitments to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions seriously, energy is more expensive.

There is still a long way to go for Europe until we can claim that we play a responsible role in the world. Making Europe's economy and lifestyles less

resource-dependent will however not only benefit the rest of the world. Within Europe, using less resources and less energy will result in an improved environment, innovation, faster modernisation of our economies, increased competitiveness (especially against countries who hold on to wasteful dinosaur technologies) and create jobs.

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**Don't be a fossil: Fight climate change!**

May 2004 - October 2004: a 10m high "Carbon Dinosaur" will travel to European capitals, ministries, power hungry industries, coal mining sites and oil companies, in order to expose those who are blocking effective action to fight dangerous climate change.

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Find out more about Friends of the Earth's Carbon Dinosaur Tour and Climate Campaign at:

<http://www.foeeurope.org/dinosaur/>

# Earth democracy

**Vandana Shiva**

**Director, Research Foundation for Science, Technology  
and Natural Resources, New Delhi**

It is important to have a gathering on “Global conscience” and to call it Global Conscience, because we can not afford to have eleven men get together (at Copenhagen Consensus) and call it global consensus. In a way this afternoons discussion of redistribution begins with this problem, begins with this assumption, that men who can destroy forests, build huge dams and displace millions of people, makes us forget this thousands of years of human intelligence and billions of years of natures intelligence to grow food without toxics, telling us that without pesticides we can not have food, telling us that without plastic we can not have a good life.

## **Growth and life**

When they talk about redistribution, their assumption is that there is only one kind of growth that of course they control. I like to take a step back to think about growth as we have thought about it, in most of human evolution.

We have thought of growth as things growing, not things being killed - and things that grow, are living. What capitalistic patriarchy has succeeded in doing is separating growing from life, associating it with killing. And then saying: “You depend on us” to continue to have well being. Your welfare is depended on us deciding, which half of you will not get food, with us deciding very much in that old logic of triage, you remember? That says that 1/3 of humanity can not afford to exist. That only 1/3 is worth interesting and another 1/3 can be given crumbs and bits... That kind of global consensus is about that triage logic, about who that will be allowed to be wiped out. But I believe we have been born on this Earth and that every one of us, as every little bee, has a right to sustenance and a share of the Earths resources. The Earth in itself does not create scarcity, Gandhi has left us with the wonderful interpretation of an extremely old Hindu saying: “If you consume more than you need - then you are stealing”. I think the discussion this morning about ecology is about that. The moment you use more than you need, you are either eating your way through the ecological space of other beings, humans or future generations. Either it is a theft from

other species, or a theft from excluded human communities, or a theft from future generations: It is a theft anyway! I do not want to have the benefit of that growth redistributed!

There is a second way in which this idea of separating growth from living and from life: Our capacity, our duty, our responsibility to maintain life like every living system does. The objective and end of every living system is to maintain its own life.

All we have received from Gaia thinking, is about maintaining self regulating organisms, whose objective is to maintain life on this planet. Our specie is part of this planet - our job is to maintain life’s systems that make our lives possible. But by separating growth from life, two things happen automatically. The first thing is that growth is reduced to growth in capital, a totally dead construction, an ignorant construction of the human mind, pieces of papers saying: “I give you this promise!” Something that is supposed to merely reflect a promise to an entitlement given a higher level of Rights than living beings. But even more important: It is removed from any relationship of command over resources. Money used to say: “It is going to be worth that much gold, it is going to be worth this much clothing, this much land.” It is now being disembedded from any real production. Now you have 3 billion dollars of fictitious money moving around on this planet, wanting to move into to the forests of Ecuador, the coast line of India, the oil of the Middle East. That hungry money is the issue of real distribution: we are already having a redistribution! It is a redistribution of the poor to the rich. It is a redistribution from the South to the North, and it is a redistribution from living growth into dead capital.

I think it is important that we move out of these constructions, because within these constructions, we will always accept what makes the situation worse for the planet and the poor people on this planet. I remember years ago when the women of Tripco(1) were fighting for not cutting trees, their slogan were very clear: “These trees give us life - therefore they must stay alive”. Therefore they hugged the trees. The hugging was for keeping the trees alive, because what they gave was another growth: The growth of soil, the



growth of fodder, the growth of fuel, the growth of water, and the slogan of Tripco was: Trees give us soil, food, fodder, water - that is why they must stay alive!" and the fuel and the fodder came from other products of the forest. Nature's capital had to be kept alive. Very soon after the Tripco experience, I was invited to do a study for the Ministry of Environment on mining in our valley and this was the first case in which the courts recognized that ecosystems are necessary to maintain to give life. The Right to life is a fundamental right in our constitution, Right to life is destroyed by ecological destruction either by destroying life's support, or by destroying Lifehood, which make it possible for people to make a living. Any activity that starts to destroy life's support and livelihood must stop. It was the first legal ruling in India, that said: Commerce can not rule over life. Life must rule over commerce. And we had institution after institution over the last three decades built on very fundamental principles of equality, of right to life, of justice. Part of this institution building has the last few years been dismantled or been attempted to be dismantled.

### Sustainability and justice

Sustainability and then protection of nature is very clearly the most elemental form of justice, because it is about justice between species and humans and it is about justice between all humans. It is only when we go back in our species' existence, it is only when we go back to that we need safe water, we need safe food, that all of us become equal.

In that fictitious economy of 3 billion dollars we can be made unequal, but by maintaining our life as ecological specie we are made equal to the trees, and the fish, but WE are also made equal. Therefore sustainability is the most fundamental basis of justice. Any argument that says that this has to be traded off is beginning in the wrong place. It is beginning with the two myths of the machine view of the world. First: That machines create growth. I know from the case of agriculture: Industrial agriculture is so efficient that it uses 300 units to produce 100 units of output! With ecology we can do the same thing on small farms using trivial little input. And we are told that the machines represent a more efficient system? That Cartesian view on the world is also the way capitalism is starting to have bigger and bigger place. I think just like Descartes in his nervousness that the body is under rival, everything we smell, everything we eat, every pain we feel is totally to be doubted. We are told that the only thing we can believe is a few privileged minds, pointing out the right direction, telling us what is reliable knowledge. That is the Cartesian revolution the 11 men are sitting in.

We need an ecological revolution that say that the six billion people on this planet and the rest of the species all of us have a voice on the future of this planet!

One of the reasons we need to start - instead of the ecology movements starting to get defensive - is trying to reframe why we started the work we do. That if it was about economy in the Cartesian sense, we really need to start standing for the defence of life, because the global economy, driven by the rules of corporate globalization, is becoming a genocide. (You might have heard that we just had elections in my country and an American Add company was hired to write the slogans for the BJP party. The slogans they created was: "India Shining", and the "Feel Good Factor". On their way to the Indian villages the "Feel Good Factor" became "Good as Sugar", and farmers would say: "We know that sugar is good, but why is this plant called FEEL?" - because FEEL GOOD does not translate into any Indian language. But in addition this slogan of "India Shining" was just reduced to three things: some people having ... a few people riding on the super high ways and the governments dream to reverse all our rivers, as if nature did not know how to make the water flow. Just like these guys are doing at Copenhagen Consensus, the add agency and the BJP thought that they could "spin" an "Indian Shining" slogan and Indians would stupidly come around saying : "How India is shining - we are feeling good!" But 5000 farmers have committed suicide because of deep depth and deep depth related to two factors, linked to this form of economy. First: There must be no regulation of trade, therefore there must be deregulated import and export. Secondly there must be no regulation of production and therefore a concern that wants to sell costly non-renewable seeds they must be given totally free hands. The combination of those two has meant that every peasant in India is in deep depth. And India is no exception, every European peasant is on the road to extinction, every American small farmer is on the road to extinction. Just reading the News Week an article about "The Depth of the Bistro". Why? Because the French can not buy local food anymore in the bistros. Now they depend on the hugely long distance traded commodities - and "Round Up"- resistant soy beans is not what good cuisine is made of!

In the Indian elections there were left voices out and they spoke about survival, they were talking about having a place to start, about small peasants being an important part. The status of the small producers around the world being wiped out because of the design of the global economy controlled by global corporations is really to steal their livelihood from them, first by taking away their very resources. One reason why I worked so hard at the WTO is because their rules create new private property of what was held in common by humanity: New private property on seeds, new private property with patent rights, new private property on water by water privatizations projects. This is private property in the very basis of life. It basically says: Life is not a fundamental given right for all human beings on this planet. Life is a com-

modity you buy if you have purchase - of course. That is the genocide recipe of privatization of the Earth's vital resources. And of course it generates goods! It is generating one trillion dollars of profits for the seed industry by preventing farmers from saving seeds, it is creating one trillion dollars of "dream money" in water markets for the water corporations. Two trillion dollars in just two sectors is an amazing growth. What is 50 billions Copenhagen Consensus is about compared to that? Nothing!

So why don't they talk about redistributing that 2 trillion dollars - and that redistribution would be ecological redistribution, it would mean to let the water flow to meet the needs of all species along water basin. Let seeds grow out on every farm and let seed saving not be treated as a crime!

### **The theft by multinational corporations**

I want to mention a report where we intervened and that I think is an issue that all environmental groups all over the world should join:

The crops of Percy Schmeisser, a Canadian farmer, were contaminated by Monsanto. Judges have said that the fact that the genes moved from Monsanto's field to Percy's field, is still a theft! But it is interesting that it was a split decision, so the majority of five versus four is deciding the faith of five million species and all farmers. They are saying that whether a patented gene extends to a plant as a whole is an irrelevant issue. On the other hand the dissenting faction (of the judges) says that the Gene Claims can not be used to grant exclusive rights to patent the plant in all its prospects. So we are talking about extremely fundamental ways in which wealth has been created, and crude has been created, that is totally redefining our relationship to the planet. This has to be a fundamental discussion about what can be owned and what can not be owned; what can be free traded and what need social and environmental regulations; what has had to be left to community decisions in the public domain and what can be left to private decisions. This very fundamental charging out of our ecological landscape is the task of the environmental movement today.

This enclosure of the commons, as I call it, is the reel root to poverty, because when your water is enclosed by a river diversion scheme you are poor. Both because you are excluded from the way you are doing your living, but you are also poor because you are thrown as disposable elements into the slums of the cities. No one in India that I know of has moved to a city, because they loved the neon lights and loved to sort out garbage. They moved because their wells ran dry or they moved because under globalization new ways of taking away their income was created. The discussion about the 50 billion dollars (at Copenhagen Consensus) simply lacks the sense of proportions.

Just in India annually because of trade liberalizations, farmers are losing 26 billion dollars in terms of lost income, because of the lower prizes they get for their products. India has 25% of the world's farmers, which means that globally we are talking about 100 billion dollars. 100 billion dollars of new poverty for growers of food worldwide. That is the issue of redistribution, not the 50 billion of aid money. They are just half of what farmers as producers are losing in terms of income.

One could go on telling stories about how Coca Cola's growth as the biggest company in terms of profits is stealing the water from small communities like in Plachimada in India, where 1,5 million litres of water a day was extracted from a lake, till the women started to protest, because they had to walk miles. They organized and mobilized to use our national constitution to say that local communities have a right. Then the courts ruled that water is not a private property, it is a public good and it has to be used in a sustainable manner through collective decision making, and the government has no right to sell these rights, because the government merely has the role of being a trustee.

### **Participation is necessary**

I was very saddened to read something that was mailed to me by two Latin Americans: a summary of a new report from MS (Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke), which is called "Free Trade is not enough". One of the paragraphs in this report: "There is not enough money for the very expensive participatory orientated research programme with a broad social and environmental objective. We have come to find reality to step back. We need now to move into laboratories. Nature and people are too costly!" This is the reality of the world that says: we need a new green revolution and we need privatization. Basically it is about new private partnership for biotechnology.

I would plead that those of you who are part of MS to look a little bit more closely at how true participatory research is. We are increasing food output by extremely simple matters, simple matters of selection. At no point we can believe that social and environmental participation are ever too costly!

Avoiding participation is extremely costly, it is very costly in terms of ecological disasters like the green revolution in GMOs, but it is also extremely costly in terms of how much burden the poor are made to bare by the high cost solutions of the capital intensive agriculture and of the plight that drives Indian farmers to suicide.

### **Earth democracy as a new way of thinking**

I think we - coming back to the issue - we are no more at that point where we merely have to talk about how to continue the last 50 years of our environmental movements. The fundamental thing has to be: How do we correct the 500 years of a colonial relationship with the world?

How do we correct 300 years of machine view on a living world that comes as a block at every point from allowing us to perceive the growth and abundance through ecological systems without making a shift to sustainability? And I really think we have to recognize that we are a tiny dot in billion of years of evolution and that keeping of that evolution is our basic responsibility. Unless the environmental movement makes that leap to play its role in the evolutionary consciousness, to play its role in being able to say: we are the real people of planetary consciousness - not you, who sell the world as a supermarket of hunger and thirst.

I have called this coming of a new way of thinking, the new consciousness about ourselves as "Earth Democracy", thought in the sense of localize production in order to reduce our foot print - not just to embrace people, but all species on the Earth.

Cartesian thinking is either about local or global - you can either be localized or centralized. In the ecological world you are amazingly organized at every level from the Cell to the organism, to the ecosystem, to the planet, to the Universe. We have to realize that we need multiple level organizing, from our local rights of being part of communities to our national systems where we can really exercise democracy to the international systems where we have to create a counterpart to global corporation, to every institution that is available - some old, some new. And that redistribution of our role on this planet, that redistribution of our place on our planet, that redistribution of power on the planet, is the place, where the redistribution of wealth will start to happen. Anything else is going to fall short, anything else can actually see us wipe ourselves out as a species within short time.

Thank you.

*(1)* Tripco is an organization for women in the Himalaya region, fighting for preserving trees

# Reconciliation and restructuring of a society

**Charles Villa-Vicencio**

**Director, The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation  
South Africa**

Thank you very much. It's a privilege to be meeting with you in this conference in Copenhagen. I was flying from Cape Town on Friday night to London and there was a plump young man sitting next to me. When I get on an aeroplane, normally, I turn my back on the person next to me and get my nose in a book but this large plump man was spilling over into my seat and so I couldn't. It was the first time that he was travelling outside South Africa and of course, he wanted to know where I was going. Where were you going? He said. So I told him I was coming to Copenhagen which, animated him and he replied, what's Copenhagen like? Have you been there before?

I thought now, how I could tell this young man what Copenhagen was like in as few words as possible so I can get my nose back into my book, so I said Copenhagen is a wonderful place. It's shish, it's orderly, it's organised. Those were the words, which come to mind when I think of Copenhagen. He said, Oh! that it's easy for them, they have got lots of money, and we don't. That's the perception of the first world by the third world. It's also the perception of the ecological debate among many of the poorest of the poor in my country. I hope you don't describe me as the party pooper this afternoon. My point is going to be very different than what we have heard thus far. I have huge respect for the stories that we have been told by Sunita and Vandana Shiva concerning the struggle in India. I was deeply moved. But it's not the reality of South Africa.

## **South Africa**

South Africa is a poor country, crawling its way into the industrialised age, rightly or wrongly. Urbanisation is a reality for a variety of reasons; and we can talk about them some other time. And I'm afraid that the poorest of the poor are more interested in the next slice of bread than the ecological health of the nation. And I as a privileged person can say to them, "my dear friends, unless you address the ecology, you may not have a slice of bread" but when a person needs bread now, that approach is not always foremost in their minds.

And so I'm going to speak today very broadly in order to become narrow, I'm not going to speak about the broad ecological issues in a philosophical sense, I'm going to speak to you about South Africa. I'm going to tell you about a social experiment and it really has to do, I need to say to the chair, with the possible and the impossible.

I want you just to pause for one moment before I speak to you. I want you to close your eyes and think where South Africa was ten/fifteen years ago. What was your prediction for South Africa? I know what mine was. There was no alternative; we were killing one another in the streets. When I look back, I'm going to accept the words of the Archbishop Tutu, when he said it was a miracle. It was a tough one, we fought for it, some of my closest friends were killed for it, some of us went to jail for it. But it was a miracle. We didn't end up in genocide, such as happened in Rwanda, we never ended up in a Sudan, we never ended up in a Somalia, Cambodia. It was a miracle. How did that gentle miracle happen? And let me let the cat out of the bag. It was through compromise, compromise, compromise. It was give and take, it was negotiation until late into the night, and in the end we were not quite sure who were the good guys and who were the bad guys and who won and who lost. All we know is that we saved ourselves a bloodbath and that's what I want to talk about. And I hope you can make the transition in the days' debate.

## **Social Redistribution**

I want to talk about social redistribution, the topic for this session, in a broad sense rather than a narrow sense. I want to suggest to you that social redistribution requires a holistic approach. I want to suggest to you that the social and the political and the economic, and the environmental and the legal and the cultural and the spiritual and all the rest are all intertwined. You can't win one without the other and if you try to win one at the cost of the other, you are probably going to be disappointed. I'm going to suggest to you that social transformation of any kind is a complex affair. It cannot be realised through a simple crisp



one-dimensional approach to life. It's not my experience; it's not our experience in South Africa. Sometimes politicians, sometimes social activists forget that.

I'm going to suggest to you that the world doesn't like contradictions. I'm going to suggest that most of us applaud loudly when there is a sound bite diagnosis of the most complex problems. I'm going to suggest to you that leaders who can offer straightforward solutions are sometimes elected to parliament before those who realise the complexity of it all. If you haven't discovered, Ladies and Gentlemen, and if you don't know me, I used to be a leftist and I'm now a realist. I covert the memory of those spiritual dimensions that have driven me throughout my life. I'm going to suggest to you four very simple paradoxes and I, for the sake of discussion, am going to put them as contrasts, I'm going to present them in a eristic way and I want to talk about them because I think they underlie any social transforming process.

### **Intervention, justice verses reconciliation and poverty relief or self-sustainability**

The first is intervention verses denial: When you intervene, when you pretend the problem is not there. The second is justice verses reconciliation, justice or reconciliation. The third is poverty relief or self-sustainability (that's when I'm going to talk about the ecology) and finally sir, you must be a prophet, I'm going to talk about the possible verses the impossible.

First of all we have a broad canvas, and I will narrow it. Intervention verses denial. You know, in the bad old days, some of us sat in South Africa and we said for God's sake, when will the West intervene and do in this country, in South Africa, what they have done in the rest of the world? The answer is I don't know, I don't know what is the difference between the United States' interventions in Iraq, in Afghanistan and why did it not intervene not in Rwanda in 1994. When all the writing was on the wall and all the early warning signals had gone off that resulted in almost a million people being killed in what has been described as the most intimate genocide in the world in less than one hundred days. People killed with machetes and knives and garden implements.

Why did the United States intervene in the Sudan and bomb a pharmaceutical company but until the very last moment refused to support economic sanctions against South Africa. Why? All are contradictions. I don't know why people intervene sometimes and they don't intervene in other times, but I want to suggest that what ultimately brought about change in South Africa was a carefully honed, internal and external, South African and international incentive, driven by a range of people, including the United Nations, including the Nordic countries, including several third world countries, including India that ultimately tight-

ened the screw until there was change without genocide in South Africa. That's the miracle. It was a package, it was an alliance between outside and inside forces that was driven by self interest, and driven by contradiction, and driven by morality and driven by all sorts of things but in the end the kaleidoscope went kick and we were able to do it and why?

Because the world neither went there as George Bush went into Iraq, nor did it deny that anything was happening like Bill Clinton denied in Rwanda. Can we find that middle ground that enables us to move forward? It has something to do with steering between naked aggressive interventions on the one hand and denial on the other.

My second paradox is justice and reconciliation. The late minister of justice in South Africa, Dullah Omar, who died just six weeks or so ago, once put it this way. He said there is no such thing as pure justice for any one group in this world. Justice is about fair play, justice is about balancing the books, as best we can, as realistically as we can, in any particular situation, it's about a process with which nobody is ultimately totally satisfied but with which everybody can live. Some of us in South Africa demanded justice, some of us said the day will come when we will haul down the flag of the old regime, and let me use these words: In the words of the present president Mr Mbeki "We will hang the bastards". In the end we realised that if decided if we were going to build a nation, a nation of former enemies, a nation of adversaries, we were going to have to balance those things called justice and reconciliation. We recognised that if there was to be justice in the sense of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, we would all be blind and we would have no teeth.

We had to temper justice with reconciliation, but at the same time we had to say to those who are in power today, that unless there is justice, reconciliation can not last. And so it's about balancing justice and reconciliation. There are no quick fix solutions in the kind of conflict that we lived with. And forgive me for being rude please forgive me. I counted many liberal voices in Europe and elsewhere, who almost hungered for a bloody revolution in South Africa, so that they could justify there own feelings of who were the good guys and who the bad guys were. We did it in a different way.

The third issue I want to talk to you about is Poverty and self-sustainability. I don't want to bore you, I don't want to give you the details the details, I can give you them some other time.

Mr Mbeki said that South Africa consists of two nations rich and poor and black and white. Of course the analysis can go further, if we can talk about those multiple nations, not only black and white and rich and poor, employed and unemployed, skilled and

unskilled, women and men, rural and urban; we can go on and on and on. Suffice to say, the South African economy is a bit like a double Decker bus. We need to build a stairway, says our president, to enable people to move from the lower level of the informal economy up the steps to the formal economy. Difficult to build those stairs, difficult to build those stairs, and they need to be built immediately because the poor by justification are getting poorer and therefore more angry. The poverty rate in South Africa has risen from 41% in 1996 to 49% in 2001. The Gini coefficient between the rich and the poor has widened, it has not narrowed. In the recent UNDP report just came out over a week ago, the economic and social wellbeing in South Africa has been going down and its not going up. What happened? What about the miracle?

You see when the ANC came to power, it discovered, largely as result of a certain trend in economic development, largely as a result of 300 years of colonialism, that when they came to power with all sorts of nice ideas, tucked under their arms, as to how they were going to enrich the poor. The piggy bank was empty. There was no money left. The promise of a Marshall plan from the western world is still waiting. And so the ANC had to compromise on its earliest visions, captured in the freedom charter. It had to turn away from the policy it had promised itself from the eve of coming to power. It soon had to change its reconstruction and development programme into something called growth, employment and redistribution, the result of which has seen the poor get poorer.

