

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

S

FOIA Number:

S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron Files, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13716
Folder ID Number: 13716-010

Folder Title:
Environment 5/90 [OA 8486]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	20	5	4

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: October 25, 1989

TO: Chriss Winston

FROM: JAMES P. PINKERTON
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Policy Planning

Planting More Trees in Cities May Slow Global Warming

Most cities in the United States could accommodate more than twice the number of trees that now line their streets, says James Kielbaso, a forestry professor from Michigan State University, and those cities are missing out on the cooling and energy-saving benefits that trees provide.

Kielbaso was one of the researchers in a recent study by the American Forestry Association, released at the organization's fourth Urban-Forest Conference in St. Louis.

"If we double the number of trees in our cities, we would, in effect, triple the environmental benefits of trees," Kielbaso said. The study was compiled from results of a random survey of street trees in about 300 U.S. communities.



There are an estimated 60 million street trees in the nation, Kielbaso said, and an average of 78 street trees per mile, spaced an average of 150 feet apart. He said that decreasing the space between each tree to 50 feet would allow for nearly 100 million new street trees.

A previous study found that street trees make up only one tenth of the urban forest in the nation's cities, he said, yet they play an important role in providing shade and other benefits to city dwellers. Kielbaso said

the study showed that only half of 1 percent of city budgets are spent on trees. Underfunded tree maintenance programs and difficult growing conditions lead to early mortality rates for trees, he said.

Gary Moll, the AFA's vice president of urban forestry, said that urban forests have been overlooked too often as ways to help slow global warming.

The AFA has launched a citizens' tree-planting campaign called Global ReLeaf, which is aimed at getting 100 million trees planted in the nation's communities by 1992.

WASHINGTON POST HEALTH/OCTOBER 24, 1989

EDUCATION WEEK

American Education's Newspaper of Record

Volume VIII, Number 24, March 8, 1989

Bush Called On To Free Funding For Experiments

Rule Waivers Said Way To Spur School Reform

By Lynn Olson

President Bush and the Congress should free selected school districts from rules governing federal aid for disadvantaged youngsters so they can use the funds in innovative ways, a national policy-analysis group proposes in a new blueprint for advancing school reform.

In exchange, the districts would be expected to set and meet performance standards for poor and minority students that far exceed current expectations.

The National Center on Education and the Economy, which developed the plan, compares the wave of innovation that could result from such an initiative to the sweeping experimentation in welfare reform that states engaged in prior to the passage of new federal welfare legislation last year.

The lessons learned from those experiments formed the basis for the current federal welfare policy, the center suggests, saying, "We believe something similar is called for in this case."

The proposal is contained in a report by the center on the federal role in education. It is the first policy document to be generated by the new organization since it was formed a year ago by Marc S. Tucker, former director of the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy.

The report was scheduled to be released this week by the center's 25-member board of directors, which includes John Sculley, president and chief executive officer of Apple Computer Inc.; former Gov. James B. Hunt Jr. of North Carolina; Hillary R. Clinton, wife of Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas; and David Rockefeller Jr., vice chairman of Rockefeller Family & Associates Inc.

According to the board's report, "To Secure Our Future: The Federal Role in Education," the challenge facing the United States "is to

Continued on Page 24

In San Diego, Managers Forging 'S

They're 'Needed in a Different Way'

By Lynn Olson

SAN DIEGO—From the outside, this school district's boxy pale-orange headquarters, sitting squatly in the California sunshine, looks like the very embodiment of the old factory model of schooling.

But inside the administrative offices for the San Diego Unified School District word has gone out that the prior rules for working with schools no longer apply.

Approximately 35 schools in this 117,000-student district are in the process of "restructuring" their programs: making any changes deemed necessary to improve student learning.

And the central-office staff members who oversee those schools—and all 118 others in the district—have been warned that they, too, are expected to change.

Instead of serving as the monitors and enforcers of district policy, these middle managers are to become the "enablers" and "facilitators" of reform.

All parts of the organization need to devise new ways of doing business, explains Ruben A. Carriedo, assistant superintendent for planning, research, and evaluation. "We can't just expect it from our schools."

Eventually, district leaders hope to provide all schools here



Group counseling at San D

with greater flexibility and San Diego's effort to reth schools but of the entire s central dilemma in the res

Needs of the Emotionally Disturbed Emerging in Debate on Federal Law

By Debra Viadero

When Kristin Huff first started having problems with her schoolwork at the age of 6, teachers at her Wichita, Kan., elementary school labeled her "learning disabled" and placed her in a special-education program.

At age 12, when the emotionally troubled youngster repeatedly tried to kill herself, the school's response was no different. Kristin continued to receive special-education services for her learning disability and little else.

When, at 16, a struggle with anorexia nervosa caused Kristin's weight to drop to 76 pounds, her educational status again remained unchanged.

"She was never identified as behavior-disordered," recalled her mother, Debra Huff.

Huff. "She was never offered psychological services, and, as parents, we didn't know where to turn. It was just a nightmare."

The Huffs' nightmare is one shared by many parents of seriously emotionally disturbed children, experts in special education and the mental-health fields maintain.

Called by some the "most neglected" of all special-education populations, these children, like Kristin, have long been either undiagnosed, shunted off to residential hospitals far from their homes, expelled from school, or simply lost in the juvenile-justice system.

Now, however, a coalition of parents, educators, and mental-health professionals is working to end such nightmares. And, when federal lawmakers sit down this month to begin the process of reauthorizing

S
B
T

T
app
trict
assig
both
mun
Bl
supp
to w
nate
ing.
In
beco
have
three

Bush Urged To Spur Innovation With Rule Waivers

Continued from Page 1

provide an elite education for every one."

"The top fifth must be raised so that it is the equal in performance of any country's top fifth," the report states. "At the same time, the performance of the bottom fifth must be pushed far above where it is now."

To do so, the report calls on President Bush to set broad national goals in education and job training that would ensure that America meets or exceeds the performance of its international competitors by the year 2000. The 37-page document is adapted from a letter sent to Mr. Bush shortly before his inauguration.

It lays out a number of proposals intended to help produce a "world-class system for education and training." These include recommendations to expand early-childhood education, improve the mathematics and science curriculum, apply new information technology within the schools, and combat adult illiteracy.

But the centerpiece of the document's policy statement is its proposal for three broad experiments—

ment agreed to those standards, then educators at the local level could pool available funds as they wished and design programs they thought would be most effective.

To create high-performance schools, the report states, districts could combine funds provided by Chapter 1 remedial education, special education, bilingual education, the magnet schools program, and related state and federal initiatives.

To improve the transition from school to work, it says, districts could pool resources from certain provisions of the Job Training Partnership Act, the Vocational Education Act, the Adult Basic Education Act, and other programs focused on dropout prevention at the state and federal levels.

And to integrate social services for children, the report suggests, local officials could combine funding streams that now flow separately to education, welfare, social-services, health, juvenile-justice, and child-protection agencies.

In each case, the participating community would receive funding equal to its normal allocation under existing rules and regulations. In addition, it would receive a bonus of approximately 5 to 10 percent to encourage risk-taking and innovation.

'Emphasis on Performance'

The report cautions that its design initiatives are not a call to "deregulate" the system or to revive the earlier notion of federal block grants to states.

Rather, their purpose is to radically change the way the system is regulated, it says, by "putting the emphasis squarely on performance."

Districts could continue to pool resources and ignore prevailing regulations only if they met the standards they had set, the report notes.

If they did not make "steady and substantial progress" toward their predetermined goals, then all prior rules and regulations would go back into effect.

According to the report, its proposals could be achieved without any changes in existing federal programs. It urges that the Congress simply grant a general waiver authority to Cabinet secretaries to be used under certain conditions.

Federal agencies could then enter into negotiations with selected cities and counties, following a competition among interested states and school districts.

"[We would not begin by changing the federal programs that are now in place," the report asserts. "What we have in mind is a very large experiment that would provide the information needed for a general redrafting of the basic federal programs later."

In an interview last week, Mr. Tucker, president of the national center, speculated that the experiments could last up to five years, after which changes in federal legislation might be forthcoming.

To make such experiments work, the report adds, the federal government would need to invest more money in statistical and educational research. And it would have to make funds available to states to help them determine new student outcomes, redesign teacher-education programs, and take other steps needed to successfully restructure schools.

Other Recommendations

The report also makes recommendations in a number of other areas.

It suggests, for example, that the

President declare a goal of matching the mathematics and science performance of students in all other countries by a certain date, and then create a Cabinet-level council to devise a national strategy for doing so.

In particular, it advocates the creation of new science, mathematics, and technology curricula—under a federal initiative like that following

learn. And it advocates strengthening programs that combat adult illiteracy and improve training for the workforce.

The center does not put a price tag on any of its proposals. But Mr. Tucker maintained that the "design initiatives," in particular, would not require a great deal of money to implement.

The center's report is aimed pri-

marily at President Bush, the Congress, and state policymakers. Mr. Sculley, chairman of the N.C.E.E. board, met with Mr. Bush shortly before he took office to discuss the appropriate federal role in education. The White House has approached another member of the center's board, David Rockefeller Jr., about meeting with the President in the near future.

ment and accountability systems within education. Unlike its predecessor, the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, the new national center is also devoting a portion of its time to carrying out its policy recommendations within a local setting: the city of Rochester, N.Y., where it is based.

Copies of "To Secure Our Future: The Federal Role in Education," can be purchased for \$7.50 each from the National Center on Education and the Economy, 39 State St., Suite 500, Rochester, N.Y. 14614. All orders must be prepaid by check or accompanied by a purchase order.

"Federal programs for the disadvantaged are typically structured in ways that do not reward the improvement of student progress. In fact, the incentives are perverse. Money is withdrawn if success is achieved. . . . [S]eparate bureaucracies control and deliver separate programs that typically carve kids into separate pieces."

— The National Center on Education and the Economy



Marc S. Tucker, director of the Rochester, N.Y., center.

referred to as "design initiatives"—that would significantly alter the relationship of federal and state government to local school districts.

'Perverse Incentives'

According to the report, the current structure of many federal programs "has become a part of the problem rather than of the solution."

"Federal programs for the disadvantaged are typically structured in ways that do not reward the improvement of student progress," the report argues. "In fact, the incentives are perverse. Money is withdrawn if success is achieved."

In programs ranging from bilingual education to special education, it says, "separate bureaucracies control and deliver separate programs that typically carve kids into separate pieces and make it difficult to build initiatives that work for the student."

To remedy that fragmentation, the report proposes a series of experiments that would free at least 10 to 15 school districts around the country from many of the existing programmatic constraints in order to design "high-performance schools."

These "design initiatives" would operate primarily in central cities and rural communities where there is a high concentration of poverty. And they would focus on restructuring the schools, improving the school-to-work transition, and integrating social services for children.

Within each district, educators would be invited to propose ambitious goals for students that they considered attainable if existing rules and regulations were lifted.

If the state and the federal govern-

ment and accountability systems within education.

ment and accountability systems within education.

ment and accountability systems within education.

ment and accountability systems within education.

ment and accountability systems within education.

4MAT® Training Creates Results

It will change the way you think about staff development

The success of a staff development seminar is evidenced by the enthusiasm and response it generates among participants.

With 4MAT, teachers are inspired to immediately apply seminar material in the classroom. 4MAT training is designed to motivate teachers and provide concrete and realistic means for application.

Teachers bring a new attitude and technique to the classroom. And this directly affects the students' ability and desire to learn.

4MAT creates results.

Excel, Inc. is offering a series of 4MAT seminars this summer. Fundamental, Intermediate and Advanced Training are available. Upon completion of The Advanced Seminar, participants may be eligible to conduct 4MAT training.

• **Fundamental Training Seminar**
July 6 - 8, 1989, Chicago, Illinois
Presented by Bernice McCarthy, creator of The 4MAT System

• **Intermediate Training Seminar**
July 10-13, Chicago, Illinois
July 18-21, Edison, New Jersey

• **Advanced Training Seminar**
August 6-11, Durham, New Hampshire

Ask about our new product brochure at booth number 321, ASCD



EXCEL, INC. • 200 West Station Street • Barrington, IL 60010 • 312-382-7272 • 800-822-4MAT



John Henry Martin is credited with helping 2 million people learn how to read.

Educator uses new life to fight illiteracy

By JODI MAILANDER
Palm Beach Post Staff Writer

PALM BEACH GARDENS — In 1973, John Henry Martin came to Florida to die.

After suffering a severe heart attack in 1973 at his home in upstate New York, the 58-year-old educator was hospitalized for 30 days, then sent home to die. His wife, Evelyn, brought him to Stuart, hoping the climate would extend his life for a few more weeks.

A year of idleness finally drove him to pick up where a lifetime as a teacher, principal and superintendent had left off. The Martins invested their retirement dollars in phonographs, tape recorders, typewriters — and later computers — and began what Martin modestly calls a hobby: teaching people how to read.

SUNDAY SPOTLIGHT

Now 74, Martin is credited with helping nearly 2 million people unlock the mystery of the written word. The creator of several IBM-based literacy programs, his work can be found in 5,000 schools and 540 adult education centers around the country.

Three of the adult classes are in Palm Beach County, and a Martin County elementary school uses one of his programs.

Martin's use of computers to battle illiteracy was one of the first nationally recognized efforts to use modern technology to help the 26 million American adults who cannot read.

The U.S. Department of Education

estimates that far more people — as many as 60 million, or one-third of all adults — do not read well enough to function in society.

Martin's own mortality inspired his efforts. In a tale that runs contrary to his ornerly, no-nonsense reputation, Martin sheepishly tells of what he calls his "standard after-life experience."

Somewhere between the emergency room and an intensive care unit, Martin recalls "dying." With the sense of being an observer, Martin says, he took a movie-like journey to Hades and crossed the River Styx. There, he met his hero, Odysseus, who told him, "Go back; it's not your turn."

Please see ILLITERACY/4B

3 THE PALM BEACH POST SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1989

WHERE TO GO FOR HELP

If you know a non-reader, these organizations provide classes that can help them. If you can read this, these groups will gladly train you as a tutor.

■ Palm Beach County Schools Adult Education Department

West Palm Beach-Jupiter-Wellington: 683-3399
Delray Beach-Boca Raton: 243-2880
Belle Glade-Pahokee: 924-7000

■ Palm Beach County Library System

West Palm Beach-Jupiter-Wellington: 845-4600
Delray Beach-Boca Raton: 265-0299
Belle Glade-Pahokee: 996-9644

■ Palm Lake Baptist Association Literacy Mission Fellowship

Lake Worth: 964-4701

■ Martin County Literacy Council

Stuart: 288-0077

Educator makes illiteracy fight new life's work

ILLITERACY/from 1B

When he talks about his experience, Martin seems somewhat embarrassed, but his steel-blue eyes dare mockery at the same time.

"When I told my wife what had happened to me, she asked me never to repeat it to anybody because it sounds insane," he says. "I talk about it sometimes now because people are more open to that kind of thing. I'm no eccentric."

Everything about Martin, from his pressed business suit to his purposeful walk, supports that claim. But friends describe him in different terms.

"He is the orneriest man I've ever known," says James Dezell, vice president and general manager of IBM Educational Systems. "He loves children and hates people. He is a true genius, scholar and child advocate."

Martin says a key to the adult literacy problem is to make it easier for children to learn to read.

He recalls with a hint of sadness and humor how his wife, who died two years ago, used to complain about the holes in the knees of his business suits — the result of hours spent kneeling on the floor, working with kindergartners.

A high school dropout who returned to earn his diploma at age 20, Martin has become an educator's educator, continuing to explore the hows and whys of learning. His ideas incorporate the unlikely combination of research from Jerome Bruner, B.F. Skinner, Maria Montessori and Thomas Dewey; his private library runs the gamut from Dr. Seuss to Marshall McLuhan's *The Medium Is the Message*.

What you won't find on his shelves, though, is anything close to the Dick-and-Jane primers many people remember from their early reading days. The method of forcing whole words into young minds without focusing on how the words sound makes Martin's white hair stand on end.

"We've always known that if you touch, see and hear it, you'll learn it," Martin says. "We still teach reading by only the eyes. It's as if we've invisibly handcuffed children as they walked into the classroom — 'Look teacher, no hands.'"

First four students

Martin's fascination with illiteracy began when he was a high school principal in Long Island, where four boys sent to his office to be disciplined revealed, among their faults, that they could not read. Martin, who says illiteracy breeds dropouts, juvenile delinquents and adult crime, began his first attempt at reading lessons with those teenage boys.

Today, his most famous program — Writing to Read — allows children to use a variety of senses to learn how to read on a personal computer that has the ability to "talk." Martin's two daughters are the voices on two of his programs.

