

张海滨 著

环境与国际关系

全球环境问题的理性思考

ENVIRONMENT AND INTERNATIONAL
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Rational Reflections
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Issues



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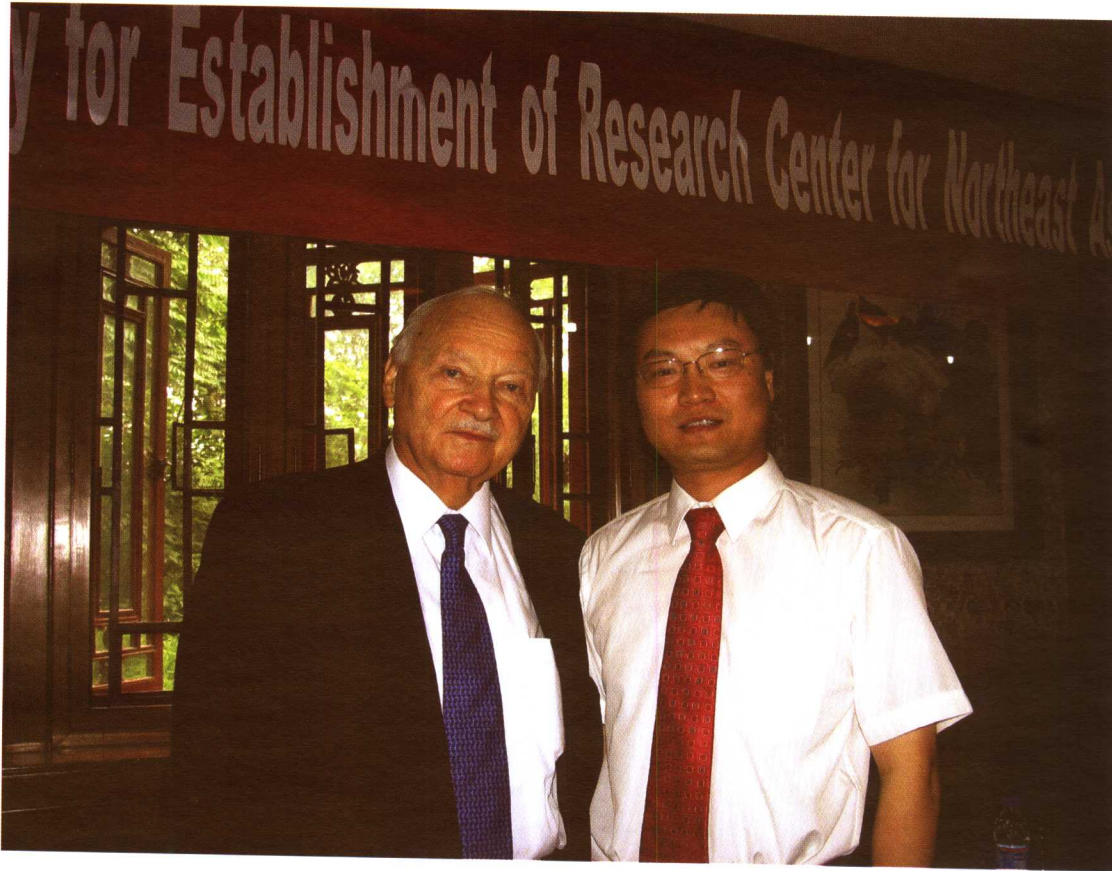
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本书作者与莫里斯·斯特朗先生合影(2006年摄于北京)

建立全球环境治理的新范式

莫里斯·斯特朗*

我非常高兴为张海滨博士的新书作序。这篇序言以从斯德哥尔摩会议以来全球环境治理风雨历程中所吸取的经验教训为基础而展开。我很愿意借此机会与中国读者分享我对全球环境治理的最新思考和对本书的一些看法。

斯德哥尔摩会议

1970年,时任联合国秘书长的吴丹(U Thant)邀请我进入联合国负责环境方面的事务,主要是组织第一次全球政府间环境会议——联合国人类环境会议。由于长期热心于联合国事务而且对环境与发展问题很感兴趣,我欣然接受了他的邀请。斯德哥尔摩会议于1972年6月在瑞典的斯德哥尔摩举行。这是过去30多年来对联合国和国际社会议程的设定做出巨大贡献的一系列主要的全球性会议中的第一次。它将环境问题牢牢地置于全球议程之中。

