AUSTRALIA'S ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY AND SECURITY IN THE RECENT SCENERIO (1994-2002)

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that this dissertation entitled " Australia's Environmental Policy and Security in the Recent Scenerio(1994-2002)" submitted by Sachin Kumar Saxena in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of a degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University has not been submitted for any degree and is his own work.

We recommend that it should be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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Sachin Kr. Saxena

29 JULY, 2002 **SACHIN KUMAR SAXENA**

CONTENTS

CHAPTER - 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is three - folds. Firstly, it seeks to underline the importance of Australia's Environmental Policy. Secondly, it discuss about the Australia's Environmental Security. Thirdly, it discuss about the Australia's role in the Environmental Conventions.

In Australia, governments, industry, landholders and the general community are increasingly aware of the importance of understanding and managing natural resources. There is acceptance that sound management is vital to achieve the environmental, economic and social goals of the nation. Natural resources must be used sustainably if future needs are to be met. The australian government is committed to achieving the conservation, sustainable use and repair of environmental heritage. New National Environmental Legislation in July 2000 the Environmental Protection and Biodiversity Conservation act 1999 came into effect. The Australian Government has developed this new legislation to strengthen the protection of Australia's environment and the

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Evan, Gareth & Grant, Bruce Australia's Foreign Relations in the World of the Nineties, (Melbourne University, ress, Melbourne, 1991) p. 22 .

conservation of its rich and unique biodiversity.

The Act is the most comprehensive overhaul of environmental law ever undertaken by an Australian national government. For the first time, key areas of national environmental responsibility are defined and the Australian government given appropriate powers to deal with them.

Active since 1996, the Natural Heritage Trust represents the biggest financial commitment to environmental action in Australia's history. It has invested $ A 1.5 billion in local Communities to deliver more sustainable and productive land management, healthier waterways, cleaner beaches, less air pollution, and protective for threatened species. To date, over $ a 920 million has been commited to natural capital investment through almost 9000 projects around Australia involving an estimated 300 000 Australians. The project founded under the Trust focus on five key environmental themes - land vegetation, rivers, coasts and marine, and biodiversity .

The Australian landcare movement is unique in the world and leads the way in community solutions to problems such as salinity, erosion, feral animal control and weed management, all of

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Ibid. p. 23.

which threaten the future viability of our great rural industries.

By delievering on-ground support for community efforts through programs such as Land care, the natural heritage trust tackles major environmental challenges at their source, rather than simply addressing the symptoms. It represents partnership of Australian communities, governments, individuals and industries.

The Natural heritage Trust helps community groups to undertake a massive effert to replenish and protect native husband vegetation across Australia. Our soills, agricultural lands, rivers, waterways and native animals are benfiting from the work of the Bushcare program, complemented by the Farm Forestry Program.

With support from the Natural Heritage Trust, the Murray - Darling 2001 project is working on improving the health of this vital river system. Other programs such as Rivercare and National River Health are working to clean up rural and urban waterways and to protect river ecosystems. A national network of 2000 groups made up of 50 000 people, known as water watch, regularly monitors waterways at 5000 sites across Australia. Through the Natural heritage trust, the National

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Doyle, Timothy and Aynsley kellow, Environmental Politics and Policy making in Australia (Melbourne: Macmilan, 1995) p.18.

Wetlands program continues the national efforts to protect Australia's wetlands. Of the 53 Ramsar sites in Australia, 28 have management plans in place and plans are being developed for 15 more.

The goal of the Natural Heritage Trust's coasts and clean sea initiative is to accelerate activities in the national interest to achieve the conservation, sustainable use and repair of Australia's coastal and marine environments.

For example, funding is provided for the protection of coastal, marine and estuatine water quality, conservation of marine biodiversity and monitoring or significant threats to key coastal environment. The coast care program supports direct community involvement in the management of coastal and marine areas. It focus is on practical actions and on-ground works which tackle the causes of environmental degradation.

These are strong links between coasts and clean seas and Australia's Oceans Policy, the first comprehensive, national plan to protect and manage Australia's oceans. The national oceans office in Hobart is helping to guide the future wise use and overall management or Australia's vast oceans, in partnership with industry, government and

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Ibid. p. 20.

environment organisations. Australia continues to build on environmental achievements in the marine environment. In 1999 the world's second largest marine park in Great Australian Bight was established along with another major park covering underwater sea mounts key coastal environments.

The coastcare program supports direct community involvement marine areas. Its focus is on practical actions and on-ground works which tackle the cause of environmental delegation.

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In 1999 the world's second largest marine park in the Great Australian Bight was established along with another major park covering underwater sea mounts of the Tasmania coast. Australia's management and protection of the world's largest marine park -

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Zann L.P.(ed.), our sea, our future, Major Findings of the State of the Marine Environmental Report For Australia, Dept. Of Environment, Sport and Territories, (Canberra 1995) p. 5.

continues to set the global standard for protection of coral reefs.

Australia has been recognised for its world - leading role in the protection of marine park - continues to set the global standard for protection of coral reefs. Australia has been recognised for its world - leading role in the protection of marine wildlife such as Whales, Albatross, Dugongs and Patagonian Toothfish. To strengthen their protection, populations of Indian Oceans Bottlenose Dolphin have been successfully nominated by Australia under the Bonn Convention and a Marine Turtle Recovery Plan has been developed. Under the new environment Act of Australian Whale Sanctury has been established in Australia's Southern Ocean.

Though the Natural Heritage Trust, Australia's threatened species and communities are being targeted for recovery action. A substantial number of programs to rebuild habitats and encourage species and ecological communities recovery are well underway. Australians have been able to actively participate in projects designed to protect and restore habitat through the Threatened Species Network Community Grants Program. Australia is home to about 10 percent of the world's biological diversity, much of which is unique to

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Ibid. p.7.

Australia . The Natural Heritage Trust preserves special areas of our biodiversity through the National Reserve System program and works to save threatened animals, plants and ecological communities from extinction through the Endangered Species Program.

The Living Cities program was established in 1999 to focus on key environmental issue affecting the Urban environment. The program focused on air quality, stormwater, waste and chemicals management. The Australian Greenhouse Office (AGO) has been established as the world's first dedicated national greenhouse emissions. The work of the AGO focuses on meeting Australia's needs for sustainable energy service and efficient energy use. Enhancing Australia's national resource management by promoting greenhouse action on the land is another key activity.

Australia is currently the co-chair of the Montreal Protocol on substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer working group. Australia has destroyed more tonnes of halon - the most ozone depleting substance - than any other country and is ahead of the international Protocol timetable for the phase - out of hydrochlorofluorocarbons. Australia industry has won awards from the US Environment Protection

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D. Gopal, Australia in the Emerging Global Order, Evolving Australia-India Relation, (Shipra Publication) p. 323.

Agency for its global leadership in the phase - out of ozone depleting substance.

Partnership with industry for greater Eco - efficiency - economically and ecologically efficient are being strengthened through projects such as environment reporting, environment management systems and design for environment and life cycle assessments. Significant projects encouraging cleaner production are well underway in a number of sectors. The need to reduce the waste generated by consumer packaging is being tackled through the National Packaging Covenant - a voluntary agreement between governments and industry. The national Pollutant Inventory - an internet database of pollution emissions - is now available, allowing Australians to check what is being emitted by industry and other sources into their local environment.

AUSTRALIA'S ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY

The emergence of issues associated with the so - called new security agenda, like envirinmental security, poses a challenge for the Australian Defence Forces. Given limited resources, the Australian Defence Forces is required to carefully assess potential security

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Porter, Gareth and Janet Welsh Brown, Global Environmental Politics (Westview Press, Boulder, 1991, 2nd edn 1996). P. 3.

threats, both old and new. However, the Australian Defence Forces should be concerned with environmental security issue for the followig four reasons :-

1. A range of scientific opinion points to substantial environmental problems in Australia's region within the next few decades. These problems have the potential to promote either regional cooperation or regional conflict.
2. Future Australian governments will remain committed to promoting regional stability. Australia will attempt to contain regional environmental security problems through a range of diplomatic, economic and defence initiatives.
3. The Australian Defence must be prepared to meet changing community employment of the Australian Defence Forces in nontraditional roles. Failure to meet these expectation will result in declining support for the Australian Defence Forces.
4. As an organisation which attempts to be proactive to its strategic environment, the Australian Defence Forces should consider the intellectual, [1]while it has the time to do so.

