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Sport Fishing Institute

*Chris -
caring about
fish real
does
play
well
SD*

1010 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Suite 100, Washington, D.C. 20001 (202) 898-0770

January 13, 1989

cc: *David Demarest
Curt Smith
FYE/BG*

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Mr. James D. Range
Government Affairs
Waste Management, Inc.
1155 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Suite 800
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Jim:

President-Elect Bush has publicly demonstrated his interest in the environment and fisheries by word and deed. Clearly, he believes that fishing is an important part of the quality of his life. One quarter of the people of this nation, 60 million Americans, join him in supporting this belief -- they too are fishermen. In addition, the fisheries resource base supports more than a million jobs and \$60 million in economic activity per year. Immeasurable social benefits in recreation and nutrition are dependent on our nation's fisheries resource.

The quality of fishing reflects the quality of living. Fish are indicator organisms reflecting the condition of the environment. The President-Elect linked the quality of the environment to funds made available through the Wallop-Breaux amendments to the Federal Aid in Sport Fish Restoration Act, the passage of which he supported. We too feel fish are "the canary in the mine" as far as the health of aquatic systems are concerned. Ocean dumping has resulted in fish unfit for human consumption. Acid rain has eliminated fish populations from lightly buffered aquatic systems in the northeast. Point and non-point pollution of our nation's streams, lakes and estuaries have degraded fish habitats and reduced the productivity of these systems. Finally, the continuing loss of wetlands is destroying critical fish nursery habitat for more than 70 percent of our nation's economically important species.

We call on the President to prominently and publicly state his intention to lead the nation in cooperative action agenda to restore the health of our nation's fisheries.

Jim, is there any way we can get this information to Mr. Bush's speech writers? We sure would like him to make reference to angling in his upcoming speeches. The pictures of Mr. Bush in Newsweek and Time were great? It makes him more "folksy" and the common man can relate to a fellow angler.

Sincerely yours,

Gilbert C. Radonski
President

OFFICERS

- GILBERT C. RADONSKI
President
- NORVILLE S. PROSSER
Vice President
- DAVID B. ROCKLAND
Secretary

Consider that since his inaugural the President has:

- Banned most uses of asbestos.
- Stopped the importation of all ivory into this country, a move already beginning to show evidence of beneficial effect on Africa's dwindling elephant herds.
- Proposed a billion dollar a year research program on global climate change, the most ambitious in the world. Is hosting an international White House Conference on global change this month.
- Started a pilot tracking program to prevent the type of medical-waste wash-ups that plagued beaches around the country only two years ago.
- Presented a budget which expands the EPA's operating programs by twelve percent, and adds three quarters of a billion dollars to an aggressive effort to clean up wastes at federal facilities around the country.
- Canceled alar, as well as proposed to cancel some 40 uses of EDBCs, a family of pesticides commonly applied to food crops and suspected of being harmful to health. In addition, the

President offered a comprehensive food safety proposal which, if adopted, would make it far easier to remove dangerous pesticides from the market.

- Expanded our parks and wildlife refuges by proposing \$450 million in spending for land acquisition.

- Begun developing a proposal to assure that hazardous wastes are not indiscriminately exported to foreign countries, and endorsed the U.S. entry into a U.N. Convention to help achieve this goal.

- Re-directed the Superfund programs toward "enforcement first," with emphasis on more permanent remedies for abandoned hazardous waste sites. The new enforcement priority has resulted in an unprecedented number of settlements and record billion dollars plus in private party contributions to cleanups.

- Proposed that cars be designed to give off less evaporative emissions of gasoline and reversed a previous loosening of national fuel efficiency standards. Both of these will make significant contributions to smog reduction and energy conservation.

- Began a procedure to evaluate the Two Forks dam project in Colorado with regard to environmental objections.
Additionally, the Big River project in Rhode Island was rejected to save wetlands and other environmental resources.

- Launched a program that would promote the planting of a billion new trees a year in America.

- Began developing the country's first no-net-loss of wetlands policy, and, by the way, recently approved an agreement between the Army Corps of Engineers and EPA that significantly strengthens procedures in effect a year ago.

- Committed to a full phase-out of CFC's, with appropriate attention given to safe substitutes, in order to protect the stratospheric ozone layer and offered to host the first negotiating session aimed at developing an international treaty on climate change.

- Offered technical assistance to all Eastern Block countries now trying to say national environments unbelievably ravaged after years of Communist rule.



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

Michael R. Deland
Chairman

May 18, 1990

(202) 395-5080

MEMORANDUM TO

Mark Davis

FROM: Michael R. Deland

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

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

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

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

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



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

Michael R. Deland
Chairman

(202) 395-5080

The Bush Administration and the Environment:

Summary of Initiatives and Accomplishments

May 1990

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

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

1) **General leadership:**

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

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

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

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

2) **Air pollution:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

-- full funding for the Clean Coal Technology program

4) **Pollution prevention and recycling:**

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

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

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

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

5) **Asbestos ban:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For related actions on ocean pollution, see #14.

7) **Energy:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8) **Global climate change:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

9) **Other international environmental initiatives:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

10) **Alaskan oil spill:**

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

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

11) **Future oil spill prevention:**

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

12) **Food safety:**

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

13) **Hazardous wastes and Superfund:**

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

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

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

14) **Clean oceans and coastlines:**

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

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

15) **Radon:**

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

16) **Defense & the Environment Initiative**

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

17) **Endangered species:**

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

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

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

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

18) **Earth Day**

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

19) **Environmental education**

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

20) **Enforcement**

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

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

Notable enforcement actions include:

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

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

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

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

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

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

21) **Deterring conflicts of interest:**

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

342-5219

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 11:10 A.M. EDT
MONDAY, JUNE 12, 1989

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON THE CLEAN AIR ACT ANNOUNCEMENT

East Room
The White House
Washington, DC

June 12, 1989

In this room are Republicans and Democrats. Leaders from both sides of the aisle in Congress. Governors. Executives from some of the most important companies and business organizations in America. Leading conservationists -- people who have devoted their lives to creating a cleaner, safer environment.