斯德哥尔摩会议是中华人民共和国恢复在联合国合法席位之后参加的第一次大型国际会议。中国为此次会议作出了重要贡献。斯德哥尔摩会议彻底暴露了发展中国家和发达国家之间的立场分歧,但却没有加以解决。而资金问题、责任与成本分担的依据问题,也确实继续成为发展中国家和发达国家争论不休的根源。这些问题实际上已成为每一次国际环境与可持续发展谈判的中心议题。这一点在关于气候变化公约和生物多样性公约的谈判中表现得尤其明显。斯德哥尔摩会议为这些环境谈判及其达成的合作

* 莫里斯·斯特朗(1929—),加拿大人,联合国前副秘书长,联合国环境规划署首任执行主任,1972年联合国人类环境会议和1992年联合国环发大会秘书长,北京大学名誉教授,被全球53所大学授予名誉博士学位。

性安排建立了框架。最重要的是,斯德哥尔摩会议使发展中国家得以全面参与这些进程并发挥影响。

斯德哥尔摩会议促使新的环境倡议不断涌现、总部位于肯尼亚内罗毕的联合国环境规划署的建立以及绝大多数国家环境部(局)的设立。新的环境非政府组织如雨后春笋般地建立起来,其中很多出现在发展中国家。大学、专业机构以及政策部门也像国际组织和商界一样建立了环境专业和项目。斯佩思(Gus Speth)创立的世界资源研究所就是新建立的重要机构之一。而已有的组织,特别是世界自然保护联盟(IUCN)和世界自然基金(WWF)被注入新的强大动力。

里 约 峰 会

尽管在许多领域取得了进展,但总体而言,环境仍在继续恶化,而人口和经济增长是主要的原因。这一点在 20 世纪 80 年代中期已变得很明显。为此,联合国大会建立了由挪威的布伦特兰(Gro Harlem Brundtland)担任主席的世界环境与发展委员会。该委员会的报告《我们共同的未来》强调可持续发展是人类社会迈向安全和可持续未来的唯一可行的道路。它提出的建议促使联合国大会在 1989 年 12 月作出举行联合国环境与发展大会的决议。为强调此次会议的重要性,会议的级别定为首脑峰会。因此这次会议又以“地球峰会”而闻名于世。

就其本身而言,1992 年在里约热内卢举行的联合国环境与发展大会——地球峰会——无疑是非同寻常的历史性事件。历史上从来没有如此众多的各国政治领导人汇聚于一地。他们为解决我们地球未来面临的紧迫问题而来,使这些问题受到国际社会的极大关注。代表市民社会各阶层的个人和组织参加了环境与发展大会以及与之同时举行的“全球论坛”,其数量之多是历史上空前的。而参与会议报道的媒体记者数量则超出报道此前世界性会议记者数量之最的一倍以上。市民社会和媒体的广泛参与使地球峰会更加壮观。

地球峰会使布伦特兰委员会阐述的“可持续发展”概念得到进一步确认。可持续发展本身不是目的,而是建设 21 世纪经济、社会和环境可持续发展的人类文明的不可缺少的手段。此次峰会也声明只有通过我们这颗星球上的国家和人民在全新层次上的合作,特别是在一国内部和不同国家的穷人和富人之间建立新的合作基础,可持续发展才能实现。

地球峰会最令人失望的地方之一是未能就森林公约达成一致,甚至连公约的谈判进程也未能展开。尤其令我失望的是各国政府不愿意将《地球宪章》作为指导人们对待地球和他人的伦理性原则。地球峰会另一个令人失望之处是为了达成共识,《21世纪议程》中的一些关键问题——特别是人口、能源和生产与生活方式等问题——被淡化了。