Marketed by International Business Machines Corp., Writing to Read shows children what object is represented by a word, how the word sounds and where its letters belong in the alphabet.

In another stage of the program, children use slates and chalk, modeling clay, books, sand and pipe cleaners to shape out letters, words and sentences.

Learning to write first

Martin's program encourages children to write before they can read, in contrast to other methods of teaching that focus on reading first. Students learn to use 42 phonemes — sounds such as "ch" or "ee" that make up the English language — instead of standard spelling.

Without worrying about correct spelling, grammar or punctuation, 5-year-old students create stories that sound out their thoughts: *I love mi mother mor then mi hermit crab. I love mi mom mor then thir is sand on the bech and stars in the ski.*

Martin pooh-poohs any notions of his method creating a generation of horrendous spellers.

"Children are taught right away to revere conventional spelling so that misspelling a word fills them with guilt and sin," Martin says. "If they are taught to sound out words at the age of 5 or 6, then when they

Personal computers arrive

Martin arrived at his theory of learning to write before learning to read in a Martin County classroom loaned in 1976 to him and his wife, a retired nurse who was his research partner until her death in 1987. Superintendent James Navitsky, who retired this year, offered the space for the Martins' experiments at J.D. Parker Elementary near the couple's home in Stuart.

The arrival of personal computers in the late '70s inspired Martin to buy his own and create his first program sitting at his dining room table. Ever-changing technology forced him to eventually buy the computer talents of others.

After two years of testing Writing to Read on 10,000 children, Martin's program hit the market in 1984 with proof that its pupils spelled, wrote and read better than those in comparison groups. The program is used in thousands of schools in the United States, South America and South Africa. Jensen Beach Elementary in Martin County is among them.

The success of Writing to Read spawned two related programs: a Spanish version called *Voy A Leer Escribiendo* and another called Principle of the Alphabet Literacy System, targeted at teaching adults basic literacy skills.

The adult program is now being used in Palm Beach County, where the School Board has teamed up with the Private Industry Council to provide lessons in Riviera Beach, Belle Glade and Lake Worth. More than 120 adults have graduated from the program in its 1½ years by improving their skills by at least three reading levels.

"It's out there, and it's working," said Susan Pittman, a program specialist for the school district's adult and community education department.

Martin is not without his critics, though. Several literacy groups have complained that the cost of his programs — an average Writing to Read lab runs about \$15,000 — is excessive and limits its availability.

Another group, the North Carolina Center for Literacy Development, finds fault with Martin's adult literacy program, which uses an animated story of how the alphabet was created. Arlene Fingeret, a researcher at the center, says adults have a hard time relating to the cartoon, which she considers sexist and racist.

"The female characters in the fable are always in weaker positions," Fingeret says. "It's also a very white fable. There is only one black person in the story."

Martin says the criticism has no foundation. Each of the eight characters in his story represents one of the major races of the world, he says. The strongest character is a husky Scandinavian woman named Tall Inga, who actually flips a man in the fable. The one black character, whose name was changed from Black Olive to Sharp Olive after a teacher complained about the racist connotations, is the group's major intellectual.

"No blacks ever objected to the program. We only changed the name to appease the white liberals," Martin says.

Martin says he comes from a family of feminists and took great care to give women primary roles in the fable, just as they had played in his life. He credits his second spurt of energy in a time most use for retirement to his Irish grandmother, who rebuffed the British-influenced attitude that moderation is virtue.

"She told me that if anything is worth doing," Martin says, "do it in excess."

SPOTLIGHT IS ON

Each Sunday in Local News, Spotlight focuses on the issues, places and personalities making news in Palm Beach and Okeechobee counties.

see it spelled right, they will be able to say, 'That's a silly way to spell a word.' Then the child learns to spell the silly word and is psychologically on top of the problem. They're more in control of the language."

Education News Release



International Business Machines Corporation
IBM Educational Systems
P.O. Box 2150
Atlanta, GA 30055

**EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
AUGUST 28, 1989**

CONTACT: Peter Fleischer
Hill and Knowlton
(212) 697-5600

Laurie Olsen
Hill and Knowlton
(404) 688-7820

COMPUTERS IN THE CLASSROOM CAN AFFECT DROPOUT RATES & ILLITERACY, ACCORDING TO SURVEY OF NATION'S TEACHERS

ATLANTA, August 28, 1989 -- Nearly two-thirds of teachers polled believe that greater use of computers in the classroom could help fight the high dropout rates currently plaguing American education, according to a nationwide survey released today.

The nationwide phone survey of 1,100 teachers, conducted this summer by The Wirthlin Group and funded by IBM, found that 64 percent believe that computers can help reduce dropout rates by stimulating students most at risk of dropping out.

Official estimates have placed the dropout rate at between 27 and 33 percent, meaning that more than one out of four high school freshmen going back to school this fall will fail to graduate with their class. The cost to the nation has been estimated to be as high as \$240 billion annually.

-more-

COMPUTERS IN THE CLASSROOM CAN AFFECT DROPOUT RATES & ILLITERACY
Page Two

The survey of teachers, titled the "Computer Report Card: How Teachers Grade Computers in the Classroom," "is one of the most extensive studies of teachers' attitudes about the increasing use of computers in the classroom," according to James E. Dezell, IBM Vice President and General Manager of IBM Educational Systems.

"Teachers are the most qualified experts on what techniques work and don't work in the classroom. It is clear from this survey that teachers believe computer technology can enhance learning and help solve some of the most pressing problems facing our education system today," he said.

In addition to helping reduce the dropout rate, the survey found that teachers believe computers in the classroom can also be a major weapon in the war against illiteracy.

Eighty-two percent of those polled said use of computer-based writing and reading programs in the early grades could help improve student literacy skills. Of those expressing an opinion, 82 percent recommended that students be introduced to computers during elementary school -- 41 percent said no later than first grade.

An overwhelming number of teachers (85 percent) said that computers have already had a positive effect on the quality of education for students -- by helping students learn more and by allowing for more individualized instruction. In addition:

- 82 percent of teachers using computers said they improve student motivation;

-more-

COMPUTERS IN THE CLASSROOM CAN AFFECT DROPOUT RATES & ILLITERACY
Page Three

- 86 percent said computers can help unlock students' creativity and (87%) make them more self-confident;
- 74 percent said students who are not computer literate will not be adequately prepared for college; and,
- 70 percent said computer programs incorporating sophisticated multimedia such as audio and video-disc help reach students with important messages about drug and alcohol abuse, sexuality and other life-style issues.

An even larger number (88 percent) called for some form of government funding to expand the use of computers in the classroom so that students from different financial backgrounds would have equal access to quality education. Ninety percent agreed that not having access to computers puts students from less affluent schools at a learning disadvantage.

Nearly 70 percent said the greatest roadblock to more effective use of computers is the limited financial resources available in their school systems.

Nearly 60 percent said that most teachers are inadequately trained to use computers. Over half of the teachers polled (52 percent) said their students are more computer literate than they are.

With respect to the impact of computerization on the teaching profession itself, 85 percent said not having computer skills will

COMPUTERS IN THE CLASSROOM CAN AFFECT DROPOUT RATES & ILLITERACY
Page Four

make it tougher for teachers to find jobs in the future. Sixty-one percent said that more widespread use of computers in education could help attract others to the profession.

Seventy-five percent agreed that computers allow teachers to spend more time with their students; 79 percent said they help teachers identify individual students' strengths and weaknesses; 74 percent said they permit teachers to be more creative in their instruction; and 62 percent said computers could help to reduce classroom discipline problems.

"Teachers who have experienced technology in the classroom know it possesses awesome power in reaching students; but they also recognize that there needs to be greater commitment to tapping that power," said Dezell. "Training takes time and money, but there is no question that we must commit these resources if we are to ensure that the technology brings about real results."

According to Dezell, the survey demonstrates that while teachers are enthusiastic about the potential of computers, 31% of those interviewed felt that computers were not being used effectively in American education.

"By the time a young person graduates, he or she has spent 20,000 hours in front of a TV set and only 12,000 hours in the classroom," said Dezell. "Teachers must be given the resources to compete for students' attention -- and win. Our mission is to

COMPUTERS IN THE CLASSROOM CAN AFFECT DROPOUT RATES & ILLITERACY
Page Five

harness technology and redirect its energy to create the most engaging, responsive education environment ever developed."

The nationwide telephone survey of teachers was conducted July 6-9 by The Wirthlin Group, a national public opinion research firm. All respondents were teachers of grades between pre-kindergarten and twelfth grade. Of the respondents, 66 percent use computers for instruction. In 1988, the federal government estimated that more than 95 percent of the nation's schools use some computer technology in teaching. The IBM survey -- and other sources -- place the percentage of schools using computers at 98 percent.

#

Hill and Knowlton, Inc.
International Public Relations Counsel
Suite 1200, South Tower
One CNN Center
Atlanta, Georgia 30303-2705
404 688-7820

Ken Willis

September 22, 1989

Ms. Chriss Winston
Deputy Assistant to the President
Old Executive Office Building
Room #122
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Chriss:

While the plans for the President's speech at the education summit are, of course, not public, I wanted to offer you some information in case the President decides to discuss the possibilities for technology in education.

In our representation of IBM Educational Systems, we have come to the conclusion that just as technology has helped keep America competitive in business, it will also help restore America's leadership in education.

According to a recent survey conducted by The Wirthlin Group for IBM, the nation's teachers believe that computers are already improving the quality of education and can play a key role in cutting the dropout rate, reduce illiteracy, improve motivation, self-confidence, creativity and even discipline problems and attendance. It is worth noting that 74% of our teachers say that students who are not computer literate will not be adequately prepared for college.

Some examples of the role technology is playing in the education of America's children include:

- In Kentucky's McCreary County (Governor Wallace Wilkinson) -- the heart of poverty-stricken Appalachia -- children are accustomed to living in houses with dirt floors and windows which are nothing more than holes covered with plastic bags. Dropout rates were incredibly high -- students were leaving school as early as the fifth grade. Then the schools introduced Writing to Read, a revolutionary computer-based program teaching students to write what they can say and read what they can write. Not only did scores increase, students are now waking up their parents before dawn to get extra time on the computers.
- A boy living outside Denver (Governor Roy Romer) and suffering from poorly developed motor skills grew

Ms. Chriss Winston
September 22, 1989
Page Two

frustrated because he couldn't read his own handwriting. Using computer-based Writing to Read, both his test scores and confidence increased because he was able to use the keyboard to put his thoughts on paper and read them to his classmates.

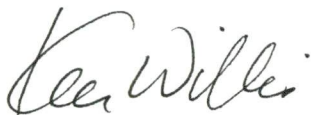
- A functionally illiterate Minnesota (Governor Rudy Perpich) woman, enrolled in Principle of the Alphabet Literacy System, an adult-version of WTR. Within a year she increased her reading ability 5.5 grade levels. Stigmatized since high school because of her inability to read, she was able to receive her driver's license for the first time and can now help her children with their homework.
- Mississippi (Governor Ray Mabus) has long been plagued by education problems, with test scores often ranking among the lowest in the nation. A unique partnership formed between the state, a charitable foundation of businesses called the Riordan Foundation and IBM has pledged to put Writing to Read in every kindergarten in an effort to eradicate illiteracy.
- Orangeburg-Wilkinson High School in Orangeburg, South Carolina (Governor Carol Campbell) is a prime example of how technology can positively affect education. Burdened with high dropout rates and teacher burn-out, the school is using computers for everything from teaching math to planning lessons and keeping attendance. A computer-generated phone call informs parents when their child misses more than one class. Moreover, the school's dropout rate fell from 34 percent to four percent.

In addition, enclosed you will find a copy of the survey and a recent article from the Palm Beach Post about Dr. John Henry Martin, the developer of IBM's Writing to Read program. Dr. Martin is a prime example of what Americans can do to improve education for all children.

Chriss, these are just some of the ways technology is improving education -- for children and adults. If you have any questions or would like more information about the survey or these stories, please call me at 404/688-7820.

Thank you.

Sincerely,



Bush and Governors Set Education Goals

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

Special to The New York Times

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va., Sept. 28 — President Bush and the nation's Governors agreed today on the need to overhaul the nation's education system by creating a set of goals that will focus on eliminating illiteracy, reshaping curriculums and holding teachers accountable for their performance.

"We believe that the time has come, for the first time in U.S. history, to establish clear, national performance goals, goals that will make us internationally competitive," said the joint statement issued here at the end of a two-day meeting called by Mr. Bush to discuss education. The statement was written by the White House staff, Administration officials and a bipartisan group of governors.

Earlier today, in a speech to the governors, Mr. Bush said: "The American people are ready for radical reforms. We must not disappoint them."

"Education is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything we are and can become," Mr. Bush said. "And come the next century — just 10 years away — what will we be? Will we be children of the Enlightenment or its orphans?"

'The First Step'

Specific goals and details will be shaped by the White House and governors to be ready for a meeting of the National Governors' Association in Washington in February.

"This agreement represents the first step in a long-term commitment to reorient the education system and to marshal widespread support for the needed reforms," the statement said.

Mr. Bush and the governors said that the caliber of the education system and the nation's economic future were inextricably intertwined. Developing a national strategy that includes new directions for education, Mr. Bush said, is pivotal to the nation's well-being.

The overall proposals carried few surprises, but they were hailed as the first time any President had outlined a framework for the Federal Government and states to work together to reform the nation's ailing schools.

Triumph for Bush

For Mr. Bush, who pledged in his campaign to serve as the "education President," the agreement represented a triumph and clearly achieved one immediate goal, focusing attention on education, not just for the two days of meetings here but with the many special reports on education appearing all week.

"This is a major step forward in education," said Mr. Bush, standing near the sun-drenched steps of the rotunda on the University of Virginia campus. "We've reached agreement on the need for national performance goals, on the need for more flexibility and accountability, the need for restructuring and choice."

Obviously bowing to pressure from the Democratic governors, Mr. Bush

added that the Federal Government was committed to "more Federal support" for preschool programs like Head Start for poor children.

Overall, said the beaming Mr. Bush, "This has been historic."

Test of Financing

But some Democratic governors, including Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts, said it was too early to forecast the agreement's scope and effectiveness.

"There's good news in the sense that 50 governors and the Administration seem to be committed to improving the quality of our schools," said Mr. Dukakis, the President's opponent in the 1988 campaign. "But the test for all of us will be over the next couple of months. It means not only deciding who does what, but who pays for it." But most of the Democratic governors

'Will we be children of the Enlightenment or its orphans?'

spoke positively, even warmly, about the agreement.

Mr. Bush won praise from several union leaders.

Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, said Mr. Bush's speech "defined a vision of education that was not public relations."

Mr. Shanker said he was surprised that Mr. Bush had offered some "radically different proposals" that departed from the ideas of conservative educators, notably in emphasizing the notion of diverse, nonrigid curriculums to meet the needs of students of differing ethnic and geographic backgrounds.

Hailed as a First

The joint agreement was announced hours after Mr. Bush addressed the governors, Cabinet officers, education officials and students and faculty members at the university.

The agreement was also the first time that the nation's governors, Democrats and Republicans, had agreed to forge a national education strategy.

"This is the first time in the history of this country that we have ever thought enough of education and ever understood its significance to our economic future enough to commit ourselves to national performance goals," said Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, a Democrat who helped draw up the agreement. "It has never happened in over 200 years."

With state and local governments providing more than 90 percent of the

money spent on education, Mr. Bush squarely left the details and the burden of substantial education changes in their hands.

Mr. Bush had called the rare meeting with the governors largely because of the consensus with the Government and the education establishment that American schools were in turmoil and that the education system was increasingly lagging behind those of other industrial democracies.

More Than Three R's

In his speech at midday, Mr. Bush said his Administration envisioned "tradition-shattering reform in five areas."

"First, I see the day when every student is literate," he said. "But literacy should mean more than the 'three R's.' We must be a reading nation. We must grapple with the hard sciences."

Mr. Bush also said students must do more than identify names on a multiple-choice question. They must understand the generosity of Andrew Carnegie, the genius of Alexander Graham Bell and the heroism of Rosa Parks."

Mr. Bush's second proposal centered on "diversity" in classroom curriculums and standards. Current lessons and procedures are often too rigid to meet the needs of the diverse ethnic groups of students around the nation, White House officials said.

"Of course all schools in a state will share a core curriculum and minimum standards of achievement," Mr. Bush said. "But the means by which that curriculum is taught, and those goals met, should be as diverse and varied as America."

These were the President's other proposals:

¶ Giving parents more choice in selecting the schools they want their children to attend. "Children differ in their interests, learning styles and capabilities," said Mr. Bush. "I see the day when choice among schools will be the norm rather than the exception."