I have invited you here today to make a point: With the leadership assembled in this room, we can break the stalemate that has hindered progress on clean air for the past decade. With the minds, the energy, the talent assembled here, we can find a solution.

So let me tell you the purpose of this morning's gathering. First, I would like to lay on the table my proposals to curb acid rain, cut urban smog, and clean up air toxics. And second, I want to call upon all of you to join me in enacting into law a new Clean Air Act this year.

But first, we should remember how far we've come -- and recognize what works. The 1970 Clean Air Act got us moving in the right direction -- with national air quality standards that were strengthened by amendments in 1977.

Since 1970 -- even though we have 55 percent more cars, going 50 percent farther -- in spite of more utility output, and more industrial production -- we've still made progress. Lead concentrations in the air we breathe are down 98 percent. Sulfur dioxide and carbon monoxide: cut by over a third. Particulate matter: cut 21 percent. Even ozone-causing emissions have been cut by 17 percent.

Still, over the last decade we have not come far enough. Too many Americans continue to breathe dirty air -- and political paralysis has plagued further progress against air pollution. We have to break this logjam, by applying more than just federal leverage. We must take advantage of the innovation, energy, and ingenuity of every American.

The environmental movement has a long history in this country. It has been a force for good -- for a safer, healthier America. As a people, we want and need that economic growth. But now, we must also expect environmental responsibility -- and respect the natural world.

This will demand a national sense of commitment. A new ethic of conservation. I reject the notion that sound ecology and a strong economy are mutually exclusive. So last week I outlined five points of a new environmental philosophy:

- One -- to harness the power of the marketplace
- Two -- to encourage local initiative
- Three -- to emphasize prevention, instead of just clean-up
- Four -- foster international cooperation, and
- Five -- to ensure strict enforcement. Polluters will pay.

We know more now than we did just a few years ago. New solutions are close at hand. It is time to put our best minds to work. To turn technology and the power of the marketplace to the advantage of the environment. To create. To innovate. To tip the scales in favor of recovery, restoration, and renewal.

Every American expects and deserves to breathe clean air. And as President, it is my mission to guarantee it: for this generation, and for generations to come.

If we take this commitment seriously -- if we believe that every American expects and deserves clean air, and we act on that belief -- then we will set an example for the rest of the world to follow.

Today I am proposing to Congress a new Clean Air Act -- and offering a new opportunity. We've seen enough of this stalemate. It's time to clear the air.

And you know, I think we will. We touched a lot of bases as we prepared this bill. We've had the benefit of some good thinking on the Hill. We've met with business leaders, who see environmental protection as essential to long-term economic growth. We've talked with environmentalists, who know that cost-effective solutions help build public support for conservation. We've worked with academics and innovative thinkers from every quarter, who have laid the groundwork for this approach.

I have no pride of authorship: Let me commend Project '88, and groups like the Environmental Defense Fund, for bringing creative solutions to long-standing problems -- for not only breaking the mold, but helping to build a new one.

We have had to make some tough choices. Some may think we've gone too far -- and others, not far enough. But we all care about clean air. To the millions of Americans who still breathe unhealthy air, let me tell you, I'm concerned. I'm concerned about vulnerable groups -- like the elderly, asthmatics, and children. Concerned about every American's quality of life. And I'm committed to see that coming generations receive the natural legacy they deserve.

We seek reforms that make major pollution reductions, where we most need them, first. Our approach has reasonable deadlines for those who must comply. It has compelling sanctions for those who don't. It accounts for continued economic growth and expansion. Offers incentives, choice, and flexibility for industry to find the best solutions. And taps the power of the marketplace and local initiative better than any previous piece of environmental legislation.

This legislation will be comprehensive -- and cost effective -- but above all, it will work. We will make the 1990s the era for clean air.

We have three clear goals -- and three clear deadlines.

First, we will cut the sulfur dioxide emissions that cause acid rain by almost half -- by ten million tons -- and we will cut nitrogen oxide emissions by two million tons -- both by the year 2000. We have set absolute goals for reductions -- and have emphasized early gains. That means five million tons will be cut by 1995 -- and the degradation caused by acid rain will stop by the end of this century.

To make sure that coal continues to play a vital role in our energy future, we've provided an extension of three years and regulatory incentives for the use of innovative clean coal technology.

We've set an ambitious reduction target -- and applying market forces will be the fastest, most cost-effective way to achieve it. So we're allowing utilities to trade credits among themselves for reductions they make, to let them decide how to bring aggregate emissions down as cost-effectively as possible. Cleaner fuels, better technologies, energy conservation, improved efficiency -- in any combination -- as long as it works.

There is a wisdom to handing work to those most qualified to do it. Four hundred years ago, Montaigne wrote, "Let us permit nature to have her way. She understands her business better than we do." It's true. Acid rain must be stopped. That's what we all care about.

But it's also true that business understands its business better than we do. So we're going to put that understanding to work, on behalf of clean air and a sound environment. We've provided the goals -- but we won't micro-manage them. We will allow flexibility in how industry achieves these goals -- but we stand firm on what must be achieved.

Second, this federal proposal will cut the emissions that cause urban ozone -- smog -- virtually in half. This will put the states well on the road to meeting the standard. Twenty years ago, we started the job. If Congress will act on the Clean Air reforms I'm offering today, twenty years from now, every American, in every city in America, will breathe clean air.