Let me give you just three statistics, to give you a glimpse. Some interesting statistics were published recently, concerning the top ten percent income generators in the country. Who are those 10% who generate the top income in the country? In 1995 18% of them were black Africans, in 2000, 31% were black African. Let me just tantalise you a bit longer. In 1995, 74% of them were white; in 2000 55% of those were white. And so you look at those statistics, and you say hey! its working. The wealth is shifting from white entrepreneurs to black entrepreneurs due to our black empowerment policies, (of which I think is a very good programme by the way) When you ask a different question. Who are living below the minimum living level of around 400 rand, around 400Kr. We discovered that in 1989, 51% black Africans were living below that, 2001 62% more below than above and for whites, there were 3% in 1989 something like 5% in 2001. Now what are we saying? That the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. And the statistics are there, they look you in the face.

I said I would give you three and here is the third. How many new jobs have been created since 1995? (the new government came into power in 1995). 16.75% more jobs have been created. What does the unemployment rate look like? Unemployment has

increased by 37%. Now that's the crisis in South African economy. The economy is growing, we have created more jobs but those coming into the economy, there are so many that the balance is going the other way. This is for the variety of reasons and I'm not going to get into this. The very nature of the economy has changed. We discover now that tourism, finance and social services now provide more than 42% of the jobs. Gold mining, which used to be the backbone of the economy, provides 14% of the jobs because we have mechanised the Gold industry. We have this huge pile of unemployed people and they don't have the skills to fill the jobs that are available. That's the crisis we face in the western world, and it's the crisis we face in South Africa.

Now let me throw something else in there. Every time I go back to South Africa from a country in transition, from other parts of Africa, from the Balkans from Latin America, I say thank God I live in South Africa, we are doing ok. When I go back from Europe I also say thank God I live in South Africa, but that's another story. I do think however that we in South Africa have missed the moment, and maybe we have missed it forever. India got its independence 50 years; we got our independence 10 years ago and maybe we will recover as India seems to have done. I think we in South Africa have missed the moment to adopt a simple lifestyle. I think we have missed the moment not to buy into Western materialism. Now ladies and gentlemen, I want to tell you, we have not chosen a different way. We have not chosen to go another way, we have accepted and we have adopted western material values, and that's the way it is. And yet the government has been re-elected back into power with a 70% majority. They are aware, that going on 40% of those people who voted for them are unemployed. What are they going to do? Someone has said that the 70%majority could be a blessing, it could be a curse if, in 5 years time, they have not redressed the problems that I talk to you about.

And so the question, where is the ecology fit into all this? Is the kind a debate on ecological debate a first world debate? No its not, we've heard about, we have heard about it! But In a highly industrialised and highly urbanised, unemployed community its difficult to talk about ecological issues and it seems to me that in our situation if we are going to win this struggle as we won the political struggle 10 years ago. It's going to take that thing called balance, compromise, and give and take. It's the only way we are going to do it and so my very last words, what about the possible and the impossible?

I heard an industrial leader in South Africa the other day saying you can not have both transformation and economic growth so you had better make a choice. Politics is about what is realistically possible in a given time. At the same time it is about a refusal

to give up on the ideal, it's about a refusal to turn away from those who are in most need. The South African settlement came into being in the face of the impossible, because we in South Africa realised black and white, rich and poor, we were staring down at the proverbial abyss. Either we came to our senses and we dealt with the problem, or else we would be in serious trouble. I think we have come to that point again, this time not politically, economically, realising that if we don't deal with the economic issue we are in trouble. It doesn't mean there is a revolution around the corner but it does mean that there will be movements of social unrest, that have the capacity to undo all the progress that we have made over the last ten years. And maybe it is that it is only when we only when we as a world, rich and poor, first world and third world begin to realise that unless we deal with the ecological issues, we are in trouble. It is about self-interest.

I was invited, the other day by the black chamber of commerce in South Africa, to speak to them about poverty and social responsibility. I said I don't want to talk about social responsibility; I want to talk about risk because it's in your interest, it's in your interest to ensure that we deal with the employment issue. Until such time as we persuade the West, the big guys, the powerful guys that it is in their interest to deal with the ecological issue I want to suggest, I want to suggest that we are probably not going to win the battle. And so I really want to say as the party pooper this afternoon, it's going to take more than slogans, it's going to take more than a one-dimensional approach, such things make for good politics, but they seldom work in the real world.

Thank you very much.

# A Nairobi Consensus - A Vision from the South on Global Challenges

**Elkanah Odembo presents The South Paper by:  
Okech-Owiti, Kenya - Rosemary Thomas, Tanzania  
Ricardo Navarro, El Salvador**

A fresh look at the challenges facing a globalizing world is certainly needed, and the Copenhagen Consensus (CC) provides a welcome opportunity for just this. But rather than basing solutions on narrow cost-benefit analyses on a limited number of issues, as suggested by CC, we call for a much broader agenda: What can, and should, be done to promote human and sustainable development and to eradicate poverty.

First and foremost, we urge for action. Well-documented proposals, which could boost both economic growth and human welfare, are already known and plentiful. Yet, they are not - or only partly - implemented. What - and who - are the obstacles and barriers to taking action?

With this paper we set out to challenge the approach and a number of the assumptions - whether explicit or implicit - that the Copenhagen Consensus is based on. We do this to set the stage for suggesting alternative avenues to human and sustainable development. We start by highlighting a few of the paradoxes of the prevailing globalization paradigm, which the Copenhagen Consensus subscribes to.

## **Let the world be one - let the people unite! Or?**

True, market-based globalization would mean doing away with borders for people and for goods. And this could, indeed, boost economic growth. 'Migration presents a marvellous opportunity for advancing human welfare,' a CC paper concludes and cites studies estimating that unrestricted migration could more than double global GDP!

Another CC paper claims that free movement of goods and an end to trade-distorting subsidies would also boost economic growth significantly. If the rich countries stopped intervening on behalf of their farmers, the global economy would gain by USD 122 billion!

Yet, the industrialized countries apply ever more rigid and strict regulation to reduce migration.

And yet, the industrialized countries still spend some USD 350 billion a year on agricultural subsidies. Globalization only seems to go as far as the industrialized countries want it to!

## **Should we accept the question: Does it pay to save lives?**

Imagine your doctor making a calculation before deciding whether or not you should have a life-saving operation or treatment: On the one side the doctor puts the cost of the treatment, on the other what you are likely to produce the rest of your life if given the treatment. If the costs are bigger than the benefits, there is no treatment.

Such calculations would effectively stop 'inefficient' and costly health care to old and disabled people in the industrialized world. Would people in those countries accept that? Hardly. It would be seen to be politically and morally unacceptable.

Nevertheless, the same people, perhaps unwittingly, apply such calculations in impoverished countries, leaving poor without even the most basic health care.

The CC actually institutionalizes this approach. In the poor countries, that is.

## **This 'economistic' approach**

Nine economists make up the panel, which is to make recommendations for global priorities. This in itself implies that the world is a mere economic entity. Social, human and environmental values only count in as far as they can be measured in money.

Cost-benefit analyses perceive people as consumers. But people are human beings. And we want to put basic human needs rather than purchasing power, at the centre of development.

Imagine basing decisions to end slavery and apartheid on cost-benefit analyses only. That would certainly not



be acceptable. Nor is it acceptable to base present decisions on such a narrow approach.

Furthermore, the cost-benefit analyses serve but one goal: economic growth. How wealth is distributed is not an issue. Whether growth reduces poverty and contributes towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals, is not analyzed.

#### **The life of a Dane worth 84 times more than the life of a Kenyan?**

How does one value a life? Some CC issue papers take a year of life to be worth a year's national income per head for the country concerned. In 2002 the grand national income per Kenyan stood at USD 360, per Dane it was USD 30260. This means that the life of a Kenyan is worth 84 times less than the life of a Dane!

#### **Lack of balance**

Girls and women make up slightly more than half of the world's population. Yet, only one woman is among the nine economists picked to make recommendations on world priorities.

The vast majority of the world's population lives in the developing countries. Yet, all nine economists and the ten experts providing issue papers come from universities and institutions in the North, mainly from the USA.

By its very design and choice of experts the CC process becomes an economist-dominated, male- and North-biased exercise, which can hardly boast to be global.

#### **Fragmentation and flaws**

'Which challenge(s) should we tackle first?' is the question that the CC sets out to answer. This ignores the fact, which is even repeated time and again in the CC issue papers, that our challenges are interrelated: Success in fighting hunger and malnutrition is not only a question of providing enough food. Education is also a critical factor. So is proper water and sanitation in fighting disease. A holistic approach must be adopted rather than a fragmented sector-by-sector approach. Even if challenges are to be analyzed one by one, crucial issues are left out. The CC organizers started with a gross list of 32 challenges from which ten were chosen. No less than ten challenges on the gross list dealt with environment. But only one of these was picked! Among the environmental challenges left out is 'loss of biodiversity', in spite of the fact that biodiversity is the very basis for all life on earth.

#### **No single magic bullet for hunger and malnutrition**

Around a billion people are malnourished, a sixth of these are children, a CC paper on the issue notes and goes on to conclude that this problem is unlikely to be met through income growth alone. It also says that the problem of malnutrition and hunger is linked to a variety of other factors like women's education and status, infectious diseases like malaria and HIV/AIDS, water and sanitation. The paper confirms that solutions to complex questions are complex, and that better use of aid is far from the only answer. Policies on trade, research and development, patents, and competition are as important.

#### **Limited resources for development aid?**

We welcome a critical analysis of the present use of development assistance. It is fair to ask whether it gives value for money. But other questions are even more important: Is aid actually directed to the poor? And is it properly targeted to reach the Millennium Development Goals?

But most importantly, we challenge the CC rationale that governments in the industrialized countries have limited resources to devote to aid:

Years back, UN member states set a specific target for development aid to reach 0.7% of industrialized countries' grand national income (GNI). Still, only five countries, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden and Luxembourg, have met this target.

Total aid in 2003 reached USD 68.5 billion, the highest level ever, both in nominal and in real terms. But this was only equal to 0.25% of combined GNI of the member countries of the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC). If all DAC-countries met the UN target, it would almost triple present development aid.

USA's aid in 2003 increased to USD 15.8 billion, 0.15% of the country's GNI. If USA met the 0.7% UN target, that alone would add some USD 60 billion to global aid.

The facts that the world can afford to spend USD 900-1,000 billion a year on military and another USD 350 billion on agricultural subsidies put the lack of resources for development aid into proper perspective.

By the way, USA has so far spent USD 160 billion on the war and the subsequent reconstruction in Iraq.

The scarcity of money is a false argument. To accept it would mean accepting the proffered spending priorities, which form part of the problem rather than the solution.

### **The huge costs of armed conflicts**

Industrialized countries' quest for raw materials have fuelled and prolonged several armed conflicts, especially in Africa. A CC paper on this issue estimates armed conflicts to cost an average of USD 128 billion a year, based on a average of two new civil wars starting every year.

The most cost-effective way of dealing with this is military intervention to keep civil wars from recurring. Based on data from Sierra Leone, intervening in around a dozen post-conflict countries for ten years would cost some USD 4.8 billion. The gains are estimated at nearly USD 40 billion!

In spite of such huge benefits the international community is reluctant to intervene in African conflicts. Clearly, it should be possible to find the money requested on the huge military budgets of the rich countries. Sadly, it rarely is.

### **Why restrict the analyses to development aid?**

'Trade, not Aid' or 'Trade and Aid' are slogans that are increasingly being accepted as the way forward for developing countries. These slogans reflect the reality that aid constitutes only a tiny fraction of the economical and political links between North and South. Still, the focus of the CC is limited to making optimum use of development aid. The CC does have an issue paper on trade and one on migration. Both papers document that reforms - or even radical changes - in fields, which have got nothing to do with development aid, would yield much larger benefits than any aid reforms.

Still, the CC does not challenge the prevailing global power structure, which has failed to eradicate poverty, bring basic health services, education, water and sanitation etc. to millions of people. Indeed, the CC effectively imposes a peace clause on the existing framework, which rules economical and political relations globally. This may be in the interest of what can from the South only be perceived as a corporate-led globalization. But it is certainly not in the interest of the people of the South.

### **The South at the receiving end?**

In 2003 the World Bank announced that the developing countries have become net exporters of capital - even if development assistance is counted in. We hope that this finding of an institution, which can hardly be accused of campaigning against the present world order, will once and for all make everybody realize that the South is NOT at the receiving end.

But this seems to have gone unnoticed by the CC. It still subscribes to what has been the common wisdom of the North: Everybody stands to benefit from the

present global power structures. Those, who do not, can be compensated through the charity - in the form of development assistance, which the industrialized countries see fit to afford out of their wealth. This is a first aid approach to global challenges, which fails to address the root courses of poverty, inequity, and misery.

Could it actually be the prevailing global power structure and the present way of thinking, which have generated the huge problems we are faced with?

Could it be the global rules of the game that should be radically changed, rather than optimized?

Heretical questions, perhaps. Nevertheless, we pose them.

### **The rules of a flawed game**

A cup of good, Kenyan coffee goes for a minimum of USD 2 in a German café. Some 0.05% of this goes to the Kenyan farmer. He is paid USD 0.22 per kilogram, and each kilogram of his coffee translates to more than 200 cups of good coffee. Thus, a kilogram of coffee fetches some USD 400 at the German café level.

Little, if anything, has changed for the Kenyan coffee farmer since colonial days.

Better use of development assistance does not change this. A critical look at the rules of the game is needed.

### **'Smart' colonialism?**

The entire CC is premised on the ideal of 'the market'. There is an underlying assumption that market-based globalization provides the only way forward, not only in the North, but also - and particularly - in the South. Rather uncritically, it is also assumed that the forces operating within this market are neutral, benefiting all in an equitable manner. We would like to subject this assumption to a critical analysis by looking at the real place of the South in the present globalizing market.

The South was made part of the global system centuries ago to provide cheap labour, commodities and raw materials to the rich North. Colonialism may be gone, but when it comes to economic relations, little has changed. We argue that the global economic system, which has taken over from colonialism, has a number of in-built rules and practices, which actually maintain an inequitable relationship between the North and the South.

Almost half a century after the formal defeat of colonialism, the division of labour still does not only persist, but has been reinforced through globalization led by corporate interests.

This system, which has been 'negotiated' between new and poor nations in the South and well-established rich nations in the North, has created a variety of channels to secure a massive transfer of wealth from

impoverished small producers and wage earners in the South to an ever more wealthy industrialized North.

#### **Investors make huge profits in impoverished countries**

Ghana is becoming the star of investors. The West African country emerged as the best performing stock market in the world in 2003 with an index return of 144% in US dollar terms according to 'African Business'. And Ghana also boasts the best performing market so far this year. Private investors do make money in poor Africa.

#### **Trade has extracted wealth from the South, rather than accumulated it**

In spite of the rhetoric about trade as a shortcut to development and growth - also for the South - the global trading system has done little to address the problems of the developing countries. As highlighted through the example of the Kenyan coffee farmer, countries in the South - and in Africa in particular - still play the role of exporting cheap commodities to the North, which, in turn, exports value-added products and technology to the South. And while prices on primary goods have consistently fallen, prices on value-added products and technology soar higher and higher.

#### **Locked in debt and debt-servicing**

From 1980 to 2002 developing countries repaid their creditors a little over USD 4,600 billion according to the World Bank. Over this period they repaid eight times more than what they owed in 1980 (USD 580 billion). Still, they found themselves four times more indebted in 2002, where total debt stood at USD 2,384 billion.

In 2002 alone, impoverished countries of the South remitted some USD 343 billion to their creditors in the North. To put this amount into perspective, it is four times more than the value of the entire Marshall Plan, the American aid package for the reconstruction of Europe 1948-51 after the Second World War.

#### **Technological rent imposed on the South**

The North, which holds a near monopoly on new technology and knowhow, has skilfully managed to impose a tax or rent for the use of this on the South through the Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights Agreement (TRIPS) under the WTO. Here, WTO members commit themselves to apply regulation on intellectual property rights in line with TRIPS. New technology and research can be patented by private companies, and they are effectively granted a 20 years monopoly rights on their patents.

Medicine, plant varieties and even living micro-organisms can be patented according to TRIPS.

97% of patents world wide are held by highly industrialized countries. In 1996 USA alone received USD 20 billion in royalties and license fees from their patents. Most of this income goes to big, private companies. The World Bank estimates that TRIPS will cost developing countries an annual USD 38 billion in royalties and license fees.

#### **When money rules, poor people die**

Research into and development of new drugs provides a scary example of what happens, when the market reigns and money rules: It simply does not pay for the pharmaceutical industry to develop drugs to cure diseases like malaria and TB killing millions of poor: Of 1,233 new drugs marketed between 1975 and 1997 only 13 targeted tropical diseases.

#### **A web of intricate systems to keep the North wealthy**

A web of other intricate systems loopholes are at work to serve the interests of the 'haves' at the cost of the 'have nots'. Some of them are:

- Profit repatriation by trans-national companies (TNCs): Net repatriation by TNCs from developing countries between 1998 and 2002 totalled USD 334 billion according to the World Bank
- Transfer pricing: TNCs reap huge profits from the South through transfer pricing, that is under- and over-invoicing via their subsidiaries. While this is well-known - but largely uncontrolled, the costs of it is difficult to track down
- Brain harvesting: The North has adopted strict immigration policies in the recent past, but at the same time several industrialized countries, led by the USA, are increasingly draining countries of the South of their most qualified and educated work force. 70% of the health personnel educated in Ghana between 1993 and 2000 have left for greener pastures abroad. In Canada, 10% of medical doctors working at hospitals were educated in South Africa
- Imposed liberalization and privatization: Through the Structural Adjustment Programmes designed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, developing countries have been forced to open up their economies and privatize state-owned companies to qualify for loans. This has prematurely exposed fragile economies to foreign competition. As a result, thousands of jobs have been lost, local production has been squeezed out by imported goods, and local control and ownership over important industries have been lost

### **The poor to pay the ecological debt of the rich?**

Ever-increasing consumption by the rich has dealt devastating blows to the global environment by causing massive extraction of natural resources, loss of biodiversity, threats of global warming, and pollution. Still, the poor are to share the costs of the ecological debt incurred by the rich.

The threat of climate change, for example, is caused by excessive use of fossil fuel by the North. Yet, people in the South will by far bear most of the costs of the consequent global warming.

#### **Long-term benefits under-estimated**

The CC paper on climate change clearly illustrates some basic problems of applying cost-benefit analyses: Even though all three models proposed in the paper to reduce carbon emissions are very cost-effective, the economic benefits are not felt until around 2100 - and the costs are felt immediately. In other words, long-term benefits tend to lose out to short-term costs.

And action with only long-term benefits, typical for environment, risks losing out to alternatives with stronger short-term benefits.

Furthermore, most costs to reduce carbon emissions will be paid by industrialized countries, which will realize comparatively few benefits. In other words, the costs of lack of action can be passed on to others.

### **The real challenge**

International integration - or globalization - in its present form is being used to pave the way for the unprecedented expansion of the power of transnational corporations in underdeveloped countries. These companies have gained access to the developing countries where they can sell their goods and services to an ever richer, but limited upper and middle class, while the large majority remains poor.

This is clearly unacceptable. The South, having been subjected to Structural Adjustment Programmes, calls for a global structural adjustment programme. The rules of the globalization game must be changed so as to make sure that:

- Global resources are used in a sustainable way
- Wealth is distributed equitably between North and South
- Poverty eradication and meeting basic human needs become the first priorities

This requires a renegotiation and a complete overhaul of the framework for the globalization and the economic and political relations between the North and the South. The pressure on the South to speed up corporate-led globalization must stop. The South demands a time-out to consider alternative avenues to promote home-grown development and growth. The aim is not to cut the ties with the rest of the world, but to allow for an integration on more equal terms.

The issue is not one of recalibrating the model, but rather one of designing a new model that is stable, equitable and pro poor. We need to substantially rethink and reshape globalisation. It is a far more challenging exercise than the Copenhagen Consensus has set out on. But it could also become a much more rewarding exercise. We are concerned that the CC becomes a time-saving exercise to avoid addressing much more fundamental issues.

With this paper we hope to contribute towards opening and broadening an all-inclusive debate on how to make the world a better place for all human beings.

Nairobi, May 2004



# Sustainable Development and Labour Rights

## What can the trade union movement do to promote this?

**Bjørn Erikson**

**Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO),  
Chair of Working Party for Occupational Health and Safety and  
Environment, Global Unions**

We have known for decades, in fact more than hundred years that unequal and unfair distribution of income, wealth and social benefits is in the long term a threat to a nation as well as the globe. In spite of this, there has been an increasing gap both between groups in a country as well as between the developed and the developing countries between North and South. Sadly enough we see that also in several developing countries the unfair distribution of income, wealth and social benefits seems to grow in the same way as for example in Europe.

I guess most of you are familiar with the fact that solidarity is a key core value for the trade union movement nationally as well as globally. Solidarity is not something special for the trade union movement, but nevertheless it is more recognized and valued here than many other places. And it is often more needed here, than elsewhere in the society.

In general workers are not wealthy, and in many countries most of them are really poor. So the need for solidarity is made visible through everyday experiences. You can't just overlook people who have nothing to eat, lack clothes or are having other kinds of difficulties when they are your working mates and neighbours. When on strike we know just too well that if we are going to succeed, everybody has to stand together, and the same goes for many every day situations.

In spite of our knowledge and the recognition of the need for solidarity in the trade union movement, things don't seem to move in the right direction.

I think it is worthwhile to stop up a bit and try to analyse why?

It is just too easy to say that the trade union movement is not the only driving force. There are also other driving forces like governments and politicians with different ideologies, market forces, globalisation and

so on that don't share our values. So it would be easy to excuse ourselves by blaming these other driving forces we don't control. But an excuse seldom makes things change, and maybe it is only an attempt to avoid thinking through the situation and change views and actions?

Like any other respectable organisation we meet and discuss issues like labour rights, occupational health and safety, how to improve living standards, how can we help each other to combat poverty, greedy employers, unwanted effects of globalisation, sustainable development and so on.

If you are pessimistic, you would say that nevertheless things are moving in a wrong direction, so it doesn't work. So give up! If you are optimistic, you would say that if it hadn't been for these meetings and the action they result in, things would have been much worse. So stand on!

It is my fierce opinion that it matters that we meet and discuss such issues, with the aim to change the world so that it moves in a better direction. More could be done, and better strategies could be set up and implemented, but we are moving in the right direction - slowly. There is a growing concern in trade unions about how things are developing and how we can move things in a better direction to help raising living standards and conditions in the countries that are lacking behind and at the same time move towards sustainable development for us all. Let me emphasize it is important not only to have processes to change direction towards sustainability. We also need to mitigate suffering and negative consequences for those who now live and suffer from poor living conditions and unfair global distribution of wealth - at national and global level.

