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STRATEGIC APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL CHEMICALS MANAGEMENT: LACK OF INTEREST BELIES IMPORTANCE

by Angela Logomasini*

INTRODUCTION

In February 2006, the United Nations Environment Programme (“UNEP”) held the International Conference on Chemicals Management (“ICCM”) in Dubai, United Arab Emirates at which more than one hundred nations adopted a plan for the Strategic Approach to International Chemicals Management (“SAICM”). SAICM is designed to coordinate management of chemicals, wastes, and other substances on a global scale, setting up a global chemicals agency to coordinate efforts. The program is dubbed as a voluntary initiative through which “stakeholders” will engage in efforts to ensure safe management of chemicals. Centralization of chemical policy is deemed important because of the number of chemicals in world commerce today (estimates range up to 100,000) and because it has been estimated that chemical production will increase by 80 percent within the next fifteen years.1

This issue has been under development at the United Nations since 1992 and is now maturing into an international initiative that promises far reaching impacts. Yet many of the businesses that will likely be affected probably have not heard of, or know little about, SAICM. That is not surprising given minimal press coverage of the issue. To date, the New York Times, USA Today, the Financial Times, and the Wall Street Journal have largely ignored the issue. Yet inadequate press coverage belies the importance of the issue.

THE HISTORY OF SAICM

SAICM began as an item discussed in Chapter 19 of Agenda 212 and the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, which are products of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (“UNCED”), Rio de Janeiro in 1992. It proposed a system for global chemicals management, outlining six program goals that include:

• Expanding and accelerating international assessment of chemical risks;
• Harmonization of classification and labeling of chemicals;
• Information exchange on toxic chemicals and chemical risks;
• Establishment of risk reduction programs;
• Strengthening of national capabilities and capacities for management of chemicals; and
• Prevention of illegal international traffic in toxic and dangerous products.3

The Rio meeting led to the creation of the Intergovernmental Forum on Chemical Safety (“IFCS” or “Forum”), which was designed to facilitate these goals and set in motion a process for implementation. The Forum is described as follows in a document on its history:

The IFCS is a non-institutional arrangement whereby representatives of governments meet, together with intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, to consider all aspects of the assessment and management of chemicals. The aim is to integrate and consolidate national and international efforts to promote the objectives of Chapter 19 of Agenda 21. The IFCS provides policy guidance, identifies priorities, develops strategies and, where appropriate, makes recommendations to governments, international organizations involved in chemical risk assessment and environmentally sound management of chemicals.4

In October 2000, the Forum met in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil where representatives of 83 governments produced and agreed to the Bahia Declaration, which reiterated and affirmed a commitment to the goals in Agenda 21, and resolved to set up institutions for implementing them.5 In addition, the Bahia meeting produced a document setting the priorities for the program.6 In 2002, the SAICM concept was endorsed by the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, South Africa, calling for completion of the program’s founding documents by 2005.7

The first preparatory meeting for SAICM, referred to as “SAICM PrepCom1,” took place in Bangkok, Thailand, immediately following another IFCS meeting. Since then the UNEP has hosted two additional meetings – SAICM PrepCom2 in Nairobi, Kenya, in October 2004; and SAICM PrepCom3 in Vienna, Austria in September 2005.

At the September 2005 meeting, it was expected that three framing documents for the SAICM program would be completed, which would then be finalized in February 2006. These are: the High Level Declaration,8 the Overarching Policy Statement,9 and the Global Plan of Action.10 These documents with all the changes from the September meeting are included in the report for Prepcom3.11

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SAICM

SAICM is supposed to be a voluntary initiative of world governments to ensure the proper management of chemicals and wastes through information sharing, harmonization of chemical risk standards and labeling, and training. In addition, it is sup-

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posed to ensure ratification and implementation of environmental treaties, but it is unclear as to how those goals will be pursued.

The objective of PrepCom3 (September 2005) was to produce a clean text that would be finalized at the Dubai meeting in February 2006. However, during the September meeting there apparently was considerable debate, with the United States taking a stand against language that set the “precautionary principle” as an object of the program.