¶ Developing more accountability, where teachers, principals and administrators must clearly answer for poor performances. "We must now evaluate ourselves on a tougher grading curve, one that includes that other major industrial nations," Mr. Bush said.

¶ Exploiting the potential of every student, not only those who are gifted, but also the "average students" and the disadvantaged.

"Some of our reforms and experiments are sure to come up short," said Mr. Bush. "But for too many of our schools, experimentation is preferable to the status quo, because the status quo could scarcely be worse."

"After two centuries of progress," Mr. Bush told the governors, "we are stagnant."

Teachers Praise Bush's Effort NYT 9-30-89, p. 1 to Set a New Education Agenda

By DEIRDRE CARMODY

School superintendents, union leaders and teachers were virtually unanimous yesterday in praising the efforts of President Bush and the nation's governors in setting a national agenda for education.

"What a breathtaking beginning of a new affirmation of the work for schools," Ernest L. Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, said of the education meeting at the University of Virginia on Wednesday and Thursday.

"This is a historic shift in the way this nation is willing to talk about the school agenda," Dr. Boyer said.

At their meeting in Charlottesville, the President and the governors agreed on national goals aimed at eliminating illiteracy, improving early childhood programs and holding teachers accountable for performance.

Specifics will be worked out by the White House and the governors in time for a meeting of the National Governors' Association in Washington in February.

A few educators said today that they would reserve judgment until they saw the specifics, and some expressed concern that the issue of more money was not pressed. But over all there seemed to be little criticism.

Not Passing Buck to States

Educators generally agreed that the President's priorities were on target and particularly praised his recognition that preschool education and the early school years were crucial. They also spoke of the effort at the meeting to balance national purpose and creativity at the local level.

It is still unclear how the efforts will be financed. But several education officials suggested that it would be churlish to grumble about lack of new spending before more is known about the specifics.

"I think essentially the message is

that we thought it was a good speech," said Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers. "For the first time we have a President who is using the word 'national' when he is talking about education, instead of passing the buck to the states."

Dr. Scott Thomson, executive director of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, which represents 41,000 principals and assistant principals, issued his own report card of the President's performance.

"I would have given President Bush a 'C' up to now as the education President," he said. "But with this summit I'd move him up to a 'B,' and whether

he makes an 'A' or not in my grade-book depends on how he engages himself with the specific plan in the next three or four months and whether he is going to support specific programs with some money."

Motivation and Inspiration

Dr. Thomson said that "the successful summit is worth literally hundreds of millions of dollars because it provides inspiration and motivation for teachers and generates a lot of activity on the part of the business community."

While teachers generally supported the goals that emerged from the meet-

ing, some like Ginay Marks, the drug education supervisor in District 15 in South Brooklyn, said there was not enough stress on giving teachers more say in managing their schools.

"If teachers have an investment in the choice of textbooks, in the curriculum, they'll take pride in their programs," she said.

She said she was disappointed that teachers were not represented at the meeting. Still, she was glad that "they recognized education as something important, especially since our system is so bad compared to other countries."

Robert Spillane, superintendent of the Fairfax County schools in Virginia,

said he thought it was a good that the conference did not have more prepared guidelines to follow. "It gave them an opportunity to see if they could come up with an agenda," he said.

Moving on 'Hard Issues'

Frank Newman, president of the Education Commission of the States, which coordinates state efforts, said that after six years of educational reform, the point was being made at last that it was a "complicated business" and that the restructuring of schools was difficult to accomplish. "We're now moving to the hard issues," he said.

It is solutions to issues like student dropouts and absenteeism and teacher burn out, especially in inner-city schools, that have proven tough for education innovators to push through school boards and legislatures.

Gary Marx, associate executive director of the American Association of School Administrators, which represents 19,000 superintendents and other central school officials, expressed some misgivings about Mr. Bush's stress on giving parents more choice of which schools their children attend.

"Choice is not a panacea," he said. "You can offer alternatives for students within a school. There can be magnet schools, even open enrollment in some situations, provided it doesn't upset the integration apple cart."

Mr. Marx said the most motivated students might move to a better school, leaving their own school in even worse condition.

"Every school ought to offer an excellent program," he said.

A First Step Toward National School Reform

'Accountability' Seen as Key Principle

WP 9-29-93 A3

By Frank Swoboda
Washington Post Staff Writer

CHARLOTTESVILLE, Sept. 28—The call for national education performance goals today from President Bush and the nation's governors is the next step in an education reform movement that began in the public schools six years ago.

In 1983, the report "A Nation at Risk," commissioned by the Department of Education, warned: "Our society and our educational institutions seem to have lost sight of the basic purposes of schooling."

Since then, a majority of states have experimented with public school reforms ranging from more class periods to teacher control of schools, but as recently as last May, the department reported there has been little progress in efforts to reform the nation's overall education system.

The summit call for performance measures was seen by many politicians and educators as necessary to begin making American schoolchildren more competitive with those of other nations.

"For the first time in our history, we've thought enough of education to commit ourselves to national performance goals," said Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton (D) at the conclusion of the two-day education summit at the University of Virginia.

The movement toward performance goals has been gaining momentum in recent years, particularly among business leaders.

Labor Secretary Elizabeth Hanford Dole, who moderated one of the summit sessions, said business groups had a real stake in the establishment of performance goals. "It's clearly in the interest of business. They need the workers," she said.

But there was little support at the summit for mandatory national performance standards set at the federal level and dictated to the states. New Jersey Gov. Thomas Kean (R) said, "Nobody felt the federal government should tell the states what to do."

Although the summit statement didn't say so, the new goals would apparently set performance levels for public school students—particularly in math and science—and then leave it to the states to determine how to achieve the goals.

The purpose of the reform effort, according to a statement released at the end of the summit, is to create "a system of accountability which focuses on results rather than compliance with rules and regulations." Although details were elusive and will be the subject of much political debate in the coming months, the call for some form of national achievement levels appeared generally well received by educational groups attending the summit, even among harsher critics of the nation's education system.

Keith Geiger, new president of the National Education Association, also praised the idea of goals because they "focus talk about what programs need."

Samuel Husk, executive director of the Council of the Great City Schools, which represents many larger urban school districts, called goal-setting "very important. Without goals you can't rally the political support for education."

Husk said the call for goals comes at a time when the reform movement has been losing steam. "The states are going in 50 different directions and the federal administration is going nowhere," he said.

The actual goals will not be spelled out until some time early next year, probably at the February meeting in Washington of the National Governors' Association.

In their closing statement, summit participants said the idea of the goals was to create a "rigorous program of instruction designed to ensure that every child can acquire the knowledge and skills required in an economy in which our citizens must be able to think for a living. We must establish clear measures of performance."

Bush Wants Billions of Trees For War Against Polluted Air

By PHILIP SHABECOFF

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 27 — Aiming at both a greening of America and a cooling of the world, President Bush will announce in his State of the Union Message next week a program to increase the nation's tree cover by a billion trees a year for the next 10 years, Administration officials say.

The reforestation program, whose cost over the next decade would approach \$2 billion, is intended to help ameliorate the global warming expected to occur as a result of pollution.

The program is to be run by the Forest Service, and the President will propose to Congress in his budget next week that \$175 million be devoted to it. The program envisages annual outlays of a similar amount for a decade.

Conservationists said the program, by itself, would do little to combat pollution-caused global warming, but they welcomed it as an important symbolic step.

The program would entail not only the planting of new trees but also the improvement of land to enhance tree growth. It would be undertaken in national forests, on privately owned rural property and in urban areas.

Bush Environmental Initiatives

The program is the latest of a series of initiatives by Mr. Bush to establish his credentials as an environmentally minded President, in contrast to President Ronald Reagan, who was widely criticized by environmental groups. On Wednesday, for example, Mr. Bush announced that he would support the elevation of the Environmental Protection Agency to Cabinet status, a goal of most environmentalists for years.

Polls and this year's Congressional agenda, in which environmental issues will be an important theme, show that environmental protection is a potent issue supported by a broad spectrum of the public.

Administration aides say Mr. Bush is genuinely concerned about global warming, genuinely wants to beautify America and is genuinely fond of trees.

The aides said that in addition to combating global warming linked to pollution, the program was intended to enhance the beauty of the countryside and cities, help conserve energy, protect soil and water quality, and contribute to other environmental goals.

Mr. Bush will call for a major volunteer effort to join in the tree-planting campaign. Aides said the President regards voluntarism as an important component of the program and hopes to enlist groups like the Boy Scouts and the Garden Clubs of America. He will ask for private corporations to help pay for the effort.

In part, the program is intended as this nation's first significant policy re-

sponse to the rapid warming of the globe projected by scientists in the next century as a result of the accumulation of carbon dioxide and other gases released by human activity into the atmosphere.

These gases trap infrared radiation from the Sun that would otherwise be reflected back into space, causing the Earth's temperature to rise, in a process similar to what happens in a greenhouse. The current consensus among scientists appears to be that the average global temperature will rise by 3.5 degrees Fahrenheit or more by the middle of the next century.

Trees and other green vegetation absorb carbon dioxide and give off oxygen during photosynthesis. Planting more trees, therefore, would absorb some of the carbon dioxide emitted by human combustion of fossil fuels and help temper the magnitude and speed of the greenhouse effect.

Mark C. Trexler, director of the carbon sequestration forestry project of

From the White House, an idea for the greening of America.

the World Resources Institute, a non-profit research and policy group here, said planting an additional billion trees a year for 10 years could absorb about 1 to 3 percent of the carbon dioxide produced by human activity in the United States. This country produces 1.3 billion tons of carbon dioxide a year, nearly 25 percent of the total that enters the global atmosphere.

Both the Environmental Protection Agency and the Agriculture Department had recommended more extensive programs. The E.P.A. last year proposed a reforestation effort that would cut 10 percent of the nation's annual carbon dioxide pollution, and the Agriculture Department offered a plan for a 5 percent reduction. The White House rejected the more ambitious efforts because they would have entailed renting land from farmers on which to plant trees.

Conservationists emphasized that planting trees alone would not make any major reduction in the global warming trend. Substantial additional efforts would be required, they insisted, particularly a sizable reduction in the consumption of oil and coal, which emit large amounts of carbon dioxide when burned.

NYT
1/28/90

Essay

Lance Morrow

Forest of Dreams

With the names of trees you can make a fine pagan bouquet of words: hornbeam, ginkgo, quickbeam, oak, white willow, tamarind, Lombardy poplar, false cypress, elder, laburnum, larch, baobab, black gum, rowan, hazel, whitebeam, tree of heaven, ash...

At one time trees were sacred. Gods inhabited them and took their forms. Trees were druidic. They rose out of the earth, gesticulating, tossing their hair. They were the tenderest life-form: cooling, sheltering, calming, enigmatic. Or else they might harbor terrors: beasts and devils in the dark forest. They were, in either case, magic. Still are, of course, although they have also evolved into mere lumber.

The spiritual descendants of those who worshiped trees may sentimentalize them now as some green sermon. Ronald Reagan did not. Once during the 1980 campaign, in a nuke-the-wimps frame of mind, Reagan claimed that no matter what environmentalists say, trees are a source of deadly pollution. On the campaign plane later, Reagan's press secretary James Brady sighted forests below and shouted, "Killer trees! Killer trees!" It seems that Reagan was confusing nitrous oxide with deadlier oxides of nitrogen. Never mind.

The Republican President in the White House now may not poeticize trees—he takes a certain pride in not poeticizing anything—but he does have a fine secular appreciation of what trees do. They hold the earth and scrub the air. Chop them down, and the world becomes a moonscape in a greenhouse. Egypt's eastern desert is a cautionary text: each tree in the sparse landscape is under the protection of a Bedouin family. Sometimes the people build a wall around each tree to guard the leaves from goats.

George Bush, who said he wanted to be an environmental President, is making trees a kind of fetish of his Administration. In his budget submitted last week, Bush allotted \$175 million to plant 1 billion trees this year. By the year 2000 there should be 10 billion new trees that eventually should absorb 13 million tons of carbon dioxide a year, or 5% of the nation's annual emissions of the gas.

The news is that a larger environmental ambition is in harness. John Kennedy launched the Peace Corps. There may be some symmetry in the fact that a man in the Bush White House has hatched the idea for something called the Earth Corps, which will try to enact the spirit of the last line of Kennedy's Inaugural Address in 1961: "Here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

The Earth Corps is the inspiration of James Pinkerton, the 31-year-old Deputy Assistant to the President for Policy Planning. Pinkerton did not begin by thinking about trees, but rather about the wreckage of America's inner cities and the prospects that face young black males. Looking for an approach to the problem, he considered the way that the Army, at its best, trains people—teaches them discipline, teamwork and such values as courage, honor, strength, loyalty, pride. The experience, when all goes well, can transform lives. The welfare system institutionalizes an abject status quo and produces generations of angry, mired victims.

Pinkerton made a triangular connection among these

points: the unused energy and gifts of young blacks, the real needs of the environment, and the motivating focus of some parts of military life. Pinkerton wanted to remove the Earth Corps from direct Government (and therefore congressional/political) control and from the sort of bureaucratic and ideological overelaboration that came with the Great Society. Unlike Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps, which was run by the U.S. Army, the Earth Corps is to be not a Government agency but a nonprofit corporation funded by private donations and perhaps eventually some Government grants. Its director and chief executive officer is John Wheeler, 45, an intense, effective idealist who graduated from West Point in 1966; served in Viet Nam, took degrees from Harvard Business School and Yale Law School and among other things headed the foundation that got the Viet Nam Veterans Memorial installed on the Mall in Washington.

With a grant of \$300,000 in seed money from the Annie E. Casey Foundation and office space near the White House donated by lawyer Allan Fox, Wheeler is developing plans to establish an Earth Corps Academy, probably in Virginia, by next year. The corps will recruit 500 cadets for a two-year tour of service that will start with three months of forestry, academic and environmental training at the academy. The recruits will be young men—and women—ages 16 to 21, with preference given to attracting the poor. Recruits will have to pass a qualifying examination and must be drug free. Their main work will be reforesting the nation, starting with some 1.3 million acres of South Carolina that were torn apart by Hurricane Hugo. Eventually, Wheeler hopes, the corps will attract 4,000 recruits a year. By encouraging local and state conservation corps as well, the Earth Corps may be able to double Bush's 10 billion trees by the year 2000.

Cadets will wear uniforms with the Earth Corps insignia (the earth seen from space and the words TRUTH, DUTY, ONE EARTH.) They will receive food, shelter and the minimum wage, a portion to be set aside in savings. When a cadet leaves the corps, he will have technical skills and environmental training. The corps will work to find him a job or a path to higher education.

Pinkerton and Wheeler are concerned that the military image might deter recruits. It is the military esprit they want, not military coercion or rigidity. Wheeler is also steering 10,000 miles clear of the welfare mentality. The corps will not be remedial, not mandatory, not a punishment, not an entitlement, not cushy and not trivial. Excellence and dignity are words that recur in Wheeler's conversation. Cadets will do hard, necessary work—reforestation, fire fighting, fire prevention, wetland protection, cleaning up oil spills and protecting habitats for endangered species.

The Earth Corps is still a seedling. But it is a daring idea. From the first landfall, the logic of the American enterprise was the ax, clearing the way west through wilderness. That was a way to make a civilization, as Brazil is now making a civilization by burning itself down. The idea of the Earth Corps draws a line that circles back to the sacred.

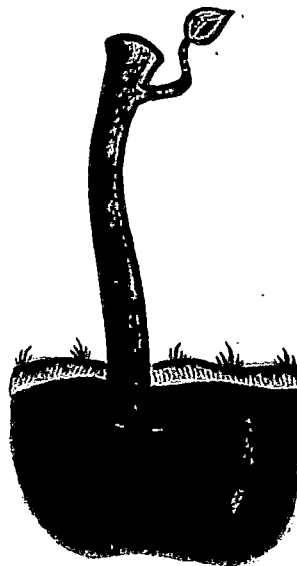


ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY TIM GRAUER



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

Michael R. Deland
Chairman

May 18, 1990

(202) 395-5080

MEMORANDUM TO

Dan McGroarty

FROM: Michael R. Deland

SUBJECT: Attached memorandum, "Bush Administration Environmental Initiatives and Accomplishments"

We have prepared the enclosed memorandum for your use, entitled "The Bush Administration and the Environment: Initiatives and Accomplishments." Please circulate it to all relevant personnel.

This memorandum summarizes all Administration actions which promise to have a beneficial result for environmental quality and conservation of natural resources. We hope it is helpful to you and your staff as you prepare speeches and respond to inquiries. It was not prepared for release to the news media, but it has been rigorously reviewed to ensure its factual integrity.