So the challenge is how we can speed up and improve the good part of the processes that are taking place, and avoid or mitigate the negative consequences? Here



we, the trade unions, should also look for possible cooperation with others.

### **Co-operation with employers**

The trade union movement has a long tradition in cooperating with employers, also in areas linked to sustainable development. There are lots of examples of trade unions raising issues with the management like: How can we reduce water and energy consumption in the enterprise, how can we have better collective transport to and from work to reduce the use of private cars, how can we reduce the amount of waste in the enterprise, how can we reduce spills to the environment, how can we substitute dangerous substances in production with less dangerous - so as to improve health and safety inside the enterprise and also reduce emissions to the environment, etc.

These actions and the processes involved are very important for several reasons. They clearly contribute to performances that are more sustainable than the existing ones. They make it possible for workers and trade unions to do something in practice to follow up their values. This helps to strengthen those values and keep up the spirit to do something for having a change in the right direction. If you don't see any way of contributing to your ideals and goals, they will easily fade away. They create a better understanding between the social partners, which is important. The better understanding may be used as a base for common action - also for sustainable development. They also contribute to the creation of infrastructure, like working environment committees, and processes that can be used for other purposes like development aid. And they make it possible for the workers to be a good example for their families - at least avoid being placed in the doghouse during the family dinner when the children discuss environment.

So the alliance between owners and managers on one hand and workers and trade unions on the other should be strengthened and built out. In this respect it must be remembered that in most countries there is neither a legal nor agreement base for workers and trade unions rights to engage or intervene in environmental issues in an enterprise. So taking this into consideration, I find all the trade union environment activities very promising.

Several trade unions and confederations at national level have demanded the same rights for workers and trade unions in the environmental issues as they have for occupational health and safety. So far I know no government has been willing to do so - not even here in Scandinavia. Even if governments and most politicians don't support workers and trade union rights to engage and intervene in environmental issues, we must continue to raise the demand to have this right. Any support is most heartily welcomed.

Most employers and their organisations are also reluctant to give workers and trade unions this right, but this is a challenge that we overcome more easily, and there are examples of workers and trade unions that have succeeded here. But greater efforts must be put in this field.

### **International negotiations**

A promising thing here is that environmental rights for workers and trade unions are discussed at the International Labour Organisation (ILO), and things are clearly moving in the right direction. Again it would be welcomed if governments would help us. ILO is a tripartite organisation with employers, workers and governments, so two of three parties could easily change the situation and give us the opening trade unions need to have as a better base for environmental engagement and activities.

It is also promising to see that other UN agencies like UNEP is giving greater considerations to the involvement of workers and trade unions in the environmental area. UNEP is for example now discussing with Global Unions the possibility of having workshops on sustainable development in some areas like Africa and South America. There is also cooperation between UNEP and ILO in the sustainable development area that is becoming stronger and closer. This we regard as very promising. Yes, things are moving in the right direction, hopefully not too slowly.

Trade unions work in ILO, UNEP, CSD and other international processes to improve and promote workers rights and sustainable development is so costly and time consuming that it is almost impossible for trade unions in developing countries to participate in a proper way. The result is that we build up neither the knowledge about what needs to be done nor the capacity to do things properly in the trade unions in developing countries. Maybe most dangerous is that the lack of input and participation from developing countries leads to top down processes, and we might get "environmental imperialism" from the developed countries. Some international organisations and governments help to provide resources for participation from developing countries, but this is not enough. Here governments and international organisations could do more to help them participating both in national and international processes for sustainable development and improving workers rights. We are working on it, but we need help - please.

The participation in such processes is so costly and time consuming that even the better of trade unions in for example Europe can hardly do it. It is hard to get resources from the unions for environmental tasks when your organisation is striving economically to help its own members with basic needs like a salary so they can have a decent life, fight unemployment,

help improving dangerous working conditions etc. It is our problem, and we shall overcome it. But there is no doubt that the economic situation is so difficult in many unions that it hinders their work in the area. Thanks to those governments and organisations that do support our work, but more help from governments and international organisations would certainly be appreciated and lead to improved performance from us.

### **Co-operation with NGOs**

I hope I have made it clear, that there is a lot, which workers and trade unions can do at the workplace together with employers to support sustainable development. But there is a danger that when you operate in a closed area you lose the corrections as well as the benefit from being a part of a greater society. So let's look outside the workplace. NGOs and Consumer organizations are certainly going to be one of the first things you spot!

It is no secret that the relationship, if one can call it that, between NGOs and trade unions is often regarded as "a love and hate relation". But if one looks closer at what is going on here, one soon discovers that this is a very diverse and interesting field. The reason for this is not easy to analyse, but some elements can be spotted.

First workers are just as well influenced by unhealthy and unsustainable environment as anybody else. In fact often more, since they seldom have money to buy expensive houses in the clean areas without exhaust fumes, escape from concrete and asphalt to nice green recreation areas etc. So, they feel the consequences of a poor environment on their bodies, and see it affects their children. But at the same time they see the need for a job, and they often have a more balanced view as for the benefits and disadvantages of their work and workplace than one has the impression NGOs do.

Massive attacks from NGOs on our work and workplace, which sometimes takes place, are therefore not the best way of creating a ground for common action. Often also strong emotions are involved on both sides, and that doesn't make it any easier to find ways of cooperating. I don't know any example of situations where people yelling at each other have contributed to solve a difficult situation - on the contrary. And we are naturally enough concerned that workplaces might be shut down as a result of the NGOs action, while this aspect often seems overlooked by the NGOs. Is it a wonder that cooperation seems like "mission impossible" under such circumstances?

But if one looks at such situations from the outside, it is often possible to see and find solutions. It is a challenge, but not impossible. On one side workers and trade unions have to accept that the situation at the workplace is unsustainable, and something has to

be done. On the other hand NGOs have to take into consideration that there is a need for workers to have a job. So there has to be included in the action plan either a solution so that the necessary changes can take place at the enterprise so that work isn't lost, or there must be programs so that new jobs are created for those who are put out of jobs. This is what we in the trade unions call a "Fair transition". It isn't fair to expect some workers to pay the price alone for something that is going to benefit all of us.

I know it won't be easy to do it, but I am confident that it can be done. But it is of outermost importance that this way of thinking is there from the beginning before any action is taken -and on both the trade union side and on the NGO side. When the fronts are established, it is too late to introduce such ideas.

Let me also add to the picture of diversity that trade unions are not a uniform organisation coming only from the industry sector. The industrial unions are in fact often a minority inside the trade union movements. There are also unions from the service sector, the municipal sector as well as for civil servants. We do in fact have a lot of cooperation between trade unions in these sectors and NGOs, but there are also cooperation between many unions from the industry sectors and NGOs. The cooperation is a part of a long and challenging process of changing attitudes and behaviours. The weakness is that the cooperation often focuses on single issues. Usually there is a lack of common agreed overarching goals and strategy that can constitute a base for the more deep and drastic changes that are needed for having sustainable development.

Cooperation between trade unions and consumer organisations is an area where several initiatives have been taken the last years, some of them very promising. The focus on multinational companies' exploitation of workers, child labour, has been visualised by campaigns like "Fair play" where the football organisations ensures that footballs are not produced with child labour. I am sure that NIKE, McDonalds the Coca Cola Company as well as several other enterprises are well aware of consumer power. In the trade union movements we don't only applaud, we strongly support such actions. They don't only affect those companies who are the aim of such actions. They have a preventative effect on other enterprises as well, which is even more important. Prevention is always the first priority when we discuss what to do in the trade union movement.

Ethical trade is another good example of cooperation between trade unions and consumers. Here we cooperate to ensure that sustainability and labour rights, including the ban of child labour, is guaranteed for products from developing countries. These agreements are of special importance since they affect working

conditions for some of the poorest and most exploited workers in developing countries, agriculture workers. Child labour is also often occurring in this sector.

It is my firm belief that if two or hopefully all three such strong political drivers as trade unions, consumers and NGOs could find a way of agreeing on a common strategy, and put it into effect, we would make a quantum leap in the right direction towards sustainable development. But if that is to happen, we might have to change both attitudes and be willing to accept differences, but at the same time seek for solutions that are acceptable hopefully for all three or the two of us. To make it happen is certainly going to be a challenge for us all. I suppose that the best way to achieve this is to start at the local level. The general experience is that the higher the level, the more conflicting interests are involved, and there are more difficulties to overcome to reach a common base for an agreement. But I'm glad to say that there are exceptions and possibilities even at the international level to cooperate and agree on common goals for trade unions, NGOs and consumers.

I don't want to leave you with the impression that we are sitting with our hands in our laps waiting for new alliances and your support. We are also trying to find new ways of changing things to achieve sustainable development. A promising tool we are trying out now is called "workplace assessments". Here we engage workers to focus on both occupational health and safety and sustainability at their workplace with the aim to have the changes needed to create better and sustainable workplaces. This tool makes it possible for everybody to engage and contribute to changes towards sustainability at their workplace as a first step.

We are going to continue in the trade unions with our work for sustainable development inside the trade unions as well as internationally. We know that we don't do enough - and I guess I share that feeling with others. But the important thing is that we continue to do our best - and don't give up. Because if we give up, things are certainly not going to improve.

### **Globalisation**

You may have noticed I haven't mentioned globalisation many times. This is not because I don't regard it as important - on the contrary. But most of the issues I have spoken about are equally relevant for developed countries and the situation there as for developing countries. In the trade union movement we certainly see many gloomy aspects of globalisation, but I think you will find the measures to be taken so as to avoid that globalisation leads to social and environmental dumping are covered by what I have said.

I could have added a lot of concrete initiatives we have taken to avoid or mitigate the negative consequences of globalisation, like the Code of Conduct for Multinationals developed in the OECD, but I'm afraid it would require more time than I have. Let me just state plainly that what we hope globalisation will lead to, is creation of jobs and improvements in developing countries without disrupting the situation for workers in developed countries. I know it is much to hope for, and it will not happen by itself. So we engage on two fronts: To help our brothers and sisters in developing countries to avoid exploitation during the process, but achieve decent jobs and a fair part of the wealth created. The best way to fight poverty, corruption and other negative factors we often find is to create decent and safe jobs with a salary people can live on. And on the other hand we struggle to see that the changes that take place are in accordance with what I earlier mentioned as "Fair transition". This should avoid that a certain group of workers unfairly shall pay the price alone for the changes that take place.

Let me end by saying I've taken part in many meetings, maybe too many, on how to promote health and safety at the workplace and sustainable development. But the strange thing is not once have the driving argument in our discussions and action plans been that something needs to be done because it is profitable. And we have never done calculations of costs and benefits now and for the future. The driving force is that we are all humans that should have our basic needs met, and we should have a fair share in the growth. So the gap between North and South has to be closed - not broadened as we see happening. And we all see the need for changes so that we can move towards sustainability, not because it is profitable, but because we have a responsibility to save and care for the environment for our children and future generations.

Thank you for your attention.

# Wolves and working places

**Tarja Cronberg**

**Member of the Parliament of Finland**

## **Environmental Conflicts in the Northern Periphery**

The focus of this conference is on environmental problems and poverty. We are searching for a holistic perspective and solutions to global problems. Are there ethical and moral solutions to the over-consumption of the Earth's resources? The rich have the responsibility, particularly since the resources have to be redistributed more evenly. However, we should not turn a blind eye to our own problems. We should also, to quote a Swedish author, "dig where we stand".

I stood and dug, from 1995 - 2001, in North Karelia in the region on the Russian - Finnish border. As the Executive Director of the Regional Council of North Karelia I was in charge of regional development in a sparsely populated area, the size of Jutland with 170 000 inhabitants. It was a "modern wilderness". On the one side there was the capital of Joensuu, its university, advanced industries both in forestry and plastics, on the other side the vast forests, lakes, and swamps. The situation is very much like the one Vandana Shiva described. People had always lived of nature. Not only hunting, fishing and picking berries, but also as forest workers and farmers. In this context, environmental problems and concerns have always divided the local population. The divide has been sharp. On the one hand, there has been the local population afraid of loosing working places. In the nineties when old forests were protected in Finland, 6 000 hectares of these were in North Karelia. The relationship to work was also obvious. Many forest workers lost their jobs. (One could, of course, site that many more had already lost their jobs due to technological development in forest cutting and planting.) The local population, which was closely related to nature and living of the nature, experienced the state interventions in their environment as being out of their control. They were left behind only with the consequences. Frustration was also caused by the fact that the local people felt that the initiatives always came from the Greens and the environmental movements in the cities, particularly in the Helsinki area, movements that were insensitive to local values and ways of life. To understand this sharp divide, you can imagine an employee of the State Environmental Centre visiting a local farmer and being threatened with a rifle.

With you here I shall take two cases, one of wolves and the other of working places, which describe the emerging local and maybe later, global, consciousness and willingness to solve the problems given that the local people are involved and that they are taken seriously in the process. If, like Margot Wahlström pointed out yesterday, the problem is the political will in the EU member states and not the lack of policies, these cases illustrate some of the mechanisms needed to create the political will. Not only in the developing world but also in our own backyard, we need more democracy and inclusion of those affected in the decisions to be made. In this point, I think, a consensus could be reached between the first and the third worlds.

## **The Lost Culture**

Wolves are a threatened species according to the European Union's nature directives. This means that one is not allowed to shoot wolves unless they threaten one's life. In North Karelia there is a long tradition of shooting wolves immediately as soon as they cross the border from Russia to Finland. There has been an open war against wolves, and the number of Finnish wolves was radically reduced during the 20th century. Wolves were seen to be causing only damage. Consequently, the culture of coexistence, of knowing how to behave when encountering wild animals in the forests has largely been lost. For most Finns, and even North-Karelians, wolves are only familiar from tales like The Little Red Riding Hood.

Upon entering the European Union, the situation changed. New directives were enforced also in Finland. The Ministry of Agriculture could give out permissions to shoot wolves in special cases if a particular animal was considered disturbed, showing unnatural behaviour, preferably in the immediate vicinity of your house. It could also occasionally fund materials to construct fences and to take other precautionary measures where appropriate.

Slowly, all through the nineties, the number of wolves in North Karelia increased. The same also applied to other large animals, such as bears. More and more cases were reported in which farmers lost their hunt-



ing dogs or cattle, particularly sheep. Many, especially elderly women with a long tradition of picking berries and mushrooms, were afraid of going into the forests. The situation was sometimes worsened by photographers placing carcasses to attract wolves or bears as objects of photography. The population was worried, and the situation polarised. On the one hand there were those wanting to kill the wolves and being frustrated by the fact that the decisions were made in Brussels. On the other hand there were those, particularly in the environmental movements, protecting the wolves, taking party for the wolves, however, often living in urban areas.

I saw the conflict emerging and also read in Norwegian newspapers of the wild wolf hunts followed by international media. The Regional Council therefore decided to create a Forum of Wild Animals for discussions between different interest parties. The idea was that, given that there was a common regional standpoint on the question, we would have more leverage both on the national and the EU-level. At the same time a new culture of co-existence would hopefully emerge. The Forum was established some five years ago with representatives of farmers and forest owners, berry pickers, and enterprises working with berries, tourism, environmental movements, the State Environmental Centre, the regional body for game preservation, and border guards. As a basis for discussion, a study was carried out on the attitudes of North-Karelians towards large carnivores. The study showed not only that many of the groups actively using nature agreed that there were too many bears and wolves in the North-Karelian forests but also that the fear was widespread and often irrational.

The work of the Forum was fruitful. Not in the sense that consensus was reached on all accounts, but an understanding of each others' points of view was created and discussions could be carried out without frustration and aggression. An agreement was reached on the fact that wolves and people should be able to coexist, and that we should create a new culture of living together. The critical point of the discussion was whether decisions about shooting wolves would be made locally in the same way as in the reindeer areas of northern Finland. Another point was, of course, the level of how many wolves would be an acceptable number. Protective measures were discussed as were possible transfers of wolves to other regions in Finland, a method often favoured by environmental movements.

In the winter of 2004 the situation became critical. The number of wolves in Finland had increased and reached the estimated 150. Approximately one third of the wolves were estimated to be in North Karelia. The number of dogs killed by the wolves increased as did the number of cattle. Many farmers and people living in the countryside had wolves close to their hab-

itat. The environmental movements offered to build fences. The Ministry of Agriculture first refused to give money for the materials, but later conceded. A number of petitions were signed and sent both to the Ministry of Agriculture and to Brussels. The conflict ended largely through the process of local participation in the compromise. The state agreed to make a plan for the management of wolves in Finland, and particularly in North Karelia, with the participation of the local people. The EU officer in charge of the nature directives visited North Karelia and conceded to the fact that the Union would not, of course, protect wolves at any price against the wishes of the local population. While the conflict potentially is still there, it is on a higher level. There is an agreement on co-existence but disagreement about the numbers. Instructions are distributed and discussed in the press of how to behave when encountering a wolf or a bear. Researchers comfort the local population with results showing that wolves very seldom attack people.

### **Redefining Work**

Not only the existence and the number of wolves raises environmental conflicts in regions like North Karelia. Also the question of working places arouses negative sentiments against environmental concerns. In regions like North Karelia, the concept of work is defined as work either in the forest, agriculture, or industry, preferably the wood-working industry. Work with computers, tele-work, even work at service institutions, in spite of a large public sector, is not considered work. Work is something one does with one's hands and sees the results immediately. In this sense, the culture of North-Karelian work is very "male" which also combines with leisure time activities like hunting and fishing, also reflecting a male culture.

Old forests or protected micro-vegetation do not create work. Due to this, examples of the opposite are needed in order to convince the local population that environmental concerns provide a new kind of growth. Only by showing that new working places are created can the divide between work and the environment be transcended.

In North Karelia there was, in the beginning of the nineties, a particular kind of "scar". This was the plan to create a national park around the Finnish national landscape of Koli, a famous hill located in North Karelia. This effort to create the park had been very conflict-ridden. Most people opposed the plans for a national park as it would destroy an existing skiing centre. Again an arena was created by the Regional Council of North Karelia involving the parties which had a stake in the national park. These were the enterprise administering the hotel and the skiing lift, the State Forest Research Institute which administered the park, the State Environmental Centre, the local village, and the financiers: The regional council of



North Karelia as well as the State Regional Industrial and Employment Centre. By carefully monitoring the process so that environmental agreements were respected and past plans followed it was possible to achieve state funding for rebuilding the hotel in a fashion more related to ecological tourism as well as a nature centre on top of the hill. An architectural competition was arranged calling for ecological architecture and providing detailed plans of what plants should not be damaged and what trees not to cut down. A particular point of protection was the geology under the hotel. No tunnels nor cellars could be excavated as this was the most precious part of nature to be protected.

Finally, in the year of 2000, the process was completed and the new facilities were taken to use. The final stages of the process were not without drama as the environmental groups protested against the mountain elevator which was to transport people to the top in order to avoid cars in the nature park and outside the nature centre and hotel complex. By withdrawing the protests from the Ministry of Environment at the last moment the project could finally be approved and constructed. Today, there are around 100 working places in the park area, including employers such as the hotel, the nature centre, the national park administration, as well as the forest research. The hotel intentionally uses local products and employs local people. Gradually, hopefully also the skiing facility is being replaced by ecological tourism, seminars related to research and science, as well as cultural activities. A play "The Return of Sibelius" was presented on the hills of Koli to remind the local population and others that Koli was a place of Karelianism and a focal point of Finnish culture in the beginning of the 20th century.

### **Emerging consciousness**

What can be done on the regional level in order to strengthen environmental consciousness, to avoid conflict and to promote the resolution?

Not only in the developing world but also in the developed world it is important that the local people are included in decision-making by the central or regional governments. Arenas need to be created where the different interests, which often are as complex as in the case of the wolves, can be expressed and where the different viewpoints meet each other. This definitely does not guarantee a consensus, but creates consciousness which is the most important factor in the construction of the necessary compromises. New types of alliances can be made, new technical solutions can be sought for and, finally, the points where there is real disagreement can be crystallised. In the case of the wolves, all parties agreed to more research, the creation of a new culture of coexistence, acceptance of the wolves being there, as well as precautionary

measures. The disagreement was crystallised only to the number of wolves, a problem now subject to be taken up within the state for regional and national wolf plans. These plans will also be based on hearings.

In local areas, examples are needed which clearly show that environmental protection provides new kinds of jobs, although diminishing the need for others. Here, the national park of Koli was a case in point. New kinds of working places were created. Although not compensating all those working places that were lost by protecting the old forests of the region, a new direction was shown. At the same time, people could be proud of their new nature centre and the revival of the national landscape at Koli, something which also contributed to the acceptance and increased consciousness of environmental protection.

Environmental consciousness requires the definition of a number of concepts. Growth and working places are two of these which showed to the local population in North Karelia that environmental dimensions also create work. In the developing countries, the redefinition of growth has to include the local population's use of water resources and timber in a subsistence economy. In a more developed country, the redefinition involves a change from industrial to more balanced ecological growth.

The message of these examples to the conference of global conscience being carried out at the same time is the following:

Environmental problems cannot all be evaluated and prioritised on the macro-level. The local context and the situation, the way of life, customs and norms of the local people have to be integrated in the evaluation. More democracy and the involvement of the people concerned is necessary in creating an understanding and avoiding future conflicts, at least those conflicts which are caused by the lack of dialogue and understanding. A willingness to compromise can only be created when people are allowed to express and discuss their particular interests.

While priorities can, on the global level, be defined in environmental problems, such as the climate change, all measures following from these and requiring changes in local practises and our ways of life have to be dealt with on the local level. Questions about what should be done to use renewable energy, to avoid the depletion of the Earth's resources, particularly water and energy, have to be negotiated on many levels at the same time in order to reach acceptable results. These are not questions Nobel prize winners can decide in the seclusion of a hotel.

# Can we document global environmental changes?

Katherine Richardson

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## From local to global change

Most often, when we consider the state of the environment, we focus on local examples. In Denmark, this often means chemical contamination of food and water, nitrogen deposition over land areas or water quality - drinking water, algal blooms in lakes or oxygen depletion in coastal waters. This focus on the local environment is understandable but it is impossible to extrapolate from local conditions to the “global picture”. We can document that the local environment has changed - often for the worse but do these local changes have any meaning at the global level? Can environmental change be documented at the global (system) level?