Although there is no set definition for the precautionary principle, it essentially demands that products be proven safe before entering the marketplace. Currently, U.S. regulators follow a more risk-based approach. They assess the risks of products and set regulations that allow an “acceptable” level of risk. Under the present U.S. system, regulators must demonstrate products are unsafe before removing them from the market. Although this approach often produces very restrictive regulations – including bans of many products – it provides some protection against arbitrary governmental coercion.

In contrast, the precautionary principle reduces regulatory accountability by shifting the burden of proof, demanding that manufacturers prove that their products are safe before allowing them to enter into, or continue in, commerce. Since nothing in life is one hundred percent safe, the precautionary principle means that governments can regulate products simply because they decide that products might pose public health risks – making regulation arbitrary in nature and subject to political whims.

U.S. negotiators advocated a risk-based approach that is more compatible with our regulatory tradition during the September 2005 meeting. The result of that meeting was a document that included bracketed language that would be subject to negotiation at the Dubai meeting. Of note, at that time the term “voluntary” was also in brackets, throwing into question stated intentions that the program would be voluntary rather than binding international law.

At the Dubai meeting, the policy declaration was approved, and renamed as the Dubai Declaration. It created the SAICM Secretariat housed in UNEP. In addition, nations pledged US $10 million for a program called Quick Start, which is to provide assistance to developing nations.

Opposition to some provisions by the United States and others nearly halted the SAICM process, but a last-minute compromise agreement was negotiated and agreed to just before midnight on the last day of the conference. Language on the precautionary principle was removed and now the document reads that the program will “take into account” the wording of the Rio Declaration, creating confusion as to whether the program will follow the precautionary principle. There is reason to believe that it eventually will take a precautionary approach since the Rio Declaration endorses the principle.

Additional compromises secured by the United States and its allies included provisions to allow participating countries to exempt food and medicine from SAICM provisions because nations have domestic regulations governing such issues. The United States also demanded that the voluntary nature of the program be clear. Final language on that topic reads: “We acknowledge that as a new voluntary initiative in the field of international management of chemicals, the Strategic Approach is not a legally binding instrument.”

A number of environmental activists expressed dismay with the result. Clifton Curtis of the World Wildlife Fund’s Global Toxics Program says the agreement result is “akin to achieving half a loaf of bread, not well baked.” According to news reports, environmentalists complained that the program has been rendered ineffective by officials from the United States, Australia, Japan, Korea, and Canada.

**Policy Implications of SAICM**

Despite the paucity of coverage, SAICM represents a policy whose scope is as extensive as that of the Kyoto Protocol on climate change, which seeks to control use of the world’s energy. SAICM covers the other half of the universe. Whereas Kyoto attempts to regulate the world’s energy, SAICM seeks to manage matter, or all non-living physical objects in the universe. Nonetheless, it is deemed somewhat innocuous because it is considered voluntary effort.

Despite its nonbinding nature, SAICM is likely to possess a substantial policy role – setting global standards that will likely become models for imposition by national governments to follow and serve as the basis for environmental treaties and other international agreements. And unlike the SAICM process, these treaties and laws will be binding.

In fact, one of SAICM’s key goals is to ensure that existing chemical and waste disposal related treaties all become ratified and are subject to implementation legislation in the various nations. The United States is a likely target of ratification/implementation efforts. It has yet to ratify a number of treaties such as the Stockholm Convention of Persistent Organic Pollutants, which bans a number of chemical internationally. In addition, United States has signed but not ratified the Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and their Disposal, which regulates shipment of hazardous wastes.

SAICM supporters have indicated that the program is designed to have important policy impacts. For example, Klaus Toepfer, Executive Director of UNEP, commented that existing chemical treaties alone are not enough, concluding: “it has been clear for some time that simply ticking off groups of chemicals one by one are becoming impractical. A new approach, a new way forward for chemicals management was needed, which is what SAICM now offers.”

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SAICM’s “Global Action Plan” offers an idea as to the program’s ambitious agenda for chemicals. It includes nearly 300 “concrete measures” for the various stakeholders to pursue. These include many items that are restrictive in nature. For example, among them are intentions to “restrict availability of” or “substitute” “highly toxic pesticides;” “promote substitution of hazardous chemicals;” “regulate the availability, distribution and use of pesticides;” “halt the sale of and recall products” that pose “unacceptable risks;” and “eliminate the use” of certain “hazardous chemicals.”