In the past year, several summaries or "scorecards" have been prepared by various EOP offices, Federal departments and agencies, and outside groups. These have been consulted and this summary incorporates many of those items.

We would welcome your comments, suggestions or additions. The memorandum will be kept up to date and distributed at least quarterly by my assistant, Dale Curtis, who can be reached on 395-5750.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

Michael R. Deland
Chairman

(202) 395-5080

The Bush Administration and the Environment:

Summary of Initiatives and Accomplishments

May 1990

President George Bush, continuing a life-long record of concern for the environment, has demonstrated a commitment to environmental protection, conservation, and wise management of our natural resources. What follows is a summary of the Administration's initiatives and accomplishments.

1. General leadership
2. Air pollution
3. Environmentally-sensitive budget policy
4. Pollution prevention and recycling
5. Asbestos ban
6. Water pollution, water projects and wetlands
7. Energy
8. Global climate change
9. International environmental initiatives
10. Alaskan oil spill
11. Future oil spill prevention
12. Food safety
13. Hazardous wastes and Superfund
14. Clean oceans and coastlines
15. Radon
16. Defense & the Environment Initiative
17. Endangered species
18. Earth Day
19. Environmental education
20. Enforcement
21. Deterring conflicts of interest

1) **General leadership:**

President Bush appointed William K. Reilly to be Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the first professional conservationist to hold the post.

The President named Michael R. Deland, former Administrator of EPA's Boston regional office, to be chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ). The President is committed to revitalizing CEQ's advisory role and requested funding to increase the staff of CEQ from 10 to 34 positions over two years.

The President supports elevating EPA from sub-Cabinet to full Cabinet status, and approved the elevation of EPA's International Activities Office to the assistant administrator level.

President Bush has directed all Cabinet officers to incorporate consideration of environmental impacts into all agency decisions. More departments are embarked on substantive environmental policy initiatives than ever before (see below). The President has devoted dozens of speeches, news conferences, and events to environmental themes, and the White House Domestic Policy staff has devoted thousands of hours to ambitious environmental quality initiatives.

2) **Air pollution:**

After a decade of policy gridlock, President Bush's Administration crafted amendments to the U.S. Clean Air Act to reduce the emissions that cause acid rain, urban smog and toxic air pollution. Thanks in large measure to the President's personal commitment, a bill recently passed the Senate and it appears likely this complex reform package will be enacted in 1990.

Among several other administrative actions on clean air, EPA issued rules that lower gasoline volatility (which contributes to smog) in summer months; and rules to reduce industrial emissions of the hazardous pollutant benzene by 90 percent. EPA proposed standards to require source separation by municipal waste handlers to effectively reduce overall air emissions from municipal waste incinerators by 90 percent.

The Administration has taken important strides forward on global air pollution issues (see #8 and #9).

Related actions on automobile fuel efficiency, energy efficiency and renewables, and clean coal technology are listed below.

3) **Environmentally-sensitive budget policy:**

The Administration's budget request for 1991 continued a trend begun with the President's first budget in 1990: substantial funding increases for most environmental programs, and greater sensitivity to the impact of federal actions on the environment. Notable areas include:

- Increases for EPA's operating budget, especially for enforcement (more than 500 new staff) and cleanup at Superfund and federal sites (see #10)

- "America the Beautiful": a three-pronged effort to acquire lands with high environmental or recreation value (up to \$1 billion over four years); restore threatened natural resource and recreation areas ("Legacy '99"); and a new program to expand and accelerate national reforestation to a rate of one billion trees annually

- concerning global climate change, sharply higher funding for the "Mission to Planet Earth" space-based Earth observation system, solar and renewable energy, energy conservation (see #7), and basic research

- research, protection and enhancement of the nation's wetlands; termination or mitigation of certain water projects (see #5)

- proposed demonstration projects to terminate wasteful "below-cost" timber sales at nine national forests and provide improved recreational facilities in those areas

- an increase of almost \$800 million, or 21 percent above 1990 levels, for Federal facility cleanups

- full funding for the Clean Coal Technology program

4) **Pollution prevention and recycling:**

The Administration seeks reforms to move beyond costly end-of-the-process cleanups, toward an emphasis on pollution prevention.

Within EPA, two percent of every program's budget has been set aside to fund specific pollution prevention demonstration projects.

EPA has launched a nationwide "early warning system" to prevent municipal sewage treatment plants from violating Clean Water Act standards.

Legislation and administrative actions are under development to spur federal and private pollution prevention efforts. The legislation would set numerical goals and timetables, enhance data collection, improve municipal solid waste minimization and management, and create helpful new market incentives.

5) **Asbestos ban:**

EPA announced a ban on almost all uses of asbestos in the United States by 1997. Asbestos is a carcinogen linked to lung and chest cancer.

6) **Water pollution, water projects, and wetlands:**

EPA Administrator Reilly blocked issuance of a permit that would allow construction to begin on the Two Forks Dam in Colorado. President Bush seeks termination of uneconomic and destructive projects such as the Garrison Diversion Unit in North Dakota. EPA rejected the proposed Big River reservoir project in Rhode Island, based on unacceptable adverse effects on wetlands, wildlife and recreation.

EPA issued proposals to regulate 17 pesticides and 21 other contaminants in drinking water, almost doubling the number of pollutants subject to federally enforceable standards. The proposals also call for monitoring 110 currently unregulated contaminants.

The Bureau of Reclamation has been given new direction and proposed doubled funding to pursue mitigation of adverse impacts of certain large water projects already constructed.

Concerned by the rapid loss of American wetland habitats, the President directed an interagency task force to report by late 1990 on ways to implement a policy of "no net loss" of wetlands. EPA and Army Corps of Engineers signed an agreement to clarify wetlands protection policy; the Bureau of Reclamation and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service signed an agreement to cooperate in expanding the wetlands breeding habitat for numerous species.

The President's FY91 budget seeks a 24 percent boost (to \$460 million) for research, protection and enhancement of wetlands, including acceleration of the national wetlands inventory. This follows a 32 percent increase in 1990.

For related actions on ocean pollution, see #14.

7) **Energy:**

The Department of Energy is preparing a National Energy Plan which emphasizes, among other things: energy conservation and efficiency; alternative and renewable energy sources; and nuclear power safety.

DOE announced eleven initiatives in energy efficiency and renewables, including: more efficient lighting for federal buildings; regulatory and legislative changes to stimulate efficiency improvements in the utility, commercial and construction sectors; and using the government-industry technology transfer process to speed promising energy technologies into widespread use.

In a reversal of previous policy, DOE proposed rules to centralize and significantly strengthen compliance with the environmental assessment process under the National Environmental Policy Act.

The Department of Transportation raised the corporate average fuel economy (CAFE) standard for autos to 27.5 mpg.

The President postponed lease sales and oil and gas development in sensitive areas off the shores of California and Florida, and will make a final decision on these leases in 1990.

The President has requested all of the necessary funds to complete the \$2.5 billion Clean Coal Technology program.

To address waste cleanup at DOE facilities, funding was increased by \$500 million in FY90; an increase of \$600 million is sought for FY91. DOE released a five-year, site-by-site cleanup plan, and a five-year research and development plan to reduce outyear costs.

8) **Global climate change:**

The Bush Administration has demonstrated a willingness to confront the complex and important question of global climate change.

The Secretary of State's first major address in January 1989 expressed the President's intention to take comprehensive action in this area. In February 1990, the President became the first and only head of state to address the U.N.-sponsored Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the leading global forum for climate change policy.

The U.S. agreed in November 1989 to stabilize U.S. carbon dioxide emissions and study further reductions; the President proposed two major international conferences on the issue in 1990. The first conference, held April 17-18, addressed scientific and economic questions. The second conference would open negotiations toward a multilateral framework treaty once the IPCC has completed initial assessments of the scientific evidence, potential impacts, and policy options.

The President supports efforts to build upon the Montreal Protocol and phase-out all uses of chloro-fluorocarbons (CFC's) and halons by the turn of the century. The Administration supports financial and technical assistance to developing countries to make the transition to non-CFC technologies.

The FY91 budget request seeks \$1 billion for research into global climate change, up 57 percent from 1990. That research includes work on the "Mission to Planet Earth" orbiting observation system, renewable and solar energy sources, and energy efficiency/conservation.

The Administration's clean air bill, National Energy Strategy and increased CAFE standard also will have the effect of stabilizing/reducing "greenhouse gas" emissions.

9) **Other international environmental initiatives:**

The President banned imports of African elephant ivory (see #18).

During his 1989 trips abroad, the President pledged financial and technical aid to Poland and Hungary to control air and water pollution, draft environmental statutes, and establish an East European environmental center.

President Bush led efforts to make the environment a major focus of the "G-7" Summit in Paris. In Tokyo, the President held meetings with leaders of Japan and Brazil to discuss the problem of rapid rainforest depletion.

The Administration helped develop and then signed the Basel Convention, which governs transboundary shipments of hazardous wastes in an environmentally sound manner.

President Bush supported and signed a bill to prohibit U.S. support for foreign development loans unless environmental impacts are studied first.

The Administration persuaded Japan, Taiwan and Korea to enter into agreements to monitor driftnet fishing. This will allow the U.S. to monitor the incidental take of birds, seals, whales, dolphins and other marine mammals.

In 1990, for the first time, Peace Corps volunteers will be trained by EPA in water pollution prevention, waste disposal, reforestation and pesticide management.

The President's plan to elevate EPA to full Cabinet status will give the U.S. Environment Secretary commensurate status with his counterparts from other nations. The plan would also enhance "USDE" authority to offer technical assistance to foreign environmental programs. In early 1989, EPA's International Activities Office was elevated to the assistant administrator level.

10) **Alaskan oil spill:**

The President sent Vice President Quayle and a Cabinet-level team to assess the situation; the Department of Transportation is overseeing cleanup by Exxon, while EPA is coordinating an interagency task force on long-range restoration of Prince William Sound.

After negotiations broke down, the Justice Department issued a five-count criminal indictment against Exxon with potential penalties of up to \$600 million.

11) **Future oil spill prevention:**

The President proposed, and Paris Summit leaders accepted, a call for increased international efforts on oil spill prevention and cleanup. In May 1989, President Bush sent Congress comprehensive oil pollution liability and compensation legislation. The Interior Department began a \$6 million, 3-year joint project with the American Petroleum Institute to research and develop new cleanup technology.

12) **Food safety:**

The Administration proposed legislation to improve food safety by streamlining regulations to allow faster removal of dangerous substances from the market. EPA prohibited all sales, distribution and use of "Alar" products labeled for use on food products, and stepped up its efforts against other suspect pesticides. EPA blocked the sale of roughly 100 million apples that had been illegally treated with the fungicide "Botran."

13) **Hazardous wastes and Superfund:**

After an intensive management review, the Administration reoriented the "Superfund" hazardous waste dump cleanup to an "enforcement first" program to get more responsible parties to undertake cleanups. EPA added 500 new enforcement staff to this program.

The Administration fought Congressional attempts to cut the Superfund budget and in 1989, exceeded Congressionally-mandated targets for cleanup starts and site studies.

The Administration commenced a similar review of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA), expected to yield proposals for upcoming legislative reauthorization.

14) **Clean oceans and coastlines:**

EPA implemented the first step of the President's commitment to prevent medical wastes from washing up on beaches: a pilot medical waste tracking system to serve as a model for further action. The program involves the states of Connecticut, Louisiana, New Jersey, New York and Rhode Island, as well as the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico.

EPA negotiated agreements with local jurisdictions to stop ocean dumping of sewage sludge by late 1991, an initiative that also resulted in penalty actions against 61 cities in 1989. The President proposed legislation to require criminal felony penalties for illegal ocean dumping.

15) **Radon:**

EPA released data showing high levels of cancer-causing radon to be widespread in housing throughout the country, and undertook public education efforts to urge Americans to test and safeguard their homes, schools and businesses.

16) **Defense & the Environment Initiative**

The Department of Defense established a five-point initiative intended to forge long-term partnerships in defense-environmental matters well beyond mere compliance. An autumn 1990 conference will attempt to: finalize a near-term DOD environmental action plan; activate an enhanced DOD environmental decision-making structure; and discuss how global strategic policy might encompass environmental challenges.

17) **Endangered species:**

The President has rejected the suggestion of amendments to the federal Endangered Species Act.

The President banned imports of African elephant ivory products in an effort to save that endangered species; and he requested funding from Congress to assist African countries with management and protection of this species.

The Department of Interior issued an emergency listing of the Desert Tortoise as an endangered species in Southern California, Utah and Nevada. DOI acquired additional habitat for endangered panthers in Florida.

The Two Forks Dam and Big River decisions (see #6) protected thousands of acres of wildlife habitat. And the President reversed a proposal to cap the outlay of funds under the Wallop-Breaux Trust Fund used for fisheries protection and development.

18) **Earth Day**

The Council on Environmental Quality coordinated actions by all federal agencies to celebrate the 20th anniversary of Earth Day, including an exhibition on the Mall in Washington, and various activities by more than a dozen Federal agencies.

19) **Environmental education**

The President proposed a program of cash awards of up to \$5,000 to elementary and secondary school teachers in the 50 states, the District of Columbia and the territories who develop innovative, effective environmental education curricula.

20) **Enforcement**

EPA's aggressive enforcement program levied civil and administrative penalties totaling just under \$35 million in fiscal year 1989, including \$13.6 million from over 4,000 administrative actions, two record highs.

EPA referred 364 civil judicial cases of alleged environmental law violation to the Department of Justice for prosecution in FY89, just short of the 1988 record of 372. EPA referred 60 criminal cases to Justice in FY89.

Notable enforcement actions include:

--Proposed fines of \$1.65 million on 42 companies that failed to report toxic chemical discharges as required by law.

--Civil lawsuits against 34 companies and individuals to halt violations of rules protecting the public from unlawful asbestos demolition and renovation practices.

--Civil lawsuits against 61 cities (including Detroit, El Paso, Phoenix and San Antonio) for violations of the Clean Water Act.

--A civil penalty of \$15 million against the Texas Eastern company for toxic substance violations at up to 89 sites along a 1,000 mile-long natural gas pipeline. The fine was the largest ever for violation of any environmental statute.

--A coordinated campaign to protect the Chesapeake Bay included charges against 26 facilities in the watershed for violations of the Clean Water Act.

After negotiations broke down, the Justice Department issued a five-count criminal indictment against Exxon with potential penalties of up to \$600 million.

21) **Deterring conflicts of interest:**

EPA has set a strict new policy on the agency's use of contractors, barring them from involvement 17 specific activities and warning of improper conflicts of interest in 15 additional areas.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

Michael R. Deland
Chairman

(202) 395-5080

The Bush Administration and the Environment:
Summary of Initiatives and Accomplishments
May 1990

President George Bush, continuing a life-long record of concern for the environment, has demonstrated a commitment to environmental protection, conservation, and wise management of our natural resources. What follows is a summary of the Administration's initiatives and accomplishments.

1. General leadership
2. Air pollution
3. Environmentally-sensitive budget policy
4. Pollution prevention and recycling
5. Asbestos ban
6. Water pollution, water projects and wetlands
7. Energy
8. Global climate change
9. International environmental initiatives
10. Alaskan oil spill
11. Future oil spill prevention
12. Food safety
13. Hazardous wastes and Superfund
14. Clean oceans and coastlines
15. Radon
16. Defense & the Environment Initiative
17. Endangered species
18. Earth Day
19. Environmental education
20. Enforcement
21. Deterring conflicts of interest

1) **General leadership:**

President Bush appointed William K. Reilly to be Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the first professional conservationist to hold the post.

The President named Michael R. Deland, former Administrator of EPA's Boston regional office, to be chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ). The President is committed to revitalizing CEQ's advisory role and requested funding to increase the staff of CEQ from 10 to 34 positions over two years.

The President supports elevating EPA from sub-Cabinet to full Cabinet status, and approved the elevation of EPA's International Activities Office to the assistant administrator level.

President Bush has directed all Cabinet officers to incorporate consideration of environmental impacts into all agency decisions. More departments are embarked on substantive environmental policy initiatives than ever before (see below). The President has devoted dozens of speeches, news conferences, and events to environmental themes, and the White House Domestic Policy staff has devoted thousands of hours to ambitious environmental quality initiatives.

2) **Air pollution:**

After a decade of policy gridlock, President Bush's Administration crafted amendments to the U.S. Clean Air Act to reduce the emissions that cause acid rain, urban smog and toxic air pollution. Thanks in large measure to the President's personal commitment, a bill recently passed the Senate and it appears likely this complex reform package will be enacted in 1990.