The answer is yes but, before I describe some of these environmental changes, it is important to remind ourselves of the global changes that have taken place in the last decades (1). Most of these process changes can be directly related to population change (the Earth now houses 6.1 billion - a doubling of population since 1960):

- more nitrogen is fixed now by humans than by all terrestrial biological systems;
- more than half of all available freshwater on Earth is used by humans;
- species extinction rates are increasing and we are currently experiencing the first great extinction event caused by a single species: our selves!
- The concentration of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, including CO<sub>2</sub>, have increased dramatically since the industrial revolution;
- approximately 50% of the Earth's surface has been transformed by direct human activity.

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(1) This talk is drawn from information presented in: Steffen, W. A. Sanderson, P.D: Tyson, J. Jäger, P.A. Matson, B. Moore III, F. Oldfield, K. Richardson, H.J. Schellnhuber, B.L. Turner and R.J. Wasson. 2004. *Global Change and the Earth System - A planet under pressure*. Springer, Berlin. 336 pp. Original references for the information presented are given therein

- Most established commercial fisheries are either fully or over exploited.

## Global state: CO<sub>2</sub> and temperature

We have heard of these process changes earlier but the question is whether we can document that they have substantially altered the “global state” of the environment. If we start with the biophysical environment, the answer is certainly yes.

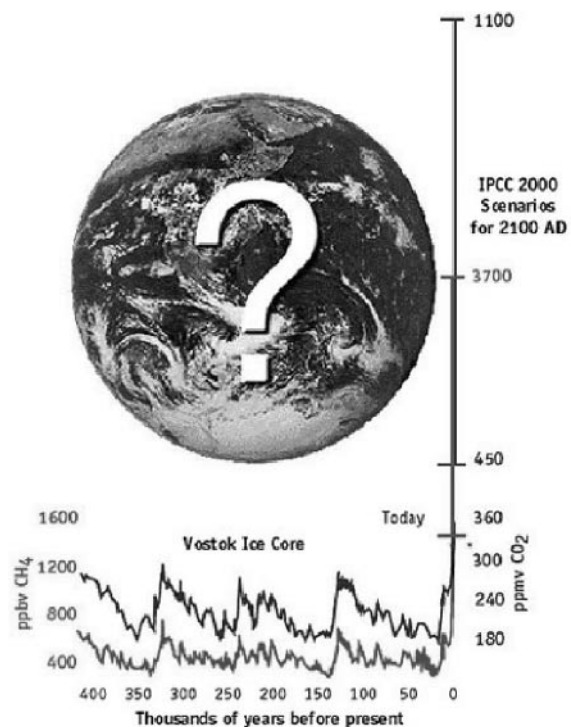


Figure 1. Concentration of CO<sub>2</sub> and methane in the atmosphere during the last 450,000 years. Note the concentration of CO<sub>2</sub> has varied through four cycles but, until now, has remained between about 180 and 280 ppm. Today, the concentration is about 360 ppm and it is predicted to rise to about 700 ppm by 2100. (redrawn from Petit et al. Nature 399: 429-36. 1999.)

Thus, we can see that the Earth is in a “no analogue” situation in recent history: the CO<sub>2</sub> concentration in the atmosphere has never been higher in the last 450,000 years. In addition, we also know that there

is a very tight coupling between atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> concentration and atmospheric temperature. Can we then document that global warming has occurred?

By looking at the (reconstructed) temperature record for the Northern hemisphere over the last 1000 years, we can certainly see that we are in a warming period at the moment and it appears to be an unprecedented rate of temperature increase at the moment. However, the actual ranges of temperature observed today are not outside of the limits of temperature experienced earlier. Thus, there is the potential for discussion as to whether we actually can document global warming. More and more scientists are, however, convinced that global warming is occurring. The use of sophisticated scientific instruments is not necessary to document the current warming period that we are experiencing. Comparing the snow cover on Mt. Kilimajaro in pictures taken in the 1970s and now clearly document the retreat of this glacier and it is predicted that the snows of Kilimanjaro will disappear entirely by the year 2020.

#### Acidity of the ocean surface

Temperature increase is not, however, the only global response we can predict from the increasing CO<sub>2</sub> concentration in the atmosphere: the higher CO<sub>2</sub> concentration will change the acidity (pH) of the surface oceans. This is because the gases in the atmosphere and ocean are always trying to come in equilibrium and more CO<sub>2</sub> in the atmosphere will “press” more CO<sub>2</sub> into the ocean. CO<sub>2</sub> is an acid and, thus, the oceans will become (are already becoming!) more acidic. This will make it much more difficult (or impossible) for the organisms that produce chalk (for example, foraminiferans and corals) to carry out the chemical reactions necessary to make this chalk. (The production of chalk is very dependent upon the acid conditions.) Already, we can see that the areas of the ocean where the chemical conditions are ideal for chalk production are greatly reduced in comparison to the late 1800s and it is predicted that by 2065, there will be no ocean areas where the conditions are optimal for chalk production. We have no idea what it would mean for ocean ecology if there were no (or very many fewer) corals (and other chalk producing microorganisms). How do we put a value on the presence of corals in the ocean? I know of no economic cost-benefit model that has yet attempted to include the potential loss of corals as one of the prices for not reducing CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.

#### Failing fisheries

We now know, then, that global environmental change is much more than climate change. It is real and it is happening now. What we are only just beginning to understand is that these changes in the global environ-

ment may stimulate abrupt and unexpected changes in the various components of the Earth System.

We find an easily accessible example of the fact that ecosystems can behave in unexpected ways in response to environmental pressure in fisheries. There has been much focus on the cod fishery in the North Sea during recent months - not least of all because biologists from the International Council for the Exploration of the Seas recommended a total stop for this fishery last year. Their recommendation was based on the fact that the spawning stock biomass (numbers of mother fish) of this fish species is at a record low at the moment (under 50,000 tonnes) and it is estimated that a minimum spawning stock biomass of 70,000 tonnes is required to ensure the survival of the population. The responsible politicians have, however, elected to “delay the recovery plan” for cod in the North Sea and have decided to continue to allow the fishery, albeit at a reduced level. It is implicitly assumed in both the biological and political discussions concerning the future of the cod in the North Sea that the fish will increase in numbers as soon as fishing pressure is removed. However, experience in Canada, where authorities responded to a drastic decrease in the abundance of cod by imposing a total fishing stop in 1992 is that the population has shown no sign of recovery in the 12 years since the stop was imposed.

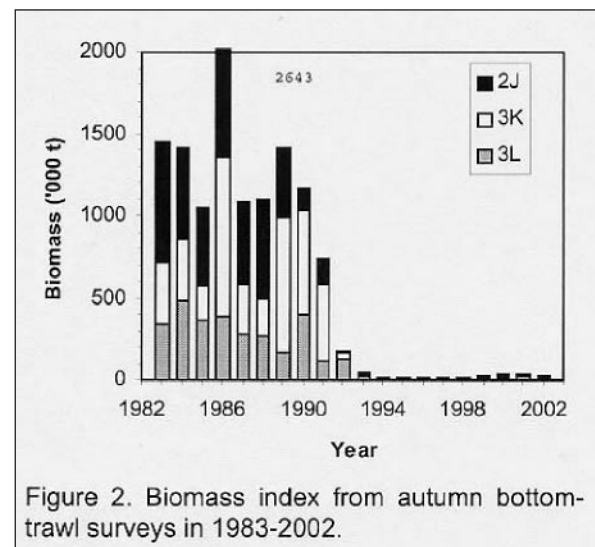


Figure 2. Biomass index from autumn bottom-trawl surveys in 1983-2002.

No one knows exactly why the cod have failed to recover along the eastern coast of Canada. However, one can imagine several possible explanatory scenarios - that other species have replaced cod in the food web here or that the size structure of the fish communities has been altered as a result of fisheries such that there are fewer large and a relatively larger proportion of small fish in the community. As small fish eat fish eggs and larvae, the grazing pressure on the cod young may be so great that there are only very few that survive to adulthood. This, and a number of other both terrestrial and marine examples, hint at the fact

that pressures on ecosystems may bring them into a new state system such that the “norm” for the marine ecosystem off Newfoundland may now be, in contrast to the past, a system where cod do not play a major role. Newer research (Ives, A.R. and J. Cardinal. 2004. *Nature* 429:174-177) suggests that food-web interactions provide resilience in ecosystems. What this means is that one or a few species may be removed from an ecosystem without causing serious effects in the ecosystem because other species will move in and take over the “job” that the removed species previously carried out. However, when there are no longer species to move in and fill out these functions, the ecosystems will change state (“collapse”). If this is correct, then it has serious implications for an economic analysis of the value of preserving biodiversity as the value of an individual species will change depending on what other species are present in the system. Removing, for example, the last pollinator from a system - especially if it was in an area dependant on agriculture - would have serious economic ramifications!

### **Weakening of the Gulf Stream**

Of course, the potential for unexpected responses to global environmental change is not restricted to biological systems. There has been considerable discussion in Denmark and internationally in recent months about the possibility that global warming can potentially lead to a weakening of the Gulf Stream and a breakdown of the thermohaline circulation that drives the current systems of the oceans. If this were to happen and the Gulf Stream no longer transported heat to the northern latitudes, then Scandinavia could, potentially become much colder than it is today. Here, it is important to emphasise that no one *knows* if this will happen. It has only in recent years been

recognised that this may be a plausible scenario for future climate effects. The Institut for Miljøvurdering in Denmark has recently issued a report calling for more research into the mechanisms involved in order to be able to more fully assess the risk of a breakdown of this circulation:

*“The risk and implication of a complete shut-down of the thermohaline circulation is however not completely understood and hence further computations using coupled atmosphere-ocean models are recommended in order to improve the understanding of the problem” Inst. For Miljøvurdering 2004.*

Changes are documented more research is needed There is, then, good evidence that we *can* document global environmental change and that we must act to ensure a sustainable future. We are also beginning to understand the Earth System well enough to realise that abrupt and unexpected changes may result from the global environmental changes occurring. More research in the natural science disciplines is necessary in order to fully understand and predict the risk of of these abrupt and unexpected responses.

Although I have called here for more natural science research in order to understand global environmental change, we must recognise that, while based on natural science, environmental problems are societal problems and, thus, require the input of social scientists to solve. It is, therefore, essential that social and natural scientists tackle these problems *together*. I am convinced that the combined expertise of both disciplines is necessary in order to set priorities with respect to environment and the shape the Earth System we leave to future generations.



# Summary of the First Day

## Three Basic Conclusions

**Svend Auken**

**Vice President of the Danish Parliament, (the Social Democrats)**

**Former Danish Minister for Environment and Energy**

Svend Auken closed the meeting and drew up three basic conclusions from the discussions:

- First it is necessary to break the widespread acceptance of modern politics as a “spectator sport”. Young people around the world manifest very progressive and promising attitudes when asked in the polls. But their hopes and wants will never make a difference if they fail to claim an active role in the ever more complex and multilayered processes of political decision-making. Therefore it is time to reach back to the Rio principle, that we should think global, but we shall act local.
- Secondly: we should mobilize the social partners. Why don't the unions integrate their concerns about working environment with green attitude towards the whole agenda of global sustainability? Let's fight the notion that a good environment is always killing jobs. In fact good environment protection produces more and better jobs. For instance the transformation towards sustainable energy will lead to huge employment advantages.

- Thirdly: It is absolutely detrimental if we believe that environmental progress can be based on a split between right and left in the normal sense. We need to build broad alliances for change, crossing the traditional gaps. We must include all the sympathetic conservatives that worry about the break down of environmental values. And we must reach out to liberals that sense the business potential of sustainable solutions to global challenges.

So although the outlook for tomorrow is bleak, I think this conference has been highly valuable. It points to the paths of progress that lead to a more sustainable world. We must not hesitate to explore them.

Thanks to all of you - so far - so good.



# Et bedre liv med lavere forbrug

Øystein Dahle

Bestyrelsesformand for Woldwatch Institute

Tanken om, at *trivsel* er et personligt og politisk mål, bliver stadig mere udbredt. Organisationen for Økonomisk Samarbejde og Udvikling (OECD) har udgivet skriftet "Nationernes trivsel" i 2001, og organisationen Millennium Ecosystem Assessment har udgivet "Økosystemer og menneskelig trivsel" i 2003. Selv det canadiske underhus brugte begrebet trivsel (well-being) i en lov, som blev vedtaget i juni 2003. Titlen var: "The Canada Well-Being Measurement Act".

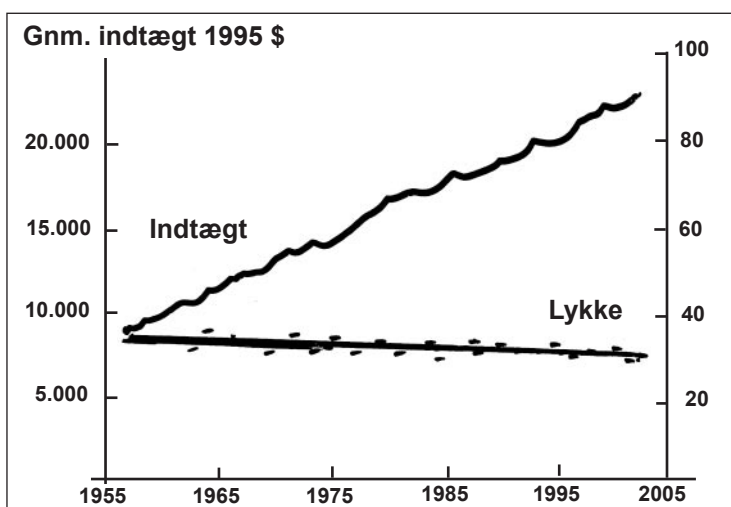
Det er af afgørende betydning, at begrebet "Trivsels-samfund" bliver ført frem som et alternativ til "Forbrugersamfundet". Trivsel er udtryk for høj livskvalitet. Samfund, som fokuserer på trivsel, kræver mere tid til familien, venner og naboer, en mere direkte oplevelse af naturen og større vægt på at realisere sig selv og mulighederne for kreativitet snarere end at tilegne sig flest muligt varer. Trivselsbegrebet lægger vægt på en livsstil, som undgår at skade ens eget helbred, andre mennesker eller naturen. Meningsmålinger i USA har belyst, hvor tilfreds borgerne er med deres liv, og data for perioden 1957 til 2000 viser, at en svagt faldende andel er godt tilfreds med livet (se figur 1). I samme periode er den gennemsnitlige indkomst steget med næsten en faktor tre. Undersøgelsen antyder således, at tilfredshed er uafhængig af indtægten over et vist niveau. Dette bekræftes også af undersøgelsen "World Values Survey", som undersøgte livslykken i 65 lande mellem 1990 og 2000 og konkluderede, at

indtægt og lykke hænger godt sammen op til en årsindtægt på 13.000 dollars (1995 værdi). Derover giver indtægtsforøgelse tilsyneladende kun en beskedent forøgelse i oplevet lykke. Begrebet TRIVSELSSAMFUND synes derfor i vores rige del af verden at fremstå som en politisk vision, der ikke bare kan tilbyde en kvalitativt bedre tilværelse, men også kan reducere et ressourceforbrug, som på ingen måde er bæredygtigt.

At et reduceret ressourceforbrug er påkrævet i vores rige verden, understreges af UNEP (FNs miljøprogram) i organisationens rapport "GEO 2000". Her findes bl.a. følgende udtalelse:

*For at få skabt en ansvarlig udvikling i den del af verden, hvor de fleste mennesker bor, og hvor de fleste af de fleste lever på eller under eksistensgrænsen, må de rige industrilande reducere deres ressourceforbrug - inklusive fossile brændstoffer - ikke med, men til en tiendedel af dagens forbrug.*

Er dette muligt? Naturligvis er det muligt, og det er til og med muligt, uden at der er grund til at frygte slutresultatet. Men skal det lykkes, må den moderne verdens innovationskapacitet acceptere udfordringen. Da FN's Verdenskommission for Miljø og Udvikling i 1987 offentliggjorde sin rapport, sagde kommissionsformanden (Gro Harlem Brundtland): "a sustainable future will require a fundamental reordering of global priorities".



Figur 1. Gennemsnitlig indtægt og oplevet lykke i USA (1957-2002). Tegnet af Øystein Dahle på grundlag af meningsmålinger i USA

17 år senere har vi endnu ikke taget fat på den udfordring. For ca. 50 år siden sagde en af verdens skarpeste hjerner, Albert Einstein, at den verden, vi havde skabt ved vores måde at tænke på, havde betydelige problemer. Det opsigtsvækkende var imidlertid hans efterfølgende konklusion og anbefaling, nemlig at disse problemer ikke kan løses ved at fortsætte med at tænke på samme måde. Dette synspunkt underbygges af en udtalelse fra FN's udviklingsprogram (UNDP):

*“Global technological breakthroughs offer great potential for human advance and for eradicating poverty - but not with today's agendas”.*

Lignende synspunkter er fremsat af EU's miljøagentur (EEA):

*“The impact of human economic activities on the environment is at its highest level in history - and growing at an unprecedented rate. Within EU - and in spite of common environmental policies over a period of 25 years - we cannot record any general improvement in environmental quality, rather the other way round.”*

Den rige del af verden er blevet rigere på ting og fattigere på tid og belaster samtidig det globale økosystem langt udover den andel, som vi med rimelighed kan påberåbe os. Allerede i 1966 skrev amerikaneren Kenneth Boulding bogen “The economics of the coming Space-ship Earth”. Her gav han en indsigtfuld introduktion til begrebet “Rumskibet Jordan”. I de snart 40 år, som er gået, siden begrebet blev introduceret, har vi alle haft muligheden for at se vores rumskib udefra gennem de historiske billeder, som repræsentanter for menneskeheden har taget på deres rumfærd. Ikke siden fysikere og astronomer for 500 år siden chokerede deres samtid ved hævde, at jorden ikke var flad, har menneskeheden fået en vigtigere forståelse, nemlig at vi lever i et lukket system. Vi er rumfarere, og vi må justere vores adfærd og planlægning til at reflektere dette uomtvistelige faktum.

Problemet med bæredygtig udvikling er, at man forsøger at redde meget mere end miljøet, og problemet med diagnosen er, at man ikke problematiserer systempræmisserne. De fleste problemer er utilsigtede konsekvenser af bevidste - og i hovedsagen - hæderlige ønsker om at skabe goder. Desuden er det et problem, at individet har begrænsede evner til at se sin egen virksomhed som en trussel mod det kollektive fællesskab. Kollektiv rationalitet er en forudsætning for overlevelse og skabelsen af en bæredygtig udvikling. De dominerende fænomener, som svækker muligheden for styring, er de følgende:

- Systemtvang
- Uvidenhed
- Ligegyldighed

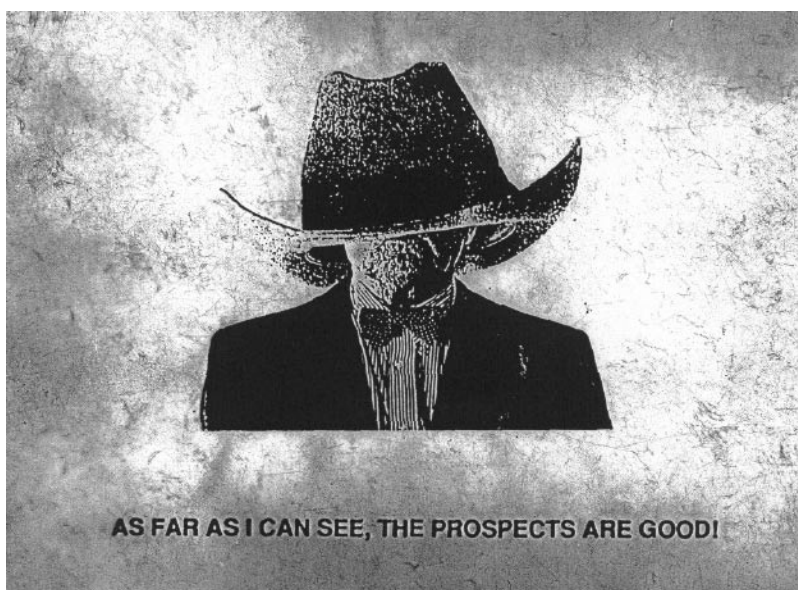
De to sidste burde der være rimelig let at gøre noget ved. Systemtvangen er derimod en kolossal udfordring.

Den vigtigste debat for det moderne, rige samfund drejer sig om fortsat økonomisk vækst og øget materielt forbrug. Der kan vi hente inspiration hos en af markedsökonomien bedsteforældre, John Stuart Mills, der så tidligt som i 1857 sagde:

*“A stationary condition of capital and population implies no stationary state of human improvement”.*

Vores udfordring bliver fordeling af goderne på globalt niveau, ressourcebevidsthed og langsigtet planlægning med forsigtighedsprincippet som ledetråd.

*Øystein Dahles tekst er redigeret og oversat fra norsk af Niels I. Meyer*



# Fattigdomsbekæmpelse, en handlingsrettet status

Knud Vilby

Forfatter

## Bekæmpelsen har været sværere end forventet

Kampen mod verdensfattigdommen er en kamp, som foreløbig har vist sig langt vanskeligere end man havde troet for 15 år siden. Det er vel forkert at sige at den er tabt, men den er gået langt dårligere end forventet, trods ekstrem høj vækst i den globale økonomi og det globale forbrug.

Verdensbanken lavede sin første omfattende globale fattigdomsanalyse i 1990 og nåede da frem til, at der var omkring 1,1 milliarder ekstremt fattige mennesker i verden. Definitionen var, at disse mange mennesker lever for mindre end 1 US dollars om dagen. Det var samtidig Verdensbankens forudsigtelse, at dette tal kunne bringes ned til 800 millioner mennesker ved årtusindeskiftet ti år senere.

Ser man på Verdensbankens forudsigtelser i 2004, så er der næsten tale om en parallelforskydning af tallene fra 1990. I dag skønner man, at der er omkring 1,1 milliarder ekstremt fattige i verden og at tallet kan bringes ned til omkring 800 millioner mennesker i år 2015.

Disse fuldstændig ens tal er ikke udtryk for, at der intet er sket. Dels har Verdensbanken opjusteret de gamle tal og mener nu, at der nok snarere var 1,3 milliarder ekstremt fattige i midten af 1980'erne. Dels er der i mellemtiden blevet i hvert fald 1 milliard mennesker mere i verden. Antallet af ekstremt fattige udgør således en mindre procentdel af verdens samlede befolkning end før. Men det ændrer ikke ved, at resultatet er meget skuffende. Der har været vækst i antallet af ekstremt fattige både i det tidligere Sovjetunionen, i Afrika og i store dele af Latinamerika. Når det samlede tal er gået en smule ned skyldes det primært en imponerende reduktion af fattigdom i Kina.