**SAICM and REACH**

Another reason to believe that SAICM will have a substantial regulatory role is that many see it as the perfect vehicle for the EU to globalize its REACH proposal, which is expected to become law in Europe by 2007. “REACH” stands for Registration, Evaluation, and Authorization of Chemicals. This program applies a precautionary approach to chemical regulation that will be followed by government regulation, demanding that firms demonstrate safety through a complicated registration and information collection program that inevitably results in the ban of some products.

Such globalization may be, in the minds of Europeans, a way to “level the playing field.” Such intentions for SAICM were recently noted in one European publication:

There can be no doubting the links between the future European system for the registration, evaluation and authorization of chemicals (REACH) and SAICM: the two mechanisms share the same general objective (minimizing the impact of chemicals on the environment and health). Moreover, many of the recommendations included in SAICM will also be implemented in the context of the new EU regulation (information on substances, minimizing risks, liability of industry in ensuring safety, etc.) … EU sources also point out that the REACH process was actually launched in the 1990s. At the international level, the approach can be traced back to the Johannesburg Summit Declaration of September 2002 in which the parties pledged to reduce the negative impact of chemicals by 2020. This concrete objective spurred the EU into pressing ahead. Work at the European and international level since 2002 has therefore followed a convergent parallel path.

Europeans had previously considered other ways to globalize REACH. For example, there is considerable evidence that they planned to push international implementation of an early version of REACH through the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. Globalization of this program would expand regulatory controls and impose heavy costs on businesses around the world. Application of REACH in Europe alone is destined to be expensive for Europe and its trade partners. The European Commission-funded study estimated REACH’s costs to fall somewhere between a low estimate of €2.8 (over eleven years) to a high estimate of €5.2 billion (over fifteen years). However, these studies only assess a fraction of REACH costs. The likely benefits of the REACH program have not been adequately demonstrated.

**SAICM and Public Health**

While it is true that some of SAICM’s goals are reasonable, such as ensuring that developing nations gain information regarding the proper handling of chemicals, the program is likely to fail when it comes attaining these goals. It will fail for the same reasons centralized economic planning has failed: government officials are too removed from problems and lack the information necessary to solve the many diverse problems. Uniform policies will not work in the various situations around the world; such political processes tend to serve organized players rather than the common good, and policy goals are often based on misperceptions.

Market economies are better situated to address problems associated with chemicals management and some of the larger problems that hinder human well being in developing nations. Indeed, many of the serious problems that SAICM proposes to address (the mismanagement of dangerous substances because poor nations lack the resources to pursue policies for proper handling) would be solved through the promotion of economic growth, not through expensive global governance. The costs of SAICM will likely have the opposite result, by diverting resources from more important issues and by undermining commerce and economic development.

In fact, most of the world’s serious environmental problems are the effects of poverty in developing nations. According to a 2001 World Bank study, *Environment Strategy Papers: Health and Environment*, the most prominent environmental problem is inadequate sanitation. This is something that only economic growth can address through improved infrastructure and increased access to chemical disinfectants, such as chlorine. Next on the list of problems is limited access to modern energy sources, including such things as electricity and fossil fuels. Lacking such amenities means that rural poor around the world rely on burning biomass fuels (such as cow dung) in their homes as an energy source. Resulting pollution leads to an estimated 1.7 million deaths associated with respiratory illnesses each year. And as international bureaucrats at the United Nations lament the potential that someone might consume trace levels of chemicals found in plastic packaging, the absence of such sanitary packaging and refrigeration in developing nations kills tens of thousands every year.
SAICM is not the solution to such problems and arguably represents a serious misallocation of limited resources. Indeed, these nations are least able to afford such regulatory burdens proposed by many of the world’s environmental treaties, and many of the treaties promise to undermine economic growth. For example, a study produced by the Liberty Institute in India shows that the Basel Convention had proved counterproductive and detrimental to development in poor nations.26

SAICM is also unlikely to improve public health in developed nations by reducing cancer rates as some believe it will do. If chemicals were a source of health problems, one might expect that as chemical use has increased around the world, there would be some measurable adverse impact on life expectancy, cancer rates, or other illnesses. Yet in developed nations, where chemical use has greatly increased, people are living longer, healthier lives. According to the World Health Organization (“WHO”) in its World Cancer Report, the average worldwide human life span has increased from 45 years in 1950 to about 66 in 2000 and will most likely continue to increase to 77 years by 2050.27