虽然存在上述不足,但是地球峰会所达成的协议代表了各国政府为塑造人类的未来而同意采取的最广泛的行动计划。《里约宣言》再度肯定了《斯德哥尔摩宣言》并以其为基础。地球峰会通过的行动计划——《21世纪议程》——为实现可持续发展的转型所需要采取的途径提供了详尽的“蓝图”。地球峰会筹备期间开始谈判并在大会期间供开放签署的《联合国气候变化框架公约》和《生物多样性公约》为最重要的全球性环境问题中的两大问题下一步的国际谈判提供了基本的国际法律框架。另外,这次大会同意启动使后来《联合国防治荒漠化公约》得以达成的国际谈判进程。这个问题对许多发展中国家,尤其是处于世界最贫穷行列的非洲撒哈拉以南地区的国家而言具有特殊的重要性。这些公约得到与会各国的普遍同意,实际上意味着得到了世界所有国家的支持。这一事实使这些条约享有一种独特的政治权威性。不过,正如我们后来所看到的,这并没有确保上述条约得到履行。

迈向全球环境治理的新范式

在21世纪的头10年回顾过去30多年的经验教训是十分必要的。我们关注的焦点必须指向未来,指向如何利用这一重要时刻打破僵局、改变道路。斯德哥尔摩会议和里约会议已为此做好准备。

必须指出,地球峰会所达成协议的履行和落实情况总体上还没有达到峰会预定的要求和期望。为此,2002年在南非约翰内斯堡举行了世界可持续发展首脑会议。此后,又取得一些进展但相当有限。发达国家采取环境行动的政治意愿已经消退。与此同时,伴随经济的增长和环境问题的日益凸显和恶化,发展中国家的环境意识和关注提升之快却是前所未有的。但它们应对这些问题的能力却因为技术的缺乏和国际援助的日益萎缩而受到严重制约。当环境持续恶化的证据越来越可信的时候,应对环境问题的意愿却已经减弱了。这一自相矛盾的现象令人不安。

联合国政府间气候变化专门委员会的最新报告进一步强化了以下日益明显的证据,即人为原因导致的温室气体排放的增加正在加剧气候变化的进程,这给人类的未来蒙上

了阴影。此外,推动《生物多样性公约》和《联合国防治荒漠化公约》履约所必需的资金筹集迟迟不到位。支持发展中国家向可持续的发展模式转变和消灭贫困所需的官方发展援助一直不足。

当然也有一些亮点。作为诞生于里约会议的一个新的、唯一的全球融资机构,全球环境基金一直非常善于通过资金筹集和运作来处理所选项目逐渐增加的环境成本,其做法富有创意。在开发减缓污染、减少单位产品能源消耗和资源消耗的技术和工艺方面,已取得明显进展。这就是世界可持续发展商业理事会所说的“生态效率”。在促进变化和抵制变化两方面,市民社会的作用都越来越重要。人们常说的“全球化”现象因为遭遇到了我们当前正在目睹的对变化潮流的强烈反对而成为焦点。这些变化造就了我们文明的空前富裕,但同时却扩大了胜利者和失败者之间的差距。

对于深切关注人类社会的环境和可持续性的我们来说,这一点为什么重要?因为我们必须从更广阔的因果关系的角度来看待这些问题。人口数量、人类生活方式和行为的影响由于技术的发展而得到极大的增强,正在塑造人类的未来。我们尚未接受这样一个事实,即全球化进程本质上是系统性的,而我们的管理机制和制度却不是。

中国预计其未来能源需求的50%将依靠煤炭,对石油和天然气的消耗也会逐步增加。这不仅将导致中国化石燃料进口的大幅度增长,也将导致二氧化碳的排放和“出口”。中国目前正在变成世界温室气体排放的主要来源。类似的情况不同程度地存在于其他发展中国家,特别是印度。在减少总的温室气体排放方面,发达国家最好的投资是帮助发展中国家获得在满足其未来能源需求中能够利用尽可能清洁的能源所需的最新适用技术和逐渐增加的财政支援。《联合国气候变化框架公约》下的《京都议定书》所建立的清洁发展机制和排放可交易制度的发展使得以最低成本减少排放的前景充满希望,同时为发展中国家提供了新的财政资源。

此外,我相信如果世界银行和联合国借鉴国际农业研究协商集团的成功模式,牵头成立清洁能源协商集团,为财政和技术资源的筹措进程提供方便,鼓励和支持发展中国家选择清洁能源,不仅是有益的,而且是及时的。与此同时,注定要产生更大环境影响的发展中世界在寻找解决途径方面,能够也必须扮演关键性角色。