Any Australian Defence Forces response to

Mathew, Richard A., Environmental, Security and Foreign Policy, Paper Presented at the Conference on Environmental Change and Regional Security, Asia-Pacific Centre for Security Studies, (Honolulu, 9-11 June 1997) p. 4.

environmental security must be set within the context of government foreign policy. The recently released Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) White Paper has given the new security, a higher profile- especially in the section dealing with global security, a higher profile - especially in the section dealing with global securiy. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Australian Defence Forces will be attempting to shape the strategic environment in which Australian Defence Forces will be attempting to shape the strategic environment in which Australia will be moving in the next 15 years. This will be done Through a series of bilateral and multilateral diplomatic economic and defence agreements.

The Australian Defence Forces currently engage in this activity under the existing Defence cooperation Program, which has a military security orientation. To deal with environmental security threats, the Australian Defence Forces should construct a cooperation program, which has a military security orientation. To deal with environmental security threats, the Australian Defence Forces should construct a cooperation programme designed specifically for this issue. The model for this programme designed specifically for this issue. The model for this programme could be similer to that undertaken by the US office of

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Ibid. p. 6.

the Deputy Under Secretary of Defence (environmental security). Through military - to - military contacts with other forces of the region, the Australian Defence Forces would complement the assistance and advice being provided by other Australian government agencies on how to deal with environmental degradadation and depletion. The aim of the programme would be defuse the conflict potential on environmental issues.[2]

The Australian Defence Forces is already party to a trilateral Environmental Security Cooperation Agreement with the United States and Canada. The Australian Defence Forces could engage in a range of environmental security missions, such as : Australian Defence Forces participation in multinational operations for the protection of the international environment; Australian Defence Forces participation in peace support operation for environmentally 'failed' states; Australian Defence forces enforcement of Australian environmental protection laws; Australian Defence Forces participation in environmental disaster relief; and Australian Defence Forces proactive environmental defence.

Space prohibits any detailed explanation of these missions,[3] although the little give some indication as to their intent. Some

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2 Erik Haites Margaree Consultant Inc. Malik Amin Aslam Envork Research And Development Organisation Pew Centre Global Climate Change, Policy, The Kyoto Mechanisms & Global Climate Coordination Issues and Domestic Policies. p. 29.

aspects of the environmental security mission may involve the Australian Defence Forces being employed in what could be regarded as non - traditional roles. The Pacific patrol Boat Programme has given the island relations of the South Pacific the ability to protect their fish Stocks from unregulated trawling. This helps secure the economic base of these countries, and significantly reduces the possibility that at some future data the Australian Defence Forces would have to react to the security consequences of a South Pacific devoid of marine resources .

AUSTRALIA'S ROLE [4]IN THE ENVIRONMENTAL CONVENTIONS

Third fold of this chapter is the Australia'a role in the various environmental conventions in which I have mentioned about the Quoto Protocol and their Further Action.

In the near term, further action on elaboration of the Kyoto Protocol is likely to focus primarily on the rules and guidelines for emissions trading and other market based mechanisms in preparation for the Fourth Conference of the Parties in November 1998 at Bu[5]enos Aires, although Decision L.7, through which the parties participating in COP-3 adopted the Protocol, also lays out additional topics for discussion at

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Ibid. p. 32.

COP-4. The rules and guidelines for emissiones trading might also include mechanisms for verifying and tracking trades, and accountability and conquences for violating trading rules. Similer considerations might be taken into account in the development of the modalities and procedure for the clean Development Mechanism.

The development of rules and guidelines for emissions trading might also provide an opportunity to strengthen the Protocol's compliance regime with other Protocol obligations could be established as a precondition to trading; potential compliance problems could immediately trigger cautionary conditions on any tons sold by a party has exceed its assigned amount during a budget period could result in restrictions on its right to sell. All of these elements were proposed by the United states during the negotiations in the Ad Hoc Group on the Berlin Mandate.

In the longer term, work will probably focus on the decisions and issues to be adopted at the first meeting of parties to the protocol. These include the development of additional guideline for measurement, reporting, emissions accounting and in-depth review as the development of an appropriate, effective and flexible noncompliance procedure , including an indicative list of consequence for non compliance under Article

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Ibid. p. 32.

18. It will also be essential to involve developing Countries more closely in [6]efforts to combat climate change. As indicated above, such involvement is necessary from a scientific perspective because of the volume of Green House Gases emissions expected to enmate from developing countries in the future, particularly from those with large economies such as China, and the U.S. senate have indicated in different terms that developing countries must participate in a meaningful way in global efforts to alleviate climate change. This may well prove to be one of the most daunting challenges of the next few years.

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Sebastian Oberthur, Hermann E. Ott, The Kyoto Protocol, International Climate Policy for the 21st. Century Forwarded by Ernst Ulrich Von Weizasacker. p. 34.

CHAPTER - 2

AUSTRALIA'S ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

Australia's Environmental policy is a relatively new addition to the canon of 'Australia's Policy fields'. Although Australian environmental problems have existed and have led to popular and political concerns for a long time, it was only quite recently, in the 1960 and early 1970s that the term 'Australia's environmental Policy' became accepted as a way of delineating an area of Australian government activity. While Australia's environmental policy as a subject matter for political scientist was thus well established by the 1990s, the import of these studied for public debate and the policy-making process has been less clear-cut.

The Australia's environmental Policy has been greatly influenced by the labour government's policy. The Australian constitution does not make any specific reference to environment. Australia has sought to be an active and the Place of the environmental Policy occupies in Ausrealian Foreign Policy is an

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Evans, Gareth & Grant, Bruce Australia's Foreign Relations in the World of the Nineties, (Melbourne University, Press, Melbourne, 1991) p. 21.

integral part of the broader foreign Policy interests of Australia. For Australia, the imperative to help resolve global and regional Environmental problems goes well beyond the protection of Australia's Environment. Environmental problems, if unchecked, could threaten Australia's energy exports, especially coal, and for agricultural productivity. The increased costs incurred by some industries through environmental taxes and regulations may result in pressure on governments to protect these industries through trade restrictions, with flow-on effects for Australia's multilateral tradind interests. These all are potential costs which Australia need to keep under close review.

On the other side of the ledger, greater international sensitivity to the causes of climate change could open up new trade opportunities for Australia in such areas as organically grown foodstuffs, alternative power sources and anti - pollution technologies. But much more importantly, the potential economic, social and security costs of not acting to avert environmental threats are massive. Even if it were possible for the Australian continent itself to be insulted from environmental degradation, Australia would still face grave consequences from environmental threats in its region and

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Ibid. p. 29.

beyond. A rise in sea levels would have a devastating effect on the small island countries of the South Pacific. It would destabilize a region of primary strategic interest to Australia. It would create in its wake several hundred thousand 'environmental refugees' who took mainly to Australia for resettlement. It would place heavy additional demands on Australia aid programme. In short, quite apart from the cost in human misery and dislocation to the island communities, which of course are ample reasons in themselves for Australian concern, it would Jeopardize vital Australian national interests. The most fundamental issue is the relationship between growth, development and environmental protection. The Brundtland Report dealt with this linkage within the Framework of 'sustainable development : which has since become the guiding principle of the economics of environment rejects the false dichotomy between economic growth and the protection of the environment. It is defined in the Brundtland Report, with Characteristic elegance , 'meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'.

It is important to understand that sustainable

D. Gopal, Australia in the Emerging Global Order, Evolving Australia-India Relation, (Shipra Publication) p. 323.

development is not about stopping economic growth. Its starting assumption is that it is possible to have economic development without destroying the environment. Indeed it explicitly endorses the vital role that economic growth plays in helping to eradicate poverty and in reducing other problems such as debt and population pressures. Sustainable development is about development with minimal environmental destruction.

The Australian government endorses sustainable development as an approach which harmonizes developmental and environmental policies Economy and ecology, as has been observed elsewhere, both come from the Greek word - oikos - meaning household management. They are two sides of the same coin of sustainable development. If they are pursued in an integrated way the result will be good long - term economic development which is also good environmental policy of the Australia.