## Den demografiske fælde

Kampen mod fattigdom er i dag vigtigere end nogensinde før for på en række områder sker der forringelser som gør at det år for år bliver vanskeligere at finde løsninger. Jeg var for nogle måneder siden på besøg i øen Ukerewe i Victoria-søen. Det er en tanzaniansk ø, der i størrelse ligger mellem Bornholm og Lolland

men med en befolkning på 260.000 mennesker. I slutningen af 1980'erne var der "kun" omkring 180.000 mennesker på Ukerewe. Ukerewes indbyggere er bønder og fiskere. De har for lidt jord og de har for få penge til at gennemføre forbedringer i den måde, de udnytter jorden på. Ukerewe er en miljømæssigt nedslidt ø. De enkelte brug er blevet stadig mindre, og der dyrkes næsten kun kasava. Alle skove og de fleste træer er væk, der bruges ikke gødning og der er ikke jord nok til sædskifte eller andre jordforbedrende indsatser.

Forudsætningerne for bæredygtig fremgang er i dag ringere på Ukerewe end de var, da Tanzania fik sin selvstændighed i 1961. Kombinationen af fattigdom og overbefolkning er ved at ødelægge grundlaget for fremtiden.

Og sådan er det mange steder i verden. Miljønedslidning skaber fattigdom, og fattigdom medfører en yderligere belastning af miljøet.

Det er en negativ spiral, og det er også den spiral, der er en medvirkende årsag til, at man nogle steder taler om en "demografisk fælde". Overalt i verden, men specielt i Asien har vi gennem de sidste generationer set, at forbedret økonomisk og social sikkerhed kombineret med bedre uddannelse og sundhedstilstand næsten pr. automatik fører til, at der fødes færre børn i den enkelte familie.

Men i landbrugssamfund, hvor fattigdom og usikkerhed vokser og hvor der ingen forbedring er i den generelle sundhedstilstand eller antallet af børn, der overlever de første 5 år, er der en stærk tendens til, at familierne bliver ved med at få mange børn. Så fortsætter befolkningstilvæksten og det bliver endnu vanskeligere at skabe de forbedringer, der kunne være med til at gøre udviklingen mere bæredygtig.

Levetidsforventningerne i et land bestemmes i høj grad af, hvor mange børn der overlever de første 5 år, men derudover specielt naturligtvis i Afrika af HIV/AIDS-katastrofen. Statistikken taler sit tydelige sprog:

I 1960 skønnede FN, at en nyfødt afrikaner Syd for

Sahara i gennemsnit kunne forvente at leve 40 år. I 1992 var dette tal vokset til 51 år, der var sket vældige fremskridt, men i 2002 kunne man måle tilbagegangen. Nu var de gennemsnitlige levetidsforventninger kun 46 år og i Tanzania kun godt 43 år.

I 1960 skønnede man at 232 af 1000 nyfødte afrikanske børn døde inden de fyldte 5. I 1992 var dette tal faldet til 160. Nu er det tilbage på 178.

### **Kløften uddybes**

Der er ingen enkle løsninger på denne type af problemer. Det er for simpelt at give beboerne på Ukerewe skylden for øens elendighed, eller Tanzanias regering, eller Tanzanias donorer. Fattigdomsproblemet er langt mere komplekst og løses heller ikke alene ved hjælp af udviklingsbistand eller miljøbistand.

Men samtidig er det nødvendigt både i bistand og i alle andre former for nationale og internationale politiske beslutninger at fokusere på, at der i dag er stærke mekanismer som hele tiden øger uligheden og fattigdommen i verden. Selv i Kina hvor kampen mod fattigdom tilsyneladende er vellykket, har Verdensbanken advaret, fordi uligheden vokser dramatisk. De fattige har fået det en anelse bedre, men mellem- og overklassen har fået det langt bedre. Forskellene vokser, og får man ikke gjort noget ved det, vil det føre til sociale spændinger og flere konflikter i fremtiden.

Alle statistikker viser, at forskellen mellem rige og fattige lande øges, og at forskellen mellem rige og fattige i de enkelte lande øges. Den ensidige satsning på, at markedet skal regulere alt til det fælles slår fejl i forhold til de fattigste.

I Tanzania er et af mange problemer, at mennesker som de 260.000 på Ukerewe i virkeligheden er uinteressante for markedet. De har ringe købekraft, og de har få ting at sælge. Indsatser for at få dem til at producere til markedet, blandt andet bomuld og kaffe, har slået fejl. Først i det statsdirigerede system og nu i det markedsdirigerede. Det statslige system fungerede elendigt, og det markedsdirigerede går udenom randområder som Ukerewe. Hvem gider opkøbe kaffe på en ø ude i Victoria-søen, når der i øvrigt er rigeligt med kaffe og priserne er i bund. Og tilsvarende andre steder i Tanzanias randområder. Der er mange steder stærkt behov for at bruge kunstgødning. Markedet skulle give konkurrence og sænke priserne, men konkurrencen fungerer slet ikke i forhold til afsidesliggende fattige bønder. De kan så få lov til at blive fattigere og fattigere.

### **Offentlige investeringer og bistand**

Sådan er det med den internt voksende ulighed, men det er tilsvarende mellem lande. Bistanden til de fattigste lande er faldet voldsomt i løbet af 1990'erne. I

samme periode har der globalt været en stor vækst i de private udenlandske investeringer, der i bedste fald skaber bæredygtig langsigtet beskæftigelse og økonomisk udvikling i ulande. Men disse investeringer er ikke nået til de typiske afrikanske lande, og forklaringen er i en vis forstand den samme. Disse lande er ikke interessante for markedet. Det er for dyrt, for besværligt og for risikofyldt at investere i små dårligt fungerende afrikanske lande. Det er langt mere sikkert at sætte penge i velfungerende industrialiserede sydøstasiatiske lande. Og derfor bliver forskellene større og større.

En række studier har vist, at fattige ulande der åbner sig for markedet klarer sig bedst. Men Verdensbanken har samtidig understreget, at forudsætningen for at disse meget fattige lande for alvor kan få gavn af markedet er, at offentlige investeringer og bistand til landene øges. De private investorer kan ikke løse sundheds- og uddannelsesproblemerne og de kan ikke bygge vejene og sikre den regelmæssigt elektricitetsforsyning og de velfungerende havne. Og hvis ikke der sker forbedringer på disse områder kommer der heller ikke store private investeringer. Markedsskævhederne kan i bedste fald mindskes via offentlige indsatser.

Derfor er det så centralt at fastholde og styrke fattigdomsorienteringen både i bistanden og i alle andre former for internationale politiske aftaler.

### **Når det regner på degnen .....**

I bistandsdebatten har man ofte diskuteret, hvor vanskeligt det er at sikre at bistanden når frem til de allerfattigste i samfund præget af stor ulighed og ofte dårlig regeringsførelse. Det er en vældig udfordring, og en af grundene til at en del af en fattigdomsorienteret bistandsindsats også er at kæmpe for skattesystemer som sikrer at de rige i fattige lande betaler en ordentlig skat.

Til gengæld kan man - hvis man bekymrer sig for mellemindkomslagene - glæde sig over, at bistand som målrettes mod at skabe bedre vilkår for de allerfattigste altid i en eller anden udstrækning vil sive eller trække videre opad. Op til mellemlagene og de øverste lag. Hvis de fattigste får bedre mulighed for at sikre deres liv og skabe deres egen udvikling, så smitter det altid positivt af på de rigere.

Derfor er der ingen enkel og simpelt fattigdomsstrategi. Men der er et overordnet krav om hele tiden at fokusere på, hvad der bistår til at de fattigere bedre kan skabe deres egen udvikling på en måde der også er samfundsmæssigt og miljømæssigt bæredygtig.

Det gælder internationalt og det gælder nationalt.



# Naturkamp er kulturkamp

John Holten-Andersen

Tidsskriftet Salt

“Miljø- og naturkampens betingelser” er den titel programmet har givet mit foredrag. Eller sagt med andre ord: Hvordan skal vi føre kampen mod forureningen af vort miljø og forarmningen af vor natur? Det har vi fået rigtig mange gode bud på under denne konference, hvor de tidligere talere bl.a. har været inde på de økonomiske, politiske, sociale og demokratiske betingelser for denne kamp. Jeg er enig i, at miljø- og naturkampen nødvendigvis må omfatte alle disse dimensioner, men jeg vil tilføje endnu et perspektiv, som endnu knap nok har været berørt.

Mit budskab i dette indlæg er i alt korthed følgende: Kampen mod forureningen af vort miljø og forarmningen af vor natur er tillige en kamp mod forureningen og forarmningen af vort sprog.

Hvordan det? Jo, for sådan som vi taler om verden, tænker vi om verden. Og det vi først tænker verden som, gør vi siden verden til.

Forureningen af vort miljø og forarmningen af vor natur grundlægges altså i den måde hvormed vi taler og tænker om naturen og miljøet, altså i vort sprog. Eller sagt på en anden måde: Naturkamp er uomgængeligt kulturkamp, ja, det er i sidste ende den mest afgørende kulturkamp, for uden natur gives der ganske enkelt ingen kultur.

## Mest miljø for pengene

Lad mig starte med en sproglig vending, der som bekendt er blevet meget anvendt indenfor de sidste par år, nemlig den der siger: “Vi skal have mest miljø for pengene”. Umiddelbart siger vi vel alle hertil: “Ja, men det er da en selvindlysende sandhed, at vi skal have mest miljø for pengene!”

Når Lomborg og andre med ham derfor kommer med deres mere eller mindre absurde udregninger, så anfægter vi ikke selve udgangspunktet for beregningerne, men derimod den konkrete måde, de er gennemført på. I stedet for Lomborgs regnedrenge hyrer vi nogle andre regnedrenge og inden vi har set os om er problemstillingen gjort til en subtil diskussion om rente og diskontering samt hvordan man udregner prisen på lærkesang, regnskov, et klima i balance - ja selv menneskeliv.

Men dermed har Lomborg og kumpaner jo præcist fået os derhen hvor de ønsker: I en teknokratisk diskussion på deres præmisser.

Vi er gået i en fælde, og denne fælde gemmer sig i sproget. For hvad er det egentlig vi siger, når vi bruger den tilsyneladende selvindlysende sætning, at vi skal have “mest miljø eller natur for pengene”?

Vi siger, at miljø og natur er noget vi skaber i kraft af pengene. Pengene kommer før natur og miljø, ja, det er i kraft af pengene, at vi overhovedet kan få natur og miljø. Vi vender altså tingene fuldstændig på hovedet, først i sproget og dernæst i virkeligheden. For når det er pengene, der skaber naturen, så må vi selvfølgelig først have penge, før vi kan få natur, ja, og desto flere penge vi har, desto mere natur kan vi også få. Derfor må vi have flere penge, altså økonomisk vækst, men økonomisk vækst betyder jo uundgåeligt mere af alt det man kan købe for penge, altså flere biler, større motorveje, flere mikrobølgeovne, computere, fjernsyn - kort sagt mere Fields - og alt dette må vi have meget mere af, for først når vi har det, har vi også råd til, at gøre noget ved vores natur og vort miljø.

Vi skal altså først ødelægge naturen for, at få råd til naturen, hvilket naturligvis er noget absurd sludder. Den tilsyneladende selvindlysende sætning om, at vi skal have “mest miljø for pengene” bunder altså i en løgn, for sandheden er i virkeligheden den, at desto rigere vi er i penge, desto fattigere er vi i natur.

## Magt og sprog

Men hvordan kan det være, at en sådan løgn kan snige sig ind i vort sprog og gøre det ud for en sandhed? Det har selvfølgelig noget med magt at gøre, altså hvem der har magten til at forme sproget, og i vores samfund har pengene jo fået en altdominerende magt, hvorfor vort sprog i vidt omfang er blevet til pengemagtens sprog, altså økonomernes sprog.

Det er således ikke noget tilfælde, at de eneste mennesker, som vi i dag kalder for vise er De Økonomiske Vismænd, ligesom det heller ikke er noget tilfælde, at det i dag er økonomer, der befolker stort set alle de bærende institutioner for magt i vores samfund, hvorfra de systematisk deformerer vort sprog.



I økonomernes sprogverden taler man således i ramme alvor om naturen som "natur-kapital" - ligesom man for øvrigt taler om mennesket som "human kapital". Mennesket er ikke et unikt og levende væsen ligeså lidt som naturen er en skabende og livgivende natur, nej begge dele er død kapital, som skal bringes til live af pengene. Som kapital har hverken mennesket eller naturen i sin egen ret nogen værdi, nej, de har kun værdi som middel til forrentning, og det, der ingen forrentning giver, er derfor heller ikke en krone værd. Det menneske som blot er, den lærke der blot er, den regnskov der blot er, ja, alt det liv der blot er, har i økonomens sprog og tankeverden ingen værdi.

I det økonomiske tanke-univers har livet i sig selv ingen værdi, hvilket jo er lige så absurd som det er kynisk, men hvordan er vi dog kommet dertil, at en sådan kynisk fornuft i den grad er kommet til, at præge vor kultur?

Svaret er, at denne form for fornuft blot er toppen af et isbjerg, der under vandets overflade holdes oppe af en mægtig masse af fortrængt vand.

Sagen er jo den, at man først kan tænke og tale om naturen som kapital, hvis den forud er gjort til en ressource - en naturressource. Før økonomen kan gøre naturen til kapital må nogle andre altså have gjort den til en ressource - og disse andre er sådan nogle som mig: Altså ingeniørerne. Men for at sådan nogen som mig - altså ingeniørerne - kan gøre naturen til en ressource må nogen før os, have gjort naturen til en død ting, for en levende natur kan man umuligt opfatte som en ressource, det kan man først, når den er gjort til en ting.

Men hvem er det der gør naturen til en ting - dvs. et objekt - ja, undskyld jeg siger det, for jeg ved det vil provokere mange, men det er den objektive naturvidenskab, der jo netop kun er objektiv for så vidt, at den gør naturen til objekt, altså en ting.

Når vi derfor i dag er kommet dertil, at vi i ramme alvor kan tale om, at det er i kraft af pengene, at vi kan få natur, så hænger det altså til syvende og sidst sammen med det skel, vi i kraft af hele den moderne videnskab har sat mellem os og verden, for essensen af denne videnskab er jo netop, at der findes en uoverstigelig Berlin-mur mellem mennesket som subjekt - og verden som objekt. Eller med andre ord: Mellem kultur og natur.

I kraft af denne mur opfatter vi ikke længere os selv som en del af naturens verden - lige så lidt som vi opfatter naturens verden som en del af os selv. Naturen er tværtimod blevet en fjern, fremmed, og fjendtlig natur, og en fjern, fremmed og fjendtlig natur kan vi ikke holde af, den kan vi tværtimod kun beherske og betvinge som et objekt.

Den rent fysiske beherskelse af naturen er altså forberedt i det sprog, der først taler om naturen som en ting, siden som en ressource og til sidst som kapital, og når denne fysiske beherskelse er drevet så vidt, at

der næsten ikke mere er nogen levende natur tilbage, så er vort sprog samtidigt blevet så forarmet, at vi næsten ikke mere ejer de ord, med hvilket vi kan sige: Nu kan det fandeme være nok.

### **Magt og miljø**

Derfor tror vi også, at den natur der er tilbage, skal reddes ved mere beherskelse frem for mindre. I miljøets og naturens navn opretter vi derfor magtfulde institutioner, som vi kalder for Miljøstyrelse, Miljøkontrol, ja, sågar Naturstyrelse, som om det er miljøet og naturen, der skal kontrolleres og styres og ikke akkurat det modsatte: At det er vi mennesker, der skal styre os, hvorimod naturen jo netop kun er natur for så vidt, at vi ikke har kontrol over den.

Når natur og miljø er gjort til noget der skal styres, så bliver natur- og miljøbeskyttelse til naturressource-management, miljømonitoring, recipientkvalitetsplanlægning, indikatorer for miljø- og naturkvalitet - og en masse andre abstrakte tal og begreber, som fylder metertykke statistikker og rapporter, som almindelige mennesker ikke forstår en lyd af.

Til gengæld kræver fremstillingen af alle disse tal og den efterfølgende administrative håndtering af dem en masse bureaukrati, der koster en masse penge, og det er derfor heller ikke så underligt, at mange mennesker falder for parolen om "mest miljø for pengene", for vi har jo nærmest givet dem det indtryk, at mest mulig natur og miljø er det samme som mest mulig kontrol og styring, altså mest mulig bureaukrati, og hvor natur og miljø grundlæggende ikke kan købes for penge er bureaukrati og kontrol noget, der kun kan frembringes i kraft af penge, ja det koster faktisk rigtig mange penge.

Sådan går det altså til, at den måde hvormed vi i dag begrebsliggør, institutionaliserer og professionaliserer natur- og miljøbeskyttelsen, så at sige bekræfter selve løggen om, at det er pengene der fremtryller naturen, og hvis ikke vi i miljøbevægelsen river os fri af denne måde, at tale og tænke på, så får Lomborg og kumpaner altså ret. For så kan de med rette sige, som de allerede gør: Miljøbevægelsen vil bare have penge til det hele, og det er da meget sympatisk, men realistisk er det altså ikke.

### **Et livsbekræftende sprog**

Hvis vi vil genvinde initiativet i miljøkampen må vi altså vriste os fri af dette forkvaklede sprog, der taler om naturen som en ting, der kun har værdi når vi gør den til et tal, men det kan vi kun for så vidt, at vi samtidig finder et andet sprog, et sundt og levende sprog, der taler om naturen som det, den i virkeligheden er og altid har været, nemlig: Liv.

Levende, sanseligt, skabende og frydefuldt liv. Det liv uden hvilket, det er lige så objektivt umuligt som det er subjektivt meningsløst, at være menneske.

# Danmarks bidrag til global bæredygtig udvikling

Christian Ege

Formand for Det Økologiske Råd

Et dansk bidrag kræver et samspil mellem befolkningen og de politiske beslutningstagere. Det kræver, at vi omlægger vores måde at producere og forbruge på, så den bliver langt mindre ressourceforbrugende og forurenende. Det kan kun ske ved en kombination af brug af renere teknologi og ved en begrænsning af selve mængden af vores materielle forbrug. Mål er intet værd uden virkemidler. Hertil skal bruges en kombination af virkemidler:

- lovgivning, f.eks. om maksimalt energiforbrug i bygninger, biler m.v.
- grøn skattereform, som gør det dyrere at sløse med ressourcerne og billigere at leve mere bæredygtigt
- mærkningsordninger og anden forbrugeroplysning
- offentlig grøn indkøbspolitik
- investeringer i anlæg, f.eks. vedvarende energi, cykelstier, kollektiv trafik m.v.

## Lovgivning

Krav til bygninger kan gennemføres nationalt, men med den nuværende danske regering vil initiativet mere sandsynligt komme fra EU. Krav til biler og andre varer vil normalt kræve overnational beslutning. Her er EU det mulige redskab, som i dag kan benyttes. Lovgivning har sine begrænsninger, f.eks. kan man ikke lovgive om antallet af forbrugsgoder en familie må eje, hvilke personer der må eje 4-hjulstrækkere, eller antallet af km man må køre i sin bil pr. år.

## Grøn skattereform

Her må de grønne skatter træde til. Det er i nogen grad - men også kun i nogen grad - lykkedes for de nuværende regeringspartier at lægge de grønne skatter for had. De fleste vil sige, at de går ind for forurenerebetaler-princippet, men dette er oftest i praksis lig med grønne afgifter. Det hævdes ofte, at en grøn skattereform vender den tunge ende nedad. Men det undgår man ved at tilrettelægge en reform på den rigtige måde. Man kan således let kompensere de lavestlønnede og folk på overførselsindkomster. Disse skal ikke und-

tages fra grønne afgifter, men skal kompenseres i form af øget bundfradrag og øgede sociale ydelser. Det er afgørende, at dette følges op af en informationsindsats, så alle er klar over, at der sker en sådan compensation. Det sidste blev i høj grad forsømt under SR-regeringen i 90'erne.

## Offentlig grøn indkøbspolitik

Det offentlige har en god mulighed for at gå i spidsen som storindkøber ved at stille krav om de mest miljøvenlige varer. Det har længe været officiel politik i Danmark, men i praksis er det kun i mindre grad slået igennem. Det skyldes dels mangelfuld uddannelse af indkøbere, dels at det er op til den enkelte institution at få de stramme budgetter til at slå til. Selv om de mere miljøvenlige varer måske tjener sig hjem i form af mindre forurening og på længere sigt bedre sundhedstilstand, så kommer dette ikke den enkelte institution til gode, hvorfor denne oftest føler sig tvunget til blot at vælge den umiddelbart billigste vare. Der er behov for indførelse af mekanismer, der kan motivere institutionerne til at tænke langsigtet.

## Miljømærkning m.v.

Det er afgørende, at vi som forbrugere let kan se, hvad der er de mest miljøvenlige varer. Her er Svanen, Blomsten og Ø-mærket gode redskaber. Men Svanen og Blomsten er stadig alt for lidt udbredt. En af grundene er, at det koster penge at få licens til at anvende mærket. Dette er en meningsløs form for brugerbetaling - det omvendte af forurenerebetaler-princippet. Ordningen bør i stedet finansieres af en afgift på de farligste kemiske stoffer.

Danmark blev foregangsland i 90'erne med økologiske fødevarer, men nu er salget stagneret. Der er behov for yderligere oplysning om fordelene for miljøet. Samtidig bør forurenerebetaler-princippet indføres, så det konventionelle landbrug betaler for de langsigtede miljøskader det forvolder. Men det er afgørende, at dette sker på en socialt ansvarlig måde.

Der er meget vi kan gøre som borgere. Men forudsætningerne skal være til stede. Ellers bliver det kun et lille mindretal, der ændrer adfærd. Der er behov for

en bred oplysningsindsats om sammenhængen mellem trafik og sundhed. Det drejer sig ikke kun om luftforurening, men også om vor tids største sundhedstrussel - overvægt og mangel på motion. Her kunne cykling spille en stor rolle.

### **Anlægsinvesteringer**

Hvis vi som borgere skal ændre adfærd, skal de nødvendige forudsætninger være til stede. F.eks. skal der være et vidtforgrenet net af cykelstier, som er sikre og vel vedligeholdt. Og der skal være en god kollektiv trafik. Den vedvarende energi skal udbygges.

### **Det er sjovt at være grøn!**

Der er altså masser vi kan gøre. Og det handler ikke om at klæde os i sæk og aske. Dette kan blive en rigere tilværelse med friere udfoldelse for cyklister og gående, med glæden over god kvalitetsmad uden overflødig kemi, med flere teaterture frem for indkøbsrejser til London med fly.