如果要使一个合作管理和治理的系统有效,就必须将所有关键的行为体纳入其中。环境问题就是最好的证明。当然这也适用于对人类共同的未来至关重要的其他问题。但并非所有的问题都需要在全球层次上加以处理。在许多情况下全球性应对的主要功能是构建框架、背景和法律机制,为在本地、国家和区域层次上采取最佳行动提供激励。我是附属(subsidiarity)原则的绝对信奉者。这一原则要求所有问题都应在最相关人群的层次上加以解决,这是最有效的。

人类行动通过复杂的进程正在塑造人类的未来。这一进程本质上是系统性的。但我们试图管理这些进程的制度却远非系统化。政府和工业是在部门基础上建立起来的。学术研究也是基于单一学科基础之上。对问题的管理主要是通过层级结构来实施。对管理和决策中采用更系统、更综合和跨学科的方法的必要性,已有大量的讨论,而且也取得了一些有用但有限的进展。尽管如此,目前的管理和决策过程与真实的世界因果系统之间存在巨大的脱节。这种脱节对世界因果系统产生影响。如果我们想发展可持续的治理系统,就必须解决好这种相互对立的问题。

多边组织显然还没有准备好承担将赋予它们的新一代任务。总体而言,这些机构提供大量经验和专门技术,是国际社会无法替代的宝贵财富。不过,一个自相矛盾的现象是,虽然对有效多边组织的需求从来没有今天这么大,但对它们的支持,包括政治和财政支持,自它们成立以来却从来没有这么少。就单个国际组织而言,许多国际组织是软弱无力的,需要改革。最重要的是,它们需要在使命和相互关系方面进行重大改组,以便在执行分配给它们的特别任务时能像一个系统一样运转。商界和市民社会在许多关键问题上的作用日益突出,国际组织中新的安排必须到位以保证它们更有效地参与。

为保证这样一个全球治理系统有效发挥作用,必须与发展中国家建立全面平等的伙伴关系。发达国家仅靠自己实在无法确保自身未来的安全。事实上,我深信人类社会可持续未来的前景可能取决于发展中国家。在与发展中国家达成一系列平等、可行和合作性协议的过程中,它们的所为将受到我们发达国家的所为(或不作为)的影响,甚至是决定性的影响。不过,发展中国家增长的权利不应被否定。也不应指望它们会听从那些其生产和消费方式主要导致了全球危机(如气候变化等)的人的告诫,去减少人口增长和温室气体排放并实施严格的环境控制标准。这就意味着必须承认发达国家应为“改变道路”承担特殊责任,以确保发展中国家获得向可持续发展过渡所需的资金和技术,并保证它们在保护地球未来的过程中给予全面合作。

结 论

现在,我们真正是我们自身未来的托管人。人类未来的方向很大程度上将在 21 世纪的头几十年确定,因为环境退化、社会紧张、社区间冲突的所有证据在人口和人类活动的层次上都已出现。而今后一个时期的人口和人类活动将大大超过现在。在人类历史上的此时此刻,我们共同面对的因为环境、资源基础和地球上所有生命赖以生存的生命

支持系统受到日益严重威胁而带来的风险,要远远大于我们过去和现在面临的因为人类之间相互冲突而产生的风险。如果我们要成功处置这些风险并将人类进步和发展的巨大潜力化为现实以造福整个人类大家庭,那么一个合作性的全球治理新范式将是唯一现实可行的基石。这在我们的能力范围之内。过去所有的民众和国家都一直心甘情愿地将维护本国安全所需的措施置于最优先的地位。我们必须将(人类)文明的安全和可持续性置于同等的优先位置。这要求当前的政治思维发生重大转变。需要最终会促成这个转变。问题是:“我们能否真的承受得起等待的损失和风险?”