For sustainable development to become a reality, it must not only meet the test of balance but also, in the international context, of equity. There will be costs involved, quite possibly massive costs, in meeting the new environmental responsibilities that are going

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Ibid. p. 326.

to be forced upon Australia if the world is to survive. Developing countries, trying as they are to cope with massive and long standing existing social deprivation, cannot be expected to share this burden alone and unaided. The adjustment will have to be equitably shared by all of us, and in a way that recognizes the inter - connection of this problem with all the other problems - of population growth, international trade, debt and development that press against so many developing countries.

The point here is not that concern for the environment is a luxury that poor countries cannot afford communities living on the margin of survivality are vitally concerned not to endanger their fragile productive base. It is true that individuals and nations in dire straits will seek to survive now at the expense of later survival : deforestation, for example, is widespread in the Third World partly because poor people need firewood and forage for their animals. Even when they well undestand the long - term damage that their fuelwood and forage gathering activities cause, their short - term needs are so urgent that they are prepared to risk the long term consequences. No body understands the harsh trade - offs between short - term and long -

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Doyle, Timothy and Aynsley Kellow, Environmental Politics and Policy making in Australia (Melbourne : Macmilan, 1995) p. 18.

term conservation better than poor people in developing countries.

Yet these are precisely the short of desperate Trade - offs which it is in everyone's interest to avoid. If Australia in the developed nations wish, for self - interest as much as anything else, to encourage developing countries to pursue sustainable development and to thereby refrain from economic policies which contribute to environmental problems on a global scale, we must also be prepared to assist them to meet the short - term costs of such an approach.

This is the principle which Australia explicitly endorsed when Gareth Evans signed on behalf of the government, the Declaration of the Hague on the preservation of the atmosphere. The Declaration recognizes that industrialized countries have special obligations to assist developing countries which will be negatively affected by changes in the atmosphere. Without an equitable transfer of resources and technology from the north to the south, new environmental order has as much chance of success as the wasted campaign of the seventies for a new international economic order.

In the comprehensive environment statement, the Prime Minister announced a new year Environmental Assistance

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Ibid. p. 29.

Program within Gareth Evan's portfolio costing $ 20 million. To be administered by AIDAB, the main part of the programme is to promote sustainable development. In implementing the programme to ensuring that environmental issues are taken into account across all areas of Australia's aid programme, and that our aid activities are subject to environmental screening procedures. In addition to the national efforts through bilateral and regional aid programme, to support wider international measures by organizations like the World Bank and the OECD to resolve environmental problems.

In this context there was a announcement by the Gareth Evans within the Environmental Assistance Program to approved a supplementary contribution of $ 300 000 to the United Nations Environment Program above and beyond Australia's current core contribution to United Nations Environment Program of $ 340 000. These funds will be directed towards training and coordination activities aimed at stimulating awareness of environmental issues at senior levels in a number of countries.

The package will include .

* $ 100 000 as a one-off, unearmarked contribution;

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Zann L.P. (ed.), Our sea, Our Future, Major Findings of the State of the Marine Environmental Report For Australia, Dept. of Environment, Sport and Territories, (Canberra 1995) p. 5.

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$ 60 000 towards the Global Resource Information Database, a network which collates and processes regional environmental data;

- $ 70 000 to assist South-East Asian and South Pacific nations to establish ozone protection measures; and
- $ 70 000 for desertification control to deploy Australian experties in the prevention of land degradation in South-East Asian Countries.

The Senate Standing Committee on Environment, Recreation and the Arts issued an important report on the Environment impact of Development Assistance programme. Among the more significant recommendations were an increased programme of aid for environmental projects, greater capability within AIDAB aid projects, greater involvement of NGO Channels, and a strong environmental monitoring by Australian representatives of the programmes of the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

Gareth Evans has personally welcome this report and the guidance it gives in this important area. Many of its

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Ibid. p. 7.

recommendation were an increased programme aid for environmental projects, greater involvement of NGO Channels, and a strong environmental monitoring by Australian representatives of the programmes of the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

Gareth Evans has personally welcome this report and the guidance it gives in this important area. Many of its recommendations have already been adopted or were on the way to being so. The government approved an aid and environment policy and, in spite of budgetary stringencies, established a new Environment Assistance Program. This, as mentioned already, has included the establishment of a new programme of assistance to NGOs for environment projects, and a doubling of our contributions to organizations such as SPREP and UNEP. From a programme administration point of view, a special environment advising group has been established in AIDAB and strict procedures have been established to ensure the proper screening and assesment of projects for environmental effects. Australia is also providing to be an effective force in support of improved environmental practices at the

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Wiseman, John, Global Nation ? Australia and the Politics of Globalisation (Cambridge University Press, 1998) p. 8.

World and Asian Development Bank.

Today, the distinction between national environmental issues and international concerns in increasingly blurred. Each impinges on the other. Just as Australia accord in its domestic policies a high priority to the protection of the Australian environmental, so also in Australian Foreign Policy the need for Australia to be at the forefront of international cooperation on the environment. That is why the pioneering step of appointing a very distinguished Australian - Sir Ninian Stephen - as Australia's Ambassador for the Environment.

There are many urgent issues on the agenda of the global environment in which Australia is taking a close interest. Depletion of the world's stock of natural resources; the loss of biological diversity, through such practices as clearing tropical rainforests; land degradation; desertification; the disposal of radioactive and other hazardous wastes; marine pollution; protection of fresh -water resources- there are all international environmental problems to which Australia seeks to make a constructive contribution.

Ibid. p. 18

The important as the problems Global warming and climate change are however necessarily of a different other of magnitude to the prospect of irreparable damage to our atmosphere - the canopy over our common home. The threat to our atmosphere, from what has been described as the 'exhaling breath of industrialised civilization', is the biggest ecological problem, the biggest challenge, faced in this or any other ager. Australia believe from all the scientific evidence accumulated to date that something is happening to upset the fragile and delicate atmospheric balance on which life depends. It has the potential fundamentally to impact on sea levels, agriculture, energy use, and indeed on the whole network of international economic and political relations. Australia do not, of course, know at this stage, certainly not in thr degree of detail and with the degree of confidence like, Just What is happening and how far reaching the impact will. In a number of respects the scientific Jury is still out. But the problem is that by the time that the Jury finally return its verdict, the damage to our planet may be irreversible. So the time to recognize the enormity of the problem, and to make a global response to it, is not in one or two decades time,

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Australia, Department of the Environment, Sport and Territories, State of the Environment Advisory Council, Australia : State of the Environment 1996 : Collingwood, (Melbourne, CSIRO, Publishing 1996) p. 14

when the scientific evidence may be complete and irrefutable: the time to act is now. Australia need to promote universal adherence to those conventions already negotiated, and Australia need to develop new framework Conventions on the protection of the atmosphere and climate change. Australia need more research, including contribution from the private sector which also has a great deal at stake. We need to extend more practical assistance to countries to implement environmental protection programme, and we need to strengthen the institutional authority of the United Nations to deal with environmental policies of Australia.

It is vital that the United Nations System rises to the challenge posed by the environmental threat, that it be constructively involved in the search for practical solutions to environmental problems. It is not enough for the UN to be a forum for statements of concern about the environment. It must also be able to demonstrate that it can do something; that it has the means of coordinating international efforts and of crafting agreements which directly address environmental problems. Australia hope that by the time of the Conference in Environment and Development global

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Ibid. p. 23

conventions on climate change and biological diversity will be ready for signature. Australia has offered to host negotiating sessions for both and we will be working hard to secure a practical and equitable outcome.

Australia's Environmental Policy is more generally have in fact been a crucial element in the forging of regional cooperation in the South Pacific. Nuclear Waste dumping has been a long - standing regional concern. Opposition to nuclear testing in the South Pacific has been driven largely by worries on the part of island countries that testing would contaminate their ocean environment. More recently, the region-with Australia playing a leading role - so aptly called a 'wall of death' because of its indiscriminate pillaging of marine living resources.

Australia Environmental Policy has been responsive to all these concern: through commitment to exchanging information and undertaking research and monitoring of climate change; through our support for regional conventions like the South Pacific Regional Environmental Convention (SPREP); and through

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Botkin, D.B. and Keller, E.A., 1982 : Environmental Studies, c.e. Merril Publishing Company, Abell and Howell Company, (Columbus 695) p. 7.

working to ensure that South Pacific interests are addressed in broader international forums.