Today 81 cities don't meet federal air quality standards. This legislation will bring clean air to all but about 20 cities by 1995 -- and within 20 years, even L.A., Houston, and New York will be expected to make it.

In the nine urban areas with the greatest smog problems, we propose bold new initiatives to reconcile the automobile to the environment -- ensuring continued economic growth, without disruptive driving controls. We'll accomplish this through alternative fuels and clean-fueled vehicles. We propose to put up to a million clean-fueled vehicles a year on the road by 1997.

But we are also proposing flexibility on the means, even as we remain firm on the goals. A city can either request inclusion in the program -- or, if they show they can achieve these ambitious reductions through other measures, we will scale back the clean fuel vehicle requirements accordingly. Also, we are sensitive to the problems of smaller cities whose ozone problems are due largely to pollutants generated in other cities or regions -- they will not be penalized for pollution problems outside their control.

Our program incorporates a mix of cost-effective measures to cut emissions from cars, fuels, factories, and other sources. But I am asking the EPA to develop rules, like those we are employing on acid rain, to allow auto and fuel companies to trade required reductions in order to meet the standard in the most cost-effective way. Our challenge is to develop an emissions trading plan. Their challenge is to meet the standards.

The third leg of our proposal is designed to cut all categories of airborne toxic chemicals by three-quarters -- within this decade. Our best minds will apply the most advanced industrial technology available, to control these airborne poisons. The very best control technology we have will determine the standard we set for those plants.

Until now, because of an unworkable law, the EPA has been able to regulate only 7 of the 280 known air toxics. The bill I'm proposing today will set a schedule for regulating sources of air toxics by dates certain. In addition, it will give the dedicated people of the EPA the right tools for the job. It will make state-of-the-art technology an everyday fact of doing business. And that's the way it should be.

In its first phase, this initiative should eliminate about three-quarters of the needless deaths from cancer that have been caused by toxic industrial air emissions. And we plan a second phase to go after any remaining unreasonable risk. People who live near industrial facilities should not have to fear for their health.

For ten years we have struggled to engage a united effort on behalf of clean air. We are now on the edge of real change. 1989 could be recorded as the year when business leaders and environmental advocates began to work together. When environmental issues moved out of the courts, beyond conflict, into a new era of cooperation.

This can be known as the year we mobilized leadership, both public and private, to make environmental protection a growth industry -- and keep our ecology safe for diversity.

The wounded winds of North, South, East and West can be purified and cleansed -- and the integrity of nature can be made whole again. Ours is a rare opportunity, to reverse the errors of this generation, in the service of the next. We cannot, must not fail. We must prevail.

#

Bush has earned environmental title

Derrick Crandall, 38, is president of the American Recreation Coalition representing about 110 national groups. He also served on the President's Commission of the American Outdoors. He was interviewed by USA TODAY's Barbara Reynolds.



Derrick Crandall

USA TODAY: Some environmentalists challenge President Bush's claim to be "the environmental president." Does he deserve the title?

CRANDALL: Absolutely. George Bush has changed the discussion of environmental policies dramatically since he has taken office. He has taken 13 years of dissension and lack of forward progress on the Clean Air Act and converted it into a historical accommodation between the need to continue to have a strong economy and the environment.

USA TODAY: Critics charge the clean air legislation tilts too far toward industry.

CRANDALL: The proposal he came out with in 1989 created the forward momentum that made possible the Senate compromise, which is a wonderful progressive step to ensure that America is a world leader in protecting a public resource — our air.

USA TODAY: Does the Clean Air Act represent all the president's accomplishments on the environment?

CRANDALL: He has shown his absolute support for programs such as the Wallop-Breaux Trust Fund. This was created in 1984 with George Bush's personal help and now provides \$300 million a year for boating, fish-

ing restoration and enhancement. The restoration includes the purchase and protection of wetlands, which are important for fisheries and nurseries.

USA TODAY: Critics also suggest chief of staff John Sununu has blocked progress on the environment?

CRANDALL: I have talked to Bill Reilly of EPA, and he has told me that most of the publicity that puts black hats on some people and white hats on others is both an over-simplification and in many cases flat out wrong.

USA TODAY: Industrial pollution, spills and waste dumps have uprooted communities, spoiled beaches and jeopardized our health. How much can the federal government turn the clock back?

CRANDALL: All of us have reason to be horrified by what we've all done in the past, whether it's the Love Canal or Superfund sites. Those are the product of insensitivity as well as lack of awareness, lack of knowledge.

USA TODAY: What is to ensure that history doesn't repeat itself?

CRANDALL: We do have laws on the books and the Reagan administration — and even more the Bush administration — have shown every indication that they will aggressively pursue enforcement actions against toxic waste and hazardous chemicals.

USA TODAY: Will that ensure compliance?

CRANDALL: When people start fearing going to jail or paying the price for insensitivity that results in environmental damage, then we've gotten the attention of the business community. But we also have to recognize we are worried about sins of the past.

Clearing the Air: Bush's Plans For Cleanup Rely on Regulation

Continued From First Page

one insider. "When you're talking about a commitment of this kind of money—and it's not taxpayers' money—you should have some understanding of the relative risks you're trying to address."

Doubling Acid Rain

The issues of costs and politics came to a head in subsequent discussions on acid rain. In the campaign, Mr. Bush had pledged to combat acid rain, which is blamed largely on sulfur emissions from coal- and oil-fired smokestacks on power plants. But Mr. Darman and his supporters argued that there isn't any proof that acid rain is killing trees or harming human health, so why raise electric bills by imposing gigantic costs on power plants?

