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**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Backup Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13832  
**Folder ID Number:** 13832-008

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**Folder Title:**  
Colville, Washington Event 9/14/92 [OA 7580]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The New York Times

May 26, 1992, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

*Carol for  
Grady  
Enviro  
Special  
JB*

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 4; National Desk

LENGTH: 1799 words

HEADLINE: Strongest U.S. Environment Law May Become Endangered Species

BYLINE: By TIMOTHY EGAN, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: SEATTLE, May 25

BODY:

The American bald eagle sits on one side of the dollar bill and in tall trees of every state in the union but Hawaii. It was not always so, of course. A series of Government actions that gave legal protection to animals on the verge of extinction has been largely responsible for bringing the national symbol back to the skies of America.

By contrast, a rare California songbird that lives in the scrub brush around Los Angeles is virtually unknown outside of birdwatcher circles, but it has given fits to the faltering house-building industry. If anything, the bird, the gnat catcher, is a symbol of a law that protects birds at the expense of subdivisions.

The fate of the eagle and the gnat catcher may depend in large part on what happens to the Endangered Species Act, the nation's most powerful environmental law. Enacted in 1973 with the strong support of President Richard M. Nixon, the act faces a fight this year in Congress in which the law will either be renewed or be allowed to expire.

Compromise in Most Cases

Though the vote may be delayed, the act has become the prime target for a major backlash against environmental protection.

But beyond the polarized words in Congress and headlines over spotted owls and lost logging jobs here in the Pacific Northwest, a close look at the record shows that the act has led to surprisingly few confrontations between man and nature. Most commercial or Government projects proposed for areas with rare species have in fact been allowed to go forward, to the benefit of both.

But critics of the act, led by Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan Jr., say it is a gross impediment to economic progress and needs to be changed, or gutted altogether. An alliance of timber, ranching, mining and farming interests has lined up in Congress to push for dismantling the act.

On the other side, a powerful lobby of the nation's major environmental groups have made preservation of the Endangered Species Act an election-year rallying cry. They say the law, with its simple and direct mandate backed by a 1978 Supreme Court ruling upholding the act's constitutionality, is a tool to save vanishing wild places as well as the plants and animals that live there.

END STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.  
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 The New York Times  
 May 26, 1992, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 4; National Desk

9.14.92  
OREGON  
 Time → 6:10 pm  
 # of aud. → 2,000  
 Lumber co. workers & their families

WASHINGTON  
 Time → 1:10 pm  
 # of aud. → 9000, employees farms, Colville Community

LENGTH: 127  
 HEADLINE: 8  
 BYLINE: BY  
 DATELINE: 8  
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The New York Times, May 26, 1992

The idea behind the act was to maintain some of the nation's natural diversity and avoid a future glutted with little more than pigeons, beetles and rats. In 19 years, 727 species, nearly half of them plants, have been listed as threatened or endangered. Of the species that were on the list, 16 have been taken off: 7 of them have become extinct, and 9 have flourished to the point of full recovery. At least 3,000 species are candidates for the list.

The bald eagle was nearly extinct in the mid-1960's but has bounced back to number 6,000 in the contiguous United States. Discussions are under way to take the bird off the list in some states.

Once a species is listed, the law protects it against manmade encroachment, no matter what the cost. Thus, snail darters delayed construction of a \$100 million dam in Tennessee, grizzly bears stopped construction of roads in Montana, sea turtles changed the shrimping industry in the Gulf states, owls curbed the extensive logging here in the Northwest and smelt took away water from farmers in California's Central Valley.

### 700 Species Saved

But these are the exceptions. From 1987 to 1991, the Government calculated that 34,203 projects were proposed in areas where there was a potential to harm endangered species. In each case, the developer had to consult with the Fish and Wildlife Service, and perhaps slightly modify the project, before going ahead. In only 367 cases did the Government say that the project would harm a species. And only 18 of those projects were actually canceled or stopped because of incompatibility with the act.

"You wouldn't know it by what we've been hearing lately, but the Endangered Species Act has been very successful," said John C. Sawhill, President of the Nature Conservancy, a private group that buys and protects land for wildlife. "In all but but a few cases, people have been able to work things out without a loss of jobs. And in that time, we have kept at least 700 plant and animal species from going under."

But in the cases that have led to economic sacrifice, the act has been vilified as an instrument of big government that sacrifices human interests to those of animals.

"If you listed all the species that are waiting to go on the list, you would shut down the natural resource industry in this country," said Charlie Jans, chairman of the Oregon Lands Coalition, a citizens group heavily financed by the timber industry. "The flaw in the act is it makes no provision for people or economics."

On average for the last decade, the Government has added about 50 new species to the list every year. To go beyond that pace would require the kind of financing that few political leaders have advocated. It would cost an average of about \$460 million a year over 10 years to come up with recovery plans for all the species that are candidates for protection, one Government study has found. As it is, the Fish and Wildlife Service operates on an annual budget of about \$60 million.

### Forcing Tough Decisions

The New York Times, May 26, 1992

In some more extreme cases, the heavy restrictions on development have come about because Federal courts, acting on lawsuits brought by environmentalists, have forced the Government's hand.

"The Endangered Species Act is the pit bull of environmental laws," said Donald Barry, a vice president of the World Wildlife Fund. "It's short, compact and has a hell of a set of teeth. Because of its teeth, the act can force people to make the kind of tough political decisions they wouldn't normally make."

As such, the law has been used as a surrogate by people who had other causes. The true intent of many people who want to save the northern spotted owl is to protect ancient forests and the dozens of other species that depend on them. Similarly, by saving salmon on the Columbia River or delta smelt in the Sacramento, the law is forcing a reversal of decades-old Federal water policy away from subsidies to farmers and toward protection of fish.

Referring to the billions in Federal subsidies given to Columbia River water users while one of the world's great salmon runs dwindled nearly to extinction, Mr. Barry said: "It reminds me of a drunk at the bar who runs up a 50-year tab, and then somebody comes along and says the tab is due. That tab is what we have done to the fish."

#### Protecting Popular Animals

In a way, the Endangered Species Act represents the revenge of nature. But critics point out that the act was never intended to be a weapon to change the behavior of entire industries. What President Nixon and other early backers had in mind was the protection of big creatures like grizzly bears and grey whales.

The California gnat catcher, which has held up construction of housing projects because it nests in areas coveted by developers, or the Oregon silverspot butterfly, which likes the same coastal areas desired by golf course designers, are seldom evoked by the act's most passionate defenders.

Some biologists, saying it is impossible to save the thousands of species facing extinction, have urged that the Government set up a priority list of plants or animals to be saved. While this could lead to popularity contests, with cuddly and lovable creatures winning out over ugly and unknown animals, it would at least get rid of the random nature of the law.

Another approach would be to save entire ecosystems rather than focusing on the individual species that reside in them. By continuing to take a species-by-species approach to protecting plants and wildlife, the country faces years of political gridlock and court actions, some Government officials and members of Congress say. But if the entire ecology of a region -- including the human beings who work there -- are considered for preservation, there would be much less conflict, these leaders argue.

This approach is similar to that taken by the Nature Conservancy, which has bought large working ranches in the West and managed to allow commercial grazing to continue while protecting rare plants and animals. "What we need is a new approach, taking into account exactly what it is we are trying to save and the people who work there," said Representative Jolene Unsoeld, a Washington Democrat whose district includes some of the most heavily logged national

The New York Times, May 26, 1992

forests in the country. "What we have had so far is solution by press release."

Both Democrats and Republicans are critical of the position taken by the Bush Administration, which once supported the Endangered Species Act but now appears intent on crippling it.

On May 14, Mr. Lujan disclosed a plan, largely designed by Senator Slade Gorton, Republican of Washington, that would allow the spotted owl to become extinct in areas of Washington State containing Olympic and North Cascades National Parks. Under the plan, owls would be captured and moved south to other Federal land so logging could continue around the parks.

The plan would need the approval of Congress, but the dean of Republican political leaders from the Northwest, Senator Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon, dismissed the Administration's latest plan as "irrelevant" and gives it little chance of passing.

Mr. Lujan has repeatedly questioned the value of saving different endangered species -- even though he is charged by law with protecting them. He voted last week, with a Cabinet-level committee known informally as the God Squad, to allow logging to go ahead on 1,200 acres of Federal land in Oregon where it could lead to the demise of the spotted owl in that area.

"Of course, I'm the protector of endangered species, but by the same token, I must make resources available to the American public," he said in an interview.

In the political climate of a Presidential election year, the reauthorization fight over the Endangered Species Act will probably be put off until next year, leaders in Congress say. But even if the renewal battle is put off, the act requires financing from Congress this year, and a fight over its merits could develop in budget committees this summer.

Senator Hatfield, who was the original sponsor of the act in 1972, remains a staunch backer of the law, even though it has hit his state harder than any other. He said he would like to see some changes in the act, for example, having the Government pay for retraining and employment counseling for people who lose their jobs as a result of listing a species as endangered.

"If we don't put back some part of the human element, the act will be gutted," Mr. Hatfield said. "It does not need to be overhauled, it just needs to be fine-tuned."

GRAPHIC: Chart: "Species on the Brink" -- Endangered and threatened species listed, since 1973, under the Endangered Species Act.

Fish: 93

Birds: 85

Mammals: 65

Clams: 42

Reptiles: 34

The New York Times, May 26, 1992

Insects: 23

Snails: 13

Amphibians: 11

Crustaceans: 10

Arachnids: 3

(Source: U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service) (pg. A11)

SUBJECT: ANIMALS; ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT (1973) ; ENDANGERED AND EXTINCT SPECIES

NAME: EGAN, TIMOTHY; LUJAN, MANUEL JR (SEC)

Card:

3:20.  
12 Sept

Harvey and David  
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Eugon speeches in Ok!

RS

3:30 pm

Carol -

Ed Gouling

called from

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RB

(He's having you wife -)

CAROL -

I WENT TO EAT. WILL BE BACK.  
AM ON PAGER.

JB



# EUGENE F. BURRILL LUMBER CO.

Manufacturers of Kiln Dry White Fir and Douglas Fir Studs  
P.O. BOX 220 • MEDFORD, OREGON 97501 • (503) 826-2221

DATE: 9/12/92

TO: \_\_\_\_\_

ATTN: Carol Aarhus

SUBJECT: Press packet from  
EF Burrill Lumber Co.

*\* This is still dark. Our brochure  
is done in color and the copies won't  
do it any lighter.*

FROM: Carey

OF: Burrill Lumber

PAGES INCLUDING COVER: 10

PLEASE NOTIFY US IMMEDIATELY AT (503) 826-2221 IF ALL PAGES  
ARE NOT RECEIVED.

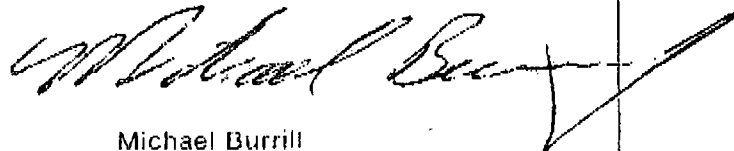
*Dean Ricks,  
Safety Supervisor*

## A Letter From the President

There was a time in this country when craftsmanship and dependability meant something . . . at Burrill Lumber Co. it still does.

I'm Michael Burrill president and general manager. Since 1947, when Burrill Lumber was founded, craftsmanship and dependability has meant everything to us. We are very particular about what we do, our customers know they can't buy a better 2x4 stud anywhere. This brochure tells the story of our 35 years of dedication to quality . . . from the first stud my father trimmed and shipped to every Burrill® stud that comes from our mill today.

We would be delighted to tell you more about our company and product, the BURRILL® stud. Then I invite you to write or call for quotations and let us get to know you better. We are confident that, after talking with us, you will be convinced that the best way to save money in the building industry is to buy the best.



Michael Burrill  
President & General Manager





When logger Eugene F. Burrill started his mill in 1946, he had logging experience, dogged determination, and new ideas. One idea was to utilize White Fir, a species which makes excellent 2x4's but which, until then, was virtually ignored by the industry. Another major resource, largely ignored by the industry, was smaller diameter trees with their natural advantage of fewer, smaller, tighter knots. We began using them around 1970 and now produce about half of our studs from these trees to achieve an optimum production-quality mix.

## We thought Small long Before It became a slogan

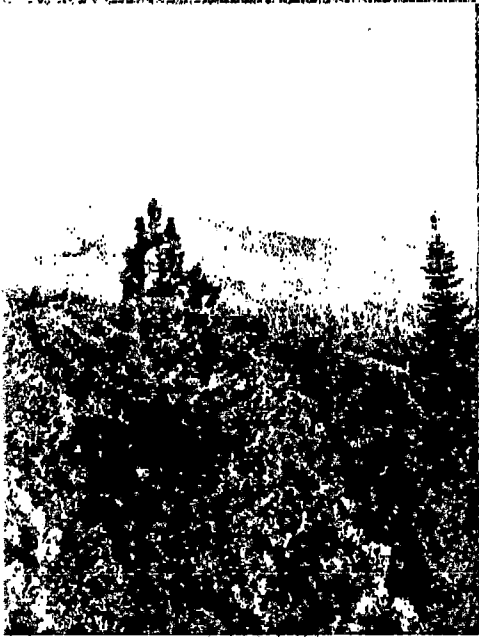
Burrill Lumber Company got its start in the growth boom following World War II. Three and a half decades later, we're still here. Through the numerous ups and downs over the years, the demand for our studs has remained strong — strong enough that even during a prolonged recession we work two shifts to fill orders.

## Attitude makes The Difference

A good mix of large and small logs is one of the tangible reasons for the quality of Burrill studs. But it's the intangibles that have given us a 35-year lead in the industry. Everything we've done, everything

we continue to do, is with a singleness of purpose: produce the best. And that simply can't be done without the right attitude, the stubborn support and old-fashioned pride of every employee. We provide the right environment and our employees provide the right attitude, it's a hand-in-glove relationship reflected in the antique, chrome-plated bucking saw given to





Eugene Burrill, which hangs in our lobby.

The inscription reads:

*Gene 'Big Daddy' Burrill  
"In appreciation for making this mill  
more than just a place to work"  
Your Employees 1973*

## "Burrill" stands For Quality



Our old customers know what our new customers soon learn, that the quality of our studs is not merely sales hype. Orders specifying "Burrill" rather than Douglas or White Fir studs are so routine that our name is becoming a generic term. Indicative of these qualities, 9 percent of our employees have been with us 20 years or more; over 30 percent have more than 10 years' with us; and 43 percent have worked for Burrill more than 5 years.

The standards of quality that go into Burrill studs begin up in the Oregon woods, long before they reach our mill. We maintain a standing-log inventory of 90 to 100-million board feet . . . a three-year supply . . . so that we have a backlog that allows us the time to shop for only the best stands of timber.

The way our timber is handled in the woods also improves the quality of our final product. Incorrect tree felling or bucking can cause damage that will show up in the finished lumber. The buckler, for example, must make his cuts straight and cut the limbs off flush with the bark to prevent the debarker from pulling. People are vital here too. There is a difference in knowledge, experience and workmanship in the woods as well as out. We contract only with the top fellers and buckers to ensure our studs get the proper start.



## We write our Own Rules

The West Coast Lumber Inspection Bureau has established some excellent grading rules for achieving a consistently high level of quality. We apply these rules and then we apply our own stringent grading specifications that go beyond the accepted industry norm.

The Burrill® stud is a product of Burrill standards. We grade, inspect, over and over by exceptionally stringent rules.

## No Species Mixing

We sort by species, so our grading specifications prohibit mixing. If an order is for White Fir,

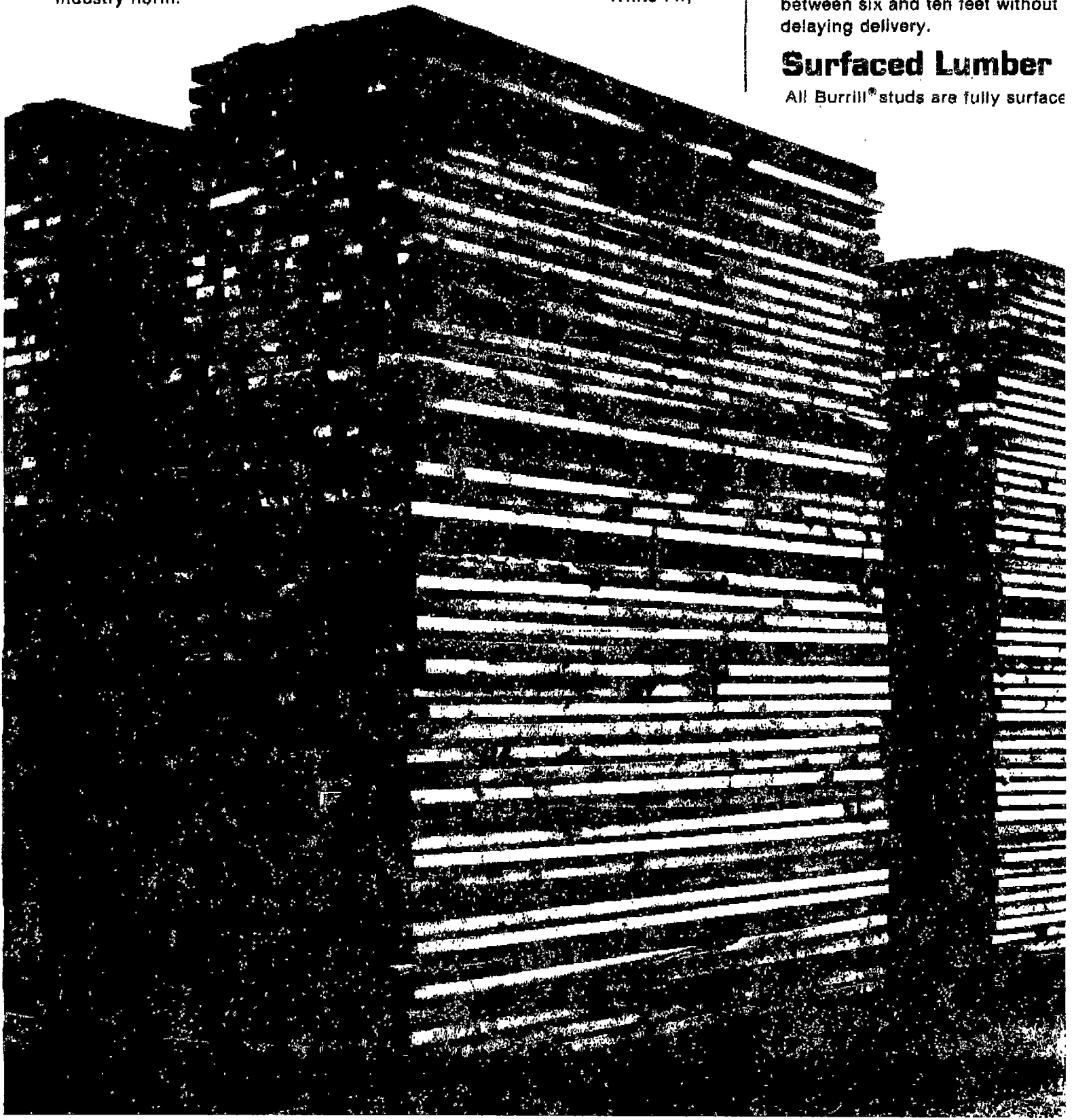
our customer receives only White Fir, not White Fir and Hemlock.