The South Pacific is an example of how environmental cooperation can serve to enhance Australia's bilateral relations. More Structural bilateral arrangements- like the Australia-France Joint Working Group on Environmental issues, and the Australia-USSR Environmental Protection Agreement can also be useful. There are, however, other instances where environmental policy have the potential to create difficulties in bilateral relations. The call by some sections of the conservation movement for a total ban on the importation of tropical rainforests timber is a case in point. The Australian government shares the ecological concerns about the implications for biological diversity of rainforest clearing but we believe that the problem is best addressed by tackling the root cause of the destruction of the World rainforests: population growth, poverty, pressure on land from agriculture and clearance for urban development.

A ban on imports of rainforest timbers could have serious implications for the livelihood of the communities in the

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Ibid. p. 17

exporting countries. It could lead to even worse deforestation as whole communities, faced with the loss of their livelihood are forced into clearing larger area of land for subsistence farming.

In Gareth Evans view the preferable approach , and the one which Australia is taking, is to work for an international Code of Practice in Forest Planning, Management and Logging Australia is also committed to countries to develop long term programmes to tackle deforestation, and to manage rainforests. Gareth Evans referring to programmes like the 180 000 kilometer ecological reserve in the Amazon Basin, the International Tropical Timber Organization study into forest Management in Sarawak, and the propsed Tropical Forestry Action Plan for PNG, to all of which Australia has made financial contribution.

It is perhaps inevitable that most of the international effort on environmental Policy is threat driven : aimed at overcoming or containing problems which are already upon us or just around the corner. Yet, as in health care, prevention is equally if not more important than a cure. Yet, as in health care, prevention

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Brew. D. A., 1974 : Environmental impact Analysis, the Example of the propsed Trans - Alaska Pipeline, (U.S. Geological Circular 695) p. 8

is equally if not more important than a cure. This is why Australia, together with France, has taken the lead- initially against the opposition of many important countries to prevent once and for all any future mining and oil drilling in Antarctica and to turn this magnificient and fragile wilderness continent into an international 'natural reserve-land of science'.

For 30 (thirty) years the Antarctic Treaty has protected the Antarctic environment, kept Antarctica free of political conflict, and preserved it as an area of scientific inquiry from which nuclear weapons and military activities are prohibited. Australia's Antarctica initiative has been very much the driver, seeks to build on this unique achievement, within the framework of the Antarctic Treaty system. We recognize that on this issue we have set our sight high, and that the road ahead will be neither easy nor quick. But we have made a solid start and we are determined to see it through.

The progress of the Australia-France initiative not least with the recent decision to, in effect, come abroad of New Zealand, the architect of the alternative approach to Antarctic

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Ibid. p. 13.

resource development - is a telling lesson in what can be achieved on international environmental issues with good timing and strong political will. What was seen less than six months ago as hopelessly unrealistic, is today Judged very much possible, and will, eventually be seen as inevitable.

The Brundtland Report opens with an evocative description of the first time planet earth was viewd from space through human eye. The image is one of a small and fragile ball dominated not by human activity and edifice but by a pattern of clouds, oceans, greenery and soil. It is an appropriate start to a report on our common future because it captures so graphically the essential unity of the global environment and its dominating profile in the global households.

The environment, it is true, is neither static nor pristine. It copes daily with change. But there are limits to the interference it can brook, and we are drawing dangerously close to that line.

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1. Tolba M.K., Elkholy and Osama A(ed.) The World Environment 1972-1992 Two decade of Challenge Chapman & Hall (London 1992) p. 8
2. Ibid. p. 11
3. Harrison, P. The Third Revolution : Population, Environment and Sustainable World, London, (Penguin Book, 1992) p. 17
4. Ibid. p. 27

CHAPTER - 3

AUSTRALIA'S ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY

The purpose of this chapter is to discribe about the Australian Strategic Environment, Australia's Environmental Security and with it the relationship of Australian Defence Forces.

Despite the end of the cold war, one fundamental aspects of australia's strategic environment still remains in place. Whatever their deficiencies, for decades all official assessments of Australia's strategic situation have concluded that the country faces no readily identifiable threat of major direct attack. This conclusion is common to the 1956 Strategic assessment paper and to all subsequent papers. It was true during the cold war and remains so today and for the foreseeable future.

Because it is literally part of the environment, the absence of any threat of major attack is often taken for granted in Australia and its significance neglected. Elsewhere in the world this would not be so. Many states burdened with centuries - old disputes and

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Gary Brown, Breaking the American Alliance : An Independent Security Policy For Australia, SDSC (ANU) 1989, pp. 24-5.

enimities, recurrent teasion and the butcher's bill when war breaks out, would gladly trade strategic places with Australia. The common history of what are now Greece and Turkey, for example, is instructive. In the eleventh century AD. No Turks lived in modern Turkey, nearly all of which was under Greek political control. From about AD 1070 the Turks obtained their territory by warfare at advantageous times, culminiting in the capture of constantinople in 1453. Then they proceed to subjugate Greece , which regained its independence - through not all Greek speaking areas - only in 1830. Subsequent warfare cost the turks more territory, but when the Greeks attacked turkey following the latter's defeat in World War 1 they overreached themselves and were dealt in World War 1 they overreached themselves and were dealt a sharp reverse by Kemel Ataturk, the victor of Gallipoli , in 1923 and most remaining Greeks in Turkish territory fled. Though for Cold War strategic reasons both countries joined NATO and were allies against the Soviets, their relations have never been better than strictly correct, and have frequently been worse. In the name of its minority there, Turkey invaded Greek-dominated but independent Cuprus in 1974 and partitioned the island, creating a puppet states without UN recognition. Relation between Athens and Ankara remain cool, and there can be little

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Ibid. p. 25.

doubt what either state would do to the other given the opportunity which, fortaunately, is unlikely to present itself, and to many others, Australia's fundamental strategic environment is exceptionally begin.

Fundamentally, Australia is a secure place to be because geography makes it so. It is remote from serious conflicts and difficult of military access; its neighbours have neither the intent nor, more importantly, the capabilities to threaten its basic security interests. Though some "yellow hordes" cranks speak of Australia's empty spaces waiting to receive invading Asian populations, the real world is more constrained. Australia has a significant sea/air gap between itself and all neighbours except Papua New Guinea and the continent is big and difficult to traverse, with its best areas remote from the northern approaches. These facts require any serious aggressor to have substantial ground forces, maritime capacity and of cource air power to cover and support the other two. As no former or conceivably hostile power, including Japan in 1942 has ever had or looked like having the military power to meet these require--ments it is clear that there is no readily identifiable threat of major direct attack, is entirely correct and will remain so for a long time.

The 1976 and 1987 White Papers, The 1981 report of the Joint Commitee on Foreign Affairs and Defence (Threat to Australia's Security), and Ross Babbage, " Australian Defence Strategies " in Desmond Ball and Cathy Downes (Eds), Security and Defence : Pacific and global perspectives, Allen and Unwin 1990, pp. 212-214.

When this point was made in the mid seventies by the then defence minister, Lance bernard, it was bitterly contested by conservative pro defence elements. it is note worthy however ,that the specified time passed with no threat emerging, and that to this day it is still true that there is no identifiable threat of mazor direct attack. what this means is that Australia is the beneficiary of a strategic environment made secure inter alia by enduring geostrategic factors. Strategically, Australia is fortunate country.