Among several other administrative actions on clean air, EPA issued rules that lower gasoline volatility (which contributes to smog) in summer months; and rules to reduce industrial emissions of the hazardous pollutant benzene by 90 percent. EPA proposed standards to require source separation by municipal waste handlers to effectively reduce overall air emissions from municipal waste incinerators by 90 percent.

The Administration has taken important strides forward on global air pollution issues (see #8 and #9).

Related actions on automobile fuel efficiency, energy efficiency and renewables, and clean coal technology are listed below.

3) **Environmentally-sensitive budget policy:**

The Administration's budget request for 1991 continued a trend begun with the President's first budget in 1990: substantial funding increases for most environmental programs, and greater sensitivity to the impact of federal actions on the environment. Notable areas include:

-- Increases for EPA's operating budget, especially for enforcement (more than 500 new staff) and cleanup at Superfund and federal sites (see #10)

-- "America the Beautiful": a three-pronged effort to acquire lands with high environmental or recreation value (up to \$1 billion over four years); restore threatened natural resource and recreation areas ("Legacy '99"); and a new program to expand and accelerate national reforestation to a rate of one billion trees annually

-- concerning global climate change, sharply higher funding for the "Mission to Planet Earth" space-based Earth observation system, solar and renewable energy, energy conservation (see #7), and basic research

-- research, protection and enhancement of the nation's wetlands; termination or mitigation of certain water projects (see #5)

-- proposed demonstration projects to terminate wasteful "below-cost" timber sales at nine national forests and provide improved recreational facilities in those areas

-- an increase of almost \$800 million, or 21 percent above 1990 levels, for Federal facility cleanups

-- full funding for the Clean Coal Technology program

4) **Pollution prevention and recycling:**

The Administration seeks reforms to move beyond costly end-of-the-process cleanups, toward an emphasis on pollution prevention.

Within EPA, two percent of every program's budget has been set aside to fund specific pollution prevention demonstration projects.

EPA has launched a nationwide "early warning system" to prevent municipal sewage treatment plants from violating Clean Water Act standards.

Legislation and administrative actions are under development to spur federal and private pollution prevention efforts. The legislation would set numerical goals and timetables, enhance data collection, improve municipal solid waste minimization and management, and create helpful new market incentives.

5) **Asbestos ban:**

EPA announced a ban on almost all uses of asbestos in the United States by 1997. Asbestos is a carcinogen linked to lung and chest cancer.

6) **Water pollution, water projects, and wetlands:**

EPA Administrator Reilly blocked issuance of a permit that would allow construction to begin on the Two Forks Dam in Colorado. President Bush seeks termination of uneconomic and destructive projects such as the Garrison Diversion Unit in North Dakota. EPA rejected the proposed Big River reservoir project in Rhode Island, based on unacceptable adverse effects on wetlands, wildlife and recreation.

EPA issued proposals to regulate 17 pesticides and 21 other contaminants in drinking water, almost doubling the number of pollutants subject to federally enforceable standards. The proposals also call for monitoring 110 currently unregulated contaminants.

The Bureau of Reclamation has been given new direction and proposed doubled funding to pursue mitigation of adverse impacts of certain large water projects already constructed.

Concerned by the rapid loss of American wetland habitats, the President directed an interagency task force to report by late 1990 on ways to implement a policy of "no net loss" of wetlands. EPA and Army Corps of Engineers signed an agreement to clarify wetlands protection policy; the Bureau of Reclamation and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service signed an agreement to cooperate in expanding the wetlands breeding habitat for numerous species.

The President's FY91 budget seeks a 24 percent boost (to \$460 million) for research, protection and enhancement of wetlands, including acceleration of the national wetlands inventory. This follows a 32 percent increase in 1990.

For related actions on ocean pollution, see #14.

7) **Energy:**

The Department of Energy is preparing a National Energy Plan which emphasizes, among other things: energy conservation and efficiency; alternative and renewable energy sources; and nuclear power safety.

DOE announced eleven initiatives in energy efficiency and renewables, including: more efficient lighting for federal buildings; regulatory and legislative changes to stimulate efficiency improvements in the utility, commercial and construction sectors; and using the government-industry technology transfer process to speed promising energy technologies into widespread use.

In a reversal of previous policy, DOE proposed rules to centralize and significantly strengthen compliance with the environmental assessment process under the National Environmental Policy Act.

The Department of Transportation raised the corporate average fuel economy (CAFE) standard for autos to 27.5 mpg.

The President postponed lease sales and oil and gas development in sensitive areas off the shores of California and Florida, and will make a final decision on these leases in 1990.

The President has requested all of the necessary funds to complete the \$2.5 billion Clean Coal Technology program.

To address waste cleanup at DOE facilities, funding was increased by \$500 million in FY90; an increase of \$600 million is sought for FY91. DOE released a five-year, site-by-site cleanup plan, and a five-year research and development plan to reduce outyear costs.

8) **Global climate change:**

The Bush Administration has demonstrated a willingness to confront the complex and important question of global climate change.

The Secretary of State's first major address in January 1989 expressed the President's intention to take comprehensive action in this area. In February 1990, the President became the first and only head of state to address the U.N.-sponsored Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the leading global forum for climate change policy.

The U.S. agreed in November 1989 to stabilize U.S. carbon dioxide emissions and study further reductions; the President proposed two major international conferences on the issue in 1990. The first conference, held April 17-18, addressed scientific and economic questions. The second conference would open negotiations toward a multilateral framework treaty once the IPCC has completed initial assessments of the scientific evidence, potential impacts, and policy options.

The President supports efforts to build upon the Montreal Protocol and phase-out all uses of chlorofluorocarbons (CFC's) and halons by the turn of the century. The Administration supports financial and technical assistance to developing countries to make the transition to non-CFC technologies.

The FY91 budget request seeks \$1 billion for research into global climate change, up 57 percent from 1990. That research includes work on the "Mission to Planet Earth" orbiting observation system, renewable and solar energy sources, and energy efficiency/conservation.

The Administration's clean air bill, National Energy Strategy and increased CAFE standard also will have the effect of stabilizing/reducing "greenhouse gas" emissions.

9) **Other international environmental initiatives:**

The President banned imports of African elephant ivory (see #18).

During his 1989 trips abroad, the President pledged financial and technical aid to Poland and Hungary to control air and water pollution, draft environmental statutes, and establish an East European environmental center.

President Bush led efforts to make the environment a major focus of the "G-7" Summit in Paris. In Tokyo, the President held meetings with leaders of Japan and Brazil to discuss the problem of rapid rainforest depletion.

The Administration helped develop and then signed the Basel Convention, which governs transboundary shipments of hazardous wastes in an environmentally sound manner.

President Bush supported and signed a bill to prohibit U.S. support for foreign development loans unless environmental impacts are studied first.

The Administration persuaded Japan, Taiwan and Korea to enter into agreements to monitor driftnet fishing. This will allow the U.S. to monitor the incidental take of birds, seals, whales, dolphins and other marine mammals.

In 1990, for the first time, Peace Corps volunteers will be trained by EPA in water pollution prevention, waste disposal, reforestation and pesticide management.

The President's plan to elevate EPA to full Cabinet status will give the U.S. Environment Secretary commensurate status with his counterparts from other nations. The plan would also enhance "USDE" authority to offer technical assistance to foreign environmental programs. In early 1989, EPA's International Activities Office was elevated to the assistant administrator level.

10) **Alaskan oil spill:**

The President sent Vice President Quayle and a Cabinet-level team to assess the situation; the Department of Transportation is overseeing cleanup by Exxon, while EPA is coordinating an interagency task force on long-range restoration of Prince William Sound.

After negotiations broke down, the Justice Department issued a five-count criminal indictment against Exxon with potential penalties of up to \$600 million.

11) **Future oil spill prevention:**

The President proposed, and Paris Summit leaders accepted, a call for increased international efforts on oil spill prevention and cleanup. In May 1989, President Bush sent Congress comprehensive oil pollution liability and compensation legislation. The Interior Department began a \$6 million, 3-year joint project with the American Petroleum Institute to research and develop new cleanup technology.

12) **Food safety:**

The Administration proposed legislation to improve food safety by streamlining regulations to allow faster removal of dangerous substances from the market. EPA prohibited all sales, distribution and use of "Alar" products labeled for use on food products, and stepped up its efforts against other suspect pesticides. EPA blocked the sale of roughly 100 million apples that had been illegally treated with the fungicide "Botran."

13) **Hazardous wastes and Superfund:**

After an intensive management review, the Administration reoriented the "Superfund" hazardous waste dump cleanup to an "enforcement first" program to get more responsible parties to undertake cleanups. EPA added 500 new enforcement staff to this program.

The Administration fought Congressional attempts to cut the Superfund budget and in 1989, exceeded Congressionally-mandated targets for cleanup starts and site studies.

The Administration commenced a similar review of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA), expected to yield proposals for upcoming legislative reauthorization.

14) **Clean oceans and coastlines:**

EPA implemented the first step of the President's commitment to prevent medical wastes from washing up on beaches: a pilot medical waste tracking system to serve as a model for further action. The program involves the states of Connecticut, Louisiana, New Jersey, New York and Rhode Island, as well as the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico.

EPA negotiated agreements with local jurisdictions to stop ocean dumping of sewage sludge by late 1991, an initiative that also resulted in penalty actions against 61 cities in 1989. The President proposed legislation to require criminal felony penalties for illegal ocean dumping.

15) **Radon:**

EPA released data showing high levels of cancer-causing radon to be widespread in housing throughout the country, and undertook public education efforts to urge Americans to test and safeguard their homes, schools and businesses.

16) **Defense & the Environment Initiative**

The Department of Defense established a five-point initiative intended to forge long-term partnerships in defense-environmental matters well beyond mere compliance. An autumn 1990 conference will attempt to: finalize a near-term DOD environmental action plan; activate an enhanced DOD environmental decision-making structure; and discuss how global strategic policy might encompass environmental challenges.

17) **Endangered species:**

The President has rejected the suggestion of amendments to the federal Endangered Species Act.

The President banned imports of African elephant ivory products in an effort to save that endangered species; and he requested funding from Congress to assist African countries with management and protection of this species.

The Department of Interior issued an emergency listing of the Desert Tortoise as an endangered species in Southern California, Utah and Nevada. DOI acquired additional habitat for endangered panthers in Florida.

The Two Forks Dam and Big River decisions (see #6) protected thousands of acres of wildlife habitat. And the President reversed a proposal to cap the outlay of funds under the Wallop-Breaux Trust Fund used for fisheries protection and development.

18) **Earth Day**

The Council on Environmental Quality coordinated actions by all federal agencies to celebrate the 20th anniversary of Earth Day, including an exhibition on the Mall in Washington, and various activities by more than a dozen Federal agencies.

19) **Environmental education**

The President proposed a program of cash awards of up to \$5,000 to elementary and secondary school teachers in the 50 states, the District of Columbia and the territories who develop innovative, effective environmental education curricula.

20) **Enforcement**

EPA's aggressive enforcement program levied civil and administrative penalties totaling just under \$35 million in fiscal year 1989, including \$13.6 million from over 4,000 administrative actions, two record highs.

EPA referred 364 civil judicial cases of alleged environmental law violation to the Department of Justice for prosecution in FY89, just short of the 1988 record of 372. EPA referred 60 criminal cases to Justice in FY89.

Notable enforcement actions include:

--Proposed fines of \$1.65 million on 42 companies that failed to report toxic chemical discharges as required by law.

--Civil lawsuits against 34 companies and individuals to halt violations of rules protecting the public from unlawful asbestos demolition and renovation practices.

--Civil lawsuits against 61 cities (including Detroit, El Paso, Phoenix and San Antonio) for violations of the Clean Water Act.

--A civil penalty of \$15 million against the Texas Eastern company for toxic substance violations at up to 89 sites along a 1,000 mile-long natural gas pipeline. The fine was the largest ever for violation of any environmental statute.

--A coordinated campaign to protect the Chesapeake Bay included charges against 26 facilities in the watershed for violations of the Clean Water Act.

After negotiations broke down, the Justice Department issued a five-count criminal indictment against Exxon with potential penalties of up to \$600 million.

21) **Detering conflicts of interest:**

EPA has set a strict new policy on the agency's use of contractors, barring them from involvement 17 specific activities and warning of improper conflicts of interest in 15 additional areas.

New York school report assails Western culture

By Carol Innerst
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

1/2/89

A report in the hands of the New York State Board of Regents urges a radical overhaul of the public school curriculum in ways that greatly diminish the contributions of Western culture to the nation and the world. The redesigned "multicultural" curriculum, for kindergarten through the 12th grade, at the same time would elevate the roles of ethnic minorities, teaching children that all cultures were equally important to the development of U.S. society.

The current curriculum retains

"hidden assumptions of white supremacy and white nationalism," the report of the Task Force on Minorities, appointed by New York Commissioner of Education Thomas Sobol, reports.

This has happened, the minority advocates say, despite significant attempts in recent years to infuse multiculturalism into the books and materials used by schoolchildren.

The report, which blamed the present "harmful" curriculum bias toward European cultures for the "miseducation" of minority children, was conveyed to the Board of Regents in July.

Mr. Sobol is expected to make his

own recommendations to the board at its Jan. 16-17 meeting, based on the report and public reaction.

No hearings have been held on the report and none are scheduled, according to the public information office of the New York State Department of Education.

Dismantling the premise that America developed as a preserve of European culture and values should lead to "higher self-esteem and self-respect" among children from Native American, Puerto Rican/Latino, Asian American and African-American cultures, concludes the report, "A Curriculum of Inclusion."

This will lower the self-esteem of

children of European cultures, the report notes, so they "will have a less arrogant perspective of being part of the group that has 'done it all'."

Joan Batey, a resident of Apalachin, N.Y., is one of a small group of concerned citizens attempting to publicize the report.

"People only find out about it by accident. Everybody we talk to about it has been shocked," she said.

"We call ourselves 'Concerned Citizens for Rational Alternatives.' Aldo S. Bernardo, professor emeritus at State University of New York at Binghamton, said of the group protesting the report's findings.

While people of color have con-

tributed to this society, other cultures do not compare to European culture "insofar as what made this country what it is," Mr. Bernardo said. "There is something very wrong about the direction of the report. It starts with a chip on its shoulder. It's distorted."

The New York report comes at a time when many school jurisdictions cite a need to build respect for the multicultural heritage of the increasingly diverse children in their classrooms. These educators say that a multicultural curriculum is the solution to the difficulties

see CULTURE, page A5

CULTURE

From page A1

schools are having as they try to educate children of color, many of whom drop out before graduation.

The multicultural-curriculum movement got a boost when California called three years ago for a multicultural approach in its revised framework for English/language arts and history.

"In history, we said that by leaving out important facts about major civilizations we were robbing young people of an understanding of what really went on in the world," says California Department of Education spokeswoman Susan Lange. "In literature, there was the sense that here was one more way to engage young people who are a difficult group for us now. Anything we can do to capture their interest and keep them in school and have others understand them as well is to everyone's benefit."

Two months ago, the Council of Great City Schools, which consists of 45 of the nation's largest urban school districts, representing 5 million students, 75 percent of them minorities, urged its superintendents to press for greater inclusion of other cultures in history textbooks.

At a council seminar prior to that, Donald H. Smith, dean of the School of Education at City University of New York, called for revision of all curriculum material in order to "save" the black child.

According to Milton Bins, deputy director of the Council of Great City Schools, "Some problems of minorities stem from establishing who they are. They've been cut off from

their history and ancestry."

While decrying the notion of tearing down the dominant culture, to build up minority cultures, Mr. Bins said: "When you talk of bringing in more content from previously excluded groups... you always must decide what's going to be left out from the existing content."

Among urban districts, Rochester, N.Y., and Portland, Ore., have taken the lead in multicultural edu-

This will lower the self-esteem of children of European cultures, the report notes, so they "will have a less arrogant perspective of being part of the group that has 'done it all'."

cation, said Jacquelin Dennis, spokeswoman for the council.

District Public Schools recently announced an "African-American studies program" that officials hope will reduce the high dropout rate.

The Board of Education in Prince George's County a year ago adopted a set of recommendations from its own Multicultural Education Task Force to weave multiculturalism into the curriculum, said spokesman Brian Porter. "It called for a series of changes in the curriculum and

textbooks and methodology of teaching," he said.

"The first stage is under way now — development and distribution of curriculum materials for individual schools to use in bringing about better awareness of multicultural issues," says Mr. Porter. "The report recognized that there needs to be an awareness of the diversity of children and issues and concepts within our society and that awareness must be present to provide true equity in the provision of academic opportunity."

Within our own county, there are hundreds of cultural identities," he says. "Some schools have 35 to 45 different languages spoken at home by the children. There are different cultural appreciations having to do with class, ethnicity and gender."