## Precision End Trimming

Our PET (Precision End Trimming) ensures the correct length of every stud. A final length inspection is even made in the stack, just before banding. Order can be custom cut to any length between six and ten feet without delaying delivery.

## Surfaced Lumber

All Burrill® studs are fully surface



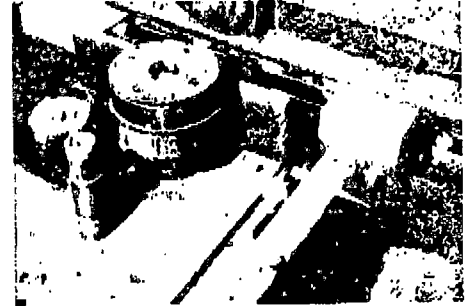
## Dryer Wood

All Burrill® studs are kiln dried to a remaining moisture content of 12 to 14 percent by weight. Precise placement of separator "stickers" dramatically reduces warpage during the drying process. Among other advantages, this dryer wood is a benefit to builders in the Sunbelt where moisture is low.



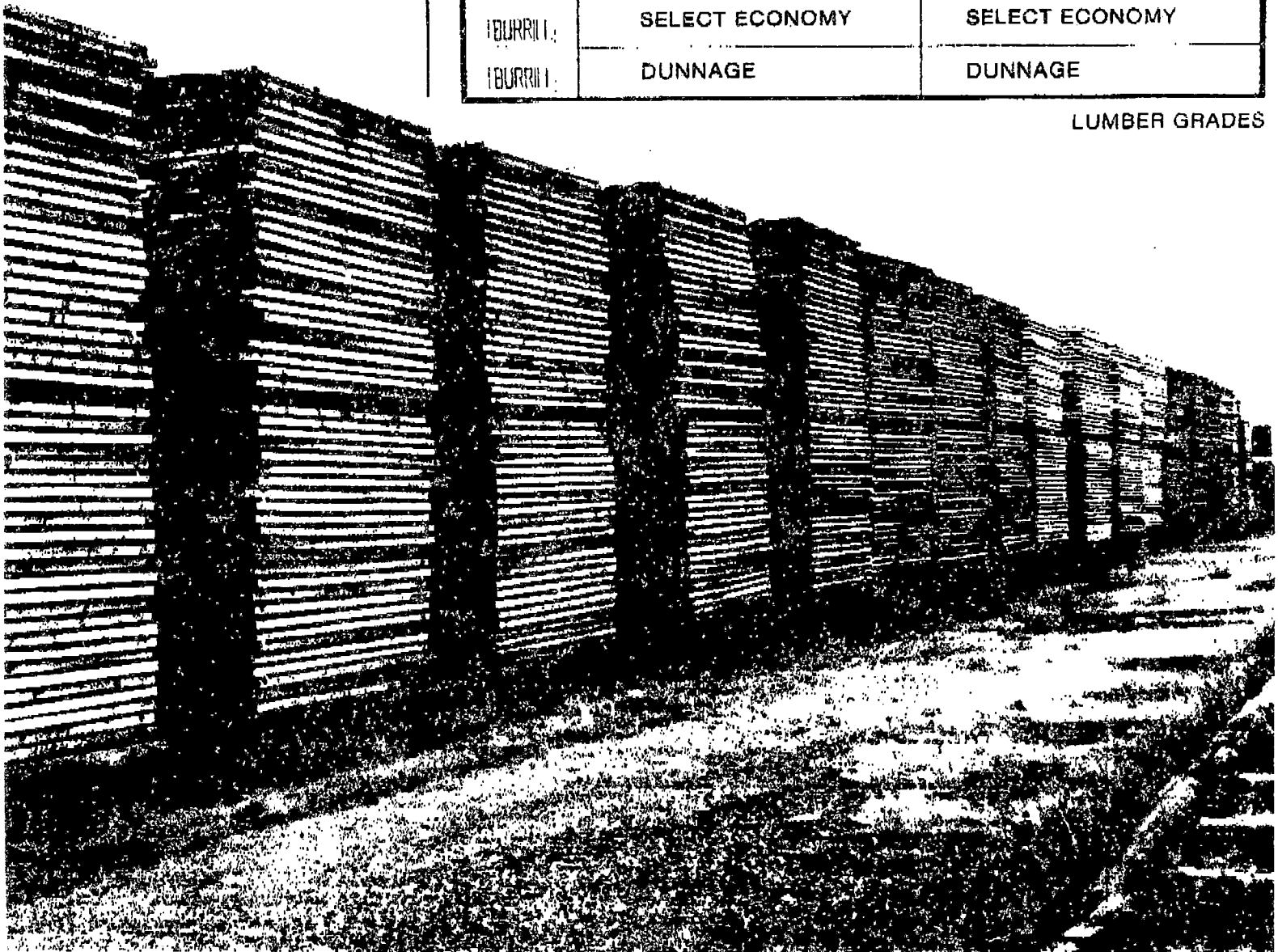
## End Waxing

Prior to shipment both ends of every Burrill® stud are coated with wax to seal them from moisture.



SIZE	WHITE FIR, KILN DRIED	DOUGLAS FIR, GREEN
2 X 4's BURRILL	"C" & BETTER CLEAR	
BURRILL	STUD	STANDARD & BETTER
BURRILL	SELECT ECONOMY	SELECT ECONOMY
BURRILL	DUNNAGE	DUNNAGE

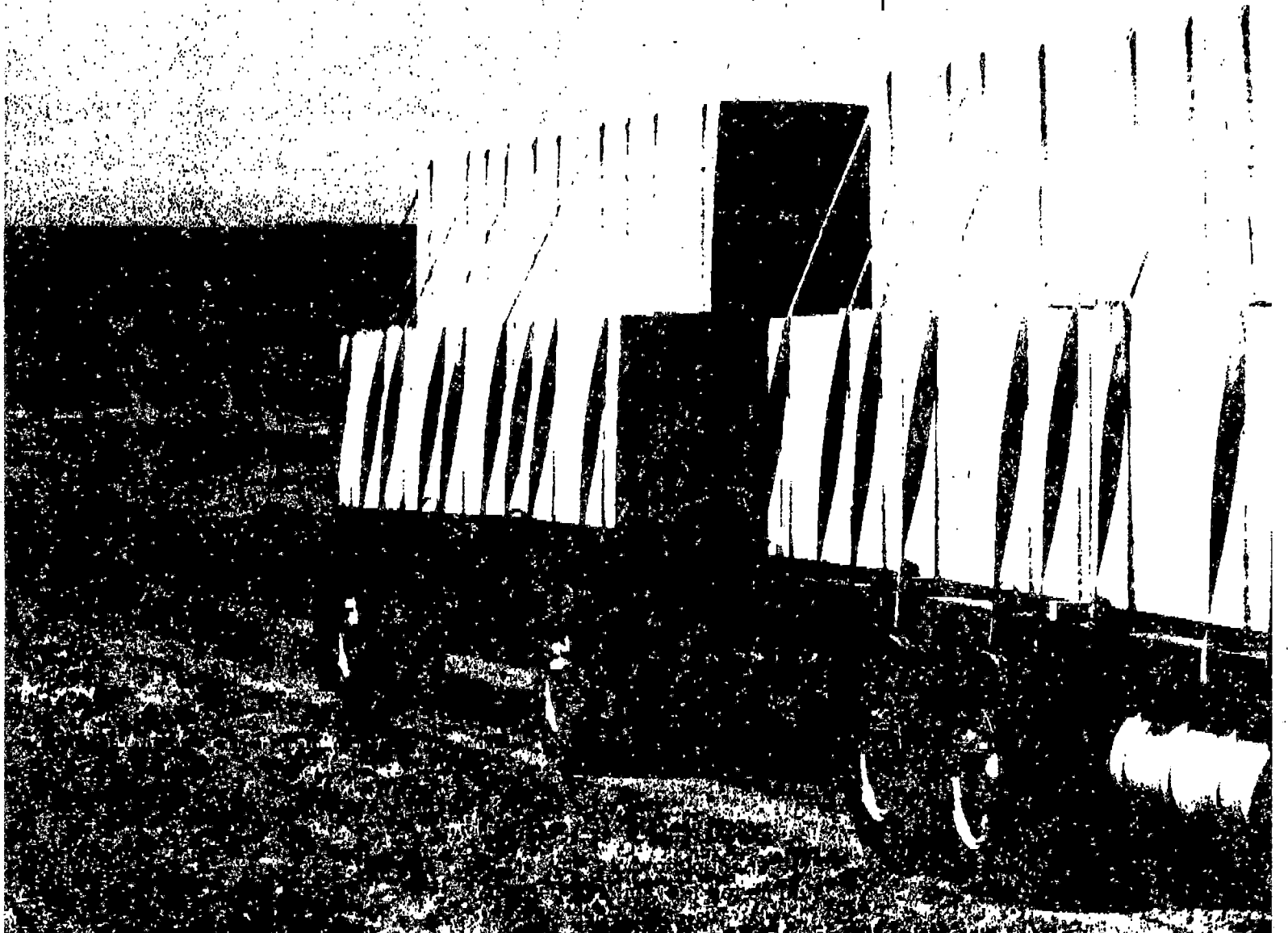
LUMBER GRADES



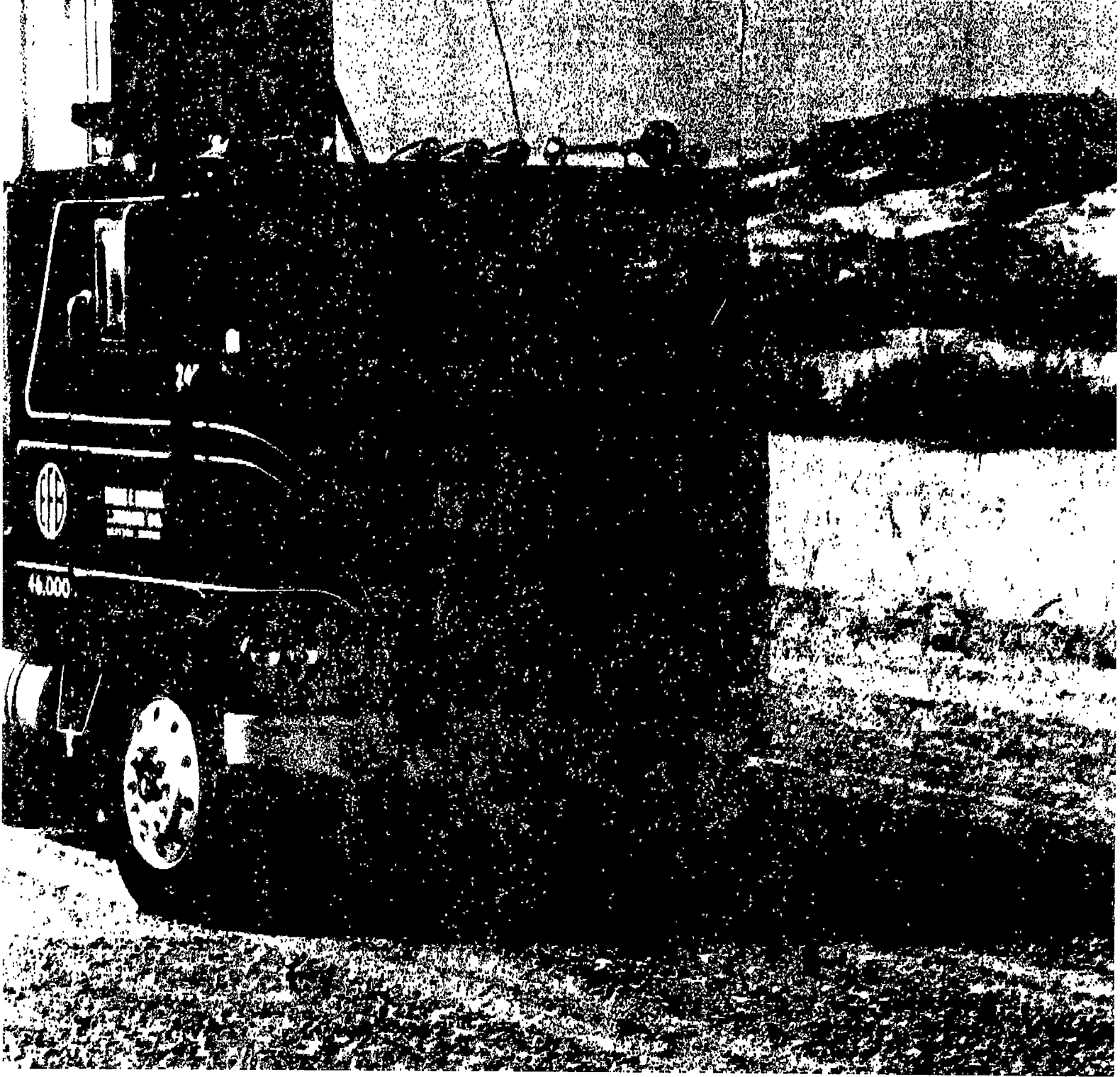
# Production and Delivery

Our mill produces and ships approximately 1½ million board feet per week, cut to lengths ranging from 6 to 10 feet. Custom lengths, anywhere between these maximum and minimum lengths, are available without affecting the delivery schedule.

On the assumption that the best of studs are no good at all until our customers receive them, we work as hard on meeting delivery schedules as we do on quality. Most of our shipments are by rail, although we also ship by truck.



QUALITY	EFFICIENCY	RELIABILITY	CONSERVATION
ECONOMY	DISPATCH	STABILITY	ADAPTABILITY
BURRILL	BURRILL	BURRILL	BURRILL
BURRILL	BURRILL	BURRILL	BURRILL



# Proof of the Pudding . . .

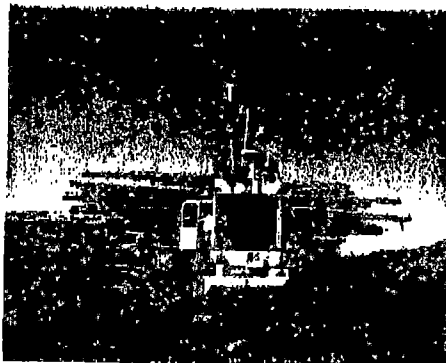
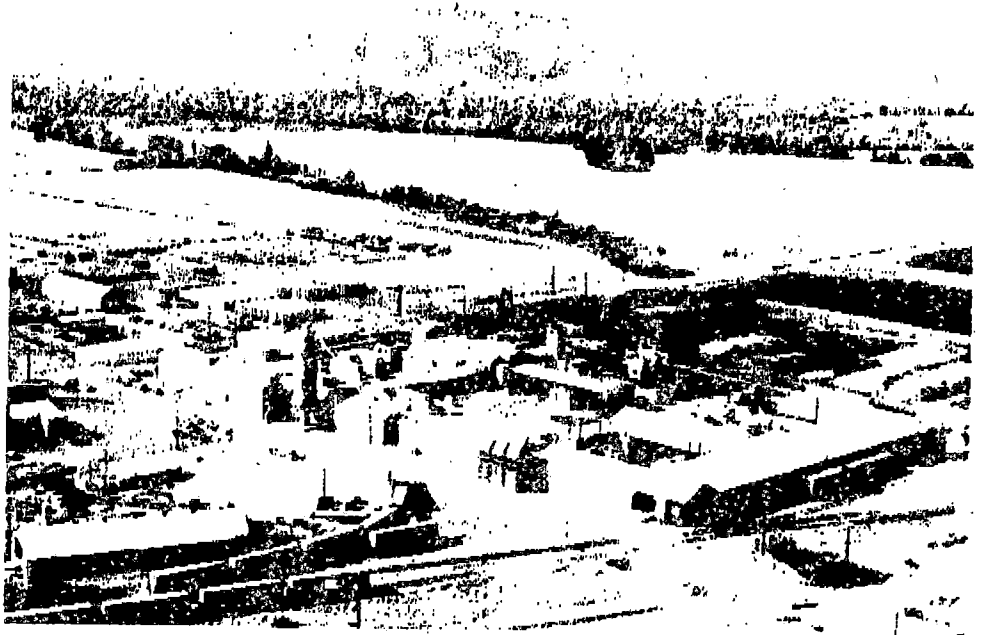
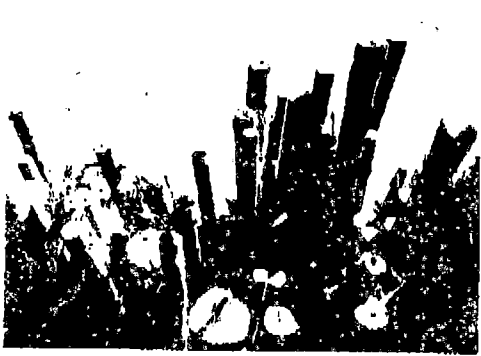
As a firm to whom the merely acceptable is unacceptable, we can offer you some strong business advantages. You have our word on it. We welcome your inquiry and a chance to prove we're as good as our word.



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P.O. Box 220  
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Sales: (503) 826-4541



lead - Dave Anderson ✓

9/11/92

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS:

VISIT TO VAAGAN BROS. LUMBER COMPANY Inc.  
COLVILLE, WASHINGTON  
Monday, September 14, 1992

Sen. Gorton  
~~Senator Packwood~~

Thank you, ~~Dwayne Vaagan~~, for that introduction. And thanks to all of you for letting me visit with you today. Being out here in the great Pacific Northwest, I cannot help but think of Teddy Roosevelt.

He was the first President to really focus the attention of the Nation on the condition of our natural resources and the need to manage these treasures for the benefit of future generations.

He said: "Neither man nor nation can prosper unless, in dealing with the present, thought is steadily taken for the future." And he was right.

But Teddy Roosevelt said something else: "In the West," he said, "the forests should be so handled as to be in the interests of the actual <sup>settler, the actual</sup> home-maker. He should be encouraged to use them at once, but in such a way as to preserve and not exhaust them."

For the past four years, my Administration had devoted a great deal of thought and effort to protecting our environment. Like many of you, I love the outdoors and love to hunt and fish, And like you, I have learned through a lifetime of experience to appreciate and respect the beauty of the wilderness.

I know that you -- you who have chosen to live in these woods -- respect and revere these forests as others cannot. And you resent the implication that earning your livelihood here -- with sound management of the forest -- makes you less of an

TR  
Cyclopedia  
p.103

Theodore  
Roosevelt  
Cyclopedia  
p.103

environmentalist than the city dweller or the suburbanite. I have come here today because I understand.

For the last four years, we have worked to protect the environment -- and we have accomplished a great deal.

Four years ago, I promised Americans a new Clean Air Act. For 13 years, the Congress was stuck in gridlock and had passed no clean air law. But we proposed a new one, we negotiated it through a divided Congress, and I proudly signed it into law. That law will cut acid rain in half, reduce smog in our cities, and get toxic pollutants out of the air.