Australia security is further supported by the generally improving international climate, in which a number of hithardo interactable disputes, some very dangerous, have come close to resolution. In South Africa, democratic elections are sheduled. In the middle east an accord, albeit tentative and shaky, has been reached between Israel and the PLO. And from South East Asia a western general has at last returned in triumph, General Sanderson having commanded the UN peace keeping force in Combodia. Bloody, futile and distressing as the disasters in in the former Yogoslave and Soviet terrotiry have been, with no super power meddling to complecate them non present the same kind of threat to world or regional stability, respectively, as did the Middle East or Cambodia. In Australia's

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Ibid. p. 215.

region states are either is no position or lack persuasive incentives to pursue military agresive options, and all stress the need for dialogue and sensitivity. Though the Spratly disputes remains unresolved, it has been well managed and contained by the parties, thanks to part to the good offices of an uninvolved ASEAN states, Indonesia. The region is not without its troubles -- as well as the Spratlys there are certain other territorial disputes; there are Timor, Irian Jaya, Bougainville, Fiji, New Caledonia and Burma/Myanmar - but all these are in strategic terms localised and relativey minor. Of course, there is wild agreement in Australia that no readily identif--iable threat of mazor direct attack does not mean no threat what so ever forever. Any number of official, Parliamentary and academic statements or commentaries have demonstrated that potentially threates could arise. DOA 87 identified as generic types " low level" and escalated low level threats- the former including sustained low- level military pressure from unconventional forces, the latter hostile military units preapare to directly confront the ADF. But both types three charecteristics. First, they are potential threats only and cannot be Specifically identified. Second, they are

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Ranner, Michael, ' Assessing the Military's war on the Environment' in Lester R. Brown et. Al. (eds), State of the World 1989 (W.W.Norton & Co., New York, 1991) p. 7.

limited in scope and objective they imperil neither the existence of the nation nor even significant part of its territory but only various lesser interests. Finally, the probability of any such threat is more or less inversely proportional to its scope : that is, the more substantial the threat, the less probable it is that it will materialise, and the longer its lead time in any case. Australia's strategic threat environment can be summed up as one in which

1) there is no readily identifiable threat of major direct attack; this has been so for decades and there is no evidence to suggest that it will change for the forceable future; and
2) lesser threats, more presently identifiable, many materialise; some at short notice. But the probability of such threats is inversely proportional to their extent.

Paradoxically, this very lack of identifiable threat has greatly complicated Australian security planning and made the clear definition of strategy and objectives particularly difficult. The Arabs and Israelis, to give a contrasting instance, fought for decades over disputed territories. Each knew the other intimately and, more important, could anticipate the other's military goals and plan against them. Israel knows almost to the millimetre all the ground on its borders and the vital

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Ibid. p. 9.

points which cannot be yielded and therefore, where its enemies would attack and can make precise contingenciy plans. Only in this way did the Israeli, notwithstanding their technical superiority, manage to husband scarce military personnel and get adequate forces to key points when taken by surprise in 1973. But such planning is of small value to Australia. If there is no apparent threat, for what is Australia to plan ? How, given that we know neither the sale, nature for the source of any hypothetical future threat, can useful plans be made ? What represents an appropriate level of security against which board force structure and funding priorities can be assesed ?

These have always been difficult problems for Australia, but in the Cold War context they were somewhat simplified - indeed, oversimplified. The great potential enemy, so it was said, was clearly the soviet Union which - either directly, or more probably via surrogates- might find strategic advantage in putting military pressure on Australia as a US ally. Before the sino- Soviet split, China was seen as the main regional instrument of Moscow's aggressive policy. Australian planning against Soviet and surrogate threat could to some degree be carried through in concert with Washington; the goal would be to

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Porter, Gareth and Janet Welsh Brown, Global Environmental Politics (Westview Press, Boulder, 1991, 2nd edn 1996) p. 3.

contribute to the US effort in the hope that Australia came through any global conflict relatively unscathed.

Environmental issue have begun to intrude into the arena of foreign policy and national security with increasing frequency since the end of the Cold War. Environmental security is a useful conceptual vehicle for enabling us to identify and understand new kinds of threats and instabilities and for thinking about security is more than military terms. More prosaically, ecologocal stress contributes to conflict, including military conflict. For this reason, new kinds of resource scarcity - whether of food, water or arable land - will henceforth have to be factored into national security planning. These scarcities may be relative, rather than absolute, and their security impact may be mitigated or complicated by differences in 'environmental endowments', and the vulnerabilities and response capacities of individual states. However, not all accept these propositions, nor the associated idea that the military can play a prophylactic or regenerative environmental role. The opposition to a 'green' military comes from those who see a disconnect between protecting the environment, and military orgasitions which actively target the environment for destruction and which are

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Daudney, Daniel, ' The case against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security', Millenium, (Vol. 19 No. 3, Winter 1990) p. 7.

disproportionate users of scarce resources as well as major polluters. There is also resistance to the notion of environmental security from some elements of the defence and strategic community. Such notions are dangerous and distracting, it is argued, because they serve to weaken and dissopate the core warfighting energies of armed forces. States, peoples, and economies 'cannot be secure unless the ecosystem is secure. Alan Dupont focuses on the use of national Defence Forces to monitor environmrntal change and to assist in protecting or rejuventing the environment. The environmental warfare is the explicit targetting of an adversary's resources or physical environment aimed at degrading or destroying his capacity to prosecute war'. There is the role environmental factors can play in contributing to acute sub- national or international conflict.

Environmental degradation is creating a new kind of resource scarcity which is qualitatively different from that of past eras : scarcity of renewable resources, such as water, fish, forests, soil and air. There is an important role here for the United Nations and international conventions and laws which deal specifically with water sharing and water boundaries. Water Securiyt is essential a transnational

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Elliot, Lorraine,' Environmental Conflict: Reviewing the Arguments ; Journal of Environment and Development, (Vol. 5, No.2, June 1996) p.3.

issue and can only be satisfactorily resolved through international cooperation and mediation. Water scarcity is getting worse and the Security risks are therefore increasing.

There are some reasons for the Australian Defence Force (ADF) be concerned with environmental security. First environmental problems have the capacity to cause conflict in Australia's primary area of strategic concern. Second, Australia must adopt a Whole-of- nation approach to containing regional environmental conflict with all increasingly involved the ADF in support of diplomatic and economic initiatives. Third, the ADF must be prepared to adapt itself to changing community expectation about its future role which will mandate a greater commitment to non-combat tasks, including those related to protection of the environment and dealing with the security aspects of environmental degradation. Finally, the ADF needs to think about the intellectual, doctrinal and organisational implications of environmental security issues. In practice this means that the ADF might in future be called upon to engage in a range of environmental security missions. They could include participation in multinational operations for the protection of the international environment; peace-support operations for environmentally

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Gleick, Peter, 'Environment and Security : The Clear Connections', Bulleting of the Atomic Scientists, (April 1991) p. 6.

'failed' states; enforcement of Australian environmental protection laws; and participation in disaster relief and what Finlayson calls proactive environmental defence. These themes are fleshed out in the rest of what is a though - provoking chapter. The acceptance of a greater role for the ADF is non-combat tasks like environmental protection does not have to detract from its core function of fighting and winning wars. The ADF should be able to do both. Environmental impacts are mostly unintended consequences of human actions, which very few countries can control or influence individually. Hence there is a strong need for collective action in dealing with ecological stress and a need to differentiate between the nature and scale of environmental problems. There are few truly global environmental issues and those which can be so classified, such as climate change, ozone destruction and the dumping of hazardous substances at sea, are unlikely to affect national security as he defines it. In addition, much has defines it. In addition, much has already been done to develop regimes for understanding and managing such issues at a global and regional level. In order to persuade governments to deal seriously with environmental problems they must be convinced that the threats are clear and certain, the cause apparent, the costs of doing nothing significant and measurable, and

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Godman, Sherri W., ' Vision for Environmental Security, (Defence, No. 3, 1994) p. 4.

the technological solutions affordable and available. Most environmental problems ,will continue to be addressed through traditional diplomatic rather than traditional security pricesses.

Environmental security studies have three main components: the impact of military operations on the environment, environmental degradation and resource depletion as a cause of conflict. The groupings of political thought within this area of environmental security have been categorises as deep ecology, human security, national security, and rejectionism. Deep ecology and human security groups see a limited role for the defence community in environmental issues.

Elliot , Lorraine, 'Environmental Conflict: Reviewing the Arguements; Journal of Environment and Development, (Vol.5, No.2, June 1996) p. 6.

CHAPTER - 4

AUSTRALIA'S ROLE IN THE ENVIRONMENTAL CONVENTIONS

This chapter will focus on the Quoto Protocol and highlight the main document signed here and also discuss the issues, which are of importance to Australia.