今日之世界已非 1972 年之世界。今日之中国也远非 1972 年之中国。全球化使中国与世界的相互依存达到前所未有的程度。作为一个正在上升的、具有不断增长的全球环境影响和责任的大国,中国政府和学术界在全球环境问题上的声音和观点对世界至关重要。中国致力于走科学指导下的和谐发展道路,确定要建立一个新的、独具特色的可持续发展模式。在迈向一个安全和可持续的未来的进程中,中国可能引领世界。

张海滨博士自里约地球峰会以来长期在北京大学从事全球环境政治的科研与教学。本书是他在中国促进对全球环境政治的研究和关注的长期努力的一部分,非常值得鼓励和欢迎。根据我对作者本人的了解和作者对本书的介绍,本书对全球为应对环境挑战所作出的反应进行了系统而权威的分析,给我留下了深刻印象。其中一些深刻的见解和观点引起我特别的兴趣。比如作者指出,国际体系的无政府状态迫使落后国家实施赶超战略,结果导致严重的环境破坏。对于那些希望更多地了解中国如何看待全球环境问题的人来说,本书是具有原创性的、非常宝贵的资源。迄今为止,在全球范围的环境辩论中,中国学者的声音还不够响亮。正是在此背景下,我热切期待张海滨博士和中国在这一领域的其他一流学者作出更重要的学术贡献。

2007 年 10 月 17 日

Creating a New Paradigm of Global Environmental Governance

Maurice Strong

I'm very pleased to write this preface for Dr. Zhang Haibin's upcoming book. It builds on the lessons learned along the rough road of global environmental governance since the 1972 Stockholm Conference. I welcome the opportunity to share with Chinese readers my recent reflections on global environmental governance and my impression of this book.

The Stockholm Conference

U. N. Secretary-General U Thant in 1970 invited me to come into the United Nations and assume responsibility for its environmental activities centering on organizing the first global intergovernmental conference on the environment, the U. N. Conference on the Human Environment. I accepted with great enthusiasm in light of my long-time commitment to the United Nations and my deep interest in the relationship between environment and development. The Stockholm Conference was held in Stockholm, Sweden, in June 1972 -- the first of the major global conferences that have done so much to shape the agenda of the United Nations and the world community during the last three decades. It placed the environment issue firmly on the global agenda.

The Stockholm Conference was the first in which the People's Republic of China participated after assuming its rightful membership in the United Nations and it made an important contribution to the Conference. Stockholm starkly brought out the differences between the positions of developing and more industrialized countries, but did not resolve

them. Indeed, the issues of finance and the basis for sharing responsibilities and costs continue to be the principal source of differences and controversy between developing and more developed countries. These have become central to international negotiations on virtually every environment and sustainable development subject, most notably in the climate change and biodiversity conventions. Stockholm established the framework for these negotiations and for the cooperative arrangements they have produced. Most of all, it brought developing countries into a full and influential participation in these processes.

Stockholm led to a proliferation of new environmental initiatives and the creation of the U. N. Environment Programme, headquartered in Nairobi, Kenya, as well as national environmental ministries or agencies in most countries. New nongovernmental organizations sprang up, many of them in developing countries; universities and other professional and policy organizations established their environmental programs, as did international organizations and businesses. Amongst the important new institutions established was the World Resources Institute, established and built under the leadership of Gus Speth. Existing organizations, notably the International Union for the Conservation of Nature(IUCN) and the World Wildlife Fund were given strong new impetus.

The Rio Earth Summit

Despite progress in many areas, however, it became evident by the mid-1980s that, overall, the environment was deteriorating and the population and economic growth largely responsible for this was continuing. In response, the U. N. General Assembly established a World Commission for Environment and Development under the chairmanship of Norway's GroHarlem Brundtland. Its report, "Our Common Future," made the case for sustainable development as the only viable pathway to a secure and sustainable future for the human community. Its recommendations led to the decision by the U. N. General Assembly in December 1989 to hold the U. N. Conference on Environment and Development. To underscore the importance of this conference, it was decided that it should be held at the summit level, and it is now known universally as the "Earth Summit."

As an event in itself, the U. N. Conference on Environment and Development — the

Earth Summit — in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 was clearly remarkable, indeed historic. Never before had so many of the world's political leaders come together in one place, and the fact that they came to consider the urgent question of our planet's future put these issues under an enormous international spotlight. This was helped by the presence at Rio, both in the conference itself and in the accompanying "Global Forum," of an unprecedented number of people and organizations representing every sector of civil society and more than double the number of media representatives than had ever covered a world conference.