Four years ago, I promised that I would protect the environmentally sensitive areas of our coasts from ~~offshore~~ <sup>oil development</sup> ~~drilling.~~ <sup>Set</sup> And today, there will be no ~~drilling~~ <sup>oil development</sup> off the coast of California, off the coasts of Washington and Oregon not far from here, off the Florida Keys, off the New England coast, because we have placed those areas under a moratorium until the next century.

Four years ago, I promised to be a good steward of our public lands. And we have added thousands of miles of trails for Americans like you who love the outdoors, we are reopening and upgrading campsites all across America, and we have added over a million and half acres to our National Parks, ~~and Wildlife Refuges and Forests and recreation lands.~~ <sup>public</sup> ~~lands.~~ <sup>Set</sup>

The fact is that every American cares about the environment -- and most consider themselves environmentalists. That is particularly true here in the Pacific Northwest. But

BQ 88 Campaign info

Jim Fitzherry 12/2000

BQ 88 Campaign info (5ch)

Jim Sequoia Speech 7.14.92

Fact Sheet 7/14/92

Sequoia Speech 7.14.92

Budget FY1993 1-207





TR elected 1901

Americans today, like Teddy Roosevelt ~~three quarters of a century~~ ago, realize that the protection of our lands is not inconsistent with their use. They care about the growth of our country, and about the ability of Americans to make a living. They understand, that stewardship does not mean stopping all progress.

TR Cyclopedic based upon quote in p. 188

~~As~~ Teddy Roosevelt said: <sup>that</sup> wise protection of resources does not mean the withdrawal of those resources from contributing their full share to the welfare of the people.

What President Roosevelt had in mind, and what the American people have always wanted, is balance. But in these ancient forests, the balance has been lost.

Bob Grady 1/4/12 Jim Fitzhugh 12/8/00

Not far from here is a timber town called Forks. Like Corville, Forks supported a mill, and the mill supported the town. And the town gave life to a community. Today, unemployment in Forks is at 20 percent -- more than double what it was just two years ago. The car dealership has closed. The <sup>main</sup> clothing store is gone. The movie theatre -- shut down.

Per LATimes article 2.23.92 9/90-9/91 Domestic violence #5

Domestic violence complaints have doubled, just ~~in the~~ last year. The community has been ravaged.

Forks is in crisis for a simple reason: the balance has been lost.

My friends, I have come here because we must restore the balance.

WPost op-ed 6/12/12

I want to quote you something from Oregon's Senator Mark Hatfield, who has served in the Senate long enough to remember the creation of the Endangered Species Act. Not long ago, he

wrote: "There is no question that the Act is being applied in a manner far beyond what any of us envisioned when we wrote it twenty years ago."

The application of the Endangered Species Act to these forests has gone far beyond what the drafters intended. The balance has been lost.

The fact is that the Endangered Species Act was intended as a shield for species against the effects of major Federal construction projects like highways and dams -- not a sword aimed at the jobs, families, and communities of the Northwest.

But today, when all harvesting on Federal timberland is stopped outright by 11 different lawsuits, the balance has been lost. It's time to, we (?), factor in the worries about jobs, families and communities.

When hundreds of mills have been shut down, thousands of timber workers thrown out of work, and revenues to communities for schools and other local services slashed as a result, the balance has been lost. It's time to worry about jobs, families, and communities.

Today, when interest groups can tie our Federal agencies up in knots by suing them under five different statutes enacted by Congress -- each inconsistent with the other -- the balance has been lost. It's time to worry about jobs, families, and communities.

Today, when a class project at Wesleyan University in Connecticut is to come up with lawsuits to stop people from

Dale Curtis  
CEQ

Jim Fitzhenry  
x2800

Dale Curtis  
CEQ

Jim Fitzhenry  
x2800

Jim Fitzhenry  
x2800

Jim Fitzhenry  
x2800

CS  
Ag  
Bill O'Connor

Jim F. Roy  
Mark Ray  
American Forest  
Resource Alliance  
463-2747

earning a living in the Northwest -- when students can play games with people's lives -- the balance has been lost. It's time to worry about jobs families and communities.

I have come to this great Pacific Northwest, to these beautiful and productive forests, to join you in saying: we must restore the balance. We must worry about jobs, families and communities. Enough is enough.

The time has come to talk sense about the Endangered Species Act, about the spotted owl, and about the management of our forests. Because after all, people and their jobs deserve some protection too.

Let me be clear: I care about protecting the environment. The basic purpose of the Endangered Species Act is a good and noble one: to save the species of this country.

But today, the Act is being used, particularly here in Washington and Oregon, to achieve in the courts what can't be achieved through legislation or administrative procedure -- the complete lock-up of the most productive forests in the entire United States.

The Endangered Species Act, in its current form as interpreted by some courts and as driven by the Democrats in Congress, has forced a radical approach and created an unnecessarily tragic situation here in the Northwest. Massive and unnecessarily large areas of Federal land are being set aside for the owl. And jobs, families and communities are being wiped out in the process.

Jim Fitzhenry X2800

Jim Fitzhenry X2800

See Dale Curtis comments



You know, the other side has been talking lately about a "false choice." They claim that this timber crisis is just politics. The simple fact is this: the false choice is being driven by the Endangered Species Act and its application to the Northern Spotted Owl. It is being driven by those in Congress who have permitted this crisis to go unresolved.

The simple fact is that when it comes to the Owl, the Act is too rigid -- and Congress is too timid.

Now let's set the record straight. We have always worked within the paramaters of the law to address this problem -- but I can tell you this. The law is broken, and it must be fixed.

We have asked Congress for funds to cut enough timber in this region to keep people employed. But these conflicting laws allow challenge after challenge.

Ron Cogswell  
OMB  
x4586

So this year, we asked Congress to make a choice. We showed them the Spotted Owl Recovery Plan, as required by the Endangered Species Act -- a plan that would cost this region <sup>more than (32,000)</sup> 30,000 jobs.

Ron Cogswell  
OMB  
x4586

And, because that plan imposes too great a cost on the families and communities of the Pacific Northwest, we asked them to consider instead an alternative: a preservation plan that would cut that job loss in half.

We sent Congress a bill that would help save <sup>more than (17,000) persons</sup> 15,000 jobs. And Congress has failed to act. So while the gridlock Congress stalls, no timber is being cut -- and your jobs are disappearing alot faster than the owl.

Jim Fitzhenry  
x2800  
Ron Cogswell  
OMB  
x4586

I spoke before about balance.



It is not balance when mills that have operated responsibly for generations are threatened with extinction because of a lack of fiber from our public lands.

It is not balance when the Act prevents the mere consideration, at key points in the process, of costs that directly affect people and their livelihood -- of the human factor.

My friends, it is time to consider the human factor in the spotted owl equation. My opponent talks about "putting people first" -- well, we can start right here in the Pacific Northwest.

Today, it's time to face one fact: the situation is out of control -- and it must be addressed...because the balance must be restored.

So let me say this:

I will not sign an ~~extension~~ <sup>reauthorization</sup> of the Endangered Species Act that does not allow economics to be considered, and that is not accompanied ~~by~~ a specific plan to harvest enough timber to keep timber families working in 1993 and beyond. It's time to make people just as important as owls.

I call upon Congress to pass my plan to cut 2.6 billion board feet in the Forest Service Pacific Northwest region next year -- and to tie that plan to language which makes sure that a reasonable cut that provides protection for species cannot be blocked on procedural grounds. It's time to put people ahead of process.

Jim Fitzhery  
X2800

Dale Curtis  
CER  
Ron Caspell  
OMB  
X4586

Ron Caspell  
OMB  
X4586

FY  
1993  
budget request  
for Forest Service

My administration has recently announced several steps to speed up the harvesting of dead or dying timber. (We will shortly issue a rule to allow these timber salvage operations to occur without triggering some of the restrictive and time-consuming laws that are disrupting the balance today.

WH Press Release 9.9.92

This will help in two ways: by reducing the risk of fire from the large volume of dead or dying trees on our forest floor; and by providing up to 450 million board feet of timber for the mills in the near term. It's time to protect jobs and put people back to work.

WH Press Release 9.9.92

I will fight for legislative language to end the injunctions that have put an economic strangle-hold on the Northwest, in order to free up the timber that we need today -- because the families and the timber communities of the Pacific Northwest need relief now.

Jim Fitzhenry X2000

And I call upon Congress today to pass the ~~Spotted Owl~~ "Preservation Plan" -- Senator Gorton's bill -- because we must preserve the owl; we must preserve the livelihood of the Pacific Northwest; and we must preserve the jobs of the American people.

Bob Grady X4742

Finally, I am today directing the Secretary of Commerce to increase the Federal ban on the export of raw logs from Washington State lands from 75 percent to 100 percent. It is time to make sure that mills in Washington have an opportunity to process timber grown on their state lands.

Jim Fitzhenry X2000 Bob Grady X4742

Now, my opponents would have you believe that they, too, are in favor of balance. They won't commit to any specific action to



solve the problem. Their idea of balance is doublespeak -- promise both sides exactly what they want to hear.

4/22/92  
AP

When Bill Clinton spoke on Earth Day back in Pennsylvania, he earned the praise of the Sierra Club for promising the protection of ~~old-growth~~ <sup>old-growth</sup> forests in the Pacific Northwest. He wanted their endorsement, and he got it. (9/8 - Hotline)

Nancy in David Tell's office

Now, ~~just recently, with the election nearing,~~ <sup>today</sup> he has come to Oregon to hold out false hope to timber families by promising a meeting. Classic doublespeak. But we should face one fact. This problem isn't going to be solved with one meeting. We've had enough meetings, it's time for action.

ltr. from B.C.

Bill Clinton says that he'll have his meeting ~~within 100 days.~~ <sup>early in his administration</sup> ((Well, we've been meeting for two years.)) What's needed is a change in law. I will fight for it. Bill Clinton will not.

Now I know that the Governor of Arkansas is famous for being on both sides of every issue. But I hope you'll ask him -- for once -- to stop the rhetoric and take a stand. Families ~~are~~ in the Northwest are at risk. So this is one issue where sincerity would be better than slickness.

The plain truth is that the other ticket is on the record on this problem, and here is what they have said.

Gore book  
pgs. 121,  
194

In his book, Senator Gore said this, and I quote: "I helped lead the successful fight to prevent the overturning of protections for the spotted owl." The reasoning offered was simple. The Senator ~~said:~~ <sup>wrote</sup> "...their ~~jobs will be~~ <sup>would have been</sup> lost anyway. The

Grady  
David Tell

~~issue was stat~~  
 only question is whether the effort to create new jobs will begin now or later. " . "

Senator Gore and Governor Clinton don't realize that generation after generation of families -- families like the Vaagen ~~brothers~~ -- have made a living for their family, for their neighbors, and for their community -- not by locking these forests up, but by managing them wisely. By restoring what they take, so that the land can sustain the next generation and the one after that. After all, it's no mistake that America today is home to more forest land than it was when Teddy Roosevelt was President. (1901)

Grady  
 US Forest Service

Co. Ag  
 Bill O'Connor

The other side doesn't understand that leading the fight against any change in the tangled web of conflicting laws means leading the fight against your job and your family and your community and your way of life.

Or maybe they do understand. But I ask you only to do this: let them know that you understand, too. And do not be fooled by this doublespeak.

It's time we worried not only about endangered species -- but about endangered jobs.

You know, the father of our national forest system, and one of America's great conservationists, Gifford Pinchot, once defined conservation this way: "~~Conservation means~~ the wise use of the earth and its resources for the lasting good of men."

Grady

I have come here today to tell you that I am the candidate who will worry about jobs, families, and communities.



I have come here today to tell you that I will not stand for  
 a solution that puts <sup>more than (52,000)</sup> 30,000 people out of work. That is a non-  
 solution. And on my watch, it will not stand.

Ron Cogswell X  
 X4586

I have come here to tell you that we haven't forgotten about  
 the human factor -- because in the end, that's the most important  
 factor of all.

I have come here today to tell you that we can restore the  
 balance, we must restore the balance, and with your help, we will  
 restore the balance.

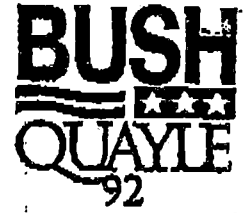
Thank you, God bless you, and may God Bless the United  
 States of America.

# # # #

~~For~~  
~~Burrill~~  
~~employee audience~~

For Oregon speech  
Find Burrill employee  
in aud.  
we want to use  
his name.

**FAX**



1030 15th St. NW  
Washington, DC 20005

Date: 9-12-92

To: Carol Aarhus

Organization: \_\_\_\_\_

Fax Number: \_\_\_\_\_  
456-6218

From: Nancy for David Tzell

Number of Pages to Follow: \_\_\_\_\_

Fax Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Additional Information: \_\_\_\_\_

Oregon schedule

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**Airport, Window Rock, Ariz.**

**10 a.m.: Navajo Nation Parade. Navajo Nation Reservation,  
Window Rock, Ariz.**

**2:45 p.m.: Arrives New Mexico State Fair. San Pedro Blvd.,  
Albuquerque, N.M.**

**Sept. 13**

**BILL CLINTON**

**In Little Rock, Ark.**

**AL GORE**

**DELETE**

**Guest on NBC News "Meet the Press."**

**DELETE**

**Sept. 14**

**BILL CLINTON**

**Midday: Gives a speech. Pioneer Courthouse Square, Portland,  
Oregon**

**PM Eugene, Ore.**

**RON San Jose, Calif.**

**Sept. 15**

**BILL CLINTON**

**AM San Jose State University, San Jose, Calif.**

**PM San Francisco, Calif.**

**RON Los Angeles, Calif.**

**Sept. 16**

**BILL CLINTON**

**In Los Angeles, Calif.**

**RON Los Angeles, Calif.**

**Sept. 17**

**BILL CLINTON**

**In Denver, Colo.**

**RON Little Rock, Ark.**

paper mills, for example, facing a round of investment in new capacity, must decide whether the current interest in recycled paper is here to stay. If so, then large investments in recycling plants will be profitable; if not, they may face serious risks in making such investments. Such prophecies often tend to be self-fulfilling, of course. But here is where the government can play an important role — and too often has failed to do so. The Bush administration talks loudly about the tendency of a free marketplace to solve all problems. But many of our markets are highly regulated, often in hidden ways. In the case of the paper industry, for instance, taxpayers currently subsidize the manufacture of paper products made from virgin timber, both as the largest single purchaser and by further subsidizing the construction of logging roads into national forests. In addition, the federal government pays the entire cost of managing the forest system, including many activities that exclusively benefit the timber industry. All of these policies encourage further destruction of a critical natural resource.

The Bush administration and the entire U.S. government ought to understand the economic significance of a healthy environment as a kind of infrastructure supporting future productivity. If it is destroyed, many jobs now at risk will be lost. A case in point is the heated dispute between the timber industry in the Pacific Northwest and conservationists eager to protect the endangered spotted owl. This issue has been billed as a conflict between jobs and the environment. But if the remaining 10 percent of old-growth forest is logged out, as the timber industry prefers, the jobs will be lost anyway. The only question is whether the effort to create new jobs will begin now or later, after the forest is completely gone.

The current administration also ought to do a much better job of encouraging appropriate technologies, since they can be an important benefit to set against all the costs of environmental degradation. Japan, for example, is already implementing an ambitious plan to cultivate what it believes will be a massive global market for new technologies for renewable energy and environmentally benign processes. Tragically, however, after having developed the first products using wind and solar energy, the United States is now a net importer of both technologies.

There is an Alice-in-Wonderland quality to much of our current

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European forests such as Germany's beloved Black Forest. *Waldsterben* is the name Germans have coined for the widespread phenomenon, which is even worse in heavily polluted Eastern Europe. And in the United States, particularly in heavily logged regions like the Pacific Northwest and Alaska, there is a renewed assault on the great stretches of temperate forest that are so important to us. The statistics about forests can be deceptive too: although the United States, like several other developed nations, actually has more forested land now than it did a hundred years ago, many of the huge tracts that have been "harvested" and replanted have been converted from diverse hardwoods to a monoculture of softwood conifer forests that no longer support the species that once thrived in the woods. In national forests throughout the country, logging roads are being built in order to facilitate the more rapid logging, even clear-cutting, of public lands under contracts that require the sale of the trees at rates far below market prices. This enormous taxpayer subsidy for the deforestation of public land contributes to both the budget deficit and an ecological tragedy.

It was partly for this reason that many people drew the line at protecting an endangered species — the spotted owl — in Oregon and Washington. I helped lead the successful fight to prevent the overturning of protections for the spotted owl. In the spirited Senate debate, it became clear that the issue was not just the spotted owl but the "old growth" forest itself. The spotted owl is a so-called keystone species, whose disappearance would mark the loss of an entire ecosystem and the many other species dependent upon it. Ironically, if those wishing to continue the logging had won, their jobs would have been lost anyway as soon as the remaining 10 percent of the forest was cut. The only issue was whether they would shift to new employment before or after the last remnant of forest was gone.

Whether in the tropics or the temperate zones, forests represent the single most important stabilizing feature of the earth's land surface, and they cushion us from the worst effects — particularly those associated with global warming — of the environmental crisis. But local and regional problems contribute to the strategic threats brought on by our destruction of the environment. For instance, many forests now absorb huge quantities of CO<sub>2</sub>, but

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EVERY SUBJECT, ARRANGED  
ALPHABETICALLY BY TOPIC  
EUGENE E. BRUSSELL

## CONSCIOUSNESS

Conscience and cowardice are really the same thing. *Oscar Wilde*

The soft whispers of the God in man. *Edward Young*

Love is the source and substance... If it were not for our... need to love and to be loved there would be no conscience; there would remain only animal fear and animal aggression. *Gregory Zilboorg*

A voice doing its duty. *Anon.*

A thinking man's filter. *Anon.*

A cur that will let you get past it but that you cannot keep from barking. *Anon.*

Your moral personality. *Anon.*

Something that does not keep you from doing things, but from enjoying them. *Anon.*

That small inner voice that tells you that the tax collector might check your return. *Anon.*

That small inner voice that does not speak your language. *Anon.*

SEE ALSO BIBLE, BRAIN, CONFESSION, GUILT, MORALITY, REPENTANCE.