# Tre historier om nyliberalisme

**Kenneth Haar**

**ATTAC-Danmark**

Der er meget positivt i den udtalelse, vi har skrevet i gruppen bag Global Conscience. Vi fra ATTAC's side har også fået nogle af vores mærkesager med, såsom en skat på valutatransaktioner og slettelse af u-landenes gæld. Det er blevet en omfattende udtalelse med mange punkter, men der er også nogle generelle træk og linjer i den. Det er umuligt at komme hele vejen rundt på den korte plads, jeg har, så jeg har valgt tre historier ud, som jeg synes siger noget væsentligt.

## **Den første historie handler om Svend Aukens globale rolle**

For fem år siden var han en meget mægtig mand i mine øjne. Det var da et topmøde i Verdenshandelsorganisationen (WTO) i Seattle i USA slog fejl. Et sammenbrud, der styrkede u-landene og åbnede for en anden folkelig bevågenhed over skævhederne i WTO.

At det brød sammen, har mange tilskrevet demonstranterne på gaden, men Svend Auken havde en betydelig større rolle ved det sammenbrud end mange mange demonstranter. Det begyndte, da EU's miljøministre ankom til Seattle ved mødets start, og blev præsenteret for et papir fra EU Kommissionen, hvor Kommissionen anbefalede en aftale med USA, der ville ende med større handel med GMO, frihandel med GMO. USA's ønske var og er, at WTO's regel om at hvis varer ligner hinanden på overfladen, skal de behandles ens, også skal gælde GMO. D.v.s. at soja er soja, og majs er majs, gensplejset eller ej.

Det fik Svend Auken og 11 andre EU-miljøministre heldigvis bremset, og det var meget medvirkende til, at det gik som det gjorde. Han steg meget i min agtelse dengang. Så gik der ikke lang tid, og vi fik det der hedder Biosafety-protokollen, en international miljøaftale, der bl.a. giver landene ret til at anvende forsigtighedsprincippet over for import af GMO, når der er begrundet mistanke for, at den pågældende vare eller afgrøde er miljøskadelig eller sundhedsskadelig.

Så opstod diskussionen hurtigt: Hvad skal gælde? Er det WTO's frihandelsregler, eller er det Biosafety-protokollens forsigtighedsprincip?

Dengang hørte jeg Svend Auken sige, at forhandlingerne om Biosafety-protokollen endte uafgjort på det

spørgsmål, og at de to regelsæt endte med at blive lige-stillede. Det var måske intellektuelt utilfredsstillende, men i praksis ville det alligevel betyde, at Biosafety-protokollen ville være fredet, mente Svend Auken. Det får vi nu at se. Og det varer ikke længe. For nu har USA indleveret en klage til WTO over EU's gen-moratorium, som supermagten gerne vil helt af med. Dørene til det europæiske marked skal nu åbnes for alvor, og det kan USA bruge WTO til. For i modsætning til Biosafety-protokollen, så har WTO magtmidler at sætte bag. Fælder WTO's panel den forkerte dom, vanker der handelssanktioner, hvis EU ikke makker ret.

Og mit spørgsmål er nu: Hvor er du så nu, Svend Auken? Hvad vil du gøre nu?

Og i samme stil: Hvad gør vi så nu?

Der er 13-15 internationale miljøaftaler, der på lignende måder er i klemme i WTO's frihandelsregler, og USA kan med denne sag have blæst til et generalangreb, der kan få grumme konsekvenser.

## **Den anden historie handler om vand**

Om privatisering af vandforsyning, der er en vigtig og kontroversiel trend, og som også er god at have med før vi ender i sangen om, at alt ondt kommer fra USA. At alt skidt kommer fra de andre.

Vi havde en kort diskussion i går om kommercialisering af vand, og jeg lagde mærke til et indlæg fra Sydafrika, hvor taleren svarede på et spørgsmål om, hvorfor man er ved at privatisere vandforsyningen. Han svarede, at vi lever i en globaliseret verden, og at der er brug for udenlandske investeringer for at få udbygget vandforsyningen.

Den argumentation var jeg nu ked af at høre. For realiteten er, at hvis et u-land ønsker at låne penge til forbedring af deres vandforsyning, og hvis de søger om lån hos Verdensbanken, så kan de få det. Betingelsen er bare, at det sker i forbindelse med privatisering af vandforsyningen. Verdensbanken bruger milliarder af dollars for at støtte privatiseringen af vandforsyningen til multinationale selskaber, først og fremmest europæiske selskaber, der er de største og stærkeste.

Og det er et ryk, som har nogle alvorlige sociale konsekvenser, og allerede har haft det i de seneste

fem år. I Argentina, i Bolivia, i Filippinerne har private selskaber indtaget vandforsyningen, og har tjent godt med penge på uhyrlige priser. I det omfang, de har investeret i noget som helst, har de næsten altid fået mange penge stillet til rådighed af internationale finansinstitutioner.

Den historie er meget aktuel nu, for lige for tiden forsøger EU at overtale hele 72 lande til at give øget markedsadgang til deres vandforsyning. Det sker under de såkaldte GATS-forhandlinger.

Der vil blive lagt pres på, og EU vil måske forsøge at give nogle indrømmelser på landbrugsområdet til gengæld for adgang til vandet. Efter min mening noget, vi burde gøre noget ved i fællesskab.

### **Den sidste historie handler om multinationale selskaber, og om den nye EU forfatning**

Den er lidt mere snirklet, og den skal ikke nødvendigvis munde ud i en konklusion, der skal stå i vores slut-erklæring.

EU og USA har i de senere år gennemført en offensiv for at liberalisere på investeringsområdet.

Målet er, at når multinationale selskaber vil ekspandere, så skal de kunne investere hvor de vil, i det de vil, og på de betingelser, de vil. Det er groft sagt dagsordenen. I den nære fortid er der flere eksempler på forsøg på at få vedtaget aftaler om "investeringer", der kun er gået ud på at give private selskaber flere og flere rettigheder og færre og færre pligter (som MAI-aftalen i OECD, der led nederlag i 1998, eller NAFTA-aftalen mellem USA, Canada og Mexico fra 1994). Det er noget, der kan få stor betydning for ressourcestyring, miljøplanlægning, byplanlægning og sociale rettigheder i fremtiden.

Nu ligger der så et udkast til forfatningstraktat, hvor hensigten fra EU's side er bøjet i neon.

Der står nogle ganske få linjer om hvad formålet er med EU's handelspolitik, og ét af formålene er "...gradvis fjernelse af...restriktionerne for udenlandske investeringer" (forfatningstraktatens artikel III -314). Det kan lyde tamt og trist, men det er faktisk ikke småting, der bliver sagt her. I lyset af hvor mange forskellige ting, der er blevet anset for at være "hindringer for investeringer" - miljøpolitisk, ressourcepolitisk o.m.m.- så er det rystende at se, at den slags skal ophøjes til et formål for EU's handelspolitik, og at det skal gøres i en forfatningstraktat.

Samtidig ligger der en tekst om beslutningsprocessen, der vil gøre det umådeligt svært ikke bare for os, men også for danske politikere at øve reel indflydelse på EU's handelspolitik, og det får betydning for mange af de områder, der står nævnt i vores udtalelse. Så selvom vi ikke skal have EU's forfatningstraktat med i udtalelsen, så vil vi gerne diskutere især handelsafsnittet med mange af de organisationer, der har stået bag Global Conscience.

Det var tre historier. De kan se spredte ud, men de er båret af samme globale udviklingstendens. Om det er frihandel med GMO, privatisering af vand eller det er investeringsliberaliseringer, så stammer alle tre fra magtfulde gruppers ønske om at kommercialisere, at nedbryde demokratisk regulering, at tilsidesætte demokratisk logik og erstatte den med pengelogik. Det er alle historier om den nyliberalistiske globaliserings dårlige indflydelse på den globale kamp for bæredygtig udvikling.



# Handelsbarrierer, civilsamfundet

Nils Brøgger Jakobsen

Medlem af MS' styrelse og aktivist i MS' handelsrøverigruppe

Som repræsentant for Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke vil jeg gerne starte med at sige, at også vi har været rigtig glade for det fine samarbejde der har været, mellem en lang række danske miljø- og udviklingsorganisationer, i forbindelse med udarbejdning af denne konference. Det er virkelig et samarbejde, som vi håber på at kunne gøre brug af også i fremtiden. Jo stærkere vi samarbejder - jo stærkere er vores styrke ikke kun i civilsamfundet, men også i det politiske spil.

## Hvad laver Handelsrøverigruppen i Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke

Jeg vil starte med at sige lidt nærmere om hvad Handelsrøverigruppen i Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke er. Vi er en gruppe som består af ca. 80 aktive medlemmer og handelsinteresserede som har engageret sig i spørgsmål angående international handel mellem i særdeleshed I og U-lande. Uden at underdrive kan vi

vidst roligt sige, at den europæiske landbrugspolitik i den forbindelse spiller en ganske central rolle. En del af vores arbejde består i, at vi rejser rundt til diverse uddannelsesinstitutioner og holder debatoplæg, hvor vi via simple pædagogiske midler forsøger at give tilhørerne et mere nuanceret syn på hvad bistand er for noget. Vi har bl.a. lavet denne plakat som på den venstre side viser en fattig bonde fra syd.

Denne bonde lever blandt 1,2 mia. andre her på jorden for bare 1 \$ om dagen. På højre side af plakaten har vi en europæisk malkeko. Dem er der ca. 21 mio. af i EU og de modtager dagligt 2 \$ om dagen. De tal som jeg præsenterer her, er tal som de fleste af jer her i salen allerede er bekendt med, men alt for mange af den danske befolkning er ikke bekendt med disse tal. Bl.a. derfor har de en alt for simpel opfattelse af bistandsudfordringen og tror, at hvis blot man sender noget mad ned til de sultne, så er problemerne løst. For at det demokrati vi har i Danmark, for alvor kan komme til at virke, er vi nød til at give folk et bedre indblik i hvad det er vi taler om. Af den grund er øget uddannelse og oplysning helt central for at vi vil vinde gehør blandt en større del af den danske befolkning.

Som tidligere sagt, mener vi, at den landbrugspolitik som bliver ført fra EU' side er intet mindre end strukturvold. Vi ønsker, at alt hvad der hedder handelsforvridende subsidier i EU hurtigst muligt bliver fjernet og her tænker vi i særdeleshed på den europæiske eksportstøtte. En sådan omlægning af den europæiske landbrugspolitik vil betyde, at vi er kommet et langt skridt på vejen mod en højere grad af fair trade på det internationale marked.

Grunden til at vi vælger at bruge den radikale betegnelse "strukturvold" skyldes, at det er grotesk, at vi i de rige landet har oprettet en landbrugspolitik, som i den grad er skadelig for den livsnødvendige og fundamentale landbrugssektor i udviklingslandene. Landbrugssektoren er essentiel, da et land uden en vis grad af selvforsyning aldrig vil være i stand til at komme videre i udviklingen.

Som jeg gav udtryk for i starten, er vi i Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke meget interesseret i at samarbejde på tværs af civilsamfundet både nationalt, men også in-



ternationalt. Et stærkt civilsamfund var blandt en af grundene til, at en af de erfaringer vi står tilbage med fra WTO ministermødet i Cancun, er at civilsamfundet, som støtter op om de marginaliserede LDC lande, aldrig har været stærkere. At udviklingslandene, af civilsamfundene både i nord og i syd, bliver klædt bedre på til forhandlingerne, da disse forhandlinger har stor betydning for disse lande.

Netop for at øge opmærksomheden omkring international handel og det ulige forhold mellem rige og fattige, er Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke også gået ind i en international handels kampagne som er startet af Christian Aid UK. Denne internationale kampagne skal op til WTO forhandlingerne i Hong Kong efteråret 2005, søge at sætte spørgsmålene omkring international handel på den politiske dagsorden, når der både på nationalt og europæisk plan skal vedtages forhandlingsmandater. Der er allerede nu en lang række lande som har vist interesse i at deltage i denne internationale kampagne. Selve kampagnen blev lanceret i november 2003 i Delhi og finpudset under World Social Forum januar 2004 i Mumbai. I juli måned vil der i London igen være et møde, hvor de forskellige deltagerlande udveksler synspunkter, ideer og positioner i forhold til kampagnen.

### **Det 11. Papir Nairobi Konsensus**

Jeg vil endvidere gerne benytte lejligheden til at trække nogle pointer frem fra det såkaldte 11. papir ved navn "Nairobi Konsensus", som tidligere på dagen blev præsenteret af en af Mellemfolkeligt Samvirkes partnere i Kenya ved navn Elkanah Odembo.

Det er et rigtig godt papir, som I alle burde læse, da det sætter en række ting i relief og det kommer frem med en række fornuftige kritikpunkter af hvad der sker, hvis vi vælger udelukkende at lade de økonomiske termer styre, hvad det er for en verden vi lever i.

F.eks. står der i papiret "tænk hvis slaveri og apartheid kun var blevet afskaffet fordi det rent økonomisk kunne betale sig". Et sådan citat viser med alt tydelighed, at det er ud fra en lang række andre synspunkter end udelukkende økonomi, at man skal se på hvordan man fremmer global ansvarlighed.

Et andet eksempel på hvilken uheldig udvikling det udelukkende økonomiske synspunkt kan have er i forbindelse med patenter. Det er fuldstændig grotesk, at det fordi det rent økonomisk kan betale sig, næsten udelukkende bliver forsket i medikamenter relateret til den vestlige verden, mens langt de fleste dødelige sygdomme og konsekvenser heraf findes i de fattige egne af verden. Disse sygdomme bliver der dog ikke forsket i, da det ud fra et snæversynet økonomisk

synspunkt ikke kan betale sig. En øget forskning i bedre medicin og bedre adgang til medicin er ud fra rent etiske synspunkter absolut nødvendig.

Ud over det syntes jeg også, at det 11. papir kommer frem med en lang række andre interessante synspunkter. Mange er af den opfattelse, at vi i vesten giver en masse til de fattige lande i syd. Den vestlige verden i 2003 gav samlet 68,5 mia. \$. Dette tal udgør dog kun ca. en sjettedel af den samlede landbrugsstøtte, som der i OECD lande blev givet til de ca. 5 % af befolkningen i OECD landene som er ansat i landbrugssektoren. Ud over det, så modtog kreditorer i nord 343 mia. \$ af fattige forgældede lande i syd. Det vil altså kort sagt sige, at vi giver seks gange så meget i bistand til landmændene i nord, og at kreditorerne i nord modtager seks gange så mange midler i gældsafdrag fra de fattige lande, som vi giver i bistand. Disse tal syntes er meget vigtige at holde for øje i denne debat.

### **Mere fokus på moralske, etiske og humane perspektiver**

En anden ting som vi selvfølgelig skal angribe ved den konference som i disse dage finder sted andet steds her i byen er, at ikke alt drejer sig om, hvad der rent økonomisk kan betale sig. Det er selvfølgelig en faktor som også skal med, men hvad vi i højere grad er nød til at se på, er den etiske forpligtigelse, vi har til at gå ud og gøre noget ved disse problemer. Når man har fulgt med i de ti artikler, som Lomborg har fået trykt i politikken så er det alle nogle som drejer sig om, hvad vi rent økonomisk får ud af at investere i disse problemer. Det er da interessant at se, at ud fra et snæversynet økonomisk synspunkt godt kan betale sig at investere i disse problemstillinger, men hvad de ikke kommer frem til, er hvad der ud fra en mere etisk målestok kommer ud af disse investeringer. Dette skyldes, at en lang række af verdens goder ikke kan værdisættes. Hvem kan f.eks. værdisætte et menneske frem for en springende vildlaks. Vi skal altså væk fra denne tankegang om hvad der kan betale sig at investere rent økonomisk, og i langt højere grad få moralske, etiske og humane perspektiver på banen.

Som jeg startede med at sige, så kan vi på ingen måde acceptere den situation som jeg via plakaten eksemplificerede og det skal der hurtigst muligt gøres noget ved. Derfor er i også meget velkomne til at henvende jer hvis i er interesserede i at deltage i den omtalte handelskampagne. Det kunne være dejligt, hvis vi kunne fortsætte det gode samarbejde fra denne konference i fremtiden.

Tak.

# Kræv demokrati og åbenhed i de internationale institutioner

Kenneth Hermele

Policy enheten, Forum Syd, Sverige

Det finns en föreställning om globaliseringen som jag tror är felaktig: att den skulle vara en process som oundvikligen kommer att leda till allt mer integration - ekonomiskt, politiskt, kulturellt, finansiellt - mellan världens länder. Föreställningen är missvisande eftersom den glömmer att globaliseringen, för att accepteras av medborgarna, måste göras socialt acceptabel, annars kan vi mycket väl få se en utveckling som går åt ett helt annat håll: avskärmning, motsättningar, protektionism, handelskrig. Det har skett förut - senast under mellankrigstiden - och det kan mycket väl hända igen, vilket debatten i USA inför det kommande presidentvalet visar. Där har "outsourcing" - att företag flyttar jobb utomlands, till Syd - utmålats som det stora hotet mot den amerikanska livsstilen. Om den föreställningen får fotfäste - i USA eller i andra länder i Nord - kan vi hamna i ett läge där land ställs mot land, jobb mot jobb, Nordis intressen mot Syds.

Globaliseringen måste alltså styras, göras acceptabel. I ett Sydperspektiv handlar detta lika mycket om hur internationella institutioner arbetar, som om vad de gör. Här har de nordiska länderna, och EU som helhet, gått emot rimliga krav som skulle göra det internationella regelverket och dess institutioner acceptabla. Denna EU:s vägran att söka samsyn hotar det internationella regelverkets legitimitet.

Två exempel:

1. Världshandelsorganisationens (WTO) avtal om patenträttigheter - TRIPS, Trade Related Intellectual Properties - är minst sagt oklart när det gäller möjligheten att ta patent på liv (den berömda paragraf 27.3b). Många Sydländer menar att det är orimligt att ett internationellt regelverk för handel överhuvudtaget ska öppna för denna väg. Så har den afrikanska ländergruppen inom WTO upprepade gånger krävt att TRIPS-avtalet tydligt ska ta avstånd från möjligheten till att patentera liv, samtidigt som en stor Sydgrupp - med Brasilien och Indien i spetsen - hävdar att TRIPS-avtalet ska anpassas till konventionen om biologisk mångfald. Men EU vägrar envist att inse att dessa mycket konkreta och nyanserade positioner ska läggas till grund för framtida förhandlingar.

2. Organisationer som WTO, Världsbanken och IMF saknar acceptabla interna styrsystem, vilket innebär att en majoritet av deras medlemmar missgynnas. De internationella institutionerna saknar helt enkelt representativitet, demokratiskt beslutsfattande och öppenhet (transparens). Exempel på detta sakernas tillstånd är WTO:s "gröna rummet"-procedur, där EU, USA, Japan och vanligen Kanada bakom lykta dörrar kommer överens sinsemellan, för att sedan ställa den överväldigande majoriteten av medlemmarna inför fullbordat faktum. En liknande demokratisk brist finns i Världsbankens och IMF:s styrelser, där Nord har den dominerande positionen, medan Syd, trots sitt större antal och trots att det är Sydländer som drabbas av den politik som institutionerna genomdriver, har i det närmaste inget inflytande. Detta syntes senast i samband med att IMF skulle utse en ny verkställande direktör. Protester från elva exekutivdirektörer från Syd - av totalt 24 - hindrade inte EU från att behålla sin monopolställning som enda förslagsställare när det gällde kandidat till IMF:s toppost (vilket i praktiken innebär att EU utser verkställande direktör). USA:s ställning i Världsbanken är liknande. De nordiska länderna har här inte utnyttjat sin särställning - till skillnad från i WTO har de nordiska länderna möjlighet att föra en självständig linje i Världsbanken och IMF - utan i stället ställt sig bakom de krafter som försvarar den odemokratiska och i längden ohållbara maktfördelningen.

EU och de nordiska länderna hotar alltså genom sitt egenmäktiga beteende trovärdigheten hos dessa institutioner, institutioner som skulle behövas för att styra globaliseringen i en rimlig, socialt acceptabel, ekologiskt hållbar riktning. Därmed får vi en illustration till vad EU:s miljökommissionär Margot Wallström sade i sitt tal här på Global Conscience konferensen: det är motståndet mot EU:s missriktade jordbruks- och handelspolitik som förklarar varför toppmötena i WTO kollapsar (som i Seattle 1999 och Cancún 2003).

EU:s miljökommissionär trodde att detta motstånd skulle tvinga fram förändringar i EU:s ställningstaganden i riktning mot en rimligare politik. Det är en from förhoppning. Tyvärr har de nordiska länderna här gjort alltför litet för att driva på utveck-

lingen i rätt riktning, mot ökad öppenhet och mer inflytande för Syd.

En fortsatt globalisering kräver tvärtom att institutionernas politik liksom det sätt som de styrs på ändras i grunden. Här har EU, och de nordiska länderna, undvikit att spela den roll de borde, som pådrivare för demokrati och öppenhet och en rättvis fördelning av inflytandet mellan Nord och Syd.

# Om fagbevægelsens holdninger om bæredygtighed

Jesper Lund Larsen

SID (nu Fagligt Fællesforbund (3F))

Fra SiD's side har vi gennem mange år interesseret os for miljøet og bæredygtighed, idet vi finder, at der er en sammenhæng mellem miljøet og arbejdsmiljøet, som har stor betydning for vores medlemmer. Jeg vil give et kort tilbageblik, for at I bedre kan se, hvor vi har været aktive og hvorfor.

Gennem 80'erne var vores gartnere meget aktive omkring mindsket anvendelse af pesticider, fordi de kunne se en forbedring af deres arbejdsmiljø og miljøet.

I 1995 udgav vi en rapport om økologisk landbrug, hvori vi forsøgte at komme med bud på, hvad det ville koste samfundet, hvis vi ikke gennemførte nogle forbedringer på miljøområdet. Man kan sige, at dette var det første bud på nogle cost-benefit analyser, men det skal understreges, at det var et rent gæt, idet der efter vores opfattelse ikke kan sættes direkte udgifter og indtægter på, hvad det vil koste at sikre miljøet for fremtiden.

Vi blev bl.a. af landbruget kritiseret for vores bud, men de havde ikke selv et bedre, hvorfor vores beregninger stadig er det bedste bud ud fra de forudsætninger, vi fremførte dengang. Vores bud medførte, at Svend Auken nedsatte Bichel udvalget, som skulle se på omkostningerne ved omlægning af landbrugets brug af pesticider m.m.