So far as the outcomes of the conference is concerned. The majour documents resulted from the two years of preparatory meetings which took place- and finally UNCED itself. The Rio Declararation was otiginally conceived of as an ' Earth Character a Statement of Environmental principles for national behaviour. During the Preparatory committee meeting developing countries insisted that a balance be established between environmental principles and those relating to development although the resultant compromise declaration is less inspiring and cohernt than its original proponents had hoped, its 27 principles include key elements of the political agendas of both industrialised and developing countries. The Convention on Bio diversity- Discussions for

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Penny Wensley ' Australia and the Environment' Canberra p.10. 17 November 1992

a convention in biological diversity or biodiversity which concluded on 22 May 1992 in Nirobi, were initiated in 1988 by the initiated in 1988 by the United Nations Environmental Programme's (UNEP) governing council. The issues of biodiversity and biotechnology were originally treated by seperate working groups, but were merged to be handled by a single intergovernmental negotiating committee in 1991 over the objections of the United States and other nations. Australia favoured the adoption of comprehensive approach which would address the full prolem of climate change not just part of the problem the climate change convention. International environmental law aims to evolve an integrated legal approach to environment related conflicts at regional and global levels. The negotiation of resolutions or recommendations or declarations in important global forums often carries normative weight and facilities their entry into customary law. The 'soft approach' of a nonbinding framework or 'umbrella legislations' becomes a step on the way to 'hard law' in the form of conventions or agreements or treaties or Protocol. Gradually, it incorporates elements of responsibility, liability and compensation followed by penalties, sanctions, implemention and dispute settlement. However, the changing institutionnal structure of international cooperation and governance

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Wells Pera ' The Climate Change Convention' Sustainable Development Feb 1992 p. 107.

has created new trends where conference has created new trends where conference of parties (COPs) and systems of implemention reviews (SIRs) become vital elements. Regional laws, bilateral agreements and national instruments play a complimentary role.

Today , the world has more than 200 international environmental laws, about 600 bilateral agreements and more tham 150 regional legislation (mostly European Union). Institutions like the United Nations and its Specialized agencies ; international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) like the international union for Cnservation of Nature (IUCN), Friends of the Earth (FOE) , Green peace international , World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF); regional institutions like the Europen Union (EU), the Commonwealth , Association of South East Asian Nation (ASEAN) , Organization of African Unity (OAU), South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation and so on, as also special purpose institutions like the International Tribunal on Law of the Sea (ITLOS), facilitate implemention of these environmental laws.

Today, the global common unity has accepted the 'Framework convention - Protocol Approach ' to further consolidate the hitherto unweildly patchwork of international legal instruments, although

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Garcth Evans & Bruce Grant, 'Australia's Foreign Relations in the World of 1990s' , Melbourne 1991, p. 156.

they are yet so strongly stress 'issue-linkage' such as environment and human right, environment and trade, or environment and security. The broad areas where international agreements on environment and security. The broad areas where international agreements on environments on environment have focused include the atmosphere, hazardous substances, marine environment, terristrial resources, nature conservation, nuclear safety and transboundary resources.

As significant as the stockholm conference was the Rio Summit. This 1992 UN Conference on Enviournment and Development Was concerned with balancing environmental concerned and economic development.The Rio Declaration, i.e. Declaration on environment and development outlined 27 principles while Agenda 21 i.e the Plan of Action consisted of 40 chapters. Its convention on climate change and biological diversity generated enough heat at the national level to initiate codification of national legislations and their early implementation. After many drafts and redraft since 1993, the draft National Biodivergity Act awaits cabinet approval. Similar initiatives are underways for climate regine, bio safety and bio piracy. Other principles and conventions negotiated under the preview of UNCED with significant impact of Australian environmental law.

Gareth Porter & Janet Welsh Brown, Global Environmental Politics, San Francisco, 1991, p. 91.

For an overview of the impact of international environmental legislation on Australian envioronmental law, one has to run through various international Environmental agreements to which Australia is party. Some of the most significant ones include :

1)International convention for the regulation of whaling, 1946 :

2)The Antarctic treaty,1959:

3)Convention on the conservation Antarctic Merine Living Resources, 1980:and

4)United Nations conventions on law of the sea.

Being a party to the aforsaid conventions,Australia has shown its commitment to regulated shiping and preservation and protection of Marine enviournment .Australia needs to formulate national covenants to these instruments to facilitate implementation in the long run.

5)The civil liability for oil pollution damage 1969;

6)The fund convention, 1971; and

7)The international Convention for the Prevention of pollution from ships, 1973 and 1978 Protocol (MARPOL)

8)The 'Ramsar convention' 1971 (on wetlands);

9)The world heritage convention, 1972 ;

Sabastian Oberthur, Hermann E. Ott , The Kyoto Protocol, International Climate Policy for the 21st century, Ernst Ulrich Von Weizsacker. p. 34.

10)The convention on trade in endangered species (CITES), 1973;

11)The convention on migratery species, 1979;

12)International tropical timber agreement 1983;

13)FAO international undertaking on plantnetic resources, 1983; and

14)The convention on biological diversity 1992;

Australia has shown its on going commitements to protects its flora, fauna, wildlife, forest areas, heritage sites, wetlands and biodivergity by becoming a contracting party to the aforementioned global conventions . The International Wetland Bureau has recognised no less than eight of the worlds largest wetlands in Australia for protection and conservation. Necessary steps been taken to prevent international transfer of genetic material. There is increasing pressure to strengthen these laws by feeling of the gaps and by formulating new legislation, particularly in the field of biodivergity .

15) Vienna convention for the protection of the ozone layer 1985;

16) Montreal protocol on substances that deplete the ozone layer, 1987 and its London Amendments, 1990;

17) Framework convention on climate change, 1992; and

18) Kyoto protocol, 1997 0n reduction of grrenhouse gases.

Eric Haites Margaree Consultants Inc Malik Amin Aslam Envork Reaserch And Development Organisation, Pew Centre Global Climate Change, The Kyoto Mechanisms & Global Climate Change Coordination Issues and Domestic Policies. p. 37.

To illustrate, after the 1972 stockholm conference, the UN setup the world commission on enviournment and Development (WCED) IN 1984 to examine the environmental problem faced by the world with the prospective of the year 2000 AD. The WCED had a strong western representation with Maurice strong as member and Mc Neill as general secretary no wonder, in its 1987 Brundtland report, through the commission did talk about conservation and protection of natural resources globally, it remained silent about acquisition and utilisation of these resources by the developed nations. Even today, the natural resources protection and conservation laws are seen in isolation. They need to fit into the overall context of resources acquisition, utilisation and distribution laws. Unless the ground rules with respect to acquisition of resource and control over technology to utilise the same are changed, the cause of protection of nature and sustainable development cannot be further advanced.

Contemporary international environmental law issues are beset with two types of problems, both procedural and substantive. On the substantive side it may be possible for Australia to intellectually articulate the norms that need to be adopted, or towards which the international community ought to be working. The point is by what

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Sanjay Chaturvedi, " Antarctica and the United Nations', India Quarterly, vol. 42, no. 1, January-March, 1986, p. 11.

procedure or process can Australia hope that such articulation will ever become matters for consideration as international environmental law making process is highly skewed during preparation of drafts as well as in the lobbying for their acceptance. There are an urgent need to democratise the international law-making process to ensure more effective participation of countries like Australia in the formulation of international environmental instruments. Increased strengthrning of national laws and active participation in formulation and implementation of regional laws could be the other ways for Australia to enhance its chances of becoming a global player. Evolving coherent state covenants to national environmental laws and national covenants to international environmental legislation to which Australia is already a party or intends to become a party in near future would be a step in the right direction. Currently, one can only say the impact of international environmental legislations over its national environmental laws.

Australia has a good record for participating in the development and implementation of a large number of international agreements dealing with cooperation in the field of environmental management and protection. These include bilateral agreements with a range of countries. Australia is also persuing international agreements on methods for incorporating full

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Australia Maritime Safety Authority, Protection of the sea: Conventions and Legislation in Australia (Canberra: AMSA, 1993)

environmental cause associated with the production and use of natural resources.

The Rio Earth Summit brought together more than 150 nations, 1400 non-governmental organisations and 8000 journalists. Ros kelly, the Australian Minister for arts, sports, environment and territories, led the delegation of 40 persons - representatives from commonwealth, states and local government, the federal opposition, business and industry, trade unions and community groups. It was very active at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in initiating discussions and ensuring debate on relevant issues. The delegates were also active in final negotiations on Agenda 21, Chapters on Oceans and Forests, funding issues which were vital to the successful outcome of the conference.