## CONSCIOUSNESS

Evolution looking at itself and reflecting. *Pierre T. de Chardin*

An illness—a real thorough-going illness. *Fedor M. Dostoevski*

The name of a nonentity, and has no right to a place among first principles. *William James*

The inner light kindled in the soul... a music, strident or sweet, made by the friction of existence. *George Santayana*

## CONSERVATION

The wise use of the earth and its resources for the lasting good of men. *Gifford Pinchot*

## CONSERVATISM

A bag with a hole in it. *Josh Billings*

The politics of reality. *William F. Buckley 2*

106  
Old ways... the safest and surest ways. *Edward Coke*

An organized hypocrisy. *Benjamin Disraeli*

(That which) stands on man's confessed limitations... (It) has no inventions; it is all memory... believes in negative fate. *Ralph Waldo Emerson*

To keep what progressiveness has accomplished. *R. H. Fulton*

The search for a superior moral justification for selfishness. *John Kenneth Galbraith*

Distrust of the people tempered by fear. *William Gladstone*

A philosophy that takes into account the essential differences between men, and, accordingly, makes provision for developing the different potentialities of each man. *Barry M. Goldwater*

Something that starts with the purchasing of a home and the birth of a child. *Max Granick*

On the whole, their policy meant that people had to fill up fewer forms than under the policies of other parties. *Alan P. Herbert*

Sometimes a symptom of sterility. Those who have nothing in them that can grow and develop must cling to what they have in beliefs, ideas and possessions. The sterile radical, too, is basically conservative. He is afraid to let go the ideals and beliefs he picked up in his youth lest his life be seen as empty and wasted. *Eric Hoffer*

Adherence to the old and tried, against the new and untried. *Abraham Lincoln*

Traditionalism become self-conscious and forensic. *C. Wright Mills*

To believe in thinking as you were brought up to think. *Charles S. Peirce*

Not the first by whom the new are tried, nor yet the last to lay the old aside. *Adapted from Alexander Pope*

The worship of dead revolutions. *Clinton Rossiter*

Those coercive arrangements which a still-linger-ing savageness makes requisite. *Herbert Spencer*

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WA-Colville

- Sen. Slade Gorton (will intro POTUS)
- Duane Vaagen, president of Vaagen Bros. Lumber Inc.
- Richard Kuhling, BQ Ch. (WA)  
(Q-ling)
- Mayor Duane Scott (Mayor of Colville)

Medford, OR

Burrill Lumber Company  
Kevin Hart, lead

- Mike Burrill, will intro POTUS  
pres. & gen. mgr.
- Burrill family & co. employees (some behind POTUS)
- Sen. Packwood ten.
- McCormick → BQ Ch. (OR)  
Bill (do not ack.)  
AAA → per advance
- Don Johnson, ~~event~~ event coor.  
owner of a mill in Oregon
- ~~Valerie John~~



August 25, 1992

Sigurd Lucassen  
 William Hubbell  
 Michael Draper  
 Sherry Scott  
 United Brotherhood of Carpenters  
 and Joiners of America  
 Carpenter's Bldg.  
 101 Constitution Ave., N.W.  
 Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Mr. Lucassen, Mr. Hubbell, Mr. Draper, and Ms. Scott:

Thank you for your recent letter which so clearly outlined the problems facing the forest products industry. I agree with you that a remedy must be found, and soon.

This crisis represents yet another example of a White House long on the politics of blame and short on leadership. George Bush has had more than two years to help the parties find a solution. But instead of looking for answers, this administration has made the problem worse by playing political games and frustrating the process.

I believe that all parties to this dispute feel used and manipulated. They seek new and decisive ways to bring about a resolution that protects both jobs and the environment.

Let me assure you that under a Clinton Administration the politics of blame will end. I personally want to take a constructive, hands-on role in seeking resolution of the crisis which is hurting so many of our timber families and dividing too many of our citizens in Oregon, Washington, and California. So on a future trip to the Northwest, I plan to continue a dialogue with all affected parties, including a visit with a timber family.

National Campaign Headquarters • P.O. Box 615 • Little Rock, Arkansas 72203 • Telephone (501) 372-1952 • FAX (501) 372-2292

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Paid for by the Clinton/Gore '92 Committee

11/1/92

August 25, 1992  
Page Two

Furthermore, if there is no resolution to this matter during this Congress, early in my administration I will convene a Pacific Northwest Forest Summit to work out a legislative solution. I will work with the Congress and all interested parties to help break the gridlock which has caused so much pain in our Pacific Northwest communities.

It is time for us to all come together and seek common ground.

Sincerely,



Bill Clinton

BC:sh

August 4, 1992

Honorable Bill Clinton  
Office of the Governor  
State Capitol  
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Governor Clinton:

We were deeply gratified to learn of your willingness to meet with representatives of organized labor to discuss the ongoing timber availability crisis during a future campaign to Oregon.

We also appreciate your expressed concern for the thousands who have lost their jobs in the region since the northern spotted owl was listed as threatened species two years ago.

For the record, you should know that 88 mills have shut down in Oregon and Washington since 1990, prompting more than 8,500 layoffs. The numbers for California are just as sobering. Thirty-seven mills have either cut back or suspended operations, leaving 4,300 workers unemployed.

The solution to this extremely complex and troubling issue must be developed by Congress and the executive branch working together. This solution must protect workers, families and communities as well as owls. We certainly want to brief you on the importance of developing a balanced and equitable solution to this vexing issue that is literally dashing the hopes and dreams of tens of thousands in this region.

In addition to a meeting on the timber availability crisis, we invite you to spend an evening at the home of a timber family to experience firsthand what the sense of uncertainty about the future does to a normal family situation.

We look forward to discussing the possibility of arranging such a briefing and visit with members of your staff.

While these details are being arranged, we would like you to consider a novel proposal for bringing an equitable resolution to this crisis. If Congress fails to act upon this question this year, we propose that you convene a Pacific Northwest Forest Summit to try to develop a solution, if you are elected President.

Such a summit including members of the Pacific Northwest congressional delegation and the governors of the affected states was successful in 1989 in creating a temporary solution to this crisis. Your call for a summit involving these parties would provide the bipartisan spirit necessary to move the issue from deadlock.

Last Saturday, you discussed the need for taking the timber availability crisis out of the courts and settling it once-and-for-all by means of a negotiated settlement. We clearly understand that achieving this pact would be extremely difficult, requiring compromise on the part of all parties, including ourselves. Our proposed summit meeting is consistent with your desire for a consensus agreement.

One of the key issues at the timber summit meeting would be the subject of legal sufficiency. We share your expressed concern that this issue has become gridlocked as a result of crippling lawsuits that have prompted widespread layoffs within our membership.

The United States Supreme Court, in an unanimous decision earlier this year, upheld the constitutionality of Congress' approving legislative language that declares that environmentally sensitive forest management plans are consistent with existing laws. This was the essence of the 1989 summit.

By including sufficiency language in a long-term, negotiated comprehensive solution to the timber availability crisis, we can be assured that the future of tens of thousands of hard working men and women are not jeopardized by the continuing limbo of the judicial system.

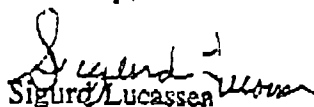
It would be extremely helpful to timber workers and organized labor if the Democratic ticket would embrace the concept of legal sufficiency to end the gridlock in the courts, and allow for our forests to be managed for the benefit of both the environment and the economy.

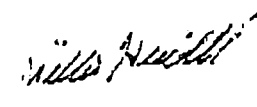
We salute the motto of the Clinton-Gore ticket: "People First." We believe we can advance the cause of hard working people without jeopardizing the environment by negotiating a balanced, legally sufficient legislative package.


We look forward to meeting with you in the near future to discuss this critical issue.

Best wishes to you in your presidential bid.

Sincerely,

  
 Sigurd Lucasen  
 President  
 United Brotherhood of  
 Carpenters and Joiners  
 of America

  
 William Hubbell  
 President  
 International  
 Woodworkers of America,  
 U.S.

  
 Michael Draper  
 Executive Secretary  
 Western Council of  
 Industrial Workers

Sherry Scott  
Financial Secretary  
Local #2739  
Western Council of Industrial Workers

cc: Chuck Richards  
Susan Thomases  
David Wilhelm

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	Bob Grady to Dick Darman, Re: Attached Spotted Owl Language. (2 pp.)	08/25/92	<del>P-5</del>	

**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File, Backup  
**Subseries:**  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** Colville, WA Event 9/14/92

**Open on Expiration of PRA  
(Document Follows)**  
By SN (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

<b>Date Closed:</b> 12/8/2004	<b>OA/ID Number:</b> 07580
<b>FOIA/SYS Case #:</b> S	<b>Appeal Case #:</b>
<b>Re-review Case #:</b> 2004-2265-S	<b>Appeal Disposition:</b>
<b>P-2/P-5 Review Case #:</b>	<b>Disposition Date:</b>
<b>AR Case #:</b>	<b>MR Case #:</b>
<b>AR Disposition:</b>	<b>MR Disposition:</b>
<b>AR Disposition Date:</b>	<b>MR Disposition Date:</b>

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**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**

- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

8/25/92

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK DARMAN

FROM: Bob Grady

RE: Attached Spotted Owl Language

The policy implications of this language are as follows:

- 1.) We are calling for a change in the Endangered Species Act -- at a minimum, to allow the consideration of economic impacts in the listing decision (where it is not now allowed to be considered) and in the recovery phase, where it can now be considered only in limited ways (e.g., it cannot interfere with the recovery of the species).
- 2.) We will not sign an ESA extension unless it is accompanied by sufficiency language in the Interior Appropriations bill, and unless that appropriations bill includes enough funds to fund our cut of 2.6 billion board feet in the Pacific Northwest region.
- 3.) Congress should include our 2.6 bbf recommendation in the appropriations bill.
- 4.) We will put out a rule that exempts timber salvage activities from the requirements of the ESA and the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). This is something USDA and Interior are considering -- and there are two variations on this. You could exempt from NEPA up to 1 million board feet of salvage in any given harvest, and it would be relatively non-controversial (and not that helpful!!). The larger alternative is to exempt salvage altogether from ESA and NEPA. You could make a plausible argument that this does not harm the owl habitat, and that the current level of excessive dead timber lying around is exacerbating severe fire conditions in the West. But frankly, this exemption would likely be challenged in the courts.
- 5.) Congress should pass S.2762, the Gorton bill which implements Secretary Lujan's "Preservation Plan." By way of explanation: The ESA now requires that a species not just stabilize, but "recover" (i.e., grow in population). The only plan our agencies could come up with that would do this would cost at least 30,000. Interior has come up with a "preservation plan", that they argue will allow the owl to survive -- but not necessarily grow. The bill basically limits the range of protected areas (e.g., it does not include the Olympic Peninsula and Northern Washington). Some

scientists in the agencies are attacking this plan as not credible. This plan itself, of course, embodies some rather significant departures from the ESA.

- 6.) This language certainly implied that next year we would support changes in the ESA to include more economics and allow less blocking of sales through process. I am attaching a portion of a memo that gives you a flavor of the kind of things that the agencies are discussing. At a meeting of the agencies hosted by Teresa Gorman about two weeks ago, all pretty much agreed to go with a thematic "Hatfield" approach (see attached op-ed), rather than formally proposing these specific changes to the Act at this time.

cc: Zoellide

**THE ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT**

**MAKING IT WORK IN THE FUTURE**

**WELL-REASONED PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE**

**BY**

**WASHINGTON STATE PUBLIC LANDS COMMISSIONER**

**BRIAN BOYLE**

**JUNE 1992**

# THE ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT

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## THE LAW, THE CONTROVERSY AND THE NORTHWEST EXPERIENCE

The Endangered Species Act (PL 93-205) was passed by the United States Congress in 1973 *to provide a means whereby the ecosystems upon which endangered and threatened species depend may be conserved and to provide a program for the conservation of such species.*

The Act is among the most popular and well-known laws ever passed by Congress. The bald eagle — the symbol of American democracy — and the grizzly bear are two prominent species that have benefitted from protection under the Endangered Species Act. More than 600 other species have been listed as threatened or endangered. It is estimated that there are another 3,000 plants and animals that should be listed.

The ESA is a vital element in our nation's effort to assure a healthy environment. In almost every instance, the provisions of the 1973 Act — with its subsequent amendments — serve the goal of species' protection extremely well.

But the public has become overwhelmed by the dominant attention given to those few species where protection means dramatic economic hardship — for a project, an industry, a community, or an entire region of the country. The salmon and the northern spotted owl in the Pacific Northwest, and perhaps later this year the California gnatcatcher, are species evoking particular controversy.

Exceptions to the rule — as these three species clearly are — should not sound the death knell for a well-conceived and highly successful law that has protected jeopardized species for two decades. Some pending attempts to gut the Endangered Species Act obviously would weaken species' protection. But simply ignoring the polarization surrounding controversial species would be just as irresponsible.

The Pacific Northwest has a unique relationship with the natural environment and wildlife. Our region is blessed with well-watered land that nurtures fast-growing, soaring forests and abundant fisheries — as well as bountiful agricultural and aquatic lands. Environmental quality is one of this region's engines of economic prosperity. Our future is tied to healthy natural

resources. Our comparatively unspoiled environment retains a diversity of species long absent from some other regions in this country.

However, as the Northwest has grown, we also have had more experience dealing with controversy resulting from the Act than any other region in the country. The Act in its present form is poorly designed to handle the inevitable challenges of the future. Our experience with the Act provides the insight needed to present the following forward-thinking proposals.

## A REGIONAL VOICE

### **Today's Problem:**

Important scientific conclusions about sustaining wildlife should be based solely on biology. But applying the measures to protect these species, if based only on biology, dismisses the human equation.

Decisions to protect salmon and the northern spotted owl mean far-reaching economic costs in the Northwest and throughout the U.S. Protecting salmon runs will easily impact one-third of a million acres of irrigated agricultural land which annually produces \$300 million worth of commodities. Salmon protection efforts will substantially raise electric utility rates to millions of customers in Washington, Oregon and California, and affect transportation costs. Protection of the northern spotted owl will result in job losses in the tens of thousands, and result in dislocation of families in some rural Pacific Northwest towns.

The owl was first listed as threatened in July 1990, yet no concrete plan to protect the owl exists. The owl is an example of how the processes in the ESA, while adequate for most species, are not capable of fundamental regional policy-making in cases where it is needed. Consequently, because it is the region that is most affected, regional interests begin seeking their own solutions to the controversy they live with every day. They search for other venues that lead, for example, to an Administration alternative to the spotted owl recovery plan, special "ancient forest" legislation in Congress, and drastic attempts to overhaul the entire Endangered Species Act.

So far, implementation of the Act has worked better in the case of listed runs of salmon. Affected regional interests and elected officials have been more actively involved, with the blessing of federal officials. This has been accomplished outside the explicit procedures of the Act, but has produced beneficial results.

### **The Boyle Proposal:**

A separate approach must be created in the Act for species whose recovery would entail severe regional economic consequences. Severe regional economic consequences would be defined according to specific criteria in the Act, such as:

- the employment base of the industries likely to be significantly affected, for example, as a percentage of a state's or region's employment;
- the contribution to gross domestic state or regional product of industries likely to be significantly affected;
- other appropriate criteria.

Two pathways should be constructed in the Act for recovery planning: the current planning process for most species, and a new alternative process for listed species meeting the economic impact criteria above.

The recovery planning approach for these "high economic impact" species would be developed with involvement and leadership from the affected region to better accommodate regional needs and values within the objectives of the Act. The intent is to promote compromise and build regional ownership of the resulting recovery plans.

Features of the alternative recovery planning process would include:

- The Secretary (of Interior or Commerce) requests the governor(s) of the affected state(s) to convene a regional recovery team;
- The regional recovery team would consist of representatives of all affected interests, specialists in a variety of disciplines and regional policy leaders;
- The regional recovery team would be required to develop a wide range of options and separately analyze both the economic *and* biological costs, risks, and benefits of each option;
- If unacceptable adverse economic consequences would result from complete recovery, the regional recovery team could have the option to adopt a goal of partial or delayed recovery. Partial recovery must include population viability over at least a major portion of the species' current range, but not necessarily the species' entire range.
- Unacceptable economic consequences would be defined in the Act. The criteria for "unacceptable" economic impacts should include major statewide or multi-state impacts that create widespread economic and

social hardship, damage to the state or regional economic base, and other long-term factors.

- The team would have a two-year time limit, with consensus as the preferred goal. In the absence of an agreed upon plan, the Secretary could re-assume responsibility if the regional team doesn't meet its two-year deadline.

- An agreed upon recovery plan must include provisions to address and supersede, if necessary, other implementing mechanisms of the Act. These include consultation, designation of critical habitat, prohibition on "taking" and other prohibited actions.

## BETTER FUNDING CHOICES

### **Today's Problem:**

The funding needs for recovery of all listed species are enormous — an estimated \$4.6 billion over 10 years. Unfortunately, there simply isn't enough funding to meet all the needs. State and federal agencies spent \$100 million on endangered and threatened species in 1990. Even with realistic increases in appropriations, a huge gap would remain between the need for protection and the ability to pay for it. As a result, inevitable choices must be made on where to direct the resources — which species get the funding? In 1990, more than one half of the \$100 million spent was devoted to less than 2 percent of the listed species. These critical funding choices currently are being made without input from the Congressional policy makers.

### **The Boyle Proposal:**

The Endangered Species Act needs explicit criteria to establish funding priorities. Agencies responsible for implementing the Act should be required to follow these criteria for listed species:

- Species whose recovery would cause severe regional economic consequences (as discussed above) receive a higher priority for funding;
- There must be a greater distinction between threatened and endangered species. Endangered species with good recovery potential receive a higher priority for funding. Threatened species and endangered species with lower recovery potential are considered a lower priority for funding.
- A higher priority should be given to "keystone" species. In emerging scientific thinking, keystone species play a pivotal role in the functioning of an ecosystem and support of a large part of the biological community. For example, the spotted owl may not be considered a keystone species because the surrounding biological community may not depend upon its survival. Some runs of salmon, however would be considered keystone species because an entire ecosystem revolves around them.
- Listed and candidate species that share common habitat requirements would receive a higher funding priority, so that a single recovery plan could provide multiple species protection. (For example, both the northern spotted owl and the marbled murrelet share old growth habitat.)

## PREVENTIVE CARE FOR BIODIVERSITY

### **Today's Problem:**

When the Endangered Species Act was created in 1973, it was designed to serve as "emergency room" intervention for species in critical shape. However, there's an increasing attempt to use the Act as a weapon in natural resource debates going well beyond individual species. The crisis intervention approach called for by the Act is not well suited to meeting our fundamental ecosystem management needs. No effective system of "preventive care" for ecosystems and species in trouble exists in federal law. This policy gap needs to be addressed separately from the Endangered Species Act.

### **The Boyle Proposal:**

Separate legislation needs to be developed for a new federal biodiversity program. The goal of such legislation would be to protect or restore healthy ecosystems and biodiversity. This proactive approach would serve as "preventive care" before a species needs protection under the Endangered Species Act. Meanwhile, the ESA's goal would continue to be emergency intervention.

#### Broad features of this separate biodiversity legislation:

- There should be identification of areas particularly rich in species or ecosystem functions. Where such areas are under-represented in existing public or private nature preserves, additional efforts should be undertaken. These could include acquisition of such areas from willing sellers, effective incentives for private parties to voluntarily protect biodiversity, or improved protective management if such areas are currently on federal lands.
- A scientific program should be designed to better define ecosystems, their functions, and their resiliency or vulnerability to human activity. This knowledge could help identify species that are critical or are not critical to the healthy functioning of an ecosystem. This would help establish priorities if such species become candidates for listing under the Endangered Species Act.

ESA vs Industry

Walby

Forks and the Spotted Owl

Efforts to save the spotted owl are wrecking havoc on a small timber town called Forks. Unemployment is 20% and counting - up from 10% in 1990. The car dealership, the main clothing retailer, the movie theater, and half a dozen other businesses have closed down since the beginning of this year. Domestic violence complaints in the past year have risen by more than 100%.