Michael Boskin, head of the president's Council of Economic Advisers, joined in pressing for a least-cost proposal that would net only eight million tons of sulfur reductions annually—far below the 12 million tons environmental groups were demanding. Republican lawmakers sent word to Mr. Bush that anything he sent Congress would be treated by the Democratic majority as only a starting point for debate, so he shouldn't send up his best offer.

But from a dozen talks on Capitol Hill, administration officials also knew that the 10 million level was important to two very important legislators in the clean-air debate: Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell of Maine and Rep. Henry Waxman of California. The EPA's Mr. Reilly, the least politically experienced of those around the table, nonetheless argued that Mr. Bush had to choose at least that level to look credible and keep the Democrats from once again seizing the environmental issue for their own.

Darman Concedes

Finally, in one of the debate's most telling moments, Mr. Darman conceded that despite his own arguments against more ambitious acid-rain legislation, Mr. Bush had made campaign promises and so the president probably did have to propose a 10-million-ton bill. "Artful cave," Secretary of State James Baker said in a stage whisper, stirring titters around the room.

Mr. Bush, who attended this particular session, rose to leave without tipping his hand. "Glad there wasn't a quiz," he said as he left the room.

Similar cleanup versus cost arguments also took place over how to control smog and toxic emissions. The EPA proposed to control smog by requiring automobile companies to start producing some cars that use alternative fuels, namely methanol. But the Energy Department, echoing the argument of the oil industry, argued that the annual cost of such a program would be \$40 billion, not the \$244 million the EPA had estimated.

Rubber-Soled Shoes

On toxic emissions, many Bush advisers balked at the estimated \$2 billion annual price tag for reducing cancer-causing chemicals in the environment. They noted that even at such a high price tag, only an estimated 750 to 1,500 cancers a year would be prevented. At one point, Mr. Darman sought to establish the absurdity of such an expensive plan by arguing that since more people die from a bad fall than they do air pollution, everyone should be required to wear rubber-soled shoes.

Mr. Bush attended three of the cabinet-level meetings, listening as dispassionately as a college debate judge. Late last week, he invited environmentalists to the White House to hear their views. They were preceded by top officials of the car, oil, coal, steel and utility industries, who pleaded against high-cost controls on vehicles and smokestacks, while the president took notes. As he left last Friday evening for Camp David, top aides still were unsure how he would decide key issues. Finally, less than 48 hours before he was to announce his decision, the president summoned Chief of Staff John Sununu, who flew by helicopter to Camp David to receive the final decision papers.

The Compromise

In the end, political credibility—keeping his campaign promise to be the environmental president—outweighed probable heat from his business supporters. Still, in what is becoming an important element in the Bush style, the president tried to offer at least something to everyone.

On acid rain, for example, the president, with his staff already united behind a pro-environmentalist approach, called for a 10-million-ton reduction in sulfur emissions from coal- and oil-fired power plants by the year 2000. Industry, however, got the free-market approach. It wanted in reaching that target. For example, a utility plant that reduces its sulfur emissions below the federal targets would be able to receive credits for the excess reductions, which it would be able to sell or trade to utilities whose plants haven't reduced their levels enough to meet the federal standards.

Against the wishes of the automobile and oil industries, Mr. Bush followed his personal interest in alternative fuels and called on Detroit to put methanol-powered cars on the road. Still, his proposal would also allow some industry-backed solutions to the smog problem to be tested at the same time. A similar compromise, weighted toward the more environmentally sensitive proposals of the EPA's Mr. Reilly, was crafted with regard to cancer-causing chemicals.

Despite his attempted balancing act, Mr. Bush's proposals will now have to run the gantlet of competing interests in Congress that has doomed clean-air legislation in the past.

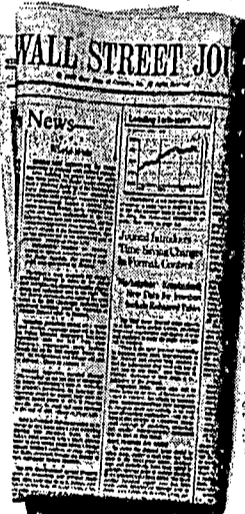
Already, Democratic Sen. Robert Byrd of West Virginia, where the coal industry could be badly damaged by efforts to reduce sulfur emissions, complains that the president's plan on acid rain "does not make good energy sense, good economic policy sense or good environmental sense."

And California Rep. Waxman questions whether Mr. Bush went far enough. "The litmus test in my mind," he says, "is whether we ask the auto industry to reduce air pollution. I don't think the president has gone as far as he could or should."

Environmental groups are likely to press for broader legislation in Congress. But "the logjam has been broken," says Fred Krupp, executive director of the Environmental Defense Fund. "We're a hundred miles downstream of where we were yesterday."

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Clearing the Air

Bush, Resolving Clash In Campaign Promises, Tilts to Environment

How He Settled on Proposals
That Irk Business Shows
Break With Reagan Style

A Battle in the Inner Sanctum

By BARBARA ROSEWICZ
And MICHEL MCQUEEN

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—During his presidential campaign, George Bush promised environmentalists that he "would make the United States the world leader in tackling environmental problems." But he also promised business eight more years of "lightning government's touch."

The inherent conflict in these campaign stands came to a head in the debate over new clean-air legislation. After plenty of behind-the-scenes wrangling, the president, to a surprising extent for a self-styled conservative Republican, came down yesterday on the side of the environmentalists.

The president's decision to propose a \$14 billion to \$19 billion a year cleanup package that would saddle industry with dozens of costly new clean-air requirements may be as important for what it says about his decision-making as for what it will do for the air we breathe.