Convention on bio-diversity was concluded on 22 May 1992 in Nairobi. As the only developed country with large diversity status and considerable expertise in the conservation management, Australia has much to gain from its effective implementation on bio-diversity on 18 June 1983 following agreement by the council of Australian agreements. The Convention has global coverage, takes in the full range of biological diversity and has its primary aim the conservation of bio-diversity, the

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G.W. Bates, Environmental law in Australia (Butterworths, Sydney. 1983) pp. 180-81.

sustainable use of its components and the fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the use of genetic resources. Australia attached great importance to the convention dealing with all aspects of human induced climate-including limits on emissions of the general green house gas protection and adaptation to the impacts of climate change. Australia placed a lot of importance on the establishment of a target for green house gas emission reductions. They were in support of the adoption of the Toronto target agreed to at the International Conference on Global Warming held at Toronto and Sponsored by the Canadian government as a global target. Even though Australia was unable to press for the adoption of the Toronto target due to strong opposition from the US, because commitment to target for bringing down emission levels would result in cut backs on industry, thus affecting the economy adversely.

Agenda 21 is the only document signed at UNCED that attempts to embrace the entire environment and development agenda. It is also the largest product of UNCED, comprising 40 chapters and 800 pages and states goals and priorities regarding a dozen major resource, environmental, social, legal, financial and institutional issues. Each Chapter contains a description of a programme and its cost estimate. Agenda 21 is

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Anthony S. Bergin, "Australia and Unclos III ", Australian Journal of Politics and History, vol. 29, no. 1, 1983, p. 432.

not a legally binding document, but a work plan or agenda 21 includes estimates of the annual cost of its programme in developing countries from 1993 to 2000, of which about US $ 125 billion per year would come from the industrialised countries. While most chapters of Agenda 21 have significance to Australia key among them are important from its domestic perspective such as-chapter 2 on International cooperation which deals with compatible trade and environment policies; integration of environment and economic(Chapter 8) stresses market mechanism and promotes their greater use of economic instrument in achieving environmental objectives; protection of the atmosphere (Chapter 9); combating deforestation (Chapter 11); combating desertification (Chapter 12); sustainable agriculture (Chapter 14); Ocens (Chapter 17); and wastes and chemicals (Chapter 19 and 22). Section of Agenda 21 relating to major groups-women, children,youth,NGOs, local authority, workers and trade unions, business and farmers- are also of significance to Australia.

Australia's support for a Strong climate change agreement is based on three factors. Firstly, its concentration of population centres in low lying areas of semi-arid marginal lands that could easily become desertified with global warming; thirdly its location in South Pacific

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Peter Weber, " Abandoned Seas: Reverting the Declines of Fishing with Long Driftnets in the South Pacific: Message from the President of the United States, "(102nd Congress, 1st Session, Washington D.C., 1991), p. 111.

with its vast expanse and low lying relatively small islands. Australia feared that several hundred thousand refugees from Pacific Islands might seek refuge in Australia if there would be rise in the sea levels. It would destabilise the region of primary strategic interests to Australia. It would also place heavy additional demands on its aid programme.

Australia has also signed the Basal convention on Transboundary Movement of Radioactive Wastes. In recognition of the importance of the environment, the Australian government has specially appointed an ambassador of environment in Geneva.

Other forms of cooperation include initiatives to maintain and strengthen Australia's participation in multilateral efforts concerned with the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity, particularly in respect of areas beyond national Jurisdictions and programmes such as the United Nation's Commission on Sustainable Development, The South Pacific Regional Environmental Programme, the Global Environment Programme and UNESCO.

The South Pacific countries including Australia have worked conscientiously under the auspices of the South Pacific Regional

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R.S. Lesslie, "Wilderness Assessment and Monitoring in Australia using GIS-based Modelling Techniques, " in R.B. Singh, (ed.), Global Environmental Change (Oxford: IBH Publishing Co., New Delhi, 1995) p. 108.

Environmental Programme (SPREP) to prepare for a convention for the protection and development of the natural resources and environment of the South Pacific region, which was completed in 1986 and signed by a number of nations. The question of nuclear waste dumping shouls be excluded from the area to be covered by the Convention. The ban on dumping explicitly includes the emplacement into the seabed and subsoil of the convention area of radioactive wastes or other radioactive matter. The delegates to the negotiations agreed to ban the disposal of both low and high level nuclear wastes from a vast area of the Pacific Ocean including the South Pacific.

Environmental security issues are becoming more salient. Global pollution, desertification, deforestation and the greenhouse effects and the issue of rising sea levels are all real problems in this region.

In December 1997, in Kyoto, Japan, over 160 parties to the 1992 United Nations Framework convention on climate change adopted the Kyoto Protocol, which, for the first time, establishers legally binding limits for industrializwd countries on emisson of Carbon Dioxide and other "greenhouse gases." The Kyoto Protocol is quite complex, reflecting the complicated political, economic, scientific and legal issues raised by human-induced climate change. The result of more than two years

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Commonwealth of Australia, Department of the Environment, Sport and Territoties, "National Strategy for the Conservation of Australia's Biological Diversity", (Canberra, 1996), p. 45.

of preparatory discussions and eleven days of often intense negotiations in Kyoto, the Protocol will be opened for signature in March 1988 for one year, although countries may accede to it after that period. It will enter into force ninety days after the least fifty-five parties to the Framework Convention on Climate Change(FCCC), encompassing FCCC Annex 1 parties that accounted in total for at least 55 percent of the total emissions for 1990 of Carbon Dioxide of Anex 1 parties, have ratified, accepted, approved or accede to the Protocol.

The threat of human-induced change to the earth's climate to increased emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs) is one of the greatest challenges confronting the international community. It is beyond cavil that there is a naturally occuring "greenhouse effect," i.e., that the atmosphere traps heat and warms the earth. It is also clear that both anthropogenic emissions (i.e., those emissions related to human influence) of GHGs and their concentration in the atmosphere are increasing. To improve our understanding of the extent of those increases and their potential implications, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate change(IPCC) was established in 1988 under the auspices of the United Nations Environment Programme and the World Meterological

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Ibid. p. 47.

Organisation. The work of the IPCC represented the most complicated and massive scientific undertaking of the United Nations system in its half century of existence.

The IPCC concluded, in the 1990 final report of its Working Group 1, that it was "certain" that "emissions (of GHGs) resulting from human activities are substantially increasing the atmospheric concentrations of the greenhouse gases Carbon Dioxide, methane, chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) and nitrous oxide, "and that" these increase will enhance the (naturally occuring) greenhouse effect, resulting on average in an additional warming of the Earth's surface". The IPCC predicted an increase of one degree celcius in the global average temperature by the year 2025 if GHG emissions were not subjected to control and "business" continued " as usual". Although there were not universal scientific agreement with the IPCC's conclusion that human-induced global warming was occuring, most of the scientific community believed that the IPCC reports provided a sound scientific basis in support of the existence of the threat of climate change. The 1990 conclusions were bolstered in subsequent IPCC work, including the 1995 Second Assessment Report, in which the IPCC concluded that the balance of evidence suggests a "discernable human

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Ibid. p. 49.

influence " on global climate.

The FCCC, which was opened for signature during the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held at Rio de Janerio, Brazil, was designed as a first step in dealing with the threat of anthropogenic climate change. The main objective of the convention is to stabilize atmospheric GHG concentration at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system.

The FCCC contains a wide range of provisions. Under Article 4(1), all parties are obligated to prepare national inventories of emissions by sources and removals by sinks of certain GHGs (FCCC Article 12 concerns related communicating and reporting methodology) and to undertake measures to mitigate climate change. Article 4(1) also requires all parties to cooperate in controlling, reducing, or preventing anthropogenic emissions of GHGs not controlled by the Montreal Protocol on Substances That Deplete the Ozone Layer. Article 4(2) requires industrialized country parties and other parties listed in FCCC Annex 1 (Annex 1 countries) - which comprises those countries that were members of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) At the time of adoption, some of the countries of Eastern Europe, and some of the countries that were

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Ibid. p. 51.

part of the former Soviet Union - to adopt policies and take measures to limit anthropogenic emissions of GHGs and perfect and enhance sinks. Under Article 4(2), Annex 1 Countries must also report perfect and enhance sinks. Under Article 4(2), Annex 1 countries must also report periodically on the policies adopted and measures taken by them "with the aim of returning individually or Jointly to their 1990 levels these anthropogenic emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases not controlled by the Montreal Protocol."The FCCC explicitly recognizws that countries have "common but differented responsibilities." Hence, all of the parties to the FCCC have obligations to fulfill in terms of reporting, communications and general actions, but only Annex 1 countries are subject to the aspirational "aim" of returning national emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000.