Tellico Dam

Tellico Dam, a Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) project, was taken to court over the issue of the snail darter, a three inch snail-eating fish, first observed in 1973, six years after Tellico began construction. Although TVA complained that Tellico's environmental-impact statement had passed two federal court reviews, that \$50 million in taxpayers' money had already been spent and that the dam would provide flood control, hydro-electric power, and recreational facilities, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the "infinitely valuable fish." Tellico's principal sponsor, Senate minority leader Howard Baker, however, rammed through legislation exempting the TVA project. The dam was built; few years later more snail darters turned up in other rivers nearby. The fish was downgraded to "threatened" in 1984.

Central Valley Farmers

Central Valley farmers have come to see the ESA as their enemy because the Act could force costly changes in agriculture to help save the Sacramento River's winter-run chinook salmon and the delta smelt. Farmers are concerned that the plight of the two declining species could permanently change the arrangement by which the Central Valley Project has brought them cheap water for four decades.

Oil Drilling

The Alaskan wilderness, more than half the country's total, has been put off-limits to oil drilling a mere year after the U.S. fought a war to preserve such access in the Persian Gulf. Virtually, the whole California coastline has been similarly blocked out.



**STATE OF WASHINGTON**  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

**OLYMPIA**  
WA 98501

**BOOTH GARDNER**  
GOVERNOR

**Remarks by Governor Gardner  
State Labor Council  
28 August 1992**

I don't get angry easily. But I've spent too much time listening to Republicans during the last week and half.

I'm not angry at them for beating up on Congress, or for congratulating themselves on foreign policy, or for taking the wrong position on a woman's right to choose.

What I'm angry about is their attempts to divide the American people at a time when unity is so urgently needed. Their vicious attacks on Hillary Clinton are dividing women in the workforce and women who stay home. Their misuse of the term "family values" divides the self-righteous from the rest of us. Their economic policies divide rich and poor, and their rhetoric divides us by race.

And then, as if that weren't enough, President Bush says that the Democratic platform is missing "three simple letters: G - O - D." I just couldn't figure out why a President would imply that Democrats are godless because we don't wear our religious convictions on our sleeves. But then it came to me -- he wanted us to know he could spell.

But this election campaign isn't about spelling. It ought to be about pulling

**the American people together to confront the problems of our economy, our schools, our streets, and our health care system.**

**Next week, President Bush will be in our state. He's coming here to divide us again -- and this time, he intends to deepen the division between timber workers and environmentalists, and to pit the environment and the economy against each other.**

**He knows perfectly well that what's at issue here is the need for a balanced solution that ends the management of our forests by court injunction.**

**He has had four years to bring everyone to the table and craft such a solution. But neither the plight of our people nor the danger to our forests was important enough to the Bush administration to warrant real leadership. He hasn't even gotten his own people -- from the Fish and Wildlife Service, the Forest Service, and the Bureau of Land Management -- to sit down together. Each one of these Bush administration agencies has gone off in its own direction, and the result has been confusion and division even within Bush's own team.**

**His agencies have flouted the law so flagrantly that our forests have been tied up in the courts for 33 out of the 48 months that this administration has been in office. And that total would have been 45 months if it hadn't been for the Dicks-AuCoin amendment that at least allowed a few timber sales for 12 months.**

**And while this administration has ignored its responsibilities to find a solution, they opposed aid to the very families who were being devastated by federal inaction and incompetence. Here in Washington, we believe that family values mean that we value every family -- not just our own.**

**We begged this administration for a stable timber supply, extended**

unemployment, for job training for timber workers, and for resources that would require that all of us share the burden of protecting our forests. But the Bush administration has made the families in our timber communities pay in a cynical political game.

They didn't even answer our letters.

For their own political reasons, they want to make this an either/or

question: either we protect our forests, or we protect our jobs and families. Either we have jobs today, or we have forests tomorrow.

But this isn't an either/or question -- it's an and/and question. We need jobs today and forests for tomorrow. We need protection for our families and protection for our forests. And we could have that if we had a rational leader who cared enough. We could find the balance, we could solve the problem, and we could move ahead instead of falling further and further behind.

We need to make a resolution: When President Bush comes here next week to divide us all over again, we just can't let him do it. We need to stand together, and we need to stand up to the Bush administration and just say no.

No, we will not be used. No, we will not be divided. And no, we will not let our timber families be used as pawns in this cynical game.

We do have an alternative -- and his name is Bill Clinton.

On August 4, a group of northwest labor leaders wrote him a letter asking that he spend time with a timber family, and asking him if he would call a timber summit to work out a compromise that would get our forests out from under court injunctions.

On August 25, Bill Clinton responded. He said yes -- yes he will spend time with a timber family next time he is in the Northwest, and yes, his administration would make it a priority to get everyone to the table to solve this problem. I have his letter with me, and I want to share it with representatives from the Carpenters Union, the IWA, and the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union.

But before I do that, I just want to conclude by driving this point home: We don't have any more time to waste. This is not 1980, and it is not morning in America. This is 1992, and this is the morning after in America.

It's time for all of us to face the reality that our country is headed in the wrong direction, and we need to change. We need a leader who brings us together, and we need citizens who are willing to take personal responsibility for making democracy work again.

And this year, we have that opportunity. It's up to us to use it or lose it.

Thank you.

birthday, but it's not likely his father will be around later to celebrate. "It's kinda hard with nobody around to look up to but your older brother," he says as he racks up points. Even when his father is home, no one can pretend things are the way they used to be. "My Dad, when he's around, well he loses his temper a little more," Danny says. "He doesn't always have the money for the bills. So sometimes we are a little short on water or the lights go off for a little while."

Those are problems many families in Forks are familiar with. Social services people rattle off the most recent statistics they have to document the distress: welfare grants to families with children up 64% from January to December, 1990; the number of food-stamp recipients up by a third; reports of sexual assaults up 113% and domestic violence up 96% between September, 1990, and September, 1991, at the Forks Abuse Program; a 66% jump in the number of people getting food from the Forks food bank between 1989 and 1990. The worst is yet to come. There were jobs in the woods last summer. In a frenzy of cutting that some say has been environmentally devastating, private landowners rushed to harvest for fear that the government will soon stop them from logging at all. On federal land, loggers cleared the timber they'd bought before harvest limits were imposed. New timber sales in the Olympic National Forest for 1991 plummeted to less than 10% of those made in 1990, and as the old sales are logged off, there just won't be much left to cut.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Middletown, New Jersey)

For Immediate Release

September 9, 1992

Emergency Timber Salvage Effort  
in the Northwest to Ease Fire Danger

The President today announced several actions that the Administration will take to expedite salvage operations of dead or dying timber in the Northwest and Northern California in order to ease the growing fire danger in that region. Western States, particularly California, are experiencing one of the worst fire seasons in history. This summer alone, there have been over 70,000 wildfires that have destroyed approximately 1.7 million acres of forest and rangeland, burned over 1,200 homes and other buildings, and required the evacuation of over 35,000 people. Fire danger has been particularly acute due to the unusually large volume of timber that is dead or dying because of a seven year drought that also has exacerbated damage from insects and disease.

The President has directed the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior, and all other appropriate federal agencies, to expedite their existing timber salvage sales programs for those areas not falling within spotted owl habitat, where timber harvesting is prohibited by federal court order. In addition, the Department of Agriculture will issue final regulations updating their policy and procedures for complying with the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). The final USDA regulation increases to 1.0 million board feet the amount of dead or dying trees which can be harvested in a single salvage project without having to prepare documentation under NEPA. Pursuant to NEPA and applicable regulations, USDA has determined that timber sales of this magnitude will have no significant environmental effect. In addition to reducing the danger from forest fires, the U.S. Forest Service estimates these actions will increase the timber harvest from these lands by 250 to 450 million board feet for fiscal year 1993.

# # # #

# Can't See the Forests for the Endangered Species

I have supported—and I continue to support—the Endangered Species Act. I helped write it. I offered the 1972 version of the act that eventually became law in 1973. I want it to survive.

But unlike many of my colleagues from urban areas, I also have to deal with the human side of the act, and thus have special reason to know that it has come to be an environmental law that favors preservation over conservation.

During my years in public service, I have been in the middle of continuing natural resource negotiations in my state. The goal of these efforts was to find and maintain a balance between humans and nature. By being able to negotiate definitive solutions to these problems, we were, until recently, able to "keep the peace" in our state by recognizing the legitimacy of the arguments of the many sides.

Unfortunately, the strict application of the Endangered Species Act in the case of the northern spotted owl has put an end, for the time being, to balanced resource management in the Pacific Northwest.

There is no question that the act is being applied in a manner far beyond what any of us envisioned when we wrote it 20 years ago. It was originally conceived as a law to ensure the survival of species threatened with or in danger of extinction because of specific actions such as road-building, observatories, sewer systems, buildings, dams or other such projects. But today the act is being applied across entire states and regions, with the result that it now affects millions upon millions of acres of publicly and privately owned land, and many thousands of human beings.

While the management of our public lands can

undoubtedly be improved, I question the tactic of using the Endangered Species Act as a weapon to accomplish judicially what could not be done through the legislative and administrative processes. Moving this battle over management of

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## *"The human factor has been lost."*

public lands into the judicial arena threatens to undermine public support for the act and for all other environmental protection laws.

The fact is that Congress always considered the human element as central to the success of the Endangered Species Act. But today, with the act being applied across entire regions, the human factor has been lost. "Science" has been used to support a philosophy that emphasizes single-use lock-up of our natural resources on the grandest scale imaginable.

The fundamental premise of those challenging the administration of our public lands is that we have "mismanaged" our forests. Some people are convinced that the lands of the Pacific Northwest were all one continuous blanket of old forests—250 years or more old—stretching from Northern British Columbia to Northern California.

That picture simply doesn't add up. The forests of the Pacific Northwest have been dynamic, evolving and constantly changing. They were never all old growth—they will never be all old growth.

According to a definition of "old growth for-

ests" prepared by Forest Service and university scientists, and using information from a Forest Service inventory of old growth forests, there are today 3.1 million acres of old growth in Oregon and Washington. Of that, 62 percent is withdrawn from any kind of timber harvesting and will never be harvested.

What, then, are the implications of our decision to apply the Endangered Species Act to millions of acres of public land in the Pacific Northwest?

Virtually every credible study shows that worldwide demand for forest products is expected to double in the next 50 years or less. Where will this material come from? And if we don't use wood, what materials will we use? What are the implications—local, regional, national and global—of using other materials?

We are on the verge of shifting the harvest of timber from the Pacific Northwest—which accounts for 20 percent of the nation's supply of wood—to other parts of the nation or the world that are biologically and politically unprepared for that burden—places that lack forest practice and environmental laws. The net result will be less, not more, protection for our environment.

While we debate the future of the Pacific Northwest and the protection of the spotted owl, we tend to forget that the application of the Endangered Species Act in this case has national implications. There are currently more than 7,000 species or subspecies in this country considered to be either "sensitive" or "candidates" for threatened or endangered listings.

The situation has gotten out of control. We conceived the Endangered Species Act with a simple premise for a difficult problem: that we

were not going to allow the demise of a species. We decided that where humans could stop extinction, we would take steps to stop it. We intentionally wrote protections into the act that were Draconian in scope to protect those species that were truly threatened with extermination.

But we have now elevated the act above all our other resource management and protection laws to an extent that those laws have now become all but meaningless. The work and investment in balanced resource management that has occurred over the years is about to be thrown into the recycling bin, swept aside and replaced by a "zero-risk, maximum-protection" strategy for a single use: wildlife management.

The argument that spotted owl protection really doesn't address old growth forest concerns has provided justification for legislation such as two bills approved by House committees, one of which would reduce the timber sale level in the Northwest from 3.4 billion board feet under the new forest plans to 814 million board feet. I am hard-pressed to remember a time in our nation's history when the federal government made a conscious decision to do what this bill would: eliminate 48,000 to 61,000 jobs.

We have witnessed an abuse of the concepts, the basic premises, of the Endangered Species Act. We need to think about the implication for truly threatened and endangered species if public support for the act declines to the point where efforts are made to amend or repeal it. We need to think about this conflict, and about how to resolve it, and bring peace back to our forests.

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*The writer is a Republican senator from Oregon.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE WHITE HOUSE

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Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 14, 1992

FACT SHEET

President Bush's Accomplishments for Protecting and  
Enhancing Forests and the Outdoors

- 0 Expanded and improved America's treasury of national forests, national parks, wildlife refuges, and recreation areas.
- Since 1989, the President has doubled funding for parks, wildlife, and outdoor recreation and has tripled funds to states under the Land and Water Conservation Fund to support local outdoor recreation.
  - Twenty national park units and 57 wildlife refuges have been added or proposed in addition to existing units, an addition of over 1.5 million acres.
  - 2700 miles of rivers have been designated as wild and scenic and 6.4 million acres have been designated as wilderness.
  - The Forest Service has reopened or upgraded campgrounds and picnic areas all across America that had been previously closed and has constructed or improved over 5000 miles of trails.
- 0 Proposed an ambitious reforestation program to plant one billion trees per year across America.
- In 1991, the first year of the initiative, over 25 million trees were planted in urban areas.
  - This year, to support the rural element of this initiative, nearly \$20 million will be spent for cost-shared projects on private lands in support of tree planting and other stewardship programs.
- 0 Announced an ecological approach to the management of our National Forests.
- The Forest Service has adopted the principle of ecosystem management for the entire National Forest System.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Colville, Washington)

For Immediate Release

September 14, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO EMPLOYEES OF VAAGEN BROTHERS LUMBER COMPANY

Vaagen Brothers Lumber Company  
Colville, Washington

1:09 P.M. PDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. What a wonderful welcome. (Applause.) And may I thank your very special Senator, Senator Slade Gorton, for that introduction, and much more for all he does for this great state back in Washington, D.C. You have an outstanding Senator. (Applause.) And thanks to Dwayne Vaagen, and all of the rest of you for letting us visit here today. I know we've disrupted not only this wonderful facility, but a lot of things around town. And I'm grateful to the Mayor, Mayor Scott, and the police officials and everybody else who assist in the planning and the success of a visit like this.

I'll tell you, I really enjoyed flying in here in that helicopter. And for those of you who haven't been up there, there are a lot of trees around here. So don't listen to some of the critics -- (applause.)

You know, last week out in Detroit, I released an Agenda for American Renewal. I see a sign back there on that. And the agenda was based on a fundamental premise: that the challenges America faces -- foreign, domestic and economic, and, yes, environmental -- are connected, they're linked. And the solution to one cannot be divorced from the solution to the other. We need an integrated approach.

We need to bring this integrated approach to the relationship between the economy and the environment. Environmental protection and economic growth must go hand in hand, they can't be divorced from each other. This morning down in southern California, I spoke about ways to bring them together. But frankly, I believe that when it comes to the Endangered Species Act and its application here in the Northwest, the balance has simply been lost.

Like many of you, I love to hunt and hike and fish. And I love the outdoors. (Applause.) And like you, I have learned through a lifetime of experience to appreciate and respect the wilderness. I know that you, and you who have chosen to live in this beautiful part of the country -- respect and revere these forests as others never can. (Applause.) And you resent the implication that earning your livelihood here -- with sound management of the forest -- makes you less of a conservationist than the city dweller or the suburbanite. (Applause.)

For the past -- and I'm proud of this record, although I don't have the endorsement of some of the extreme environmental groups -- but for the past four years, we've worked hard to protect our precious environment -- and we've accomplished a great deal. Four years ago, I promised Americans a new Clean Air Act. For over a decade, no one could get it done. But we did. My Clean Air Act reduces smog in our cities, and gets toxic pollutants out of the air and will cut acid rain in half.

MORE

Four years ago, I promised I would protect the environmentally sensitive areas off our coasts from the excesses of offshore drilling. And today, there will be no drilling off the coast of California or Washington and Oregon not far from here, off the Florida Keys, off the New England coast. We have banned ocean drilling until the year 2000.

Four years ago, I promised to be a good steward of our public lands. And we've added thousands of miles of trails for Americans like you who love the outdoors. We're reopening and upgrading campsites all across America. And we've added a million and a half acres to our national parks, wildlife areas, forests and recreation lands.

The fact is that every American cares about the environment -- and most consider themselves environmentalists. That is particularly true here in the Pacific Northwest. And yet Americans today realize that we can protect our lands while also using them for people's benefit. (Applause.) They understand the need for wilderness and recreation areas, as well as the need for paper for our schools and offices and timber for new homes.

Being out here in the great Pacific Northwest, I'm reminded of Teddy Roosevelt -- the very first President to focus the attention of the nation on the condition of our natural resources. Teddy Roosevelt once said this: "Wise forest protection does not mean the withdrawal of forest resources from contributing their full share to the welfare of the people." What President Roosevelt had in mind, and what the American people have always wanted, is balance. (Applause.)

Not far from here is a timber town called Forks. Like Colville, Forks supported a mill, and the mill supported a community. Because of a lack of timber, the mill had to close. Today unemployment in Forks is at 20 percent. The car dealership has closed. The clothing store -- gone. The movie theater -- shut down. Domestic violence complaints have doubled, just in the past year.

Forks is in crisis for a simple reason: the balance that I was talking about, that balance has been lost. I've come here because we must restore the balance. (Applause.) Listen to Oregon's Senator Mark Hatfield, who was a cosponsor of the original Endangered Species Act back in 1972. This year, he wrote: "There is no question that the act is being applied in a manner far beyond what any of us envisioned when we wrote it 20 years ago."

The Endangered Species Act was intended as a shield for species against the effects of major construction projects like highways and dams -- not a sword aimed at jobs and families and communities of the entire regions like the Northwest. (Applause.)

But today, when harvesting on federal timberland is stopped outright by 13 different lawsuits, under seven different statutes, each inconsistent with the other -- the balance has been lost. It's time to fight for jobs, families and communities. (Applause.)

The time has come to talk sensibly. When hundreds of mills have been shut down, thousands of timber workers thrown out of work, and revenues for schools and other local services have been slashed, the balance has been lost. And it's time to fight for jobs, families, and communities. (Applause.)

And so, as I say, we must talk sense about the Endangered Species Act, about the spotted owl, and about the management of our forests. Because it is my firm belief that people and their jobs deserve protection, too. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: What about AIDS? What about AIDS?

MORE

**THE PRESIDENT:** Let me digress for one minute -- let me digress. This man has asked a question here. I hadn't planned to discuss this. His question is -- if you'll listen, sir, I'll explain to you what about AIDS. AIDS is a serious problem. Under my administration we've appropriated \$4.3 billion, ten times as much per victim as for cancer. We've asked for \$4.9 billion. We are the leaders in research, and we're going to keep on fighting until we get this thing whipped. (Applause.)

Now, let me go back to the Endangered Species Act. And let me be clear: The basic purpose of the Endangered Species Act is good and noble -- to save the rare and threatened species of this country. But today, the act and other laws are being used by people with extreme views, particularly here in Washington and Oregon, to achieve in the courts what no sane official would ever have voted for -- the complete lock-up of the most productive forests in the entire United States.