A look at the monthlong internal debate over clean air reveals a president who is willing to upset core constituency groups and who studiously avoids the kind of predictable ideological outcomes that were often reached by Ronald Reagan. It shows a chief executive who, unlike the detached Mr. Reagan, seeks out all sides of an issue and then keeps even his closest aides guessing to the end about his final decision.

Acid Rain

The administration's proposal, to be followed up by elaborately staged events today in Wyoming and Nebraska, aims by the end of this century to cut power-plant emissions that lead to acid rain by almost 50%; achieve healthy air in all but the three dirtiest U.S. cities, and cut the cancer risks of living next door to a chemical plant by more than 75%. (See story on page A3.)

American industry, which already spends an estimated \$33 billion a year on air-pollution controls, would foot most of the cost. The administration plan would require 107 power plants to cut their coal and oil fumes; force auto makers to produce annually one million methanol-fueled cars by 1997; require chemical plants to install new air-pollution controls, and make gas stations use special nozzles to catch gasoline vapors.

Many business groups quickly responded with dismay. The coal industry called some of Mr. Bush's proposals "unnecessary, unduly harsh and economically onerous." The American Petroleum Institute warned that requiring alternative-fuel cars is an "extremely costly and inflexible step" that could lead to "higher prices for all fuels."

Freedom of Choice

Still, Mr. Bush managed to soften the blow by adopting free-market approaches on acid rain and smog. His proposal would, for example, allow polluting power plants to choose their own method of reducing emissions. The president's plan is a "tough piece of legislation" that "we think will be very costly to consumers," but "we appreciate the flexibility," said Thomas Kuhn, executive vice president of the Edison Electric Institute, which represents investor-owned utilities.

From the outset, powerful Budget Director Richard Darman, a former Reagan administration official, forcefully argued the case for a more conservative, least-cost approach. He sharply questioned the public-health benefits of more elaborate cleanup plans.

Mr. Darman's opposite number in the debate was Environmental Protection Agency chief William Reilly, a career conservationist, who tried to hold Mr. Bush to his campaign declaration that he is an environmentalist.

At the very first cabinet-level Domestic Policy Council meeting, including all the major players except the president, Mr. Darman quickly transformed what had been planned as a rather scholastic briefing on the intricacies of the Clean Air Act. Waving a briefing paper in the air, one participant relates, Mr. Darman "trashed the process" by which the EPA and a small working group from other agencies in relative secrecy had been drawing up options for Mr. Bush.

Cost Per Fish

The analysis, Mr. Darman charged, didn't pay enough attention to economic costs. Reminding the group how one of his predecessors, David Stockman, had torpedoed an acid-rain proposal in the Reagan years by breaking it down in a cost-per-fish-saved analysis, Mr. Darman accused Mr. Reilly of bringing in a proposal that would cost twice as much per fish as the earlier proposal. Mr. Reilly, noting the fatal effects of acid rain in lakes, quipped, "There's a lot fewer fish."

The others laughed. But Mr. Darman pressed on, questioning whether the multi-billion dollar annual cost to the economy wouldn't save more lives if spent on air bags, or cancer research, or better ambulance service. Though Attorney Gen. Richard Thornburgh bristled at the vociferousness of Mr. Darman's attack, others silently appreciated his cost-efficiency sermon. "Darman was exactly right," says

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Bush Proposes Revision of Clean-Air Law That Would Cut Acid Rain 50% by 2000

By BARBARA ROSEWICZ

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON. — President Bush proposed a sweeping revision of the clean-air law that would slash acid rain 50% by the end of this century and take a major step toward switching to cars that run on cleaner fuels than gasoline.

Mr. Bush's plan also proposes by the year 2000 to clean up the smog in all but three of 81 cities now flunking the government's clean-air standard, and force companies to reduce cancer-causing emissions from their plants more than 75%.

The cleanup would be accomplished without tax increases. Industry would bear the brunt of the costs—\$14 billion to \$19 billion extra a year. But the president scaled back a proposal by the Environmental Protection Agency for mandatory requirements for alternative fuels in cars and buses.

The proposed legislation fulfills Mr. Bush's campaign pledge to make clean air a top priority, and also wins him points in his efforts to prove he cares about the environment. But, as he had expected, neither environmental groups nor industry were completely happy with the complex package that addressed acid rain, urban

smog and toxic industrial emissions. "We have had to make some tough choices," the president said. "Some may think we've gone too far—and others not far enough."

While President Reagan had tried to weaken clean-air provisions and objected to any acid-rain controls, Mr. Bush's clean-air bill is expected to break a logjam in Congress over enacting new pollution controls. It provides the best chance in 12 years that a new clean-air law will be enacted.

Mr. Bush's most aggressive environmental proposal called for a 10-million-ton, or 50% annual reduction in the sulfur emissions from coal-fired power plants that are blamed for acid rain. The first, biggest reductions would be required of 107 of the biggest, oldest power plants in 18 states, predominantly in the Midwest. The new controls, requiring the plants to clean up "dirty" coal emissions or switch to cleaner fuels, would result in an increase in utility rates of more than 2% by the year 2000.

The acid-rain proposal also features a new cost-cutting market-based approach that lets power plants choose the cheapest

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Bush Urges Revision Of the Clean-Air Law That Cuts Acid Rain

Continued From Page A3

way to make the reductions, such as by fuel-switching. It also for the first time would set up a system of emissions trading, in which utility companies could buy and sell credits for any additional pollution reductions they make at their plants.

While business generally favors the flexible approach, the coal industry still was distraught that Mr. Bush didn't give utilities beyond 2003 to install government-sponsored clean-coal technology that would permit the continued burning of high-sulfur coal. The new cleaner coal-burning technologies won't be ready for commercial use until 2005, the industry says.