The New York report argued that the current curriculum treats non-European achievements as "appendages rather than integral to the main body of information."

European culture is likened to the master of a house ruling over a dinner table, himself firmly established at the head of the table and all other cultures being guests some distance down the table from the master, who has invited the others through his beneficence," the report said.

The report asserted that minorities "have all been the victims of an intellectual and educational oppression that has characterized the culture and institutions of the United States and the European American world for centuries."

Schools can't correct the situation without totally revamping textbooks and curriculum, the Task Force concluded.

THE SENATE'S CLEAN-AIR BILL

Sky War: Pollution Cures vs. Costs

Continued From First Page

the facilities. About 200 steelworkers from LTV Corp. and USX Corp. protested at the Capitol yesterday, contending that their jobs are on the line.

The Senate bill would exempt the steel industry from shutdowns for the next 30 years provided the industry meets more stringent emission standards. But steel officials say the provision would require them to move faster and spend more to cut emissions than any other industry. They estimate the cost to be more than \$5 billion by 1995, which they say would funnel money away from modernization efforts and hurt their competitiveness.

Sen. Howard Metzenbaum, however, argues that steelmakers don't deserve any special break. The Ohio Democrat says that emissions from steelmakers' coke ovens are among the most dangerous. Besides, he says, "I do not believe there will be plant closings and job layoffs" as a result of the stricter standards.

Big oil companies also feel gouged. They foresee expensive refinery and distribution changes by 1992 if they are forced to add ethanol or methanol to reformulated gasoline, as the Senate bill demands. The American Petroleum Institute, the main oil trade group, says the new gasoline would cost 20 cents to 25 cents more a gallon. The fuel would be sold in the nation's nine smoggiest cities.

Auto makers say they lack the technology to cut emissions as aggressively and as fast as the Senate legislation requires. Key House members already have staked out a similar though slightly less tough position on tailpipe exhausts. The industry will have wait until later to press for changes when a House-Senate conference harmonizes out differences between the legislation passed by the chambers.

High-sulfur coal companies and miners failed to win relief in the Senate from acid-rain provisions. The Senate bill calls for industry to spend \$4 billion a year to neutralize acid rain. Unless Midwesterners in the House can pull off an acid-rain ad package, which is highly unlikely, producers such as Consolidation Coal Co. and Island Creek Corp. say they will lose customers as utilities switch to low-sulfur coal. Some 11,000 to 15,000 miners of high-sulfur coal, principally in West Virginia, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio and Pennsylvania, may lose their jobs.

But environmentalists have their problems with the Senate bill, too. They believe that Senate leaders started out with an environmentally aggressive proposal, but made too many concessions in an effort to avoid a White House veto or Republican filibuster on the floor.

Without tougher smog provisions than are in the Senate bill, environmentalists predict that many cities will miss their deadlines for reducing unhealthy smog levels. They also say that auto companies aren't pushed hard enough to develop new

technologies to reduce tailpipe emissions in cars to be built after the year 2003.

Despite the threat of automatic shutdowns for plants that can't meet stricter emission standards, environmentalists are upset that cancer risks won't be eliminated for people living near polluting plants. They also claim the Senate bill restricts the authority of the federal government to step in when smoggy areas fail to create their own pollution-reduction plans.

"If the standard is 'Is this bill better than current law?' it obviously is," says Gene Karpinski, executive director of U.S. Public Interest Research Group. "If the standard is 'Is this as good as we should have done?' it obviously is not."

But while industries and regions of the country are locked in their own individual battles for relief, a great deal of the air-pollution issue is all but decided.

The legislation sets standards for the next decade or so with respect to all the major issues, including car exhausts, acid rain, toxic industrial emissions and alternative fuels. But it also goes further in an effort to set clean-air standards for the first decade of the next century. Much of the House debate is expected to focus on these long-range goals.

"If we had a bill that addressed the clean-air problems in the U.S. for the next 10 or 12 years alone, we'd have had very few arguments," says William Reilly, chief of the Environmental Protection Agency. "It's only when you move into that second phase that you see very large cost numbers and very large differences of opinion."

Billions of dollars of pollution regulation, much of it in Mr. Bush's original clean-air proposal, is now accepted and has not drawn serious challenge in Congress.

Surprisingly, one of the least controversial provisions of the bill puts the nation's first acid-rain control law on the books, requiring coal-burning power plants to cut their emissions.

For years, ferocious battling by coal and utility interests made acid rain the key stumbling block to passage of sweeping clean-air legislation. President Reagan doubted acid rain was a serious problem. But Mr. Bush's campaign pledge to address acid rain, combined with agreement between the White House and environmentalists on a 10 million-ton sulfur-dioxide reduction, have forced even the oldest foes to accept the inevitability of acid-rain controls.

Even though many utility companies are skeptical of the new work, lawmakers generally agree that there is a need for an innovative pollution trading system to hold down the price tag for acid-rain controls. Under the proposed system, utilities that voluntarily made extra-deep cuts would get pollution credits; they could sell or swap these credits to other utilities, which could then use them to expand a

nationwide cap on total power-plant emissions. Unofficially would preserve clean-air gains for decades.

There is widespread agreement among lawmakers to junk a regulatory system that has set standards on air emissions of only seven toxic chemicals in 20 years. Most legislators now agree instead on requiring factories, from chemical plants to dry cleaners, to install the best anti-pollution technology available. The goal would be to prevent at least 7,200 annual cancer deaths from toxic industrial emissions, while also reducing birth defects and respiratory disease. The deep differences lie in how to cut the remaining emissions.

Lawmakers have reached general agreement on setting deadlines to reduce smog. Rather than imposing a single nationwide deadline for cleaning up smog, the new approach is to tailor deadlines to fit cities' pollution problems. Los Angeles, the smoggiest city, for example, would have until the year 2010 to eliminate unhealthy levels of ozone, the main ingredient in smog. There is also general agreement that auto emissions must get cleaner. Exactly how clean remains at issue.

One of the biggest changes from previous attempts to clean up smog in cities is to require not only that vehicles be cleaner-burning but that their fuel get cleaner as well. President Bush proposed the idea, and now both houses of Congress seem to be buying it. The fuel of choice remains to be decided. However, policy makers are tilting toward a reformulated gasoline.

Here are the major unsettled issues likely to confront the House, where Mr. Dingell's committee hopes to complete its work on clean-air legislation this week. The full House hopes to take up the legislation in May.

ACID RAIN: Whether to help Midwest utilities shoulder the steep cost of acid rain controls—an issue that has stymied clean-air legislation for years—will probably be decided through a bruising battle, possibly this week in committee.

Rep. Phil Sharp, an Indiana Democrat whose state would be hit with higher electricity bills because of acid-rain controls, leads the advocates for a subsidy for the Midwest utility companies that would have to do the bulk of the acid-rain cleanup. He is pitted against lawmakers from states, such as some in the West, whose utilities have already cleaned up their emissions and don't want to bail out the Midwest.

There may also be an attempt to provide extra unemployment benefits for high-sulfur coal miners who will lose their jobs. An effort to legislate such relief to the Senate failed by a single vote.

ALTERNATIVE FUELS: On split votes, Mr. Dingell's committee has adopted an alternative-fuels program that relies heavily on reformulated gasoline in the nine smoggiest cities. But the issue is destined to arise again on the House floor.

Rep. Waxman and Rep. Bill Richardson, a New Mexico Democrat, plan to push for a tougher program requiring wide use of reformulated gas for cars and even cleaner alternatives, like natural gas, for fleet vehicles. Big Oil's patrons, led by Texas Reps. Ralph Hall, a Democrat, and Jack Fields, a Republican, will try to hold the line.

CHLOROFUOROCARBONS: Environmentalists hope to persuade the House to match a Senate provision that would require the U.S., ahead of other countries, to phase out chlorofluorocarbons, freon-like chemicals used chiefly as refrigerants, tend to deplete the Earth's ozone layer, the atmospheric layer that screens out much ultraviolet radiation. However, the administration opposes a unilateral ban on CFCs in favor of international agreements to phase out the chemicals.

For the Senate, the path to approving a clean-air bill was anything but smooth. Early on, fears of a presidential veto or Republican filibuster—prompted by industry outcry over the cost of a committee-approved bill—sent Senate leaders and the White House into four weeks of closed-door negotiations. There, they cut the crucial deals, including the exemption for coke ovens and the extra pollution allowances for utility companies, that are behind the Senate bill.

Despite opposition from industry and environmental groups, the compromise held. During a month of votes on the floor, lawmakers turned back an effort to write additional reductions in air pollution from cars and fuel and refused to maintain a strong federal role in forcing states and cities to clean up smog. They also killed a provision that would have allowed factories whose furnaces pose cancer risks to buy out adjoining neighborhoods if they couldn't reduce the health risk.

The result is a Senate bill that doesn't initially please either environmentalists or industry. It is so upset, in fact, that at a contentious closed-door meeting recently, industry leaders lashed out at White House officials for compromising with Senate leaders on air-pollution controls that many corporate leaders feel are too expensive.

GE Names Executive For Environment Unit

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter
FAIRFIELD, Conn.—General Electric Co. said it named Stephen D. Ramsey, a Washington, D.C., environmental lawyer and former head of the Justice Department's environmental-enforcement unit, as vice president, corporate environmental programs.

Mr. Ramsey, 42 years old, succeeds W. Roger Striffler, 46, who left to join Bechtel Corp. as vice president of its environmental programs. Mr. Ramsey will be in charge of ensuring "consistent state-of-the-art" environmental practices across its 13 businesses in the U.S. and abroad. He will direct a staff of technical, management and legal personnel.

Mr. Ramsey currently is a senior partner at the law firm of Sidley & Austin.

The Path of Clean-Air Legislation

EXISTING LAW	PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL	SENATE BILL	HOUSE PROPOSAL
101 cities missed the deadline for meeting health standards for ozone, the main ingredient of smog.	Goal is that all but four cities (Los Angeles, New York, Houston and Chicago) comply with smog standards by year 2000; those four must comply by 2010.	Goal is that all but nine cities comply by 2000, all but L.A. by 2005, L.A. by 2010 (2).	Goal is that all but nine cities comply by 1989, all but L.A. by 2005, L.A. by 2010 (2).
Smoggy areas must make steady improvement, at least 3% a year reduction in smog-forming emissions.	Smoggy areas must make 4% annual improvements in early years, later 5% a year.	Requires 3% a year improvements in smoggy areas (2).	
Current controls on tailpipes have resulted in exhaust that's 95% cleaner than before 1970.	Tailpipe Standards, phased in starting with 1984 models: Nitrogen oxide: 60% reduction; Hydrocarbons: 40% reduction.	Tailpipe Standards, phased in starting with 1984 models: Nitrogen oxide: 60% reduction; Hydrocarbons: 40% reduction. Second round of tailpipe cuts, halving exhaust levels, hydrocarbons and nitrogen oxide, will be required for 2004 models.	Tailpipe standards phased-in, beginning with 1984 models: Nitrogen oxide: 60% reduction; Hydrocarbons: 40% cut. Second round of tailpipe cuts would be required for 2003 model cars only if EPA study determines they're needed and cost-effective (11).
Tailpipe standards must be maintained for 50,000 miles or five years.	Tailpipe standards must be maintained for five years or 50,000 miles.	Tailpipe standards must be maintained for 10 years, or 100,000 miles, though lesser standards take effect after first 50,000 miles.	Tailpipe standards must be maintained for 10 years or 100,000 miles, though lesser standards take effect after first 50,000 miles.
Pollution equipment warranted for 50,000 miles or five years.	Pollution-equipment warranty of 50,000 miles or five years.	Pollution-equipment warranty of 80,000 miles or 8 years for catalytic converters and electronic diagnostic gear, 24,000 miles or two years for all other pollution gear.	Pollution gear warranty: five years, 50,000 miles for catalytic converter and electronic diagnostic equipment. Two years, 24,000 miles for all other pollution gear (2).
Special nozzles on gas pumps to reduce gasoline fumes during refueling are required by California and New Jersey cities, plus St. Louis, New York City and Washington D.C.	To catch fumes, would require special nozzles on gas pumps for 38 moderately smoggy areas.	To catch fumes, tentatively requires fume-catching canisters on new cars, requires special nozzles on gas pumps in smoggy areas.	Gasoline fumes: tentatively requires canisters on cars. Would require special nozzles on gas pumps for 38 smoggy areas.

EXISTING LAW	PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL	SENATE BILL	HOUSE PROPOSAL
No requirements.	Auto makers must begin producing cars that run on methanol or other clean-burning alternative to conventional gasoline by 1995, selling at least one million vehicles a year in the nine smoggiest cities by 1997.	Beginning with 1995 models, all vehicles sold in nine smoggiest cities must emit 21% fewer hydrocarbons and reduce cancer cases resulting from their emissions by 12%. Starting with 1999 models the standard is 30% fewer hydrocarbons and a 27% reduction in cancer cases. EPA can relax the 1997 models.	Beginning with 1995 models, all cars sold in the nine smoggiest cities must emit 14% fewer hydrocarbons than current cars. Cancer cases would have to be cut 12%. Starting with 2000 models, cars would emit 24% fewer hydrocarbons, with cancer cases cut 27% unless EPA relaxes the cancer standard (2).
No best proposal.	Starting with 1995 models, government-owned fleet vehicles must emit 75% fewer hydrocarbons and 75% fewer toxic chemicals. Centrally fueled private fleets of more than 20 vehicles must meet fleet standards, beginning with 1997 models.	Starting with 1995 models, fleet vehicles in nine smoggiest cities would have to emit 64% fewer hydrocarbons. Starting with 2000 models, hydrocarbons would have to be cut 75% (2).	

EXISTING LAW	PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL	SENATE BILL	HOUSE PROPOSAL
Seven chemicals regulated since 1970.	First round: Over the next 10 years, majority of polluting plants would be required to use best technology available to reduce by 75% to 90% their emissions of 191 toxic chemicals. Second round: Additional deeper cutbacks could be required on a case-by-case basis if the EPA, taking cost and health into account, finds a plant's fumes still pose "unreasonable" risks.	First round: same as president's, but applies to more plants. Second round: Much to the dislike of business, bill would adopt a health-based standard that threatens to shut down plants unless they can further reduce their emissions so that neighbors face no more than a one-in-10,000 risk of getting cancer from plant fumes. However, Congress could change the standards after a risk-assessment study. Coke ovens eligible for 30-year extension.	First round: same as president's but applies to more plants. Second round: requires EPA to set health-based standards that produce ample margins of safety.
Requires reductions of toxic air pollutants from cars and gasoline refueling.	Requires reductions of toxic air pollutants from cars and gasoline refueling.	Requires reductions of toxic emissions from cars in nine smoggiest cities through changes in gasoline.	Requires reductions of toxic emissions from cars in nine smoggiest cities.

EXISTING LAW	PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL	SENATE BILL	HOUSE PROPOSAL
No requirements.	First phase: 111 dirtiest power plants in 21 states cut sulfur dioxide emissions 5 million tons nationwide by 1996. Second phase: More than 200 additional power plants must make reductions by 2001, for total 16-million-ton reduction. Three-year extension of 2001 deadline for power plants that use new clean-coal technology that will help end continued use of high-sulfur coal. Create innovative pollution system in which utilities that make extra-deep reductions get credits they can sell or swap to utilities that want to increase their emissions. Nationwide cap on sulfur-dioxide emissions after year 2000. No special benefits for ratepayers or miners hurt by bill. Require utilities in addition to reduce nitrogen-oxide emissions also blamed for acid rain by 2 million tons per year beginning 2001.	First phase: same as president's plan but cuts must occur by 1995. Second phase: same as president but cuts must occur by 2000. Three-year extension for use of clean-coal technology. Amends trading system to give bonus pollution credits to dirty utilities that use scrubbers to clean up, and to clean power plants in high-growth areas. Nationwide cap on sulfur-dioxide emissions after 2,000. No special benefits for miners or ratepayers beyond changes in trading system. Same amount of nitrogen-oxide reductions as president's, but cuts are on stepped-up schedule beginning in 1995.	No action yet. Expected is an attempt at cost-sharing, in which other regions would help pay the steep costs faced by dirty Midwest utilities, and an effort to help cut power plants in high-growth areas.

(1) Subcommittees compromise that's expected to prevail
(2) Approved by committee

Legislation Would Assist Corn Farms, Ethanol Firm

By JOHN E. YANG

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—The Senate's clean air bill would require use of cleaner-burning gasoline in the nation's nine smoggiest cities, but it could benefit rural America as much as urban America.

The reason is corn: The special gasoline requirement could vastly increase use of ethanol, a corn-distilled alcohol that's long been a favorite fuel of farm-state lawmakers.