Nonetheless many complain that chemicals are causing a cancer epidemic in developed nations. But trace level chemicals have never been shown to be a significant cause of cancer. The WHO report estimates that at most one to four percent of cancers can be attributed to environmental pollution in developed countries, citing a world-renowned study by scientists Sir Richard Doll and Richard Peto.28

While Doll and Peto note that 80 to 90 percent of cancers are caused by “environmental factors,” this phrase encompasses anything other than genetics. It does not include pollution alone. Environmental factors include smoking; diet; occupational exposure to chemicals; “geophysical factors” such as naturally occurring radiation; manmade radiation; medical drugs and radiation; and pollution. According to Doll and Peto, pollution accounts for only two percent of all cancer.29 Neither Doll and Peto nor the WHO mention exposure to chemicals through consumer products as a serious cause of cancer, which is a key focus of the chemicals strategy. In addition, the EU policy will not likely affect occupational exposures in the developed world since, as the WHO notes, “most occupational carcinogens have been removed from the workplace.”30

Doll and Peto report that tobacco use accounts for about 30 percent of all annual cancer deaths,31 and dietary choices account for 35 percent of annual cancer deaths.32 The WHO confirms these figures, attributing 30 percent of cancers to smoking and 30 percent to dietary factors.33 The WHO notes that chronic infections—which are particularly a problem in developing nations—cause about eighteen percent of worldwide cancers.34 Genetic factors may lead to an additional four percent of cancers. That means less than twenty percent of cancers result from all other causes including pollution, alcohol, occupational exposures, medical drugs, radiation, immuno-suppression problems, and reproductive factors and hormones.

Nonetheless, since cancer is a disease related to aging, the developed world’s aging population does indeed present new health challenges that are important to address. The WHO suggests that cancer prevention efforts should focus on three factors: tobacco use, diet, and infections, which together account for 75 percent of cancer cases worldwide.35 Efforts to encourage people to change personal habits by eating better are likely the most effective cancer prevention policy.

CONCLUSION

Despite limited coverage and interest in the media, SAICM represents a major international policy development. Businesses may soon be caught by surprise after the SAICM Secretariat begins to affect policy around the world. And despite the fact that SAICM is primarily intended to assist developing nations with the management of chemicals, developing nations stand to lose the most from the program.

ENDNOTES: SAICM

3 Environmentally Sound Management, id.
ENDNOTES: THE COLOR OF KATRINA Contined from page 16

16 See Vill. of Arlington Heights v. Metro. Hous. Dev. Corp., 429 U.S. 252 (1977) (finding that suits brought under the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment require showing of intent); Regents of Univ. of Cal v. Bakke, 438 U.S. 265 (1978) (finding that Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 only prohibits discriminatory intent); Alexander v. Sandoval, 532 U.S. 275 (2001) (holding agency regulations interpreting Title VI to prohibit programs that give rise to mere discriminatory effects are not enforceable by a private right of action); Gonzalez Univ. v. Doe, 536 U.S. 273 (2002) (announcing new test that appears to eliminate the possibility that plaintiffs could use 42 U.S.C.A § 1983 to enforce these disparate impact regulations).
17 Some commentators have noted the irony that the plaintiffs that are most likely to have evidence proving intentional discrimination are white people who wish to challenge affirmative action programs, see Note After Sandoval: Judicial Challenges and Administrative Possibilities in Title VI Enforcement, 116 HARV. L. REV. 1774, 1780 n.37 (2003).

ENDNOTES: SAICM Contined from page 36

27 WHO & INT’L AGENCY FOR RESEARCH ON CANCER, WORLD CANCER REPORT (2003), at 320.
29 Doll & Peto, id. at 1251.
30 WORLD CANCER REPORT, supra note 27, at 33.
31 Doll & Peto, supra note 28, at 1224.
32 Doll & Peto, supra note 28, at 1224.
33 WORLD CANCER REPORT, supra note 27, at 33, 62.
34 WORLD CANCER REPORT, supra note 27, at 61.
35 WORLD CANCER REPORT, supra note 27, at 321.