Mr. Bush's smog provisions call for a package of new controls on cars, businesses and fuels to reduce ozone, a major precursor of smog that causes at least short-term health problems. But his most startling solution would begin what the administration hopes would be a switch to cleaner-burning alternative fuels that would help clean up the air while allowing Americans to continue driving their cars.

The president scaled back a plan by the EPA that originally sought to have half of all new cars running on methanol in the 25 cities with the dirtiest air. What he proposed still would require Detroit to manufacture 500,000 alternative-fueled cars beginning in 1995—and one million a year by 1997—and sell them in the nine dirtiest metropolitan areas: Los Angeles, Houston, New York City, Milwaukee, Baltimore, Philadelphia, greater Connecticut, San Diego and Chicago. Cities could opt out of the program if they could achieve comparable ozone reductions through other means.

Oil firms and auto companies had fought mandatory requirements for alternative-fueled vehicles.

To reduce carbon-monoxide fumes from cars, the Bush administration also urged that service stations in cities with the most serious carbon-monoxide problems be required to sell gasoline blended with cleaner-burning fuels, such as methanol and ethanol during the winter months.

Ford Motor Co. called Mr. Bush's alternative-fuels proposal "a bold one" but repeated the auto industry's call for a pilot program rather than a wide-scale experiment with alternative fuels. General Motors Corp. said the president's program "has some very good elements," but it didn't specifically address alternative fuels. However, the American Petroleum Institute, which represents major oil companies, called the plan "an extremely costly and inflexible step which would provide highly uncertain environmental benefits."

Environmental groups criticized the administration's smog plan for giving cities too much time to meet healthy air standards; Mr. Bush's plan would have Los Angeles—the most-polluted city—in compliance by 2010, five years later than environmental groups want. In addition, the administration "asks too little of the automobile industry," said David Hawkins, an attorney with the Clean Air Coalition, a group of environmentalists.

The Bush plan includes calls for tougher tailpipe emission standards for cars and light-duty trucks, special nozzles on gasoline pumps to capture fumes, reduced vapor levels in gasoline, and changes in products such as paints and solvents.

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(McNally/Simon)
June 7, 1989, 7:00 p.m.
Draft One
(TETONS)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ENVIRONMENTAL ADDRESS
GRAND TETONS NATIONAL PARK
TUESDAY, JUNE 13, 1989
__:00 A.M.

Thank you, _____, for that warm introduction. And thank you also for one of the best birthday presents anybody in the state of Wyoming ever got -- an evening with my grandson, fishing on Jackson Lake.

Maybe you know the classic line from the Wind in the Willows: "There is nothing -- absolutely nothing -- half so much worth doing as simply messing about in boats."

And it's a good thing. Because we sure didn't catch any trout.

[[Alternative: And if Izaak Walton was correct that God does not deduct from time on earth time spent fishing, well, then this morning George P. and I got back a few hours. And it's a good thing. Because we sure didn't get back any trout.]]

And it's always good to see my other fishing buddy, Al Simpson, and my friend Malcolm Wallop. But I was a little surprised to see them here in the Tetons to look at wildlife. You'd think they'd see enough of that in Congress.

It's well known here that Wyoming's first tourist was a trapper named John Colter, a veteran of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. In 1808 Colter was captured by the locals and -- stripped naked and hotly pursued -- given a chance to run for his

life. Seven days later he arrived at a Spanish fort -- with sore feet and a sunburned back. [[PAUSE]] Today, George P. and I are awful glad Wyoming's attitude towards visitors is -- what's the phrase? -- kinder, gentler.

We meet in the heart of an environmental success story. Part of a tradition that began when Abraham Lincoln granted Yosemite Valley to California, to set aside as a preserve, and continued through Teddy Roosevelt and others who found inspiration in these majestic American peaks.

Creating national parks was an American idea -- an idea that's been imitated around the world. And it was one of our best.

Since these lands were set aside, five generations of Americans have enjoyed Yellowstone and the Tetons -- the largest intact natural area in the temperate zones of the Earth. And yesterday I stood in the East Room at the White House to announce a proposal designed to ensure we do our part to improve and preserve our natural heritage from coast to coast -- and beyond. For another five generations -- and beyond.

And today, with my back to the Pacific and the jewels of the American Rockies, I look east across this fertile and productive land and call on the American people -- and on Congress -- to join me in this new initiative to make a better world.

Last summer, I called 1988 the year the Earth spoke back. Time dubbed spaceship Earth "the Planet of the Year." And although, ultimately, medical waste and that wandering barge may

not present as grave a danger as the ozone holes that we cannot see, touch or smell, maybe they helped provide the jolt we needed.

I've said it before, when talking about issues such as drug abuse, crime and national security: The most fundamental obligation of government is to protect the people -- the people's health, the people's safety.

And I've said it before when discussing issues such as literacy, education, and jobs: The next obligation of government is to protect the family -- and family traditions, family values.

A healthy environment is essential for the safety of all our people, and the protection of our traditions.

Nowhere are these traditions more real -- more alive -- than here in the western reaches of Wyoming.

It is a land of legend, of campfire tales of brave Sioux warriors, of Butch Cassidy and the Union Pacific Railroad, of range wars between cattlemen and sheep ranchers. Just over that ridge to the east lies the headwaters of the Wind River, one of the settings in the epic Western, Lonesome Dove. The book begins with the famous passage from T.K. Whipple:

"All America lies at the end of the wilderness road, and our past is not a dead past, but still lives in us. Our forefathers had civilization inside themselves, the wild outside. We live in the civilization they created, but within us the wilderness still lingers. What they dreamed -- we live. And what they lived -- we dream."

foot schooner from the Statue of Liberty to Leningrad, an East-West voyage for the environment. And a week ago the airwaves were filled with a five hour concert telecast -- broadcast around the world from New York, London and Brazil -- on environmental challenges and our common future.