Oil-state senators charge that the provision is nothing less than a gift for corn growers and Archer-Daniels-Midland Co., the nation's largest producer of ethanol. "It is plainly aimed at benefiting one industry relative to another," says Sen. Phil Gramm (R., Texas), who is running for reelection this fall, and his objective has absolutely nothing to do with clean air."

ADM's chairman and chief executive officer, Dwayne Andreas, is a longtime friend and contributor to Senate GOP leader Robert Dole of Kansas, a key backer of the provision. And ADM's political action committee has given \$22,900 to congressional candidates since 1987, including some to Sen. Gramm.

The battle over the cleaner-fuel amendment is one of many that pit one crucial interest against another. As with any piece of major legislation, many of the skirmishes fought on the Senate floor and in the Capitol's backrooms over the past two months have had as much to do with who would profit and who would lose than with cleaning America's air.

Special-Interest Battle?

For instance, the Senate bill also includes a provision to help the dirtiest coal-fired Midwestern power plants with their high cleanup costs. In another provision, independent coke producers, championed by such lawmakers as Sen. Howell Heflin (D., Ala.), won a 30-year exemption from the threat of mandatory shutdown for failing to reduce cancer risks to nearby neighborhoods.

Growers of corn and other crops also would benefit from an amendment, added at the behest of farm-state lawmakers, that would give special treatment to ammonia, one of the most common pollutants released into the atmosphere but an important ingredient in widely used fertilizers.

Proponents of the cleaner-fuel provision say the big oil companies simply don't want to make the investment required to produce the reformulated gasoline or face the competition from independent refiners that already produce gas using ethanol. "Industry opposition is generated solely by their desire to maintain their profitable monopoly on the gasoline market, even at the expense of the health of the American public," says Sen. Thomas Daschle (D., S.D.), the provision's prime sponsor.

The cleaner-gasoline provision is but the latest chapter in Congress' love affair with ethanol, which has flourished thanks in large part to federal tax subsidies and import tariffs provided by such intransigent lawmakers as Sens. Daschle and Dole.

Ill.-based ADM, the world's

biggest commodities-processing company, dominates the domestic ethanol market and is a major presence in Washington too. Mr. Andreas, his relatives and ADM's political action committee have contributed \$76,000 to Sen. Dole's political efforts, and the Archer-Daniels-Midland Foundation also has given \$160,000 to the Dole Foundation, a charitable organization set up by the Kansas Republican in 1984. Since 1987, Mr. Andreas personally gave \$33,500 to various candidates.

"I do not have anything against ADM," says Sen. Don Nickles (R., Okla.), who opposes the provision. "But that is where most of the benefits are going to go—perhaps more of the benefits will go to them than the corn farmers."

ADM didn't take a position on the amendment, according to a company spokesman.

A spokesman for Sen. Dole says the lawmaker's support for the cleaner-fuel amendment "has nothing to do with Dwayne Andreas," adding: "This amendment addresses the bottom-line concerns of senators not only in farm states but all over: How do you make gasoline less toxic?"

The provision sets forth a recipe for the reformulated gasoline that would have to be sold in the dirtiest cities by 1994: no more than one quarter cancer-causing chemicals called aromatics, no more than 1% benzene and an oxygen content of at least 2.7%.

The big oil companies and their allies say that last direction virtually mandates the use of ethanol. Sen. John Breaux (D., La.), a member of the Senate Environment Committee, derides the provision as "clearly a let's-buy-more-corn proposal."

But aides to Sen. Daschle say that other additives, such as methanol derived from natural gas, could satisfy the requirements.

Provision Supported

The cleaner-fuel provision is backed by such environmental groups as the National Clean Air Coalition and the Sierra Club and by the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition, a consumer-based public interest group.

Both sides agree that the provision would add to the cost of fuel, though they're far apart on the question of how much. The American Petroleum Institute, a trade group, claims the additional cost could be as much as 25 cents a gallon. Mr. Daschle, citing figures from a private industry consulting group, said the additional cost would be only between one cent and three cents a gallon.

The Congressional Research Service estimates the added cost to be 10 cents to 15 cents a gallon, or about \$25 billion to \$50 billion. Under certain circumstances, though, the research service said the cost could be as high as \$100 billion.

The Bush administration says the provision could add billions of dollars to the measure's cost, but allows that the reduction in toxic emissions from automobile exhaust could also yield benefits on which it's hard to put a price tag.

THE SENATE'S CLEAN-AIR BILL

Cost vs. Benefits: Analysis Gets Soft

By DAVID WISHL

WASHINGTON—Sen. Alan Dixon stood up during Senate debate on amendments to the Clean Air Act last week and complained: "No one here knows how much this bill will ultimately cost business in America."

The Illinois Democrat might have added that no one precisely knows the positive effects of the bill, much less how to put a dollar value on them.

Strange as that sounds, Congress has spent far more time debating costs and benefits than it did when it passed the original Clean Air Act 20 years ago. "Back then, it was a little unseemly to even ask," says Paul Portney, a former Carter administration environmental official now at Resources for the Future, a Washington think tank.

But legislation in the 1990s demands cost-benefit analysis—or at least the attempt. All the cost figures being tossed around, including those in the accompanying chart, are actually educated guesses that rely on assumptions about technology, business behavior and science that are certain to change over the next decade.

As spongy as the cost estimates are, they're much more reliable than the best estimates of the benefits. Scientists don't agree on how much harm is done by acid rain, for instance, and they don't know how long-term harm is caused by smog in Los Angeles. So it's impossible for economists to assign dollar values to the benefits of controlling or reversing the problem. And then there is the always-thought question: How much is it worth to save one human life?

By any measure, the bill that went before the Senate is costly. The Bush administration figures it will cost about \$21.5 billion a year by 2005, when it's fully implemented. That's about \$90 a year for every current resident of the U.S., or roughly the value of all the goods and services produced in the United States in 1½ days.

Some business groups say the cost will be far higher. The administration itself warns that its cost could rise as much as \$10 billion a year if stricter auto-tailpipe controls in the Senate bill are triggered in the year 2001. Some environmental groups say the total cost is far less.

Mr. Portney, whose group tries to remain nonpartisan in this debate, figures the cost at between \$25 billion or \$30 billion. He thinks the administration may be lowballing its estimates to defend the compromise it reached with the Senate. But he adds that costs are likely to fall because industry will have an incentive to figure out cheaper ways to meet the targets set in the bill.

Weighing the Costs and Benefits

COSTS	BENEFITS
REDUCE ACID RAIN	- Prevent premature death of as many as 50,000 people a year, according to some scientists. - Improve water quality in acidic lakes and streams. - Prevent damage to 35,000 historic stone buildings in the Northeast and tens of thousands of monuments and outdoor sculptures. Reduce maintenance costs for galvanized steel and painted structures.
REDUCE SMOG AND AIRBORNE PARTICLES	- Reduce discomfort, such as shortness of breath, coughing, for asthmatics, outdoor workers and people with respiratory problems, between \$500 million and \$4 billion a year, and perhaps as much as \$10 billion under generous assumptions. Reducing chronic respiratory ailments, a far more serious problem, would save millions more. - Reduce damage to wheat, soybeans, corn and other crops. Reducing ozone in rural areas would reduce crop damage by \$500 million to \$1 billion annually. - Clearer skies in 31 eastern states where 170 million Americans live.
REDUCE EMISSIONS OF TOXIC CHEMICALS	- Prevent 75% of the 1,500 to 2,700 new cases of cancer that the EPA says are a fraction of the toxic chemicals listed in the bill each year. - Reduce incidence of birth defects, chronic respiratory illness and non-fatal cancers. - Reduce risk of major leaks of hazardous chemicals.

*Could rise by \$8 billion if stricter auto emission controls are triggered by persistent air-quality problems.

Note: Annual cost figures are in \$100 million for the year 2005, when the bill would be fully implemented and based on interviews with Bush administration officials. Miscellaneous provisions of the bill account for another \$500 million in annual costs. Benefits are compiled from Environmental Protection Agency, Science and Technology Assessment, National Acid Precitation Assessment Program, Resources for the Future and other sources.

"The administration tried very hard to make sure that cost-minimizing methods were used to achieve cleaner air," says Michael Boskin, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors. "This is a shift in environmental regulation from the '70s, but there were a number of features, especially of the original Senate bill, which blatantly disregarded any sense of balancing the benefits of a healthier environment with the cost of lost jobs and higher utility bills."

With the figures so rough, no one is taking a position on the Clean Air bill based strictly on an objective weighing of costs vs. benefits. Even economists who like such an approach say they don't have enough information.

Although controversy persists about

how much harm acid rain is doing, the one element of the bill that draws the most criticism from economists is its tougher restrictions. It would impose a ban on the use of toxic chemicals. "We could make a much bigger dent in annual cancer mortality... if we spent that money elsewhere," says Mr. Portney. "One example: non-toxic people's homes."

In the end, he notes, politicians—not economists—may be the best judges of what Americans are willing to pay for cleaner air. "It could be that economists' attempts to estimate the benefits associated with these things, we don't appreciate the high values that people attach to such things as preserving human health, improving visibility and protecting the ecosystem."

amendments to the clean air legislation to provide some aid. The Senate proposed a \$1 billion grant to the states to help them to make the transition to the new technology. (R., Minn.) and David Bonior (D., Okla.) that would direct the states to set technical help to small companies to seek aid. But an amendment by Sen. Nickles (R., Okla.) and Howell Heflin (D., Ala.) to streamline the process of getting permits to operate was rejected last night. Similar amendments will be sought in the House.

Potential Loopholes
Business owners will first encounter clean air rules when they apply for air pollution permits, says Theresa Ph. the National Association of Manufacturers' director of environmental policy. Under the permits amendment, companies wouldn't have to get permits in all state contiguous to their home states. Also, smaller companies could estimate toxic emissions instead of purchasing expensive monitoring systems.

"When we go through the permit process, I want them to make sure I can do it," explains Bernard Hoffman, chairman of Hoffman Industries, maker of steel tubing in Sinking Spring, Pa. "I don't want an attorney or an environmental engineer on my payroll. What we do is filling out paper work of providing jobs."

The dry cleaning industry, lavishly dominated by small, family-run shops, expects to be hit hard by the clean legislation. New, non-polluting equipment or "washers" that dry cleaners eventually will need, cost about \$30,000 each. In addition, dry cleaners are concerned that eventually they'll be subject to the same regulations as large companies considered major sources of air toxics.

Perchloroethylene, the chemical used by dry cleaners, is listed as a toxic. Although a neighborhood dry cleaner is considered a small or "area" source of pollution, under the law the government can decide to bunch together small blunders and regulate them as a major source of the chemical.

"The bottom line is either I have to take less of a profit or increase prices," says Marc Karyo, 25-year-old owner of Valet International, a large Washington dry cleaner. "But a good part from my perspective is I expect a large number of cleaners won't be able to afford the equipment and I'll get more business when they go out of business." Valet, with revenue of about \$1 million annually, expects to invest about \$100,000 in new equipment.

Even small businesses aren't affected by clean air regulations will see their costs increase in other ways. Retailers will pay increased transportation and delivery costs, grocery stores might be taxed for using refrigerators that damage the ozone layer and the cost of cleaning supplies will increase as these are reformulated to eliminate any offending chemicals.

"The biggest problem of members have [with the coming clean air rules] is that they don't know what to do," says Ben Cooper, director of governmental affairs for the Printing Industries of America. "Small business people need information, consistency and an atmosphere of cooperation rather than an adversarial one."

Environmentalists And Auto Makers Rev Up for Battle

Firms Win Round in Fight Over Mileage Standards; Opponents to Step On Gas

By NEAL TENPLEN

DETROIT—Auto makers dodged the fuel-economy battle in the Senate clean air bill, but they still face an all-out legislative fight over this potentially costly issue.

Environmentalists are pushing for improved gasoline mileage as a key step in slowing global warming, a climatic change that scientists have linked to the burning of gasoline and other fossil fuels. Auto makers, meanwhile, complain that a tough fuel economy law will force them to radically shrink their cars at a time when consumers are buying bigger, more powerful models.

"The car industry is going to fight like hell, but so are we," says Daniel Becker, director of global warming and energy programs for the Sierra Club. "And I think Congress is going to conclude they need to tighten up C.A.F.E. [corporate average fuel economy]."

The auto industry won an important skirmish when it blocked an amendment from the Senate bill that would have effectively required greatly improved fuel economy. Such an amendment was GM's "No. 1 objection" to the clean air bill, says William H. Noack, director of General Motors Corp.'s Washington office.

But a fight is still looming. Yesterday, the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation overwhelmingly approved a bill, written by Sen. Richard Bryan (D., Nev.), that would require each manufacturer to achieve a 20% improvement in corporate fuel economy by 1995 and a 40% improvement by 2001. The bill uses 1988 as the baseline.

Approval came despite lobbying from auto industry officials. Ford Motor Co. Chairman Harold A. Pelling personally visited four key senators before the vote. The Bryan bill "has the potential to eliminate the family car," argues GM's Mr. Noack. "General Motors has already promised to give the Bryan bill time on the floor later this year. And some senators behind the clean air bill have indicated they support tougher fuel economy standards, not only because of global warming, but also because of concern about the trade deficit—caused in no small part by massive purchases of foreign oil."

Currently, foreign and domestic cars are required to meet a 27.5-mile-a-gallon average for their U.S. fleets, about twice what the manufacturers average in the mid-1970s. But after years of increases, the average fuel economy of cars sold in the U.S. began dropping two years ago—4% since 1988, according to the Environmental Protection Agency.

In the 1990 model year, Ford, GM and Chrysler Corp. expect to average from 26.5 miles a gallon to 27.1 miles a gallon, although all should avoid paying federal fines because of credits accumulated in past years. The companies say their numbers are down because they're selling more cars with bigger engines and weight-adding options and safety equipment.

Even bigger drops in fuel economy have come from Japanese car makers, who once sold only small cars but are now making an aggressive bid for the heart of the U.S. market. This past fall, Nissan Motor Co. and Toyota Motor Corp. each introduced luxury cars with V-8 engines. Partly because of this, Toyota's corporate average is projected to drop to 30.5 miles per gallon this model year, about 6% below the 1988 level of 32.6 miles. The imports are "moving aggressively backwards," complains Sen. Bryan.

Now, the Bryan bill would require each manufacturer to boost its individual fuel economy, first by 20% then by 40%—a change from the practice of requiring manufacturers to meet a single, industry-wide number or pay penalties. The approach in the Bryan bill has increased the Japanese, who sell an especially large number of cars, their fuel economy averages already exceed those of the U.S. Big Three.

By contrast, Chrysler and Ford each prefer the percentage-by-manufacturer approach over an industrywide number, although they feel the numbers in the Bryan bill are way too high. C.A.F.E. is opposed to C.A.F.E. standards, period, company spokesmen say.

For its part, the Senate clean air bill will add perhaps \$600 to the cost of a new car. But many auto executives believe a tough fuel economy law will be much worse, because forcing them to stop building big cars entirely.

Backers of tough fuel economy insist the auto makers could meet the standards without significantly cutting down the size of cars. Sen. Bryan points to a U.S. Office of Technology Assessment study that found car makers could improve fuel economy merely through more extensive use of existing technology, such as front-wheel drive, fuel injection and multivalve engines.

Ronald Blitzer, Chrysler's vice president of product strategy and regulatory affairs, disagrees, saying that changes in technology will produce some of these gains, but the rest must come from reduced weight.

Since 1974, the auto industry has slimmed down the average U.S. car to a little less than 3,000 pounds from more than 4,000 pounds. In many cases, car makers were able to trim weight without reducing interior volume, but Mr. Blitzer says that won't be the case this time around. The Bryan bill would force Chrysler to have an average fuel economy of 33.8 miles per gallon by 2001, making its largest car a compact, he says.

To some senators, that is reminiscent of the mid-1970s, when Ford warned that the first fuel economy law could require a product line of "all sub- Pinto sized vehicles."

Auto Makers Lobbied Hard Against Stricter Fuel Rules

By JILL ABRAMSON

WASHINGTON—On Feb. 1, a group identifying itself as "Neuvadans for Fair Fuel Economy Standards" sent more than 10,000 letters urging Nevada residents to write Democratic Sen. Richard Bryan to oppose the stricter fuel economy standards he was advocating as part of the overhaul of clean-air legislation.

At the same time, letters from "West Virginians for Fair Fuel Economy Standards" were blanketing Democratic Sen. Jay Rockefeller's state, in an effort to blunt his support for the stricter fuel standards.

The letter-writing party was part of a multimillion-dollar lobbying effort waged by the auto industry over clean-air legislation. Although none of the recipients could tell from the letterheads, the real sponsors of the campaign were the Big Three auto makers. They jointly hired a Washington group, a group affiliated with consumer activist Ralph Nader.