The Endangered Species Act, as rigidly interpreted by some courts and as driven by the Congress, has forced an extreme approach and created an unnecessarily tragic situation here in the Northwest. Massive areas of federal land are being set aside for the owl -- virtually ignoring the fact that two-thirds of the Northwest's old-growth forests are already designated as parks, wilderness, or other classifications. (Applause.) Other classifications that prevent harvesting. And each pair of owls -- listen, America -- gets 3,500 acres to itself, while jobs, families and communities are being wiped out in the process. (Applause.)

And the other side has been talking about a false choice. They claim that this timber crisis is just politics, and the simple fact is this: The false choice is being driven by extremists who are twisting the Endangered Species Act and its application to the Northern Spotted Owl. (Applause.) So I came up here to set the record straight. And let's do that for the entire country, right here. We have always worked within the parameters of the law to address this problem. But I can tell you this: The law is broken, and it must be fixed. (Applause.)

We have asked the United States Congress for funds to cut enough timber in this region to keep people employed. But these conflicting laws allow challenge after challenge. So this year we sent Congress an alternative plan -- a preservation plan that would save 17,000 jobs compared to the recovery plan required by the act. And Congress has simply failed to act.

My friends, it is time to consider the human factor in the spotted owl equation. (Applause.) My opponent talks about putting people first. Well, we can start right here in the Pacific Northwest. And, so, here's what I propose. Here's what I propose. First, I will not sign an extension the Endangered Species Act unless it gives greater consideration to jobs. And to families and to communities, too. And I will not sign it without a specific plan in place to harvest enough timber to keep timber families working in 1993 and beyond. It is time to make people more important than owls. (Applause.)

And, second, I will fight to end the injunctions that have put an economic stranglehold on the Northwest in order to free up the timber that we need today, because the families and the timber communities of the Pacific Northwest need relief now.

And I call upon Congress to pass my plan to produce 2.6 billion board feet of timber from Forest Service lands in the Northwest region next year and to pass language that prevents lawsuits from stopping reasonable harvests with reasonable species protection. (Applause.) It is time to put people ahead of process.

Third, my administration will speed the harvesting of

The Endangered Species Act was intended as a shield for species against the effects of major construction projects like highways and dams -- not a sword aimed at the jobs, families, and communities of entire regions like the Northwest.

But today, when harvesting on Federal timberland is stopped outright by 13 different lawsuits -- under 7 different statutes, each inconsistent with the other -- the balance has been lost. It's time to fight for jobs, families and communities.

When hundreds of mills have been shut down, thousands of timber workers thrown out of work, and revenues for schools and other local services have been slashed, the balance has been lost. It's time to fight for jobs, families, and communities.

The time has come to talk sense about the Endangered Species Act, about the spotted owl, and about the management of our forests. Because it is my firm belief that people and their jobs deserve protection too.

Let me be clear: the basic purpose of the Endangered species Act is good and noble -- to save the rare and threatened species of this country.

But today, the Act and other laws are being used by people with extreme views, particularly here in Washington and Oregon, to achieve in the courts what no sane elected official would ever vote for -- the complete lock-up of the most productive forests in the entire United States.

The Endangered Species Act, as rigidly interpreted by some courts and as driven by the Congress, has forced an extreme approach and created an unnecessarily tragic situation here in the Northwest. Massive areas of Federal land are being set aside for the owl -- virtually ignoring the fact that two-thirds of the Northwest's old growth forests are already designated as parks, wilderness, or other classifications that prevent harvesting. Each pair of owls gets 3,500 acres to itself! Meanwhile, jobs, families and communities are being wiped out in the process.

The other side has been talking about a "false choice." They claim that this timber crisis is just politics. The simple fact is this: the false choice is being driven by extremists who are twisting the Endangered Species Act and its application to the Northern Spotted Owl.

Now let's set the record straight. We have always worked within the parameters of the law to address this problem -- but I can tell you this. The law is broken, and it must be fixed.

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MORE

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Third, my Administration will speed the harvesting of dead or dying timber that has been dangerously building up during a 7-year drought. One step is our new rule to allow more timber salvage operations to occur without triggering some of the time-consuming requirements that are blocking progress. This will reduce the risk of fire, it'll provide up to 450 million board feet of timber for the mills in the near term. And it's time, then, to protect jobs with timber that's available now. (Applause.)

And fourth, we will make sure that 100 percent of the raw logs from Washington State-owned public lands are processed here. It's time to put the mills back to work. (Applause.)

And, finally, I call upon Congress to pass the Spotted Owl Preservation Plan -- and that's Senator Gorton's bill which he calls "the Northern Spotted Owl Preservation and Northwest Economic Stabilization Act of 1992." It's time to preserve both owls and jobs. And that's what Slade Gorton's act does, and he helps the families in the process. (Applause.)

Now, the Senator mentioned my opponent, so I will, too. (Laughter.) My opponent's approach to this problem -- to your jobs -- is doublespeak. When Bill Clinton spoke in Pennsylvania, he said what the Sierra Club wanted to hear. They concluded that Governor Clinton was -- quote -- "promising the protection of old growth forests in the Pacific Northwest." And then, when he heard I was coming here, Mr. Clinton cynically held out false hope to timber families by promising -- get this -- another meeting.

There have already been more than 40 bipartisan meetings of the Northwest congressional delegation on this issue for three years. Now, here, you wondered what these are -- these are the studies. Look at them. We don't need any more studies of this problem. We need action in the United States Congress. Good heavens! (Applause.) We've produced a pile of studies and proposals that high. The best thing for the timber industry is all the trees it took to print these reports. No more studies, let's change the law. Let's change the law. (Applause.)

And the difference on this is clear. The difference on this is clear. It's as simple as this: My opponent will not fight to change the law to restore balance. And now I know that he's getting famous for being on both sides of every issue. (Laughter.)

Do you want to know the real views of the other ticket? Senator Gore wrote it in black and white in his book, before he knew that he'd be looking for your votes.

In his book, Senator Gore said this, and I quote: "I helped lead the successful fight to prevent the overturning of protections for the Spotted Owl." And Senator Gore wrote, and I quote: "...the jobs will be lost anyway." I challenge Governor Clinton: Do you agree with your running mate? Do you endorse the book that you once called "magnificent"?

It is time we worried not only about endangered species -- but about endangered jobs, jobs in the timber industry and in agriculture, and in transportation and in recreation as well --

It is time we worried not only about endangered species -- but about endangered jobs, jobs in the timber industry and in agriculture, and in transportation and in recreation as well -- (applause) -- all of those are threatened by the Endangered Species Act. (Applause.)

I have come here to tell you that I am a candidate who will respect wildlife, yes -- but who will also fight for jobs, and families, and communities. And I have come here to tell you that I will not stand for a solution that puts at least 32,000 people out of work. I can tell you -- that solution will not stand. (Applause.)

And I have come here to tell you that we haven't forgotten about the human factor -- because in the end, no matter how you look at it, that's the most important factor of all.

I have come here today to tell you that we can restore the balance, and we must restore the balance, and with your help, we will restore the balance.

Thank you, And may God bless you. And may God Bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much. Thank you. (Applause.)

END

1:30 P.M. PDT

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

September 14, 1992

The Spotted Owl/Timber Supply Crisis: a Chronology

FACT SHEET

The Problem

The Administration has persistently sought to achieve a balanced solution to the timber supply crisis brought upon by the listing of the northern spotted owl as a threatened species. The Departments of the Interior and Agriculture have held dozens of public meetings and received tens of thousands of public comments on such issues as whether to list the species, the preparation of environmental impact statements and the Interagency Scientific Committee's Report on the owl, the designation of critical habitat, and the preparation of the recovery plan and the alternative preservation plan. These efforts to reach a workable solution have been thwarted by repeated lawsuits, judicial activism, and a lack of decisive action by the Congress.

Environmental organizations have filed eleven lawsuits seeking to lock-up our public forest lands and opposing Administration efforts to implement spotted owl management plans. These lawsuits exploit the conflicting mandates of laws passed by Congress governing the management of our federal forest lands. Laws such as the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), the National Forest Management Act (NFMA), and the Endangered Species Act (ESA) were passed by Congress without any review of how these statutes, each with their own particular Congressional mandate, work together.

This avalanche of litigation regarding forest management, heard by judges who have gone far beyond simply interpreting the statutes, and a Congress that has failed to pass legislation necessary to appropriately change the law, has resulted in stopping the federal timber harvest program in the Northwest. As a result, hundreds of mills have been shut down, and thousands of timber workers have been thrown out of work, reducing critical federal timber harvest revenues to local communities for schools and other services.

The Administration's Response

Faced with the court-imposed ban on timber harvest in the Northwest, and a Congressionally mandated spotted owl recovery plan that would result in the loss of over 32,000 jobs, the Administration has proposed an alternative spotted owl preservation plan. This plan would provide for the sufficient protection for the owl in selected areas of the region so that current population levels are maintained and extinction is prevented while saving over 17,000 jobs that would be lost under the recovery plan.

In addition, the Administration has consistently indicated its willingness to work with the Congress to pass the preservation plan, or any other acceptable resolution that will minimize the impact on jobs while still protecting the owl. To date, the Congress has rejected all such efforts.

The following is a chronology of the major developments in this issue:

1987

- Green World petitions the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) to list the spotted owl under the Endangered Species Act (ESA).
- Environmental groups sue the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) challenging 200 timber sales in Oregon as being in violation of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA).
- FWS denies the petition to list.

1988

- The lawsuit against BLM is dismissed by Federal District Court Judge Helen Frye in Portland; the decision is appealed to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.
- Environmental groups sue FWS over the failure to list the spotted owl.
- Federal District Court Judge Thomas Zilly in Seattle orders FWS to reconsider its decision.
- The Forest Service releases a final environmental impact statement (EIS) on its forest management plan for the protection of the spotted owl.

1989

- The Ninth Circuit reverses the Frye decision, enjoins 200 proposed timber sales on BLM land, and orders Judge Frye to reconsider the case.
- Environmental groups file suit in Seattle against the Forest Service, alleging that the EIS fails to comply with the National Forest Management Act (NFMA), NEPA, and the Migratory Bird Treaty Act. Timber industry groups file suit alleging that the forest management plan is too restrictive.
- Federal District Court Judge William Dwyer in Seattle issues a preliminary injunction against 135 proposed Forest Service timber sales in spotted owl habitat.
- FWS proposes to list the spotted owl as threatened under the ESA.
- At Congressional direction, an interagency scientific committee was formed to prepare a conservation strategy for protection of the spotted owl.
- Congress adopts Section 318 of the Interior Appropriations bill that mandates timber sale levels for the Forest Service and the BLM and voids any legal challenge to those sales.
- The lawsuit against the BLM timber sales is dismissed by Judge Frye on the grounds that Section 318 renders the case moot. Judge Dwyer lifts his injunction against the Forest Service timber sales on the same grounds.

1990

- The interagency scientific committee issues their report and recommendations, which would, if fully implemented, reduce timber-related jobs in the Northwest by 30,000.
- FWS lists the spotted owl as threatened. The Administration establishes a high-level task force, Chaired by Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter, to develop alternatives to the interagency scientific committee report.
- Environmental groups file suit to compel FWS to designate critical habitat for the spotted owl.
- The President signs into law legislation restricting the export of unprocessed lumber from certain federal and state lands.

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- The Ninth Circuit strikes down Section 318 as unconstitutional. The Administration task force, led by Secretary Yeutter, recommends a plan to harvest 3.0 billion board feet from Northwest Forest Service lands, in a manner "not inconsistent" with the interagency scientific committee report (the so-called "Thomas" report). BLM announces the use of the "Jamison strategy" to protect the owl and ensure a reasonable timber harvest. The combination of the Yeutter plan and the Jamison strategy would have significantly reduced the job loss associated with the Thomas report.
- The Forest Service publishes a notice that it will manage the forests in a manner not inconsistent with the ISC report.

1991

- Judge Zilly rules that FWS must designate critical habitat for the spotted owl. Secretary Lujan appoints a team to prepare a recovery plan for the owl as required by the ESA.
- Judge Dwyer rules that the Forest Service notice to manage the federal forest not inconsistent with the interagency scientific committee recommendations violates provisions of NFMA.
- Environmental groups sue the BLM on the grounds that the Jamison Strategy violates the ESA by failing to consult with FWS.
- Judge Dwyer orders the Forest Service to prepare a new EIS by March 5, 1992 to adopt a plan to protect the spotted owl.
- FWS proposes to designate 11.6 million acres in the Northwest as critical habitat for the owl.
- FWS issues "jeopardy" opinions on 44 proposed BLM timber sales claiming such sales will place the owl in jeopardy at those sale sites.
- FWS revises its critical habitat proposal to cover 8.2 million acres.
- Federal District Court Judge Robert Jones in Portland rules that BLM violated the ESA in failing to consult with FWS on the implementation of the Jamison Strategy.
- BLM requests that the Endangered Species Committee be convened to review the jeopardy opinion on the 44 timber sales.

- The Ninth Circuit upholds Judge Dwyer's rulings against the Forest Service.

1992

- FWS publishes a final critical habitat rule encompassing 6.9 million acres of federal land.
- The Forest Service releases the final EIS on its owl protection plan as required by Judge Dwyer.
- Secretary Lujan announces creation of a new task force to develop an alternative to the spotted owl recovery plan. Judge Frye enjoins logging on old growth forests on BLM land.
- The Supreme Court overturns the Ninth Circuit and holds Section 318 constitutional.
- Judge Dwyer dismisses the environmental suit because the Forest Service complied with his earlier rulings.
- The Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund files a request for attorneys fees in the amount of \$1.2 million.
- Environmental groups file suit challenging the new Forest Service EIS on the grounds that it violates NEPA and NFMA.
- The Endangered Species Committee votes to exempt 13 of the 44 BLM timber sales from the ESA. On the same day, the Fish and Wildlife Service releases the draft spotted owl recovery plan and Secretary Lujan issues his alternative preservation plan, which would save over 17,000 jobs that would be lost under the recovery plan and which would require Congressional action.
- Judge Dwyer rules that the Forest Service's recent EIS violates NEPA and enjoins their timber harvest program. Judge Frye enjoins the BLM from conducting timber sales in owl habitat.
- Judge Dwyer orders the Forest Service to prepare a new EIS.

Fifteen separate bills have been introduced in Congress relating to the spotted owl and old growth forests. To date, no legislation has been enacted.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
- SEP 14 AM: 55

For Immediate Release

September 14, 1992

Caring for America's Forests

FACT SHEET

The Federal Government manages about 212 million acres of forest land, about 8.5 percent of the land area of the U.S. comprising an area the size of the States of Texas and Louisiana combined. These national forestlands, which include National Forests and forested lands controlled by other agencies are managed under a multiple use mandate that includes recreational activities, wildlife and habitat conservation, and environmentally appropriate commercial activities such as timber harvesting, mining, grazing, and fishing.

The Bush Administration is committed to caring for our National Forestlands to meet the needs of the people and conserve those treasures for the use and enjoyment of future generations.

Meeting the Needs of People

The National Forests provide an opportunity for Americans to enjoy the outdoors and the Bush Administration has enhanced recreational opportunities by expanding and improving America's treasury of national forests, national parks, wildlife refuges, and recreation areas.

- Since 1989, the President has doubled federal funding for parks, wildlife refuges, and outdoor recreation and has tripled funds to states under the Land and Water Conservation Fund to support local outdoor recreation.
- Twenty national park units and 57 wildlife refuges have been added or proposed in addition to existing units, an addition of over 1.5 million acres.
- 2700 miles of rivers have been designated as wild and scenic and 6.4 million acres have been designated as wilderness.
- The Forest Service has reopened or upgraded campgrounds and picnic areas across America that previously had been closed and has constructed or improved over 5000 miles of trails.

The National Forests also provide jobs for thousands of Americans. For example, over 188,000 people have jobs relating to outdoor recreation activities on federal land, and visitors to the National Forests spend over \$6.0 billion per year in local communities.

America's forests also provide about one-fifth of the nation's production of softwood timber. In 1991, national forest timber harvesting generated \$1.2 billion in revenues, over 100,000 timber-related jobs, and almost \$5.0 billion in timber-related income, primarily for local communities.

### Conserving and Enhancing America's Forests for Future Generations

The President has proposed an ambitious reforestation program to plant one billion trees per year across America.

- In 1991, the first year of the initiative, over 25 million trees were planted in urban areas.
- This year, to support the rural element of this initiative, nearly \$20 million will be spent for cost-shared projects on private lands in support of tree planting and other stewardship programs.

In June the President announced the use of a new approach to the management of our national forests.

- The forest service has adopted the principle of ecosystem management for the entire National Forest System.
- Both the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management have announced that they will no longer use the practice of clearcutting as the primary means of harvesting timber on public land.
- Our forests, by law, must be managed on a sustained-yield basis; i.e. no more timber can be harvested than can be grown over time. All areas harvested must be reforested.
- Timber growth on National Forests exceed timber harvest by more than 50 percent. Since 1952, tree growth on National Forest land has increased by 67 percent; from about 9 billion to over 15 billion board feet per year.
- There are over 7.0 million acres of old growth forest in the Northwest, over half of which is protected in wilderness refuges, parks, and other land

classifications where timber harvesting is not permitted.

The President has initiated international forestry conservation initiatives, in particular the adoption at UNCED of principles for conservation and sustainable development of forests and the Forests for the Future Initiative.

- . At the 1990 international economic summit in Houston, the President called for negotiating a global forests convention to improve conservation of all the world's tropical, temperate, and boreal forests.
- The President has called on the international community to double worldwide forest conservation assistance from \$1.35 billion to \$2.7 billion by 1994. The goal of his "Forests for the Future" initiative is to halt the net loss of forests over the next decade. As a down payment, the U.S. has pledged to provide an additional \$150 million in bilateral forest assistance next year. This will bring U.S. funds available for international forestry assistance to more than \$485 million.

The President has enhanced wildlife protection on federal lands.

- Funding for federal fisheries management has increased by \$80 million since 1989.
- Full funding has been requested for the Wallop-Breaux (sport fish restoration) program to finance projects to acquire and restore fish habitat, to improve public access to lakes and rivers, and to conduct research into fisheries problems.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Medford, Oregon)

For Immediate Release

September 14, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO EMPLOYEES OF BURRILL LUMBER COMPANY

Burrill Lumber Company  
Medford, Oregon

6:30 P.M. PDT

THE PRESIDENT: Mike, thank you, sir. Thank you very -- he's getting our props ready for this presentation. (Laughter.) Now, thank you so much, Mike, for the introduction. Thanks to your wonderful dad and to the entire Burrill family, and all of you for letting me visit here today.

Last week in Detroit, I released my Agenda for American Renewal. And the agenda was based on a fundamental premise: that the challenges that America faces -- foreign, domestic, economic and, yes, environmental -- are connected. And the solution to one cannot be divorced from the solution to the other. And we need an integrated approach.

And we need to bring this integrated approach to the relationship between the economy and the environment, too. And environmental protection and economic growth must go hand in hand, and they cannot be divorced from each other. And this morning, I spoke in California, down in San Diego, about ways to bring them together. But, frankly, I believe that when it comes to the Endangered Species Act and its application here in the Northwest, the balance has been lost. (Applause.)