Despite the fanfare attending the completion of the FCCC, the Convention was but the first step on a global climate change. The IPCC had 'calculated with confidence" that, to stabilize atmospheric concentrations of long-lived GHGs (i.e., Carbon dioxide, Nitrous oxide and chlorofluoro-carbons) at 1990 levels, it would be necessary to reduce current levels of emissions from human activities by 60 percent; yet Article 4(2) of the FCCC, which delineates the key obligations of industrialized countries with

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Ibid. p. 56.

respect to climate change and establishes a reduction "aim," contains no binding emissions targets or timetables.

In recognition of the preliminary nature of its commitments, the FCCC in Article 4(2) calls for a review of their adequecy at the FCCC's first Conference of the Parties to the convention (COP; COPs are identified by adding a number at the end, so that the first COP is denominated COP-1 the parties decided that existing commitments were inadequate to meet the convention's ultimate objective, for these reason: First, national Projection of GHG emissions indicated that most Annex 1 countries were not on track to meet the convention's relating to GHG emissions for the period after 2000. Finally, parties recognized that stabilization of GHG emissions at 1990 levels would not be sufficient to stabilize atmospheric GHG concentrations.

Consequently, in a decision known in popular parlance as the "Berlin Mandate," a process was established to strengthen the FCCC's commitments, with the goal of selfing quantified emissions limitation and reduction objectives (QELROs or "targets") for the post 2000 time frame, and of elaborating policies and measures relating to emissions reductions. A new body, the ADHOC Group on the Berlin Mandate, was established to

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Ibid. p. 59.

begin negotiation of the new legal instrument, with a view to its adoption in 1997 at COP-3. This group met eight times from 1995 through 1997 to discuss and develop to overall framework and Specific provisions among high-level officials of the parties to the FCCC at COP-3 in Kyoto, Japan. Thus, the stage was set for development of the Kyoto Protocol.

Of significance to the development of the Protocol and to its prospects for adoption by the parties to the FCCC was the decision in the Berlin Mandate at COP-1 that no new commitments would be negotiated For developing countries as part of the process adopted by the parties through the mandate. In general, the view of many of the developing countries, even before the negotiation of the FCCC, has been that it is the responsibility of the industrialized countries to adopt significant measures to reduce their GHG emissions before the developing countries might place their economic development at risk adopting any similar measures. This view stems largely from the fact that historically the industrialized countries, because of their economic development, were the largest GHG emitters and thus are seen by developing countries as responsible for the problem of climate change. This perspective of developing countries is reflected in the Berlin Mandate, which, as noted above, expressly precludes the introduction

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Ibid. p. 64.

of new commitments for developing countries as part of the process adopted by the parties in the mandate. However, the mandate did call for the parties to "advance the implementation" of existing commitments under FCCC Article 4(1), commitments that apply to all FCCC parties. This was another focus of negotiations and analytic efforts leading up to the Kyoto Protocol.

Ibid. p. 69.

CHAPTER - 5

CONCLUSION

The previous chapters have discussed the various variables, which have influence the Australia's environmental policy and security.

Environmental degradation is clearly a problem, both in terms of the inherent worth of the planetary ecosystem and in terms of the ecological support system on which human activity, for both present and future generations, is based. States, peoples, economies cannot be secure unless the ecosystem is secure. It is also quite likely that continued environmental decline will become a source of 'economic disruption, social tension and political antagonism', to say nothig of continued diplomatic conflict. The question is, how do we then interpret this as a security problem and what to do about it ? To paraphrase Norman Myers, What will 'buy more security - real, enduring, and al-round security' ? It is my contention that a new kind of security paradigm is emerging . One in which environmental factors are interacting with territorial, sovereignty and other jurisdictional issues in a way which transcends and challenges conventional notions of conflict formation. What can be deducted from the environmental

security threat which is relevant to future Australian Defence Forces involvement ? for this there are three involvement ? for this there are three basic conclusions:

1. That the post-cold war security agenda is different from that of the cold war. It follows that the Australian Defence Forces needs to cater for this new agenda, especially in the face of changing community expections as to what constitutes security.
2. The new security agenda offers the Australian Defence Forces the opportunity to complement Australian foreign policy by a combination of strategic and operational - level initives.
3. The primarry challenges the New security agenda poses to the Australian Defence Forces is an intellectual one. The Australian Defence Forces should re-examine what and capabilities, and conceptualise how it will adapt to a future where non-combat Roles will be increasing required.

The Kyoto Protocol has the capacity to move its partis toward a regime that more adequately addresses the problem of global climate change. Development of binding targets and timetables for Annex 1 countries began to remedy the main shortfall of

the convention. It remains to be seen, however, to what extent the parties will be able to develop the various market mechanisms needed to realize emission reductions, such as emissions trading and the CDM.

As for compliance, the Protocol's provisions on measurement, reporting and review of information provide a solid basis for further elaboration. Ultimately, however, a compliance procedure that sets forth specific consequences for noncompliance may be essential to ensuring adherence by the parties to the Protocol's obligations. The Protocol currently lacks such as procedure, at least with nonbinding consequences. Neverthless, the adoption and application of any binding consequences may require amendment of the Protocol and, arguably, ratification of those amendments by each party, which might in turn entail a fair amount of time and difficulty.

Finally, the industrialized countries ability to engage developing countries more fully in these efforts will determine the future effectiveness of the Protocol and whether or not international efforts to curb climate change are successful in the long term.

A comparison of the Madrid Protocol with CCAMLR reveals the deficiencies of the Protocol in terms of the

gap between the principles of conservation and the Means of enforcement available to implement such principles. In this respect, the CCAMLR regime, although a resource exploitation regime, appears to be more coherent, and the institutions created by CCAMLR, despite their flaws, are essential to ensure its continuity. If the Protocol is to be implemented, there is a need to ensure of compliance and enforcement than the rather week CEP functions can provide. The commission represents an acceptable and innovative model of institutionalization in the Antarctic Context.

The institutionalization of the CEP alone will not guarantee successful implementation of the Protocol, but it will set up a framework for implementation that is dramitically lacking at present. Another prerequisite is the adoption of environmental information. If this condition is fulfilled as well, the conservation regime established by the Protocol should exceed that of CCAMLR in terms of innovation and efficiency.

It may be argued that states compliance with the operation of the Protocol will not depend mainly on the structure and power of institutions, but rather on the political will of government to

enforce their national legislation that implements the Protocol. However, this approach alone is unlikely to produce the necessary standards of environmental protection that the Protocol describes, considering the disparity between Antarctic Treaty parties with respect to their national environmental policies and logistic involvement in Antarctica.The institutionalisation of the CEP is a preliminary condition to a standardized implementation of the Protocol throughout Antarctica, indeed, providing the CEP with permanent staff and resources would secure a continuity that the CEP currently lacks. The use of GIS in such an organizational context would enhance the operational capacity of the CEP, as advocacted in a previous publication by the author regarding the development of the Antarctic protected area system.

The concept of security needs to be expanded from the narrow military and political notion to cover economic and environmental dimensions . Such a broadened concept should include, however, only international acts which threaten or harm, other actors whose suffering is immediate rather than delayed. Thus the definition of security should be based on actors, both individual and collective, as both subjects and objects.

This approach leaves out threats to safety or well-being that are not intentionally produced by any actor, but result, for instance, from a longterm accumulation of natural hazards. Contextual environmental threats, such as global warming and the ozone hole, can produce physical harm for people. However, they should not be considered primarily as security risks, but rather as serious ecological problems.

I consider neither economy nor the environment in different manifestations inherntly as a security risk. Instead, they produce insecurity if they are used by various actors as an instrumental security stresses the importance of conflicts, as the use of economic and environmental resources to damage the adversary is more likely in a confrontation.

Conflict may occur over the control of production and trade of resources. However, the focus on the role of human agency in such conflicts is needed for the reason that without it economic and environmental resources are unlikely to be used as instruments of Politics to bring about insecurity. If all environmental problems are considerd security risks, then we expand the meaning of the concept intentional "political" acts.

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