The Earth Summit validated the concept of sustainable development that had been articulated by the Brundtland Commission, not as an end in itself, but as the indispensable means of achieving a civilization in the twenty-first century that is sustainable in economic and social as well as environmental terms. It also made clear that sustainability can only be achieved through new dimensions of cooperation among the nations and peoples of our planet and, most of all, a new basis for relationships between rich and poor, both within and among nations.

One of the most frustrating aspects of the Earth Summit was the failure to agree on a forestry convention or even on the initiation of a negotiating process that could lead to a convention. Particularly disappointing to me was the unwillingness of governments to consider an Earth Charter as a statement of ethical principles to guide the conduct of people towards the Earth and each other. Another disappointing aspect of the Rio conference was the weakening of some key issues in Agenda 21 — notably, population, energy, and patterns of production and consumption — in order to achieve consensus.

Despite these shortcomings, the agreements reached at the Earth Summit represent the most comprehensive program ever agreed upon by governments for the shaping of the human future. The Declaration of Principles agreed upon at Rio reaffirmed and built upon the Stockholm Declaration. The Programme of Action that the conference adopted — Agenda 21 — presented a detailed "blueprint" of the measures required to effect the transition to sustainability. The Conventions on Climate Change and Bio-diversity, negotiated during preparations for the conference and opened for signature at it, provided the basic legal framework for international agreements on two of the most fundamental global environmental issues. In addition, the conference agreed on initiating a negotiating process that has since produced a Convention on Desertification, an issue of critical importance to a number of developing countries, particularly, the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, which

are among the world's poorest. The fact that these were agreed to by virtually all of the governments of the world, most of them represented at Rio by their head of government, gives them a unique degree of political authority. But, as we have seen since, it does not ensure their implementation.

Toward A New Paradigm of Global Environmental Governance

In their first decade of the 21st century it is imperative that we examine the lessons learned in the past more than three decades. Our focus must be on the future and how we can use this milestone to break the impasse and make the change of course for which Stockholm and Rio prepared the way.

It must be said that overall implementation and follow-up of the Earth Summit agreements has not met the needs or expectations that it pointed up. In response, World Summit on Sustainable Development was held in Johannesburg, South Africa in 2002. Some progress since then has been achieved but still limited. In the more industrialized countries there has been a recession in the political will for environmental action. Developing countries are at the same time experiencing an unprecedented increase in environmental awareness and concern, as their economies grow and their own environmental problems become more visible and acute. But their capacity to deal with these problems is severely constrained by lack of resources of technologies and diminishing international assistance. It is an ominous paradox that while evidence of continued environmental deterioration becomes more compelling, the will to deal with them has weakened.

The latest report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reinforces the growing evidence that increased greenhouse gas emissions from human sources is accelerating the processes of climate change with ominous implications for the human future.

In addition, the funding necessary to move forward with implementation of the conventions on biodiversity and desertification has not been forthcoming. The Official Development Assistance required to support developing countries in effecting the transition to more sustainable patterns of development and eradicating poverty have not been sufficient.

There are some bright spots. The Global Environment Facility, the only new financial mechanism to emerge from Rio, has been adept and innovative in mobilizing and leveraging its funding of the incremental environmental costs of selective projects. There has been notable progress in the development of new technologies and techniques to abate pollution and reduce the energy and materials content of a unit of production — what the World Business Council for Sustainable Development calls “eco-efficiency.” The role of civil society has assumed more and more importance, both in driving the processes of change and in resisting them. The phenomenon commonly referred to as “globalization” has become the focal point for the backlash we are currently witnessing against the very currents of change that have made us the wealthiest civilization ever while deepening the disparities between winners and losers.

Why is this important to those of us who are deeply concerned about the environment and the sustainability of our societies? Because we must see these issues in the broader perspective of cause and effect in which human numbers, life-styles and actions, their impacts immensely increased by technology, are shaping the human future. We have not yet come to terms with the reality that the processes of globalization are systemic in nature, while the mechanisms and institutions through which we manage them are not.