Like many of you, I love to hunt and hike and to fish. And like you, I have learned through a lifetime of experience to appreciate and respect the great outdoors -- the wilderness.

And I know that you -- you particularly who have chosen to live in these marvelous parts of the woods -- respect and revere these forests as others never can. And you resent the implication that earning your livelihood here -- with sound management of the forest -- makes you less of a conservationist than the city dweller or the suburbanite. (Applause.)

And for the past four years, my administration and I have worked hard to protect the environment -- and we've accomplished a great deal. Four years ago, I promised Americans a new Clean Air Act. For over a decade, no one could get it done, but we did it. And our Clean Air Act reduces smog in our cities and gets toxic pollutants out of the air and will cut acid rain in half.

And four years ago, I promised that I would protect the environmentally sensitive areas of our coasts from the offshore drilling. And today, there will be no drilling off the coast of California, off the coasts of Washington and Oregon and off the Florida Keys and off the New England coast. And we banned that ocean drilling until the year 2000.

And then, four years ago, I promised to be a good steward of our public lands. And ~~more~~ we have added thousands of miles of trails for Americans like you who love the outdoors; and we're

reopening and upgrading campsites all across this great country; and we've added a million and a half acres to our national parks and wildlife areas and forests and recreation lands.

But the fact is that every American cares about the environment -- and most consider themselves environmentalists. And that is particularly true here in the Pacific Northwest. And yet Americans today realize that we can protect our lands while also using them for the people's benefit. They understand the need for wilderness and recreation areas, as well as the need for paper for our schools and offices and timber for new homes. (Applause.)

And being out here in the great Pacific -- the Northwest, I'm reminded of Teddy Roosevelt -- the very first President who focused the attention of the entire nation on the condition of our natural resources. And Teddy Roosevelt once said: "Wise forest protection does not mean the withdrawal of forest resources from contributing their full share to the welfare of the people." What President Roosevelt had in mind, and what the American people have always wanted, is balance.

And not far from here, in the state of Washington, is a timber town called Forks. And Forks supported a mill, and the mill supported a community. And because of the lack of timber, the mill had to close. Today unemployment in Forks is at 20 percent. The car dealership is closed. The clothing store is gone. The movie theater -- shut down. Domestic violence complaints have doubled, just in the past year.

Now, Forks is in crisis for a simple reason: the balance has been lost. And I've come here because we must restore the balance. (Applause.)

Listen to one of the senators -- Senator Mark Hatfield, from here, who was a cosponsor of the original Endangered Species Act back in '72. And this year, he wrote: "There is no question that the act is being applied in a manner far beyond what any of us envisioned when we wrote it 20 ago."

The Endangered Species Act was intended as a shield for species against the effects of major construction projects like highways and dams -- not a sword aimed at jobs, families and communities of entire regions like the Northwest.

But today, when harvesting on federal timberland is stopped outright by 13 different lawsuits, under seven different statutes, each inconsistent with the other -- the balance has been lost. (Applause.) And it's time to fight for jobs, for families and for communities.

And when hundreds of mills have been shut down, thousands of timber workers thrown out of work, and revenues for schools and other local services have been slashed, the balance has been lost. And it's time to fight for jobs, families, and communities. (Applause.)

And so the time has come to talk sense about the Endangered Species Act, about the Spotted Owl, and about the management of our forests. Because it is my firm belief that people and their jobs deserve protection, too. (Applause.)

Let me be clear: The basic purpose of the Endangered Species Act is good and noble -- save the rare and threatened species of this country. But today, the act and other laws are being used by people with extreme views, particularly here in this state, here in Oregon, to achieve in the courts what no sane elected official would ever vote for -- the complete lock-up of the most productive forests in the entire United States. (Applause.)

MORE

The entire Endangered Species Act, as rigidly interpreted by some courts and as driven by the Congress, has forced an extreme approach and created an unnecessarily tragic situation here in the Northwest. Massive areas of federal land are being set aside for the owl -- virtually ignoring the fact that two-thirds of the Northwest's old-growth forests are already designated as parks, wilderness, or other classifications that prevent harvesting. Each pair of owls gets 3,500 acres to itself. And meanwhile, jobs and families and communities are being wiped out in the process.

And the other side has been talking about a "false choice." And they claim that this timber crisis is just politics. And the simple fact is this: The false choice is being driven by extremists who are twisting the Endangered Species Act and its application to the Northern Spotted Owl. (Applause.)

And now let's set the record straight. We've always worked within the parameters of the law to address this problem. But I can tell you this. The law is broken, and it must be fixed.

And we have asked the Congress for funds to cut enough timber in this region to keep people employed. But these conflicting laws allow challenge after challenge.

We convened the God Squad to exempt 13 timber sales here in southern Oregon from jeopardy opinions from the Fish and Wildlife Service. And every one of those sales is now enjoined.

And so this year, we sent Congress an alternative plan, a preservation plan, if you will, that would save 17,000 jobs compared to the recovery plan required by the act. And Congress has failed to act on my plan.

My friends, it is time to consider the human factor in the Spotted Owl equation. My opponent talks about putting people first -- well, we can start right here in the Pacific Northwest. (Applause.)

So here is what I propose:

First, I will not sign an extension of the Endangered Species Act unless it gives greater consideration to jobs, to families, and to communities. (Applause.) And I will not sign it without a specific plan in place to harvest enough timber to keep timber families working in 1993 and beyond. It is time to make people more important than owls. (Applause.)

And second, I will fight to end the injunctions that have put an economic strangle hold on the Northwest, in order to free up the timber that we need today, because the families and the timber communities of the Pacific Northwest need relief and they need it now.

And I call upon the United States Congress to pass my plan to produce 2.6 billion board feet of timber from Forest Service lands in the Northwest region next year, and at least 500 million board feet on BLM land. And I ask Congress to tie that plan to language that prevents lawsuits from stopping reasonable harvests with reasonable species protection. (Applause.) It is time to put people ahead of process. And the Congress must understand that.

And third, my administration will speed the harvesting of dead or dying timber that has been dangerously building up during a seven-year drought. One step is our new rule to allow more timber salvage operations to occur without triggering some of the time-consuming requirements that are blocking progress. This will reduce the risk of fire, and it will provide up to 450 million board feet of timber for the mills in the near term. And in other words, it's time

MORE

to protect jobs with timber that's available now and put the mills back to work. (Applause.)

And finally, I call upon Congress today to pass the Spotted Owl Preservation Plan -- that's the bill sponsored by Senators Packwood and Hatfield and Slade Gorton, which they call "The Northern Spotted Owl Preservation and Northwest Economic Stabilization Act of 1992". It's a long name, but it's a good bill. And it's time to preserve both owls and jobs -- jobs in the timber industry and in agriculture, transportation and in recreation as well, where they, too, are threatened by this Endangered Species Act.

And now a word about my opponent. My opponent's approach to this problem -- and I'll try to be fair -- no, but his approach to this problem, to your jobs, really is -- and look at the record -- doublespeak. When he spoke in Pennsylvania -- Governor Clinton spoke in Pennsylvania -- he said what the Sierra Club wanted to hear. They concluded that Governor Clinton was -- quote -- "promising the protection of old-growth forests in the Pacific Northwest." And then, when he heard I was coming here, Mr. Clinton cynically held out false hope to timber families by promising another meeting.

There have already been more than 40 bipartisan meetings of the Northwest congressional delegation on this issue for three years. Now, look, here are the studies. We've produced a pile of studies and proposals this high. And the only good reason for the timber industry -- the only good news is all the trees in took to print all these darn reports. (Applause.) Look at them. And so I say to Governor Clinton, no more studies. Help me change the law. That's what needs to happen. (Applause.)

And the difference on this is clear: I will. I will change it. And it's as simple as this: My opponent will not fight to change the law to restore balance.

And now I know that Mr. Clinton -- and Governor Doublespeak I call him -- (laughter) -- but, nevertheless, is getting famous -- getting famous for being on both sides of these issues. But do you want to know the real views of the other ticket? I hate to bring this word up, but Senator Gore --

AUDIENCE: Booo --

THE PRESIDENT: He wrote it in black and white in his book before he knew that he'd be out there pandering for votes. And in his book, Senator Gore said this -- and I quote: "I helped lead" -- I want to get it right here -- "I helped lead the successful fight to prevent the overturning of protections for the Spotted Owl." And he wrote -- and this is an exact quote -- "the jobs will be lost anyway." I challenge Governor Clinton -- do you agree with your running mate? Do you endorse the book that you once called "magnificent"? It is time we worried not only about endangered species, but about endangered jobs. (Applause.)

And I am here to tell you that I'm the one who will respect the wildlife, yes. I think we all do. We all agree. But I'm also the one who will also fight for jobs, for families, and for communities.

I have come here to tell you that I will not stand for a solution that puts at least 32,000 people out of work. It will not stand. I mean it. (Applause.)

And I've come here to tell you that we haven't forgotten about the human factor; because in the end, in the final analysis when all the campaigns are over and all the charge and countercharge takes place, the human factor, that is the most important factor of all.

MORE

And I've come here today to tell you that we can restore the balance. We must restore the balance. And with your help, we will restore the balance.

May God bless your families, your jobs, your hopes for our great country. And may God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very, very much. Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you all. (Applause.)

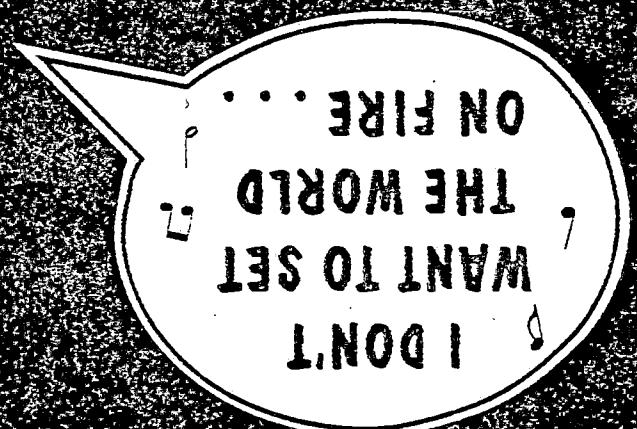
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Gore's  
Globaloney



# NATIONAL REVIEW

Republicans after Houston: Buckley, Brookhiser, McGurn

BACK  
TO SCHOOL  
ISSUE



## CAPTAIN PLANET FOR VEEP

Al Gore is a family man, and he voted for Desert Storm. But his big contribution to the ticket is his environmentalism. Fortunately (for Republicans) it's all there in his book, *Earth in the Balance*.

RONALD BAILEY

**J**UDGE ME by my first decision," challenged Bill Clinton. He was speaking of his choice of running-mate, Al Gore. Let us indeed judge Mr. Clinton by this decision.

Pundits have rushed to label Clinton and Gore as "moderates"; Gore describes himself as a "raging moderate." However, looking at Gore's record in Congress leaves little doubt that George McGovern was right when he told the *New York Times*, "I have a hunch that they're much more liberal underneath and will prove it when they're elected."

Gore's 1990 Americans for Democratic Action rating of 78 per cent places him quite comfortably in the company of such notorious moderates as Howard Metzenbaum (78), George Mitchell (83), and Carl Levin (78). His lifetime record of 87 per cent support for AFL-CIO positions places him with Ted Kennedy (93), Alan Cranston (90), and Patrick Leahy (84). In addition, Gore has rarely seen a tax hike he didn't like. He has consistently opposed cutting the capital-gains tax, and in 1986 he voted in favor of creating a third tax rate of 35 per cent. Gore's National Tax-Limitation Committee rating of 15 per cent on tax issues is worse than Alan Cranston's

*Mr. Bailey is a PBS television producer, whose book Ecocam: The False Prophets of Ecological Apocalypse will be published by St. Martin's in February 1993.*

and Daniel Inouye's 20 per cent, and equals Daniel Patrick Moynihan's and Patrick Leahy's records.

"That dog won't hunt," as Bill Clinton might say of the claim that Gore is a moderate.

### Gore's Fast-Track

**T**HE SON of a U.S. senator, Gore has been on the political fast-track ever since he entered the House of Representatives at age 28. He ran successfully for the Senate in 1984, and made a fairly good showing in the Democratic presidential primaries in 1988. If the Democrats lose in November, he is perfectly positioned to garner his party's presidential nomination in 1996.

Dave Stockman wrote in 1979 that "At age thirty, Al is already a major-league politician. Unfortunately, he inhales populist nostrums as naturally as he breathes. If there is one great service I can perform for the Republic it may be to teach Al Gore some basic economics before it is too late."

Evidently Stockman did not succeed. Gore has since consistently voted for increases in the federal minimum wage—although it is an economic fact that raising the minimum wage hurts the most vulnerable workers worst, those at the bottom of the pay scale and those trying to enter the workforce for the first time.

As a congressman in the late 1970s,

Gore fiercely opposed the deregulation of the oil and natural-gas industries. Apparently buying into the dotty theory that oil companies had conspired to raise prices by as much as 300 per cent above their natural levels, Gore claimed Congress might have stumbled onto "the largest criminal conspiracy case in our history, involving billions of dollars, and it may be continuing to this day." He also argued that decontrolling oil prices would cost consumers billions of dollars and add to inflation in exchange for "benefits that are almost illusionary."

In fact, decontrol increased domestic production and helped bring about the collapse of the OPEC cartel, leading to much lower world oil prices by the mid 1980s. Similarly, the result of the deregulation of natural gas which Gore so strenuously opposed is that there is now a glut and prices have plummeted. It's particularly ironic that Gore now sees the burning of today's plentiful and cheap supplies of natural gas as a way to reduce smog in American cities and as part of the solution to the alleged global-warming crisis.

Many pundits, pointing to Gore's support of the Gulf War and the invasion of Panama, hailed Clinton's choice as a way to shore up his weak foreign-policy credentials. Gore himself seems to endorse this view: without so much as a blush, he hails the "political earthquake" that "topple[d] statues of Lenin . . . from Nicaragua to

Angola to Ethiopia, until it brought down the Soviet Union itself." Gore forgets that he was missing in action during the last battles of the cold war:

he regularly opposed aid to the Nicaraguan Contras and to the UNITA anti-Communists in Angola. The statues of Lenin didn't topple by them-

selves, and Gore did nothing to give them a shove.

Although Gore claims expertise in nuclear arms control, he supported the

## The Gorey Details

**I**N THE 1970s a particularly raunchy book, heading for the best-seller list in Britain, drew the attention of the satirical magazine *Private Eye*. The editors of *Private Eye*, knowing that a campaign against such a book will simply arouse public interest in it, took a different tack: they published a list of the juiciest pages so that the curious could read them in the bookstore without contributing to the author's coffers.

How nice that a Democratic staffer has unwittingly done the same for Al Gore's book, *Earth in the Balance*! A memo from a worried campaign aide published in the *Wall Street Journal* warned of arguments against the book and listed the pages most likely to come under attack.

Begin your bookstore tour of Al Gore's psyche with a whiff of self-interest on p. 8. We learn there that Gore worried about introducing environmentalism into his 1988 campaign—worried not that he might be scientifically inaccurate or morally wrong, but that environmentalism might be a "peripheral" political issue. "I began to doubt my own political judgment, so I began to ask the pollsters and professional politicians what they thought I ought to talk about."

Then flip to p. 340 to agonize with Gore in his battle with a fatal flaw. The senator had voted for sugar price supports, he says, "without appreciating the full consequences of [his] vote." Loyalties to the Southern farm bloc kept him from listening to those who "tried for years to persuade me to drop my support for sugar subsidies." But Gore concludes, "I . . . have decided as I write this book that I can no longer vote in favor of sugar-cane subsidies." How noble.

And be sure not to miss the confession of hypocrisy on p. 15. There Gore reveals humbly that he uses his automobile air conditioner, which

Miss Allen is NR's editorial assistant.

produces CFCs, on the way to speeches about why they should be banned. What can turn a man of so little courage into a leader?

Deep insight, perhaps? On p. 23 (among others) you may find Al Gore, political theorist. Totalitarian regimes, he teaches, desire more territory because "Denied validation in the countenance of its citizens, the totalitarian leadership feels no choice but to try to expand, out of an insatiable ambition to find—by imposing itself on others—conclusive evidence of its inner value."

And running throughout—the Great Crusade. On p. 39, for example, Gore courageously takes on the media. "In this case, when 98 per cent of the scientists in a given field share one view [on global warming] and 2 per cent disagree [see Ronald Bailey's article above for accurate statistics], both viewpoints are sometimes presented in a format in which each appears equally credible . . . Feel the spine-tingling devotion to The Cause on p. 274: "Adopting a central organizing principle . . . means embarking on an all-out effort to use every policy and program, every law and institution . . . to halt the destruction of the environment."

What is it that has caused the problems in the world? We're a dysfunctional family! It seems (p. 230 ff) every culture is an extended family and "our civilization must be considered in some basic way dysfunctional. . . we consume the earth and its resources as a way to distract ourselves from the pain . . ." But we don't have the only dysfunctional society—Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, the Stalinist Soviet Union, and Maoist China also qualify (p. 232).

Have you got an appetite for destruction? Turn to p. 177. "Now warnings of a different sort signal an environmental holocaust without precedent . . . Today the evidence of an ecological *Kristallnacht* is as clear as the sound of glass shattering in Berlin."

The brutal misogyny of technology appears on p. 213. We have emphasized those technologies "historically associated more with males than females . . . [and] ways to dominate nature receive more attention than ways to work with nature." In fact, "part of the solution for the environmental crisis may well lie in our ability to achieve a better balance between the sexes, leavening the dominant male perspective with a healthier respect for female ways of experiencing the world."

And that should lead as well to a new respect for our society's children. "One of the most horrifying examples of our degraded appreciation of the individual is a new category among the homeless called throwaway children, . . . thrown out of their homes because they have become too difficult to handle . . . And every so often we read about a newborn baby literally thrown into a . . . trash compactor" (p. 161). Gore's emotion is palpable. "Throwaway children: nothing could better illustrate my strong belief that the worst of all forms of pollution is wasted lives." Gore is a co-sponsor of the Freedom of Choice Act.

Finally, there is policy, especially taxes (although, there is no listing in the index for "taxes"). A CO<sub>2</sub> tax and a virgin materials tax pop up on p. 349. And a higher tax on fossil fuels is one of the "logical first steps" discussed on p. 173. Or just flip to practically any page in the chapter "A Global Marshall Plan," estimated at \$100 billion of spending—with taxation to match. P. 320 is a gold mine. Gore wants: "Tax incentives for the new technologies and disincentives for the old. Research and development funding for new technologies and prospective bans on the old ones. . . . The promise of large profits in a market certain to emerge as older technologies are phased out."

Now have you had enough of the Gorey details? —DANIELLE ALLEN

Nuclear Freeze campaign, which called for a moratorium on the testing and eventual deployment of nuclear weapons in Western Europe to counter the Soviet buildup. He consistently voted against President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, against the development of an anti-satellite capability to counter Soviet A-SAT efforts, and for cuts in the defense budget.