Desværre inddrog man ikke de forbedringer eller forringelser, der ville være for de beskæftigede i landbruget. Det er nøjagtigt den samme fejl Lomborg gør. Han ser kun på nogle enkelte dele i hans cost-benefit analyser og ikke på alle tre ben i bæredygtighedsbegrebet.

Som eksempel kan nævnes, at i rapporten om hvad det koster kommunerne at indføre pesticid stop, er forbedringerne af arbejdsmiljøet ikke medregnet, ligesom besparelserne på vand, ingen udgifter til sprøjtekurser m.m.

SiD udgav den næste rapport i 1998, som gav en beskrivelse af gartnerierne og skovbruget og endnu en i 2001. I 2001 udgav vi også "Mere velfærd med færre ressourcer", som er vores bud på en mere bæredygtig fremtid. I denne beskriver vi, hvad der skal ske med

f.eks. landbrugsstøtten, hvilke tiltag der skal ske på transportområdet, hvordan vi skal mindske brugen af kemikalier, samt hvad disse ændringer kan medføre.

Her skal det understreges, at SiD har medlemmer inden for både kemiindustrien, transportsektoren, byggeriet og jordbruget. Vi ved, at vores holdninger kan koste arbejdspladser inden for nogle af disse områder, men vi forventer, at der kan skabes nye inden for andre områder.

Hvis vi ser på sukkerproduktionen, har beregninger fra en af vores afdelinger vist, at hver arbejdsplads her får et tilskud på 600.000 kr. om året, og det er ikke vores medlemmer, der får det. Deres løn er ikke så høj.

Er det rimeligt at bevare arbejdspladser herhjemme, som kun kan overleve ved at få statsstøtte, eller skal vi arbejde for at få skabt arbejdspladser inden for andre områder, som kan overleve uden støtte. Vi mener, at man f.eks. kan skabe et tilsvarende antal arbejdspladser ved at producere kartoffelstivelse, idet der er mangel på stivelse.

Ved så at åbne op for sukker fra de fattige u-lande vil vi både få noget bedre og billigere sukker. Samtidig vil vi skabe et økonomisk grundlag i disse lande, der gør, at de senere vil efterspørge produkter, som vi herhjemme er gode til at fremstille.

Et andet område hvor arbejdsmiljø og ydre miljø hænger sammen er forholdene omkring vand og sanitet.

Tænk på kvinderne på de små markedspladser i Østen. Hvis de ikke har adgang til toiletter, er de nødt til at holde sig en hel dag, og det giver dem problemer med underlivet. Eller tænk på de kvinder der har deres menstruation, og som ikke kan komme på toilettet eller vaske sig i løbet af en hel dag, de bliver hjemme en uge hver måned, og mister derved en ugeløn, hvis der ellers er nogle arbejdsgivere, der vil have en medarbejder, der ikke er på arbejde en uge hver måned. Eller i fødevaresektoren, hvis der ikke er adgang til vand og sanitet, således at medarbejderne kan vaske hænder efter toiletbesøg. Hvad sker der, hvis vi spiser noget mad fra sådanne arbejdspladser??



Et tredje område er kemikalierne. Her har vi været meget aktive omkring REACH, idet vi ikke finder, at EU's tiltag på dette område tilgodeser arbejdstagerne i tilstrækkelig grad.

Vi finder, at der skal være meget mere åbenhed omkring de risici, der er forbundet med brugen af kemikalier, både hvad angår arbejdsmiljøet og miljøet. Kun derved har vores medlemmer en reel chance for at medvirke til en udfasning af de farlige stoffer.

Vi ser gerne her, at EU i REACH medtager den sætning, der er beskrevet i direktivet om arbejdets udførelse, hvori der står, at noget der er farligt skal erstattes af noget, der er ufarligt eller mindre farligt, og lidt groft sagt står der, at det konventionelle landbrug skal erstattes af det økologiske, idet det efter vores holdning er at gå fra et farligt job til noget, der er ufarligt eller mindre farligt både for arbejdsmiljøet og miljøet.

Afslutningsvis vil jeg sige, at selvfølgelig skal vi fra fagbevægelsens side først og fremmest sikre, at vores medlemmer har et arbejde. Vi skal også sikre, at resten af arbejdstagerne verden over har et arbejde, men vi skal konkurrere på lige vilkår, hvad angår arbejdsmiljøforhold, miljøforhold m.m.. Det kan kun ske ved, at miljø og u-lands organisationer samarbejder med fagbevægelsen, samt at medarbejderne på arbejdspladserne får den fornødne information og uddannelse omkring deres arbejdsplads og de tiltag, der er ved at ske.

Men tilbage til Lomborg og hans økonomer som vil udarbejde beregninger på, hvor man får mest miljø for pengene. Jeg er stadig af den opfattelse, at man skal udarbejde beregninger på, hvad det koster, hvis vi ikke forbedre miljøet og arbejdsmiljøet både for mennesker og miljøet.

# Det Radikale Venstre: De 10 vigtigste globale udfordringer

**Elsbeth Gerner Nielsen**

**MF, Miljøordfører for Det Radikale Venstre, Danmark**

På 2 store konferencer diskuterer man i øjeblikket verdens tilstand, herunder hvad der må betragtes som de største udfordringer. Bl.a. på den baggrund har Den Radikale Folketingsgruppe udarbejdet et radikalt bud på samme problemstilling. Det skal understreges at der ikke i rækkefølgen ligger en prioritering. Af gode grunde. Efter vores opfattelse kan verden ikke splittes op i atomer og hvert atom behandles for sig. Tingene hænger sammen. Fattigdom, sygdom og analfabetisme er sider af samme sag. Forudsætningen for at forebygge og behandle AIDS effektivt er, at borgerne kan læse de nødvendige vejledninger. Og omvendt kan de ikke lære at læse, hvis de er syge af underernæring, f.eks. fordi det økosystem, de er en del af, er brudt sammen.

Giv dit besyv med på vores hjemmeside [www.radikale.dk](http://www.radikale.dk)

- a) Opbygning af et internationalt retssamfund, så det er muligt at retsforfølge lande, der ikke overholder internationale aftaler og konventioner.
- b) Mere demokrati og bedre regeringsførelse.
- c) Afskaffelse af alle former for handelshindringer, herunder alle former for landbrugsstøtte.
- d) Omlægning af i-landenes skattesystemer til fordel for højere skat på forurening og ressourcer og lavere skat på arbejde. Priserne skal i højere grad afspejle de eksterne miljøomkostninger, som normalt ikke værdisættes. Som led i en økologisk omlægning af skattesystemet bør der gennemføres CO<sub>2</sub>-afgifter med henblik på at opfylde Kyoto-målsætningen.
- e) Alle i-lande skal leve op til forpligtelsen om at brug 0,7% af BNI på udviklingsbistand (det bør understreges, at miljø og udvikling ikke kan adskilles). De rigeste lande bør afsætte ekstra midler til erhvervelse af globale offentlige goder.
- f) Bedre muligheder for 3-verdensborgere til at få midlertidige arbejdstilladelser i i-landene.
- g) 7 års skolegang til alle børn (også piger!)
- h) Rent vand og tilstrækkelig mad til alle.
- i) Effektiv bekæmpelse af AIDS og andre alvorlige sygdomme i alle egne af verden

- j) Effektiv beskyttelse af den biologiske mangfoldighed

## **Nogle bemærkninger til de enkelte punkter:**

ad. a: Hvis et land ikke overholder sine forpligtelser f.eks. på miljøområdet, kan det internationale samfund ikke stille ret meget op. EU og WTO er gode eksempler på at det kan lade sig gøre at opbygge internationalt retligt bindende institutioner. Flere af dem.

ad. b: Korruption er et kolossalt problem i store dele af verden. Korruptionen forhindrer velstand i at komme de fattigste til gavn. Udvikling af god regeringsførelse må således gøres til et element i alle former for udviklingsbistand.

ad. c: Professor Kym Anderson fra University of Adelaide i Australien (deltager i Copenhagen Concensus) har beregnet, at en total liberalisering af verdenshandlen vil kunne give en gevinst på 1585 milliarder kroner i 2005 (heraf vil 670 mia. gå til udviklingslandene). I dag lever mere end 1 milliard mennesker for under 1 dollars om dagen. I Europa er landbrugsstøtten pr. ko 2 dollars om dagen!

ad. d: Skatten på levende energi, d.v.s. arbejde skal ned. Til gengæld skal skatten på ikke fornybare ressourcer op. En CO<sub>2</sub>-afgift vil være helt afgørende for at stoppe den globale opvarmning. Afgifter på forurening vil medvirke til udviklingen af et mere perfekt marked og til udviklingen/anvendelsen af renere teknologi. Jo dyrere fossil brændsel eksempelvis er, jo større er incitamentet til at udvikle og købe biler, som kører langt pr. liter. Eller som slet ikke behøver fossilt brændstof. På denne måde øges investeringerne i vedvarende energi også. Europa bør gå forrest og sikre denne udvikling.

ad. e. Hvis USA levede op til sin forpligtelse ville det betyde 50 milliarder dollars mere i udviklingsbistand om året. Hvis alle lande levede op til deres forpligtelse ville FN's milleniumsmål kunne gennemføres.

ad. f. Alene i Europa er det nødvendigt med en indvandring på 2 millioner om året, hvis man skal fastholde

de nuværende befolkningstal. Vil man opretholde arbejdsstyrken er der behov for 3 millioner. Alternativet hertil er en væsentlig forøgelse af pensionsalderen eller at de europæiske kvinder føder flere børn. Professor Philip Martin fra University of California har beregnet, at verdenssamfundet ville få en gevinst på 63 milliarder kroner, hvis de rige lande tillod 1 million nye indvandrere. Både rige og fattige lande vil tjene på en øget immigration. De fattige lande fordi de flere immi-granter sender penge hjem. Ifølge Philip Martin blev der i 2001 sendt 430 milliarder hjem, medens den direkte internationale hjælp var 310 milliarder (kilde JP, 25. maj).

ad. g. Alle former for bistand til den 3. verden vanskeliggøres af befolkningens dårlige uddannelsesniveau. Kvinder uden uddannelse har f.eks. svært ved at få fuldt udbytte af sundhedsprogrammer, medicinske behandlingsmuligheder, fødevareprogrammer m.v. 100 millioner børn går i dag ikke i skole. Mellem hver 5 og 6 borger i verden er analfabet.

ad. h. Dette bør der ikke kunne stilles spørgsmålstejn ved. Forudsætningen er større selvforsyning i verdens fattigste lande, hvilket kræver massiv offentligt finansieret forskning i nye dyrkningsteknologier, herunder bedre afgrøder. GMO kan i den sammenhæng vise sig at være en nyttig teknologi. Det er den som oftest ikke i dag, hvor store internationale firmaer bruger GMO-teknikken til at udvikle afgrøder, som er resistente over for pesticider og til at gøre verdens fattigste bønder dybt afhængig af de pågældende firmaer (bl.a. fordi der ikke kan tages såsæd fra høsten).

ad. i. Mellem 34 og 46 millioner mennesker har HIV eller AIDS i udbrud, heraf befinder 90% sig i udviklingslandene. For relativt få penge vil man kunne forebygge udbredelsen af AIDS. Det samme gælder en række andre dødelige sygdomme. Hvis man f.eks. øger brugen af moskitonet til børn i regionen syd for Sahara fra de nuværende 2 til 70% vil det medføre et udbytte på 18 milliarder dollars (udgiften er 1,77 milliard dollars). Og samtidig ville 60 millioner børn blive beskyttet mod malaria (beregnet af Anne Mills og Sam Shillcutt fra London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, refereret i JP 25. maj)

ad. j. Hver eneste dag bliver den biologiske mangfoldighed mindre, takket været den menneskelige aktivitet. At redde den er nødvendig, hvis der skal være en klode til dem, der kommer efter os. Mennesket er en del af et økologisk kredsløb! Vores udgangspunkt er, at alt liv har en værdi i sig selv. Mennesket har et ansvar for at passe på alle livsytringer. Vi deler åndedræt med verden omkring os.

# Afsluttende tale

**Pernille Rosenkrantz-Theil**

**MF, Enhedslisten, Danmark**

Tak for invitationen. Jeg er glad for at få lov til at sige et par ord på årets vigtigste konference i Danmark. Det modspil, I har formået at give Lomborg og Copenhagen Consensus er rigtig flot gået.

For mig hænger både Global Conscience og Copenhagen Consensus meget tæt sammen med Rio-topmødet for tolv år siden. Rio-topmødet var måske ikke nogen stormende succes, men der skete alligevel noget centralt dengang. Der blev sat en proces i gang. Der blev skabt forhåbninger om, at klodens beslutningstagere ville formå at vende udviklingen,

Hvad er der sket siden? Alt for lidt. Og jeg vil kalde en spade for en spade: Når mange forhåbninger om stærke globale initiativer for global bæredygtig udvikling er blevet hæmmet eller kvalt i fødslen, skyldes det, at kapitalen er gået amok og tiltager sig større og større privilegier. Et eksempel er de multinationale selskabers rovdrift på ressourcerne og samme selskabers evne til at afspore og ødelægge internationale topmøder, som de gjorde i Johannesburg.

Lomborgs projekt kan formuleres enkelt: Han vil have et opgør med Rio.

- \* Han vil hjælpe den rige verdens beslutningstagere med at fralægge sig ansvaret med sit klynk om, at der ikke er penge til det hele.
- \* Han vil af med centrale internationale miljøaftaler, klimaaftalen først og fremmest
- \* Han vil i det hele taget bombe den globale dagsorden tilbage nogle årtier eller længere, og han har mægtige allierede. Ikke fordi han er smart og begavet, men fordi pengestærke kredse er stærkt interesseret i at have sådan én som ham, der kan forsøge at bilde folk ind, at vi trygt kan fortsætte i samme spor.

For hvad har regeringen foretaget sig på nogle af de centrale områder, der er til debat.

De har skåret drastisk i u-landsbistanden, og de har omprioriteret bistanden på en måde, så fattigdomsorienteringen bliver svækket.

De har skåret i miljøbistanden, og er ved at tilpasse den det danske erhvervslivs ønsker.

De har draget Danmark ind i en krig mod Irak, og sat os ved George Bush' side.

De har gjort nar af klimaaftalen ved at sætte kul på udnyttelsen af smuthuller, og ved at bruge u-landsbistanden til at købe sig fra forpligtelserne.

Jeg har aldrig været den store tilhænger af den fede retorik om Danmark som foregangsland, men den bliver jo helt charmerende og tiltrækkende, når man ser, hvor hurtigt Danmark kan blive bagtrop.

Så jeg bliver nødt til at sige, at et vigtigt første skridt i den rigtige retning er at få en ny regering. Det er selvfølgelig ikke i sig selv en mirakelkur, men jeg vil nævne fire punkter, hvor vi må kunne forvente hurtig handling:

- \* For det første: Fuld genopretning af niveauet for dansk u-landsbistand
- \* For det andet: Stop for brug af u-landsmidler til klimapolitikken
- \* For det tredje: En aktiv dansk indsats for retten til at afvise GMO. Det gælder selvfølgelig nationalt, men også internationalt.
- \* For det fjerde: En dansk indsats for indførelse af en global skat på valutatransaktioner.

På alle fire punkter har der i de senere år været gode signaler fra Socialdemokrater og medlemmer af Det Radikale Venstre.

De fire punkter redder ikke verden.

Skal det lykkes at få sat en vaskeægte bæredygtig udvikling i værk, kræver det en vilje til at foretage nogle opgør: Med multinationale selskabers magt, med finansverdensens kasinoøkonomi, med den skæve verdenshandel, og med overforbrug. Den vilje er ikke til stede i særlig stort mål i dansk politik.

Og den vilje er ikke tilstede hos magthaverne globalt. Selvfølgelig er den ikke det.

Skal det lykkes, så er det vigtigste brændstof derfor folkeligt engagement. Og selvom det måske ikke ser voldsomt imponerende ud i den hjemlige andedam lige for tiden, så må vi ikke glemme at kigge bare lidt ud i verden. I de seneste måske ti år er der ved at fremvokse stærke sociale bevægelser, som gør en forskel. Hvad enten vi taler om demonstranter ved internationale topmøder, eller slumbeboere i Bolivia,

som kræver drikkevand, de kan betale, eller indiske bønder som sætter en stopper for Cargill og Monsantos forsøg på at dominere indisk landbrug. Der er faktisk masser af eksempler fra de seneste år på, at små hjul kan flytte store hjul. Folkelige bevægelser er en faktor. De er det her i landet og andre steder i verden. Så uanset, at både EU og USA er så rørende enige om, at vækst og kapitalens interesser går forud for hensyn til bæredygtighed, så er heller ikke de to almægtige.

Og i de seneste fire år er der oven i købet sket det, at grupper og bevægelser i nord og syd, har fundet sammen om World Social Forum. Set ude fra kan det måske ligne et stort seminar, men i virkeligheden er det et globalt civilsamfund, der er ved at opbygge sine egne kanaler, og som for længst er begyndt at bruge dem til at flytte noget. Her finder man kilden til optimisme. Der er der en virkelig bevægelse, der kan forandre noget.



# Sluterklæring: Global samvittighed og vilje til forandring

## Indledning

Dette papir udgør sluterklæringen fra Global Conscience-konferencen, som blev afholdt d. 23.-24. maj 2004 på Christiansborg, arrangeret af Folkekirkens Nødhjælp, Mellemlfolkeligt Samvirke, Danmarks Naturfredningsforening, WWF Verdensnaturfonden, SiD, NOAH, Tidsskriftet Salt, Det Økologiske Råd, OVE, Øko-net, Le Monde Diplomatique, Attac-Danmark samt forskere og andre enkeltpersoner. Desuden har CASA, Energidebat og Levende Hav tilsluttet sig denne erklæring.

Konferencens formål var at fastholde perspektivet om bæredygtig udvikling og slå fast, at der er råd til både at bekæmpe fattigdom og sikre fremtidens miljø, samt at klodens fremtid ikke kan bestemmes alene ud fra økonomiske kalkuler. Konferencen samlede en bred alliance af organisationer og enkeltpersoner og udgjorde således et vægtigt modspil til Copenhagen Consensus, som blev afholdt af Institut for Miljøvurdering og The Economist d. 24.-28. maj.

Med denne erklæring ønsker vi at sende et budskab til den danske regering, Folketing, EU-parlamentet og til andre landes regeringer om at fastholde kampen for bæredygtig udvikling samt udmønte den i praksis.

## Fasthold perspektivet fra Rio

Topmødet om bæredygtig udvikling i Rio i 1992 var en milepæl. Det var kulminationen på nogle års intensiv global debat om hvordan vi overlader kloden til vores efterkommere i samme eller bedre stand end vi modtog den. Der var bred enighed om, at miljøproblemer og fattigdom er snævert forbundne, og om at løsningen af dem må gå hånd i hånd. De to problemer kalder på helhedsløsninger. Løsninger, der må inddrage etik, kultur, sociale vilkår og arbejdsmarkedsforhold, og som ikke kan behandles alene på et økonomisk grundlag.

Den konkrete opfølgning på Rio-topmødet har dog været sparsom. Forventningen var, at verden i de efterfølgende år ville tage de nødvendige skridt. Det overordnede billede har imidlertid været det omvendte på en række af de centrale udfordringer, som Rio-topmødet rejste. Fokus på krig og terror har skudt opmærksomheden på fattigdoms-, miljø- og ressourceproblemer i baggrunden - til trods for at en indsats her i mange tilfælde netop kunne forebygge krige.

## Millennium-målene

På trods af at de konkrete handlinger siden Rio har været mangelfulde, har en række internationale topmøder dog bekræftet og udbygget målene fra 1992. Millennium-målene blev vedtaget i New York i år 2000. De siger bl.a. at antallet af mennesker, der lever for under 1\$ om dagen, skal halveres inden år 2015. Det samme gælder de der mangler adgang til rent vand og sanitet. Desuden skal alle, både drenge og piger, tilbydes elementær skolegang. Både hvad angår fattigdom, sundhed, skolegang og kvinders rettigheder, har vi med Millennium-målene et konkret redskab til at kræve handling.

Millennium-målene indeholder også miljømål, men de er meget løst formuleret. Disse bør udbygges med de centrale vedtagelser fra Topmødet i Johannesburg samt vedtagelser fra de væsentligste internationale miljøaftaler

Det er afgørende, at vi ikke lader de politiske beslutningstagere reducere målene til løse hensigtserklæringer, men at vi kræver handling. Hvis der ikke allerede nu iværksættes en systematisk indsats for at nå målene, bliver de hurtigt urealistiske. Allerede på FNs Generalforsamling i 2005 skal verdens ledere beslutte nye skridt for at nå målene.

## Verdens ressourcer er begrænsede

Vi mennesker har valget mellem at handle i overensstemmelse med klodens økologiske bæreevne eller fortsætte ødelæggelsen af de vigtigste fælles livsbetingelser: vand, luft, mad, jord, biologisk mangfoldighed.

Overforbruget af jordens ressourcer er ikke standset siden Rio, og vi er milevidt fra målsætningen om at efterlade kloden til vores efterkommere i samme stand som vi modtog den. Og på mange områder går det i den forkerte retning. Ydermere er ressourceforbruget skævt fordelt mellem befolkningen i de rige og de fattige lande, og den økonomiske liberalisering betyder lettere adgang til ressourcerne for dem, der i forvejen står for størstedelen af forbruget.

Da de fleste af de store miljøproblemer har rod i de rige landes overforbrug, har disse lande også det største ansvar for at løse problemerne. Ressourcerne skal fordeles ligeligt mellem klodens befolkninger. For at tilpasse sig det miljømæssige råderum må de rige

lande nedsætte deres ressourceforbrug med en faktor 4 i løbet af de næste 20-30 år og med en faktor 10 på længere sigt. Dette indebærer, at den økonomiske udvikling i disse lande hurtigst muligt løser båndet til fortsat vækst. Kun på denne måde bliver der mulighed for at ressourceforbruget i u-landene kan øges, samtidig med at udviklingen tilpasser sig klodens økologiske bæreevne.

De rige lande skal nå målet fra Rio om niveauet for u-landsbistand på 0,7% af bruttonationalproduktet i løbet af få år og sikre, at pengene bliver et redskab til at nå Millennium-målene. Danmark skal genoprette sin u-landsbistand - tilbage til niveauet fra før 2001 på 1% af BNP.