Many such international events are symbolic. But here at home, the substance awaits. It's in my new proposals to Congress -- proposals for cleaner air, for an end to acid rain, ozone depletion and other harmful emissions. The American people are ready for action.

This isn't the first time Congress has had to struggle with questions about the kind of America we are going to bequeath to our children. And it's not even the first time the debate was carried right on into the Tetons.

A little over a hundred years ago, a battle over the future of the parks was building in Congress. Some wanted to exploit the parks. And as the debate raged in the summer of 1883, President Chester Arthur boarded a train headed west out of Washington. By the time he reached Chicago, the press was warned that any reporters who followed would be dropped off the next railroad bridge. [[PAUSE]] No, Marlin. That wouldn't work on Air Force One.

On August 5th, 1883, the presidential train stopped in Wyoming at the banks of the North Platte River, and Arthur embarked by mule wagon for a small fort in the Wind River valley. There the roads ended. And there began a three week, 350 mile

odyssey by horseback as the President traversed the Tetons and Yellowstone. And for anybody inconvenienced by my Secret Service motorcade, I apologize. But you ought to be glad I didn't bring along the 75 calvary soldiers that Arthur had here.

And unlike me, President Arthur emerged from the Tetons having retained his reputation as a skilled fisherman. He called the journey "better than anything [he] ever tried before," and returned to Washington to tell the glory of the Tetons.

You know how the story ended. You are looking at it -- a land so unspoiled it is little different from the view John Colter first saw in 1808.

The clean air initiatives we launched yesterday at the White House mark another chapter in this tradition. And with the help of Congress, we will conquer the challenges of acid, ozone and emissions. Wherever the next generation may find your children, our goal is nothing less than an America where all the air breathes as clean as morning in the Rockies. Let's cross those frontiers.

June marks the beginning of summer. A family time. A time of remembrance and tradition. An estimated 300 million visitors will come to America's national parks this year -- more than the population of the entire country. Each day, families clamber across the craggy trails above us, hands pressed against exposed basement rock nearly as old as the Earth itself, touching the past, testing their future. People return from these spaces rejuvenated, confident, somehow younger.

Our stewardship of the Earth is brief. We owe it to those who follow to keep that in perspective, to be responsible passengers along the way. There is a saying in the Himalaya: "To a flea, alive for 80 days, a man is immortal. And to a man, alive for 80 years, a mountain is immortal. Both are wrong."

We stand in the shadow of the Tetons -- still an unspoiled frontier thanks to the vision of leaders no longer alive. But it is not the last frontier. After the sun went down last night, we got a glimpse of the frontier beyond, George P. and I. It was up there beyond the peaks -- past the clear mountain air that we want to preserve for all Americans -- up there in the stars. And as we closed our eyes to rest, we saw again the one frontier beyond the stars -- the frontier within ourselves.

In the frontiers ahead, there are no boundaries. We must pioneer new technology, new solutions. We were reminded recently of the potential -- still struggling to get beyond theory -- of fusion power. And the race for superconductivity at room temperature continues apace. We have hardly scratched the surface of what God put on Earth -- and what God put in man.

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Essay

Lance Morrow

Forest of Dreams

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pinkerton made a triangular connection among these

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

With a grant of \$300,000 in seed money from the Annie

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

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

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

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

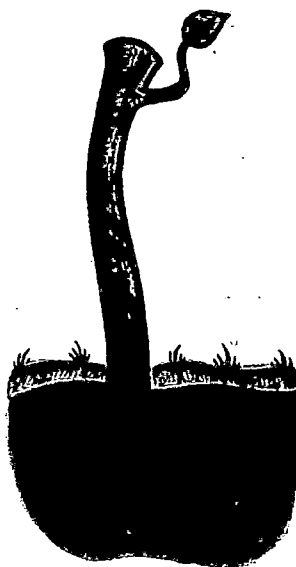


ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY TIM GRAUER



. . . *on the Environment*

June 19, 1989

PRESIDENT BUSH UNVEILS CLEAN AIR PROPOSAL

On Monday, June 12, President Bush unveiled a sweeping program to ensure clean air for all Americans. In announcing the comprehensive program, the President said, "This legislation will be comprehensive -- and cost effective -- but above all, it will work. We will make the 1990s the era for clean air."

The President's plan calls for the first revisions to the Clean Air Act since 1977, and is designed to curb three major threats to the nation's environment and to the health of millions of Americans: acid rain, urban air pollution, and toxic air emissions.

While emissions of some pollutants -- such as sulfur dioxide, urban ozone and carbon monoxide -- have been reduced since passage of the 1970 law, progress has not come quickly enough. The President's plan will dramatically accelerate the pace of pollution reduction and put America on the path toward markedly cleaner air by the end of the century.

The Administration's plan has three clear areas, and three clear deadlines:

ACID RAIN

Sulfur dioxide emissions that cause acid rain will be cut in half, by ten million tons -- and nitrogen oxide levels cut by two million tons -- by the end of this century.

Companies will be allowed to trade credits among themselves for reductions they make, so that they can decide how to bring aggregate emissions down as cost-effectively as possible.

URBAN AIR POLLUTION

By employing a mix of federal measures and state initiatives, this legislation will sharply cut air pollution in our cities. The federal measures alone will cut hydrocarbon emissions -- which contribute to urban ozone -- virtually in half.

Currently, 81 cities don't meet Federal air quality standards. This legislation will bring clean air to all but 25 cities by 1995 -- and within 20 years, even to Los Angeles, Houston and New York.