Gore's record on abortion is mixed. When he was in the House he consistently voted against federal funding of abortions, and in 1984 he even voted for an amendment defining a "person" under the Age Discrimination Act to include "unborn children from the moment of conception." After he became a senator, though, his position shifted; he wound up voting several times to permit the funding of abortions with government revenues in the District of Columbia.

Finally, despite running as the candidate of "change," Gore last year voted against a motion that would have required Congress to abide by the same labor and civil-rights laws as it imposes on the private sector. And even an ecological saint sins. He voted for building the Clinch River Breeder Reactor and the Tellico Dam, both of which were anathema to environmentalists. These pork-barrel projects were located in Tennessee.

### Senator Doom

**O**N THE BASIS of the foregoing, one would conclude that Gore is a pretty conventional Democratic liberal, and so he is on most issues. But when it comes to the environment, Senator Albert Gore is an out-and-out radical. At the heart of his world view is an apocalyptic vision of an Earth teetering on the brink of destruction.

Gore has outlined his views in his best-selling book *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit* (see p. 42), which his running-mate has called "magnificent." Clinton declared that Gore "has asked me to join in his commitment to preserve not only the environment of America, but to preserve the environment of our globe for future generations. And together we will finally give the United States a real environmental Presidency." If so, Americans have much to fear.

H. L. Mencken once wrote, "The

whole aim of practical politics is to keep the populace alarmed (and hence clamorous to be led to safety) by menacing it with an endless series of hobgoblins, all of them imaginary." Biotechnology became Gore's first hobgoblin. Biotechnology allows scientists to move genes from one organism to another in order to make new life-saving medicines, hardier crops, and more nutritious foods. National Institutes of Health Director Bernadine Healy believes that the industry will become more important to the U.S. economy than the automobile industry was. In the late 1970s, as a member of the House Science Committee, Gore joined Senator Ted Kennedy in proposing a National Biohazards Commission

modeled on the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to regulate the biotech industry. This onerous regulatory scheme was avoided only when molecular biologists proved that micro-organisms constantly promote the exchange of genes between organisms—a kind of natural bioengineering. Had Gore's early regulatory proposals been enacted the infant biotech industry might well have been murdered in its crib.

Gore's next environmental cause was hazardous wastes, which he called "the most significant environmental health problem of the decade." Gore's concern was prompted by the commotion over the Love Canal. Love Canal was a neighborhood built on



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and around the site of a old chemical-waste dump. Panicked by reports of chemical contamination, the Federal Government evacuated 3,500 residents in the early 1980s. Since then the New York State Department of Health has found absolutely no evidence that the health of any resident was harmed by hazardous chemicals. In fact, the government is now selling some of the houses to new residents.

But before the facts were known, Love Canal had prompted Al Gore to sponsor the Superfund law, which may well cost the country hundreds of billions of dollars without measurably improving anyone's health or safety. This law requires the EPA to identify hazardous-waste sites and then to oversee their cleanup at nearly any cost. Under Superfund, any company or municipality that might have dumped some garbage—even negligible amounts—in a site is potentially liable for the whole cost of the cleanup of the site. A deluge of litigation has resulted as financially strapped companies and cities try to blame each other for the problems at any given Superfund site; a recent Rand Corporation study showed that about 80 per cent of the money spent on Superfund has gone to pay lawyers' fees. While the EPA has identified some 1,200 "hazardous waste" sites scattered across the country, only 109 have been cleaned up, at a cost of more than \$15 billion. Nevertheless, Gore doggedly insists, "I think that the basic design of [Superfund] was sound."

In the 1980s, Gore found new and even scarier hobgoblins. He believes

that the world is running out of food and non-renewable resources; that topsoil erosion is destroying America's farms; that an "ozone hole" threatens all life on earth; that carbon dioxide in the earth's atmosphere will inevitably lead to increases in surface temperatures. For Gore, all of these problems are manifestations of one great global ecological crisis—a crisis so grave that we must now "change the very foundation of our civilization." In his acceptance speech at the Democratic Convention, Gore declared that "the task of saving the Earth's environment must and will become the central organizing principle of the post-cold-war world."

Consider the "ozone hole." In February, NASA hyped reports that such a hole might open over the Northern hemisphere in the spring, allowing in damaging levels of ultraviolet rays. NASA's ozone scare was showcased on the front cover of *Time*, and Gore thundered on the Senate floor: "We have to tell our children that they must redefine their relationship to the sky, and they must begin to think of the sky as a threatening part of their environment." Gore demanded that the chemicals implicated in ozone destruction be phased out earlier than scheduled; his resolution passed the Senate 96 to 0. Stung by the vote, President Bush rushed the ban of the refrigerants known as chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) forward from the year 2000 to the end of 1995. Then in May, NASA admitted that no ozone hole had in fact opened over the Northern hemisphere. *Time* buried the admis-

sion in two lines in another story. And Gore was on to the next crisis.

Gore also firmly believes that the world is running out of non-renewable resources and food. The fact is that never before have mineral resources been so plentiful and so cheap. Since 1970, the average price of all metals and minerals has fallen by 40 per cent, even according to the leftish World Resources Institute. Proven reserves of oil, gas, and nearly every mineral increase each year. Food is also more plentiful and cheaper than ever before—the real prices of corn, wheat, and rice have fallen by more than half since 1950, even as the world's population doubled. As to topsoil erosion, at current rates of erosion and with no technological progress, it would be a century before American farmers' productivity would be reduced as much as 2 per cent.

### No Time to Think

CENTRAL to Gore's catastrophist world view is global warming—"the most serious crisis we have ever faced." The theory behind global warming is that carbon-dioxide gas released by the burning of coal and oil will trap heat from the sun, causing the earth's atmosphere to warm up by an average of 9° F. by the end of the next century. And this crisis is allegedly so serious that we don't have time to think about it: we must act *now*. But as Lucian demonstrates (p. 45) Gore's figures are at least three times too alarmist.

Gore has lent credibility to infamous doomsters such as Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Ehrlich, the Worldwatch Institute's Lester Brown, and climatologist Stephen Schneider by showcasing their testimony in congressional hearings. He ignores the views of, e.g., economist Julian Simon, food and agriculture expert Dennis Avery, and MIT climatologist Richard Lindzen. In fact, Gore wants to shut off debate over whether we actually face an ecological apocalypse. He flatly asserted in *Time* magazine's "Planet of the Year" issue (Jan. 2, 1989): "That we face an ecological crisis without any precedent in historical terms is no longer a matter of any dispute worthy of recognition." He claims that global-warming skeptics are "hurting our ability to respond," and declares that press attention to the skeptics "under-

mines the effort to build a solid base of public support for the difficult actions we must take soon."

Gore also implies that 98 per cent of atmospheric scientists believe we face an impending climate catastrophe. However, a recent Gallup poll found that of those scientists actively involved in global climate research, 53 per cent do not believe that global warming has occurred and 30 per cent say they don't know, leaving only 17

per cent who believe global warming has begun. Even a recent Greenpeace poll found that 47 per cent of climatologists don't believe we face the risk of a runaway greenhouse effect, while 36 per cent said a runaway greenhouse effect was "possible" and only 13 per cent thought it was "probable." Not exactly a solid scientific consensus for catastrophe.

To confront global warming, Gore proposes a "Global Marshall Plan"

that would radically transform the world's economy. He would establish a United Nations "Stewardship Council" modeled on the UN Security Council to oversee international ecological agreements. Since carbon dioxide emitted by burning fossil fuels is the main culprit in global warming, Gore calls for a carbon tax in the United States. He also favors international "carbon emission credits," which would limit the amount of carbon diox-

## Al Gore, Arithmetician

**E**VEN within the bounds of environmental science, there are a few numbers that are neither uncertain nor controversial: numbers arrived at by reproducible and accurate measurement. One such is the carbon-dioxide content of the atmosphere and how the analyzed value has actually grown from year to year. In *Earth in the Balance*, Al Gore presents this information, then ignores it.

On page 95, he presents a graph, based on air trapped in ancient ice, which demonstrates that atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> concentration has varied directly with global temperature for the past 160,000 years. So far, so good, though the graph cannot tell us whether changes in CO<sub>2</sub> levels cause temperature changes, or the reverse. But as Gore presents the graph, he adds a future projection to the historical facts: he has the line indicating CO<sub>2</sub> concentration suddenly go vertical in 2032, shooting up to the top of the page. The caption explains: "In this century, human activities are adding so much CO<sub>2</sub> to the atmosphere that the level of concentration is expected to reach 600 ppm [parts per million] in less than 40 years. At the beginning of 1992, the level was already 355 ppm. The facts portrayed here are not in dispute; their implications are. If temperature and CO<sub>2</sub> have moved in tandem for as far back as we can measure, does that mean that the dramatic changes in CO<sub>2</sub> now under way (represented by the line moving up the right-hand side of the graph) will lead to rapid changes in temperature on the warm

side of a magnitude that on the cold side produced the ice ages?"

In fact, the "fact" of a 600 ppm CO<sub>2</sub> concentration in 2032—a crisis that many would live to see and the prospect of which should horrify us all into voting for Gore—is not only "not in dispute"; it is utterly unsupportable. To get from 355 to 600 ppm in forty years, CO<sub>2</sub> would have to grow at an average rate of over 6 ppm per year over that period. The present rate, based on data (gathered at the Mauna Loa Observatory) shown earlier in the book, is about 1.8 ppm per year today, up from just under 1 ppm a generation ago. For an average growth rate of 6 ppm, beginning with today's 1.8, the rate in 2032 would have to shoot past 10 ppm. Such exponential growth simply cannot be credibly projected from the Mauna Loa data, the most accurate we have. A projection bounded by realistic projections of fuel use points toward at least a century before CO<sub>2</sub> could reach 600 ppm; we have more like five generations of grace to curb CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. Indeed, in the latest worst-case scenario from the Stockholm Environment Institute (a group that includes Paul Ehrlich and other enviro-hysterics), CO<sub>2</sub> emissions only double by 2032.

The growth in atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> concentration is dependent on the growth of populations, industries, and endeavors which are themselves dependent on the use of fossil and biomass fuels. (The effects of deforestation are minuscule compared to the fossil-fuel effect.) For his prediction to come true, world fossil-fuel consumption would need to increase five- to six-fold over the next four decades. World GNP would need to

more than quadruple—and another trend of the last generation, declining CO<sub>2</sub> production per dollar of GNP (a result of technological progress), would have to stop. Gore's "science" ignores all past and present progress in energy efficiency, nuclear safety, and renewable-energy research. Given his evangelism for fiber optics and NASA's Mission to Earth, it is hard to understand his neo-Victorian vision of a twenty-first century whose fastest-growing industry is mining coal to raise steam to produce electricity to make steel for cars that (gasoline being long gone) presumably burn whale oil in their diesels.

Even that dystopic scenario will not come to pass in the world according to Gore—all life on earth will be extinct first. His most magisterial display of scientific illiteracy is reserved for his graph of the accelerating rate of species extinction on page 24. (His source is the *sui generis* environmentalist Tom Lovejoy.) Interestingly, the senator, a Harvard political-science graduate, cannot even read his own graph properly: his text notes that species "are now vanishing around the world *one thousand times faster* than at any time in the past 65 million years," though his graph shows species loss of one per year through 1800 and 10,000 in 1992. More importantly, we can extrapolate his hyperbolic curve. Since his vertical axis is logarithmic, it is plain that Gore's world will lose some million species a year by 2020 or so, and earth's five million or so species will all be gone well before 2032. It's a great day for Keynes and Fukuyama: in the short run, we are all extinct, and so is history.

—LUCIAN

Lucian is a policy analyst at a politically correct university.

ide each country would be permitted to emit. Implementing these proposals would not be cheap. A U.S. Department of Energy study concluded that achieving the relatively modest goal of capping CO<sub>2</sub> emissions at 20 per cent of 1990 levels would require a \$500-per-ton carbon tax. Such measures would cost \$95 billion per year and reduce U.S. economic growth rates by 1.4 per cent.

Gore says that "modified free markets" are the wave of the future and argues that "free men and women who take individual responsibility for a particular part of the earth are, by and large, its most effective protectors, defenders, and stewards." However, his ritual praise of free markets and private property rings hollow. Under the rubric "Strategic Environment Initiative," Gore presses for a full-blown industrial policy to encourage the development of "environmentally friendly" technologies. To accomplish this, Gore proposes "the establishment of rigorous and sophisticated technology assessment procedures, paying close attention to all the costs and benefits—both monetary and ecological—of new technologies. Gore would also interfere with free international trade by creating an agency to "assess a technology's ecological effect—" before allowing it to be exported, and by including ecological criteria in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

In June, Gore burnished his foreign-policy credentials by leading the official U.S. Senate delegation to the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, where he had to look on while (as he asserted in his acceptance speech) President Bush "embarrassed our nation when the whole world was asking for American leadership in confronting the environmental crisis." Gore bashed the Bush Administration for "gutting" the Global Climate Change Treaty by not committing to a specific timetable for cutting carbon-dioxide emissions. (It's bad enough that by signing the treaty, the U.S. officially accepted the notion that "global warming" is a real problem.) Despite his expressed devotion to protecting intellectual property rights, Gore wanted the U.S. to sign the seriously flawed Biodiversity Treaty, which would have crippled our budding biotechnology industry by compromising patent protection. Companies could have been re-

quired to license their technology to developing countries without compensation and to pay extortionate sums to Third World nations for access to their wild plants and animals as sources for genes to be used to bioengineer new medicines and crops.

During a press conference shortly after President Bush's speech at the Earth Summit, Gore earnestly and repeatedly said that the world needed and was awaiting U.S. leadership. Every time Gore mentioned the world's yearning for American leader-

ship, the representatives of the Third World in the room would audibly groan or mutter angrily under their breaths. Earnest Al just didn't get it—they don't want U.S. leadership, they want U.S. dollars.

Al Gore once told *Vanity Fair*, "I honestly and sincerely believe that I know exactly what needs to be done. And I am impatient to do it." Let's hope the voters won't give this sincere radical a chance to do it. And let's hope they remember whose judgment put him on the ticket. □

## Serbia's War

# OUT OF THE RUBBLE

As Serb morale falls, quick Western action could bring an end to the slaughter. Why don't we help?

MAX PRIMORAC

**M**OSTAR—Stari Most, the picturesque old bridge built by the Turkish Ottomans centuries ago, is all that now stands in this medieval Hercegovin city a hundred miles southwest of Sarajevo. Last April, this polyglot republic of Serbs, Muslims, and Croats declared its independence from a federal Yugoslavia already truncated by the departures of Slovenia and Croatia. The penalty has been high, as Serbia, the largest republic and a bastion of new-world-order bolshevism, unleashed the fury of the Yugoslav Army against unarmed civilians in an effort to create an atavistic "Greater Serbia."

In a suburb of Mostar, a mass grave was unearthed after Serbian ground forces were repelled. "I cannot believe that the world is just watching what is happening to us," says Robert Pehar, in charge of documenting the atrocities. "How much more of this is needed before the world will finally act?"

From safe distances, the Yugoslav Army had taken up mountain positions around Mostar. Armed with ar-

tillery batteries, howitzers, and rocket launchers, and with support from the federal air force, they rained volleys of fire on the unprotected town for two uninterrupted months, reducing the provincial capital to rubble. Few structures have escaped damage. The old section of town, once neatly tucked along the banks of the rushing Neretva River, is gutted. The Turkish-style copperworks shops and cafés serving high-octane Turkish coffee to fez-bedecked Muslims are gone. The muezzin's calls for prayer and the bells of Catholic chapels are silent. A city of 150,000 has died.

World attention has focused primarily on Sarajevo and its 350,000 besieged people. But the pattern is followed throughout the republic, where Serbs are deliberately terrorizing non-Serbian populations and inflicting more damage than was done in World War II. Serbia's policy of "ethnic cleansing" aims at wholesale population transfers out of areas it claims—stretching across Bosnia-Hercegovina and most of the touristically lucrative Croatian coastline. This Nazi-like campaign includes death camps, summary executions, and the creation of millions of refugees.

*Mr. Primorac, who is based in Washington, D.C., writes frequently on international events.*



GEORGE F. WILL

the Law") from the wastebasket where Kipling had tossed it.

Whether that someone did literature a favor is debatable. Clearly Al Gore's book "Earth in the Balance" is wastebasket-worthy.

The senator says our civilization is a "dysfunctional family." He favors "wrenching transformation of society," altering "the very foundation of our civilization." Some leaders have effected such changes. Moses, Jesus, Muhammed. But the U.S. government?

His environmentalism is a caricature of contemporary liberalism, a compound of unfocused compassion (for the whole planet) and green guilt about "consumptionism" (a sin Somalia and many other places would like to be more guilty of).

His call to "make the rescue of the environment the central organizing principle for civilization" is embarrassing. Who wants politicians who are unaware of the

## Al Gore, shill for the sky-is-falling set

WASHINGTON — Someone retrieved Kipling's poem "Recessional" (the one about "dominion over palm and pine" and "lesser breeds without

comical figure they cut when announcing new "central organizing principles" for civilization?

When Gore asserts, as he did yet again on television last Sunday, that "the world scientific community" is in "consensus" about global warming, he is being as cavalier about the truth as the Bush campaign has been about Clinton's tax increases.

Gore knows that his former mentor at Harvard, Roger Revelle, who died last year, concluded: "The scientific base for greenhouse warming is too uncertain to justify drastic action at this time. There is little risk in delaying policy responses."

Gore knows, or should know before pontificating, that a recent Gallup Poll of scientists concerned with global climate research shows that 53% do not believe warming has occurred, and another 30% are uncertain.

Gore, who has spent most of his life in Washington's governing circle, overflows with the certitude characteristic of that circle.

He knows the future and knows exactly what it requires, which turns out to be an unprecedented expansion of government — spending, regulating, evaluating technologies and transferring wealth abroad.

He has mastered the Washington art of arguing that his agenda won't really cost anything. You know: This or that program



Al Gore, an unsmiling evangelist

or regulation will make us healthier or smarter or better behaved, and therefore will make us more productive, so economic growth will increase and so will revenues, and thus everything will "pay for itself."

Gore's new wrinkle on this is environmentalism-as-business-opportunity. We shall prosper by making environmentally "necessary" products. Perhaps.

But we know who certainly will prosper. Ronald Bailey in National Review reports a Rand study that shows that 80% of the money spent by an environmental program Gore sponsored — the Superfund, for cleaning up contaminated sites — has gone in fees to one of the Democratic Party's most powerful, and financially grateful, constituencies: lawyers.

Gore's particular ideas (lots of new taxes; treating the automobile as a "mortal threat" to civilization, and much more) have no constituency.

But what is dismaying is the way he trades in ideas, uncritically embracing extremisms that seem to justify vast expansions of his righteousness and of the power of the government he seeks to lead.

His unsmiling sense of lonely evangelism in a sinning world lacks the sense of proportion that is produced by a sense of history — and of humor.

The planet is more resilient, the evidence about its stresses more mixed and the facts of environmental progress more heartening than he admits.

His book, a jumble of dubious 1990s science and worse 1960s philosophy ("alienation" and all that) is a powerful reason not to elect its author to high office in the executive branch, where impressionable people will be bombarded by bad ideas in search of big budgets.