Samtidig skal der findes yderligere finansiering til nye initiativer, herunder eftergivelse af u-landenes gæld og støtte til u-landenes opfyldelse af de internationale miljøkonventioner. Dette kan f.eks. ske gennem afskaffelse af miljøskadelige subsidier, skat på spekulative valutatransaktioner, samt afgifter på brændstof til internationale transportere. I det hele taget er der behov for en økologisk omlægning af skattesystemet, så ikke-bæredygtig adfærd bliver dyrere, hvorved vi i praksis gennemfører det forurenere-betaler-princip, som bl.a. EU formelt har tilsluttet sig.

### **Klimaændringer kan blive katastrofale**

I dag, syv år efter Kyoto-protokollen blev vedtaget, er de fleste industrilandes CO<sub>2</sub>-udledninger fortsat på vej i den forkerte retning, nemlig opad. Også indenfor EU er de fleste lande langt væk fra deres målsætninger i Kyoto-Protokollen, og verdens største CO<sub>2</sub>-forurenere, USA, står fortsat helt udenfor. Erkendelsen af klimaproblemet har næppe nogensinde været større end i dag. Ikke desto mindre er de fleste lande fortsat tilbageholdende med at implementere virkemidler til at begrænse CO<sub>2</sub>-udledningerne.

Vi kræver en fremskyndet indsats for at nå Kyoto-protokollens reduktionsmål. En sådan indsats bør bygge på en omstilling af industrilandenenes energisektorer fra fossile brændsler til vedvarende energi og energieffektivitet. Vi kræver desuden, at alle initiativer, nationalt, regionalt og internationalt, tager højde for, at der skal ske langt større reduktioner i de industrialiserede landes udledninger efter 2012. Danmark og andre rige lande skal forpligte sig på langsigtede mål - mindst 50% reduktion inden 2030. Desuden skal en række u-lande, som f.eks. Kina og Indien, involveres på mere forpligtende vis end tilfældet er i dag.

### **Forsigtighedsprincippet**

Forsigtighedsprincippet var et vigtigt resultat fra Rio, som blev bekræftet i Johannesburg. Det er nu i stor fare for at blive systematisk undermineret på globalt plan. Ikke mindst er de fleste lande i verden underlagt regler for fri handel, som stærkt indskrænker princip-

pet. Internationale miljøaftaler skal have forrang for regler om fri handel. Således skal Biosafety-protokollen ikke undermineres som følge af USAs klagesag i WTO over EU's GMO-moratorium.

### **Retten til rent vand**

Vi har alle ret til rent drikkevand. Men vand er ved at blive gjort til en vare uden hensyn til de fattiges behov og uden hensyn til naturens fortsatte evne til at forsyne mennesker med vand. Det skyldes ikke mindst den måde, IMF og Verdensbanken forvalter deres globale indflydelse på. Presset på u-landene, og multinationale selskabers pres for at privatisere retten til vand, må stoppes. Det samme gælder EU's pres i WTO for at øge adgangen til private investeringer i vandforsyning.

Det offentliges rolle i vandforsyningen må fastholdes og styrkes som grundlag for, at der kan sikres gratis adgang til rent drikkevand for de fattige. Samtidig må det sikres, at verdens vandressourcer forvaltes bæredygtigt, bl.a. ved at gennemføre beslutningen fra Johannesburg om at alle lande skal udvikle og gennemføre planer for en integreret vandressourceforvaltning.

### **Fattigdom skal bekæmpes**

Fattigdom er et resultat af den dominerende udviklingsmodel. Fattigdom skal bekæmpes, også for miljøets skyld - fattigdom kan nemlig tvinge mennesker ud i rovdrift på naturressourcer. En af de store udfordringer er at sikre en fremtid for de tre milliarder mennesker, der i dag lever af traditionelt landbrug.

Den type landbrug har svært ved at klare konkurrencen med højt industrialiseret og støttet landbrug. Derfor skal u-landene have ret til at beskytte eget landbrug, og i-landenes handelsforvridende og miljøskadelige landbrugsstøtte skal afvikles. Samtidig er det forkasteligt, at lande som Danmark ikke udnytter de muligheder, der ligger i EU, for at give en del af landbrugsstøtten til miljø og fremme af dyrevelfærd, men bruger hele støtten på generel landbrugsstøtte.

Vi skal tage skridt mod at afskaffe sulten, der både er en årsag til og effekt af fattigdom. At opnå fødevarerikkerhed er en grundforudsætning for at bekæmpe fattigdom. Det er muligt at opbygge fødevarerikkerheden uden at drive rovdrift på miljøet, uden at forskrue markedsvilkårene i den 3. verden og uden at blokere for fattige landes muligheder for at sælge deres varer i de rige lande. Det der mangler, er politisk vilje til at lave disse vilkår om.

U-landene skal have øget markedsadgang til de rige landes markeder - også for højtforarbejdede produkter. Det betyder dog ikke, at den eksportorienterede udviklingsmodel er løsningen på verdens småbønders problemer. Mange steder fordrives småbønder netop af

store eksportbrug, som driver rovdrift på ressourcerne og gør landbruget mindre bæredygtigt. Bedre marked-sadgang er derfor ikke hele løsningen. Mange millioner bønder lever af afgrøder, hvor priserne er så lave, at de er truet på deres levebrød. Derfor skal der indføres ordninger - finansieret af de rige lande - der kan sikre mere stabile og retfærdige priser på centrale afgrøder fra u-landene. Yderligere bliver u-landene berøvet værdier ved, at firmaer fra de rige lande tager patent på levende organismer, som de henter i u-landene. Dette system skal afvikles.

### **Bæredygtighed er også uddannelse og demokratiske rettigheder**

Bæredygtig udvikling forudsætter et civilsamfund af ansvarlige og bevidste borgere. Det kræver uddannelse for bæredygtig udvikling. Bæredygtig Udvikling må derfor integreres i uddannelse på alle niveauer som en livslang lærings- og dannelsesproces - som det er formuleret af UNESCO i forbindelse med ti-året for Uddannelse for Bæredygtig Udvikling. Der skal skabes de nødvendige rammer for lokale Agenda 21 initiativer, således at den demokratiske proces og dialog, der er nødvendig for at sikre bæredygtig udvikling, kan forstærkes.

Mennesker uanset race, religion, køn og alder har ret til at definere deres egen og samfundets fremtid. Det skal undgås at arbejdere i I- og U-lande spilles ud mod hinanden og tvinges til at konkurrere på dårlige arbejdsvilkår. Skal det lykkes at skabe global social retfærdighed, må alle mennesker have demokratiske rettigheder. ILO-konventionerne skal styrkes globalt ved at alle landes regeringer ratificerer dem. Konventionerne fastslår arbejdernes ret til at organisere sig og indgå kollektive overenskomster, have et godt arbejdsmiljø, få en løn til at leve af, og begrænser børnearbejde. Der skal gennemføres bindende internationale regler for virksomheders adfærd.

### **Vilje til forandring**

De store udfordringer, som menneskeheden står over for, kræver politisk ansvarlighed og handlekraft. Der skal handles på alle niveauer. Vi har også som samfundsborgere og forbrugere et ansvar. Men at sige, at vi i de rige lande ikke har råd til at løse de globale udfordringer, giver ingen mening. Investeringer i bæredygtig udvikling kan betale sig for os alle sammen.

Med konferencen Global Conscience har en bred vifte af kræfter fra det civile samfund i Danmark givet nogle velunderbyggede bud på løsning af udfordringerne. Vi opfordrer regering og Folketing til at indgå i en dialog om disse bud, og vi opfordrer Danmark til at lægge pres på EU og andre overnationale fora, for at der tages praktiske skridt til løsning af problemerne.

### **Opfordringer fra Global Conscience**

- FNs Millennium-mål er listen over prioriterede mål, som verden skal opfylde inden 2015. Ved FNs generalforsamling i 2005 bør verdens ledere beslutte nye skridt for at nå målene
- Millennium-målet om miljø bør udbygges med de centrale vedtagelser fra Topmødet i Johannesburg samt vedtagelser fra de væsentligste internationale miljøaftaler
- Løftet om u-landsbistand på 0,7% af de landes bruttonationalprodukt skal opfyldes i løbet af få år som et redskab til at nå Millennium-målene, og Danmarks bistand skal genoprettes på niveauet fra før 2001, dvs. 1% af BNP
- U-landenes gæld skal eftergives
- Der skal findes yderligere finansiering ved afskaffelse af miljøskadelige subsidier, skat på spekulative valutatransaktioner samt afgifter på brændstof til internationale transportter
- De rige landes ressourceforbrug skal sænkes, så det svarer til vores andel af jordens befolkning og af det globale miljømæssige råderum. Derfor skal deres ressourceforbrug sænkes med en faktor 4 i løbet af de næste 20-30 år og med en faktor 10 på længere sigt
- De rige landes toldbarrierer over for u-landene skal ophæves, og deres handelsforvridende og miljøskadelige landbrugsstøtte skal afvikles
- Andre subsidier skal omlægges, så de understøtter en global bæredygtig udvikling
- U-landene skal have ret til at beskytte egen landbrugsproduktion, og der skal indføres ordninger - finansieret af de rige lande - der kan sikre mere stabile priser på centrale afgrøder fra u-landene
- Kyoto-aftalen skal implementeres, og der skal snarest påbegyndes forhandlinger om forpligtelser efter 2012. Industrilandene bør forpligte sig til 50% reduktion af drivhusgas-udledninger inden 2030, og der skal ske en mere forpligtende indsats i visse u-lande
- Internationale aftaler om miljø og arbejdstagerrettigheder skal have forrang for frihandelsregler
- Rent vand er en menneskeret, og der skal sikres gratis rent vand til verdens fattige
- Verdens regeringer skal tilslutte sig ILO-konventionerne om arbejdstagerrettigheder, og der skal indføres bindende, internationale regler for virksomheders adfærd.

# Final statement:

## Global Conscience and the Will to Change

### Introduction

This paper constitutes the Statement of Conclusions from the Global Conscience conference, which was held in Copenhagen 23-24 May 2004. This conference was organized by DanChurchAid, the periodical Salt, The Ecological Council, the Danish Society for the Conservation of Nature, The Danish Association for International Co-operation (MS), The General Workers Union in Denmark (SID), NOAH-Friends of the Earth, WWF-Denmark, The Danish Organisation for Renewable Energy (OVE), Øko-net, Le Monde diplomatique, Attac-Denmark as well as individual researchers and experts on environment and developing countries. The Centre for Alternative Social Analysis (CASA), Energidebat and The Danish Society for a Living Sea have acceded to this statement.

The aim of the conference was to maintain the perspective of sustainable development and to establish as a fact that we can afford to combat poverty while at the same time safeguarding the environment. The future for the Globe cannot be determined solely on the basis of economic calculations. The conference brought together a broad alliance of NGOs and experts, and thus constituted a substantial alternative to the Copenhagen Consensus organized by the Environmental Assessment Institute on 24-28 May.

With this final Statement we wish to convey a message to the Danish government, to the Danish Parliament, to the EU Parliament, and to the governments of other countries, urging them to sustain in the struggle for sustainable development and to implement such development.

### Sustain the perspective from Rio

The Summit on Environment and Development in Rio in 1992 was a milestone. It constituted the culmination of several years of intensive global debate on how we can hand over the Globe to future generations in the same or in a better state than it was given to us. It was widely accepted that environmental problems and poverty are closely related and that these problems must be solved together. These two problems call for comprehensive solutions, which must involve ethical, cultural, social and labour market conditions and should not be based merely on economical considerations.

Concrete follow-ups on the Rio Summit have, however, been few. Contrary to expectations, the world has not seen the necessary steps taken in the following years. In general, the reverse has happened in relation to a number of the main challenges raised by the Rio Summit. The focusing on war and terror has pushed attention on poverty, environmental and resource problems into the background - in spite of the fact that actions within these areas in many cases could prevent war.

### The Millennium Goals

In spite of the few concrete actions since Rio, a number of international summits have, however, confirmed and further developed the goals from 1992. The Millennium Goals were agreed in New York in the year 2000. They state, i.e., that the number of people living on less than 1\$ a day must be halved before 2015. The same applies to the number of people without access to clean water and sanitation. Furthermore, all children, boys as well as girls, must be offered elementary education. Regarding poverty, health, children's education as well as women's rights, the Millennium Goals can be used as a concrete tool for demanding action.

The Millennium Goals also include environmental goals, but without specific commitments. These goals should be extended by the central agreements from the Johannesburg Summit and by the essential international environmental agreements.

It is important that we do not let the political decision-makers reduce the goals to loose declarations of intent. We must demand action. If systematic efforts aimed at achieving the goals are not implemented now, they will rapidly become unrealistic. Already at the UN General Assembly in 2005 the World leaders must decide on new steps aimed at achieving the goals.

### The resources of the Globe are limited

Mankind has the choice between acting in accordance with the ecological carrying capacity of the Globe or continuing the destruction of the most important common life conditions: Water, air, food, earth, biological diversity.

The over-consumption of the global resources has not ceased since Rio. We are miles from attaining the goal



of leaving the Globe for generations to come in the same state as it was left to us. In many areas it is going the wrong way. Furthermore, the consumption of resources is unevenly distributed between the rich and the poor countries. The economic liberalization has given those who are already the major consumers better access to the resources.

Since most of the major environmental problems originate in over-consumption by the rich countries, these countries have the greatest responsibility for solving the problems. The resources must be divided evenly amongst the people of the Globe. In order to adapt to this environmental space, the rich countries must reduce their consumption of resources by a factor 4 in the course of the next 20-30 years and by a factor 10 in the long term. This implies that the economic development in these countries loosens the bond to continued growth as quickly as possible. Only in this way can circumstances be created, which allow the consumption of resources in the poor countries to increase in a sustainable manner in relation to the ecological carrying capacity of the Globe.

The rich countries must, within a few years, attain the goals set at Rio concerning a level of foreign aid to the developing countries at 0.7% of their BNP, and they must ensure that the money is used as a tool to attain the Millennium Goals. Denmark must re-establish its aid to developing countries to the level prior to 2001, which was 1% of its BNP.

At the same time financing of new initiatives must be attained, including remission of debts of developing countries and support for their compliance with international environmental conventions. This can be achieved, e.g., by abolishing environmentally detrimental subsidies and by imposing taxes on speculative currency transactions and on fuel for international transportation. Generally, there is a need for an ecological tax reform making non-sustainable activities more expensive, hereby implementing the "polluter pays" principle, which has already formally been agreed in the EU.

### **Climatic changes can be catastrophic**

Today, seven years after the Kyoto Protocol was agreed, the CO<sub>2</sub> emissions of most of the industrial countries are still developing in the wrong direction, namely upwards. Also within the EU most of the countries are far from attaining the goals set in the Kyoto Protocol. The country emitting the most CO<sub>2</sub>, the USA, has still not ratified the protocol. Acknowledgement of the climate problem - global warming - has never been greater. None the less, most countries are still reluctant to implement the tools to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.

We demand a speeding up of the efforts to attain the reduction goals of the Kyoto Protocol. Such efforts

must be based on structural changes in the energy sectors in the industrial countries from using fossil fuels to using renewable energy sources and on using energy more efficiently. Furthermore, we demand that all initiatives, nationally, regionally and internationally, allows for a much greater reduction in the greenhouse gas emissions from the industrial countries after 2012. Denmark and other rich countries must commit themselves to long-term goals - at least 50% reduction before 2030. A number of developing countries such as China and India should also be involved in a more committed fashion.

### **The Precautionary Principle**

The Precautionary Principle constituted an important outcome from Rio, which was confirmed at Johannesburg. It is now in great danger of becoming systematically undermined at a global level. This is not least because most countries are subject to the rules of free trade, which strongly restricts the principle. International environmental agreements must have precedence to rules of free trade. Thus, the Biosafety Protocol must not be undermined as a consequence of the complaint from the USA to the WTO concerning the EU GMO-moratorium.

### **The right to clean water**

We all have the right to clean drinking water. But without regard to the needs of the poor, water is increasingly becoming a commodity, which is, furthermore, consumed without regard to the continuing ability or non-ability of nature to supply man with water. This is not least due to the way in which IMF and The World Bank administer their global influence. The pressure on the developing countries and the pressure from multinational companies to privatise the right to water must be stopped. The same applies to the pressure from the EU within the WTO to increase the opportunities for private investments in water supplies.

The role of the state in supplying water must be sustained and strengthened as a basis for securing the poor free access to clean drinking water. At the same time it must be ensured that the water resources of the World are managed in a sustainable way. This can be done, i.e., by implementing the resolution from Johannesburg that all countries shall develop and implement plans for an integrated management of their water resources.

### **Poverty must be combated**

Poverty is a result of the dominating developmental model. Poverty must be combated, also in order to protect the environment. Poverty can force people to over-exploit natural resources. One of the great challenges is to ensure a future for the three billion people



that today subsist by traditional farming. This type of farming has great difficulty in competing with highly industrialized and subsidized farming. Therefore, the developing countries must have a right to protect their agricultural producers and the trade distorting and environmentally detrimental subsidizing of farmers in the developed countries must be terminated. It is also reprehensible that countries like Denmark do not make the most of the possibilities that lie within the EU rules to let parts of the subsidies to farming benefit the environment and the promotion of animal welfare instead of using it all on general subsidies for agriculture.

We must take steps towards abolishing hunger, which is a cause of as well as a result of poverty. Food security is a prerequisite of combating poverty. It is possible to establish food security without over-exploiting the environment, without distorting market conditions in the Third World, and without hindering the poor countries in selling their goods in the rich countries. What is lacking is the political will to do it.

The developing countries must have better access to the markets in the rich countries - also concerning highly processed products. This does not mean, however, that the export oriented developmental model provides the solution of the problems of the small farmers of the World. In many places the small farmers are driven from their land by large export oriented enterprises that over-exploit resources and make farming less sustainable. Several millions of farmers produce crops, the prices for which are so low that their livelihood is threatened. Therefore, arrangements must be made - financed by the rich countries - to ensure more stable and fair pricing for the most important crops from the developing countries. Furthermore, the developing countries are deprived values of their work, when firms from the rich countries are patenting living organisms, which they get from the developing countries. This practice must be stopped.

### **Sustainability is also education and democratic rights**

Sustainable development presupposes a civil society consisting of responsible and conscious citizens. This demands education for sustainable development. Sustainable development must, therefore, be integrated into education at all levels as a life-long learning and development process - as formulated by UNESCO in connection with the 10th anniversary for Education and Sustainable Development. The necessary framework for local Agenda-21 initiatives must be created so as to strengthen the democratic process and dialogue, which is necessary in order to ensure sustainable development.

People, irrespective of race, religion, gender and age have a right to define the future for themselves and

for their society. Workers in developed and developing countries must not be played out against one another and be forced to compete under poor working conditions. If global social equity is to be achieved, all people must have democratic rights. The ILO conventions must be strengthened globally by having the governments of all countries ratify them. The conventions state the rights of workers to organise themselves and to enter into collective agreements, to have a good working environment and to get a pay on which they can subsist, and they limit child labour. Binding international regulations on the conduct of enterprises must be agreed.

### **The will to change**

The great challenges to humanity demand political responsibility and efficiency. Action is needed at all levels. As citizens and consumers we also have a responsibility. But to say that we in the rich countries cannot afford to meet the global challenges gives no meaning. Investing in sustainable development will pay off for all of us.

With the conference Global Conscience a wide range of forces from the civil community in Denmark has given a number of well-founded proposals on how to meet the challenges. We urge the Danish Government and the Danish Parliament to enter into a dialogue concerning these proposals. We urge Denmark to put pressure on the EU and other super-national forums urging them to take the necessary steps in order to solve these problems.

### **Recommendations from Global Conscience**

- The UN Millennium Goals is a list of prioritised goals, which the world community must attain before 2015. At the UN General Assembly in 2005 the world leaders should decide new steps to attain the goals.
- The Millennium Goal for the environment should be extended to include the central agreements at the Johannesburg Summit and agreements from the major international environmental agreements.
- The commitment of national aid to developing countries of 0.7% of the BNP must be met in the course of few years as a tool to reach the Millennium Goals. The aid from Denmark must be restored to the level from prior to 2001, which was 1% of BNP.
- The debts of developing countries must be remitted.
- Further, financing must be found by abolishing environmentally detrimental subsidies and by taxation of speculative money transactions and of fuel for international transports.
- The consumption of resources by the rich countries must be lowered to correspond to their proportion of

the global population and of the global environmental space for action. Therefore, their consumption of resources must be decreased by a factor 4 within the next 20-30 years and by a factor 10 in the long term.

- The tax barriers of the rich countries against the poor countries must be lifted and their trade distorting and environmentally detrimental subsidizing of their own farmers must be stop.
- Other subsidising must be reorganised in order to support global sustainable development.
- The developing countries must be given a right to protect their own agricultural production and arrangements must be made - financed by the rich countries - ensuring stable and fair prices on their most important crops.
- The Kyoto Protocol must be implemented and negotiations on commitments for the period after 2012 must commence as soon as possible. The industrial countries should commit themselves to a 50% reduction in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions before 2030 and certain developing countries should also commit themselves to reduce emissions.
- International agreements on the environment and workers rights must go before rules of free trade.
- Clean water is a human right and the poor of the World must be ensured free and clean water.
- The governments of the World must ratify the ILO conventions on worker's rights, and binding international rules on the conduct of enterprises must be agreed.

# Sustainable Development is Possible and Necessary

## Proceedings from the Global Conscience Conference, Copenhagen 23-24. May 2004

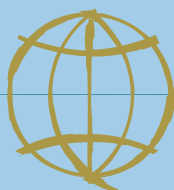
### Global Conscience - Sustainable development is necessary and possible

The conference 'Global Conscience' took place at Christiansborg 2004, May 23. -24. The aim was to contribute to maintain the vision of sustainable development as a guiding principle for the future development of the world.

It is a confrontation with the narrow minded economic perception, that money is the only scarce resource on earth, from the perspective of which all other problems have to be prioritised.

"In stead of simplistic approaches to the problems looked at from a narrow economic viewpoint, we are aiming at a more value-based concept of the world in all of its dynamic complexity", says the organisers behind the conference. The contributions from the conference are found in this booklet.

The organisers were: Danish Church Aid, The Danish Association for International Co-operation (MS), The Danish Society for Nature Conservation, WWF-Denmark, The General Workers Union (SID), NOAH/Friends of the Earth Denmark, the periodical Salt, The Ecological Council, The Organisation for Renewable Energy, Le Monde Diplomatique, Attac-Denmark as well as individuals - researchers and experts on environment and developing countries.



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