China projects that almost 50 percent of its future energy needs will be met by coal and its use of oil and gas will also escalate. This will lead not only to a substantial increase in the importation of fossil fuels, but also to China’s production and “exports” of carbon dioxide emissions of which it is now becoming the world’s main source. A similar situation exists in varying degrees in other developing countries, notably India. The best investment industrialized countries can make in reducing overall emissions of greenhouse gases is to help developing countries to obtain the latest state-of-the-art technologies and the incremental financing required to enable them to utilize the cleanest possible energy options in meeting their future energy needs. The Clean Development Mechanism established under the Kyoto Protocol of the U. N. Framework Convention on Climate Change and the development of commercial trading in emissions credits offer promising prospects of effecting the least cost means of reducing emissions, while providing for new flows of financial resources to developing countries.

In addition, I believe it would be both useful and timely for the World Bank and the United Nations to take the lead in establishing a Consultative Group on Clean Energy,

based on the successful model of the Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research, to facilitate the process of mobilizing financial and technological resources to give incentives and support to developing countries to opt for clean energy. At the same time, the developing world, which is destined to produce ever greater environmental impacts, can and must play a crucial role in developing solutions.

The environment issue is the best illustration of the need to bring all key actors into a system of cooperative management and governance, if such a system is to be effective. Certainly, the same is true of other issues that are critical to the common future of humanity. But not all issues need to be dealt with at the global level, and in many cases, the principal global function is to provide the framework, context, and legal regime required to create incentives for actions that can best be taken at the local, national, and regional levels. I am a great believer in the principle of subsidiarity, which calls for all issues to be dealt with at the level closest to the people concerned at which they can be dealt with most effectively.

Although the complex processes through which human actions are shaping the human future are systemic in nature, the institutions through which we attempt to manage these processes are far from systemic. Governments and industry are organized primarily on a sectoral basis, and academia on the basis of individual disciplines. They are managed primarily through hierarchical structures. Despite a great deal of talk about the need for more systemic, integrated, and multidisciplinary approaches to management and decision making — and some useful but limited progress in this direction — there is still a vast disconnect between our current management and decision-making processes and the real world cause-and-effect system on which it impacts. This dichotomy must be addressed if we are to develop a sustainable system of governance.

The multilateral organizations are clearly not yet prepared for the new generation of tasks that will be required of them. Collectively, these institutions represent an immense reservoir of experience and expertise, which is an invaluable and irreplaceable asset to the world community. Yet paradoxically, although the need for effective multilateral institutions has never been greater, support for them, both political and financial, is less than it has been in any time since their creation. Individually, many of these organizations are weak and in need of reform. But most of all, they need a fundamental restructuring of their mandates and relationships with each other so that they can operate as a system in

carrying out the particular functions allocated to them. New arrangements must be put in place to provide for the more effective participation of business and civil society, which are becoming increasingly important actors in respect of many critical issues.

For such a global governance system to function effectively, the developing countries must be brought into a full and equitable partnership. The more developed countries simply cannot secure their own future by themselves. In fact, I am convinced that the prospect of a sustainable future for the human community is likely to be decided in the developing countries. What they do will be influenced, perhaps decisively, by what we in the industrialized world do(or fail to do) in forging an equitable, workable, and cooperative set of arrangements with them. Yet, developing countries cannot be denied the right to grow. Neither can they be expected to respond to exhortations to reduce their population growth, their greenhouse gas emissions and adopt stringent environmental controls from those whose patterns of production and consumption have largely given rise to global risks like climate change. This means recognizing the special responsibilities for a “Change of course” of the traditional industrialized countries to ensure developing countries the access to the capital and technologies they require for their transition to sustainable development and to secure their full cooperation in measures to protect the planet’s future.

Conclusion

We are now in a very real sense trustees of our own future. The direction of the human future will be largely set in the first decades of this century, for all the evidences of environmental degradation, social tension, and intercommunal conflict have occurred at levels of population and human activity that are a great deal less than they will be in the period ahead. The risks we face in common from the mounting dangers to the environment, resource base, and life-support systems on which all life on Earth depends, are far greater at this point in human history than the risks we face, or have faced in our conflicts with each other. A new paradigm of cooperative global governance is the only feasible basis on which we can manage these risks successfully and realize the immense potential for progress and fulfillment for the entire human family, which is within our reach. All people