In the nine urban areas with the greatest smog problems, smog will be cut through alternative fuels and clean-fueled vehicles. The President is calling for the phased in introduction of a half a million clean-fueled vehicles in 1995, building up to a million in 1997, through 2007.

To the maximum extent feasible, automobile and fuel companies will be allowed to trade reduction credits among themselves. This "emissions trading" concept is being considered by the state of California as an effective way to tap the power of the marketplace, and is being proposed nationwide.

TOXIC AIR EMISSIONS

All categories of airborne toxic chemicals should be cut by 75 percent by the year 2000. In its first phase, this initiative should eliminate about three-quarters of the needless deaths from cancer that are suspected to have been caused by toxic industrial air emissions.

Until now, because of an unworkable law, the EPA has been able to regulate only seven of the 280 known air toxics. These reforms will allow EPA to do its job better, and will apply the most advanced industrial technology available to control these airborne poisons. The legislation promises certifiable progress in regulating sources of toxic air emissions on a set schedule.

After proposing this important legislation, the President said, "For ten years we have struggled to engage in a united effort on behalf of clean air. We are now on the edge of real change. 1989 could be recorded as the year when business leaders and environmental advocates began to work together. When environmental issues moved out of the courts, beyond conflict, into a new era of cooperation. This can be known as the year we mobilized leadership, both public and private, to make environmental protection a growth industry -- and keep our ecology safe for diversity."

Specific legislation will be sent to the Congress within the next few weeks.

FIVE GOALS GUIDING THE PRESIDENT'S CLEAN AIR PROPOSALS

In announcing the Clean Air package, President Bush outlined five points of a new environmental philosophy:

- o **Protecting the public's health.** The goal of the legislation is to prevent public exposure to cancer-causing agents and to protect those citizens, especially vulnerable populations, such as the elderly, and children, who live in cities with dirty air.
- o **Improving the quality of life.** The proposal will improve the quality of life for all Americans by exercising responsible stewardship over the environment for future generations.

- o **Achieving early reductions and steady progress.** The proposal establishes realistic timetables to meet air quality standards, but contains provisions to cut substantial amounts of air pollution in the near term, while requiring steady progress toward reducing emissions that are harder to control.
- o **Harnessing the power of the marketplace.** The proposal calls for the use of marketable permits to achieve acid rain reductions and emissions trading to achieve reductions from automobile pollution, cleaning the air to a definite standard while minimizing the burden on the American economy.
- o **Employing innovative technologies.** The proposal encourages development of clean coal technology, alternative fuel systems for automobiles, and other cost-effective means of using new technology to cut pollution.

The President's plan allows for both environmental protection and economic growth, two long-standing concerns often considered at odds with each other. By incorporating both concerns in his proposal, President Bush seeks to break the gridlock which has characterized the debate on clean air for the past several years.

PRESIDENT DRAWS ON EXPERIENCE OF INDUSTRY, ENVIRONMENTAL LEADERS

During the formulation of the Administration's clean air policy, the President and Administration officials met with a cross-section of concerned environmental, business and public policy groups.

At White House briefings, the President heard policy recommendations from the Clean Air Working Group. This group, composed of business and industry leaders, seeks to balance economic growth with environmental preservation.

At the direction of the President, Administration officials met several times with Project 88, an active public policy study group led by Senators John Heinz (R-PA) and Tim Wirth (D-CO). The President also met with a number of leaders from the environmental movement, including the Environmental Defense Fund, the National Clean Air Coalition and The Group of Ten, representing the ten largest environmental membership organizations in the country.

A wide selection of American industries and manufacturers had input, including leaders from major automobile, steel, petroleum, coal, utilities, and chemical companies -- those most likely to be affected by the upcoming legislation. The President also consulted with Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney before releasing the initiative.

WIDESPREAD SUPPORT SEEN FOR PRESIDENT'S ENVIRONMENTAL PACKAGE

Americans concerned with the state of our environment are speaking out in favor of the President's initiative:

"The principles of the Bush Administration's proposed clean air legislation, as announced today at the White House, are solid evidence that the President is indeed serious about improving our environment in a cost-efficient and effective manner. This is leadership that can, as the President put it, 'break the stalemate' on achieving our clean air goals."

-- George H. Lawrence, President, American Gas Association

"I want to congratulate the President and his Administration for coming forward with an excellent Clean Air proposal. The President made this promise during the campaign, and he has met the promise ... The President has done an excellent job."

-- U.S. Senator John Chafee (R-RI); ranking Republican, Senate Environment Committee

"The President's [clean air] proposal breaks new ground in two ways: Not only does it clear the Congressional logjam on acid rain, but it also uses innovative market incentive proposals that will get businesses working for the environment -- instead of against it. ... The President's acid rain proposal is a breath of fresh air. Instead of command and centralized control with inevitable industrial resistance, the plan gives powerful dollar incentives to get quick results. The President's innovative plan meets his pledge to act on acid rain -- and not to raise taxes, while minimizing the costs for ratepayers and consumers."

-- Fred Krupp, Executive Director, Environmental Defense Fund

"It is a tough proposal, but it does take into account some of the technical difficulties we would face in meeting it ... This [proposal] will make a further automotive contribution to the national effort on clean air."

-- Harold A. Poling, Vice Chairman of the Board, Ford Motor Co.

"The proposal by the President is a major step forward. From an environmentalist point of view, we are pleased that the President invested so much of his time and energy in this. Given the choices he had put forward to him, the President came out on the side of environmental protection strongly. We expect this will help break the paralysis of the last decade and move us forward."

-- George T. Frampton, Jr., President, The Wilderness Society

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