It was also a superbowl for campaign fund-raising. In 1989, a year in which he didn't face an election, Sen. Carl Levin (D., Mich.) collected \$72,000, mainly from auto-related political-action committees. Industry executives and others involved in the clean-air fight. In December, 19 Chrysler executives ponied up \$500 a head at an industry fund-raiser hosted by Chairman Lee Iacocca at the Detroit Club. Sen. Levin, in a tough battle for re-election this year, was the auto industry's point man on clean air.

William Blacklow, a spokesman for Sen. Levin, says his boss's stands on clean air had nothing to do with his campaign contributions. "The reverse is true," says Mr. Blacklow, "they contribute because of his stands. Levin is nobody's man but his own." The senator's campaign manager, Gordon Kerr, says Mr. Iacocca was a longtime supporter of the senator and was a co-chairman of his 1984 campaign. Sen. Levin's auto-industry contributions were a small percentage of the \$2.7 million he raised for his re-election war chest last year.

According to a recent study by Congressional Quarterly, members of the House Energy and Commerce Committee collected more than \$600,000 from political-action committees sponsored by 110 industries involved in the clean-air fight. This represented a 55% increase above the amounts these same lawmakers received in 1987, the last non-election year.

Rep. Synar, a member of the panel who doesn't accept PAC contributions, says such contributions "do not buy amendments or votes. They buy access." However, the Oklahoma Democrat said nobody needed to buy access on the clean-air bill. "Members were diligently trying to hear from all sides anyway."

The auto industry put on a showcase effort. While Chrysler Corp., Ford Motor Co. and General Motors Corp. each maintains a large Washington office staffed with professional lobbyists, the companies added extra help with outside lawyers and consultants. Ford, for example, called on former Transportation Secretary William Coleman, now a partner at a Washington law firm, and Loyd Outler, the Democratic lawyer who was White House counsel during the Carter administration.

Some of the lobbying itself became controversial. Sen. Bryan accused the auto makers of coming into his state "under false colors" in their letter-writing campaign. William Noack, a spokesman for

By TIMOTHY NOAH
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—A few weeks ago, during closed-door negotiations over the clean-air bill, Sen. John Chafee (R., R.I.) agreed not to offer a tough amendment outlawing the latest generation of ozone-depleting chemicals.

It was the cue for David Doniger to "whirl into action."

As a staff attorney at the Natural Resources Defense Council, Mr. Doniger had helped write the amendment. And before long, the lanky, bald and bearded environmental lawyer had helped resurrect the provision on the Senate floor, with Sen. Al Gore (D., Tenn.) as the sponsor. It survived as part of the Senate's clean-air bill.

Mr. Doniger, 38 years old, is the youngest of three NRDC lawyers whose expertise has proved indispensable in the shaping of the Senate clean-air bill. They have won both praise and criticism as shadow legislators—lobbyists who have helped to write some sections of the bill while shooting other sections down.

With the Senate bill behind them, they switch their attention to the House, where they are likely to have even more influence.

The other members of this green trio are Richard Ayres, 48, who 20 years ago founded the NRDC with several Yale Law School classmates, and David Hawkins, 47, who as a former clean-air administrator at the Environmental Protection Agency is the only government veteran of the three.

Together, they represent a new breed: the public-interest lawyer as yuppie. Operating out of a sleek downtown office outfit with blond wood and silver-framed prints by Pollock and Georgia O'Keeffe, they take in salaries of \$55,000 to upwards of \$80,000. That's less than their corporate counterparts earn, but enough to establish an air of permanence at the organization.

Throughout the legislative debate, the three lawyers have peddled themselves as technicians ready to school legislators in the unfathomable complexities of clean air. "I think they were superb," says first-term Sen. John Kerry (D., Mass.). "They had an institutional memory that I simply couldn't have."

Not that the Senate bill is an environmentalists' dream. "If signed into law, it would not solve our most pressing air pollution problems," says Mr. Hawkins. The three lobbyists initially supported Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D., Maine) on the bill, but split with him after he worked out a compromise agreement with the White House.

"There has been a rift of sorts," concedes Mr. Ayres, who chairs a clean-air lobbying coalition that includes the NRDC and the Sierra Club. Instead of Sen. Mitchell's bargaining with the Bush administration, he says the coalition would have preferred to whip up public support for a tougher bill.

"The reality is that we didn't have the votes for the bill," answers Sen. Mitchell, "and they're aware of that." Sen. Mitchell says he's not sure the clean-air bill is "not better."

The environmental lawyers' actions have prompted some in the Senate to accuse them of outright pethance. Senate Minority Whip Alan Simpson (R., Wyo.) complains of their "unrealistic expectations and huge egos," and blames the three for holding up the progress of clean-air legislation during the past decade.

But Sen. Simpson also concedes their grasp of scientific issues: "They have a great deal of knowledge to contribute and they're very bright."

The triumvirate hopes to do better on the House side, where they expect to have more influence, especially with Rep. Henry Waxman (D., Calif.), who is helping shape the bill in the Energy and Commerce Committee. "I rely quite heavily on them," says Rep. Waxman.

The NRDC has little clout with other members of the Energy and Commerce Committee. But the trio will probably have more influence on the final House bill, says Mr. Hawkins, because there are so many members from urban centers, where the worst air-pollution problems occur.

Started in a ramshackle three-room office in 1970, the NRDC now boasts branch offices in San Francisco and Honolulu. Despite its nonprofit, tax-exempt status, the research and advocacy group is permitted by law to lobby Congress. Its membership totals 120,000.

Small Concerns Face Big Impact From Bill

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The clean-air legislation moving through Congress could have a big impact on U.S. small businesses from manufacturers and retailers to dry cleaners and auto repair shops.

But few small concerns have any idea of the kinds of costs and confusion they are likely to face in getting permits to operate or expand their businesses. In purchasing new equipment or in changing the products they use, say small business groups. Such organizations have been fighting to make the measures more user friendly for their members by providing for small business exemptions and other regulatory breaks.

"This is a watershed for small businesses," says Donna Singletary, a lobbyist who specializes in environmental issues for the National Federation of Independent Business, the largest small-business group. "The clean air act would be a bear even if they cleaned everything we wanted in America."

The air toxics portion of the Senate bill would require manufacturers, pest control firms, auto body shops, farmers and dry cleaners to limit the use of some chemicals or adopt safer substitutes. To control urban smog, printers, bakeries, auto repair shops, cleaning and maintenance firms, gasoline stations and restaurants would face regulation of emissions from alcohol and petroleum-based products such as

Toughest Trade-Offs May Occur In Conference Committee Sessions

By ROSE GUTZELD

WASHINGTON—The toughest political trade-offs over clean air may not occur on the House or Senate floor but in a conference committee, when leaders from both chambers meet to settle their differences.

According to some predictions, the contentious deliberations could take months, leaving the issue unresolved until the politically charged days before the November elections. Already it's possible to detect some of the important differences between the two houses.

CARS: There's disagreement over how fast to require an initial round of cuts in multiple emissions and how to decide whether to require a second round. The first round, estimated to add \$100 to the price of a car, would take effect earlier under the Senate bill than under the leading House proposal. There also are different triggers for determining when a second round, estimated to add \$500 to the price, kicks in.

FUELS: Even though both houses are tilting toward reformulated gasoline, there are likely to be differences over how clean the fuel must be and over how widely to require its use.

SMOG: The chief difference now appears to be over how strong a federal role to require in forcing states and cities to clean up their air—a major issue for environmentalists and state and local groups. The leading House proposal would require the federal government to impose clean-up

plans on areas that fail to come up with them on their own; the Senate bill would leave full responsibility with the states. Smoggy cities also would be required to take harsher steps than cleaner ones under the House plan, including applying controls to smaller polluters.

TOXIC EMISSIONS: To date, the Senate and House are pursuing different techniques for eliminating remaining cancer risks from factories after they've installed the best available anti-pollution technology. Environmentalists think the Senate approach sets too weak a health standard. Yesterday, the House Energy and Commerce Committee voted to adopt an approach for the remaining risks that is similar to existing law, requiring the EPA to establish health-based standards that provide an "ample margin of safety" to the maximum exposed individual.

UTILITIES: Power plants would have to make required reductions in sulfur dioxide sooner under the Senate plan. The Senate gives extra tradable credits to the dirtiest Midwest utilities that bear the heaviest costs and to utilities across the country that need to be able to expand to meet rising electricity demands. The plan also gives double the usual credits to utilities that install scrubbers, rather than switching to low-sulfur coal.

The House committee may consider similar changes when it takes up the subject of acid rain this week.

Environmental Trio Uses Expertise to Shape Debate

By TIMOTHY NOAH
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—A few weeks ago, during closed-door negotiations over the clean-air bill, Sen. John Chafee (R., R.I.) agreed not to offer a tough amendment outlawing the latest generation of ozone-depleting chemicals.

It was the cue for David Doniger to "whirl into action."

As a staff attorney at the Natural Resources Defense Council, Mr. Doniger had helped write the amendment. And before long, the lanky, bald and bearded environmental lawyer had helped resurrect the provision on the Senate floor, with Sen. Al Gore (D., Tenn.) as the sponsor. It survived as part of the Senate's clean-air bill.

Mr. Doniger, 38 years old, is the youngest of three NRDC lawyers whose expertise has proved indispensable in the shaping of the Senate clean-air bill. They have won both praise and criticism as shadow legislators—lobbyists who have helped to write some sections of the bill while shooting other sections down.

With the Senate bill behind them, they switch their attention to the House, where they are likely to have even more influence.

The other members of this green trio are Richard Ayres, 48, who 20 years ago founded the NRDC with several Yale Law School classmates, and David Hawkins, 47, who as a former clean-air administrator at the Environmental Protection Agency is the only government veteran of the three.

Together, they represent a new breed: the public-interest lawyer as yuppie. Operating out of a sleek downtown office outfit with blond wood and silver-framed prints by Pollock and Georgia O'Keeffe, they take in salaries of \$55,000 to upwards of \$80,000. That's less than their corporate counterparts earn, but enough to establish an air of permanence at the organization.

Throughout the legislative debate, the three lawyers have peddled themselves as technicians ready to school legislators in the unfathomable complexities of clean air. "I think they were superb," says first-term Sen. John Kerry (D., Mass.). "They had an institutional memory that I simply couldn't have."

Not that the Senate bill is an environmentalists' dream. "If signed into law, it would not solve our most pressing air pollution problems," says Mr. Hawkins. The three lobbyists initially supported Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D., Maine) on the bill, but split with him after he worked out a compromise agreement with the White House.

"There has been a rift of sorts," concedes Mr. Ayres, who chairs a clean-air lobbying coalition that includes the NRDC and the Sierra Club. Instead of Sen. Mitchell's bargaining with the Bush administration, he says the coalition would have preferred to whip up public support for a tougher bill.

"The reality is that we didn't have the votes for the bill," answers Sen. Mitchell, "and they're aware of that." Sen. Mitchell says he's not sure the clean-air bill is "not better."

The environmental lawyers' actions have prompted some in the Senate to accuse them of outright pethance. Senate Minority Whip Alan Simpson (R., Wyo.) complains of their "unrealistic expectations and huge egos," and blames the three for holding up the progress of clean-air legislation during the past decade.

But Sen. Simpson also concedes their grasp of scientific issues: "They have a great deal of knowledge to contribute and they're very bright."

The triumvirate hopes to do better on the House side, where they expect to have more influence, especially with Rep. Henry Waxman (D., Calif.), who is helping shape the bill in the Energy and Commerce Committee. "I rely quite heavily on them," says Rep. Waxman.

The NRDC has little clout with other members of the Energy and Commerce Committee. But the trio will probably have more influence on the final House bill, says Mr. Hawkins, because there are so many members from urban centers, where the worst air-pollution problems occur.

Started in a ramshackle three-room office in 1970, the NRDC now boasts branch offices in San Francisco and Honolulu. Despite its nonprofit, tax-exempt status, the research and advocacy group is permitted by law to lobby Congress. Its membership totals 120,000.



David Doniger

As a staff attorney at the Natural Resources Defense Council, Mr. Doniger had helped write the amendment. And before long, the lanky, bald and bearded environmental lawyer had helped resurrect the provision on the Senate floor, with Sen. Al Gore (D., Tenn.) as the sponsor. It survived as part of the Senate's clean-air bill.

Mr. Doniger, 38 years old, is the youngest of three NRDC lawyers whose expertise has proved indispensable in the shaping of the Senate clean-air bill. They have won both praise and criticism as shadow legislators—lobbyists who have helped to write some sections of the bill while shooting other sections down.

With the Senate bill behind them, they switch their attention to the House, where they are likely to have even more influence.

The other members of this green trio are Richard Ayres, 48, who 20 years ago founded the NRDC with several Yale Law School classmates, and David Hawkins, 47, who as a former clean-air administrator at the Environmental Protection Agency is the only government veteran of the three.

Together, they represent a new breed: the public-interest lawyer as yuppie. Operating out of a sleek downtown office outfit with blond wood and silver-framed prints by Pollock and Georgia O'Keeffe, they take in salaries of \$55,000 to upwards of \$80,000. That's less than their corporate counterparts earn, but enough to establish an air of permanence at the organization.

Throughout the legislative debate, the three lawyers have peddled themselves as technicians ready to school legislators in the unfathomable complexities of clean air. "I think they were superb," says first-term Sen. John Kerry (D., Mass.). "They had an institutional memory that I simply couldn't have."

Not that the Senate bill is an environmentalists' dream. "If signed into law, it would not solve our most pressing air pollution problems," says Mr. Hawkins. The three lobbyists initially supported Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D., Maine) on the bill, but split with him after he worked out a compromise agreement with the White House.

"There has been a rift of sorts," concedes Mr. Ayres, who chairs a clean-air lobbying coalition that includes the NRDC and the Sierra Club. Instead of Sen. Mitchell's bargaining with the Bush administration, he says the coalition would have preferred to whip up public support for a tougher bill.

"The reality is that we didn't have the votes for the bill," answers Sen. Mitchell, "and they're aware of that." Sen. Mitchell says he's not sure the clean-air bill is "not better."

The environmental lawyers' actions have prompted some in the Senate to accuse them of outright pethance. Senate Minority Whip Alan Simpson (R., Wyo.) complains of their "unrealistic expectations and huge egos," and blames the three for holding up the progress of clean-air legislation during the past decade.

But Sen. Simpson also concedes their grasp of scientific issues: "They have a great deal of knowledge to contribute and they're very bright."

The triumvirate hopes to do better on the House side, where they expect to have more influence, especially with Rep. Henry Waxman (D., Calif.), who is helping shape the bill in the Energy and Commerce Committee. "I rely quite heavily on them," says Rep. Waxman.

The NRDC has little clout with other members of the Energy and Commerce Committee. But the trio will probably have more influence on the final House bill, says Mr. Hawkins, because there are so many members from urban centers, where the worst air-pollution problems occur.

Started in a ramshackle three-room office in 1970, the NRDC now boasts branch offices in San Francisco and Honolulu. Despite its nonprofit, tax-exempt status, the research and advocacy group is permitted by law to lobby Congress. Its membership totals 120,000.



David Hawkins

As a staff attorney at the Natural Resources Defense Council, Mr. Hawkins had helped write the amendment. And before long, the lanky, bald and bearded environmental lawyer had helped resurrect the provision on the Senate floor, with Sen. Al Gore (D., Tenn.) as the sponsor. It survived as part of the Senate's clean-air bill.

Mr. Hawkins, 47, who as a former clean-air administrator at the Environmental Protection Agency is the only government veteran of the three.

Together, they represent a new breed: the public-interest lawyer as yuppie. Operating out of a sleek downtown office outfit with blond wood and silver-framed prints by Pollock and Georgia O'Keeffe, they take in salaries of \$55,000 to upwards of \$80,000. That's less than their corporate counterparts earn, but enough to establish an air of permanence at the organization.

Throughout the legislative debate, the three lawyers have peddled themselves as technicians ready to school legislators in the unfathomable complexities of clean air. "I think they were superb," says first-term Sen. John Kerry (D., Mass.). "They had an institutional memory that I simply couldn't have."

Not that the Senate bill is an environmentalists' dream. "If signed into law, it would not solve our most pressing air pollution problems," says Mr. Hawkins. The three lobbyists initially supported Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D., Maine) on the bill, but split with him after he worked out a compromise agreement with the White House.

"There has been a rift of sorts," concedes Mr. Ayres, who chairs a clean-air lobbying coalition that includes the NRDC and the Sierra Club. Instead of Sen. Mitchell's bargaining with the Bush administration, he says the coalition would have preferred