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Clean Air Announcement 6/12/89

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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS:

CLEAN AIR ACT ANNOUNCEMENT
EAST ROOM
MONDAY, JUNE 12, 1989
11:00 A.M.

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. [[And just this morning I spoke at length with Prime Minister Mulroney.]]

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.

Thank you. God Bless you. And God Bless the United States of America.

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**REMARKS: CLEAN AIR ACT ANNOUNCEMENT
EAST ROOM
MONDAY, JUNE 12, 1989
11:00 A.M.**

**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.**

- 2 -

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.

- 3 -

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.

- 4 -

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.

- 5 -

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.

- 6 -

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.

- 7 -

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,

**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.**

- 9 -

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.

- 10 -

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.

- 11 -

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. [[AND JUST THIS MORNING I SPOKE AT LENGTH WITH PRIME MINISTER MULRONEY.]]

- 12 -

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.

- 13 -

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.

- 14 -

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.

- 15 -

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.

- 16 -

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.

- 17 -

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.

- 19 -

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.

- 20 -

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.

- 21 -

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.

- 22 -

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.

- 24 -

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.

- 25 -

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.

- 26 -

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.

- 27 -

**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.**

- 29 -

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.

THANK YOU. GOD BLESS YOU. AND GOD BLESS THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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- 28 -

**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.**

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 11, 1989

JC / Master
copy

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST

FROM: MARK LANGE

SUBJECT: CLEAN AIR ACT ANNOUNCEMENT

I. SUBJECT

Attached are remarks for the announcement of the Clean Air Act, at 11:00 a.m. on Monday, June 11, in the East Room. Between 200 and 250 will attend.

II. DISCUSSION

These remarks reiterate the five environmental principles you outlined in your speech to Ducks Unlimited -- and announce and outline legislation amending the Clean Air Act for the first time since 1977.

(Lange/Wallace)
June 11, 1989
7:40 p.m.
[CLEANAIR.DOC]

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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} ~~we got~~ 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.

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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. [[And just this morning I spoke at length with Prime Minister Mulroney.]]

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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.**

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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 a million clean-fueled vehicles a year on the road by 1997.**

up to

A city can either request inclusion in the program, or they show they can

But we are also progressing flexibility on the means even as we remain firm on the reduction goals. ~~If a city shows it can achieve these ambitious reductions through other measures, we will scale back the clean-fuel vehicle requirements accordingly.~~

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.**

also, we are sensitive to the problems of smaller cities whose ozone ~~pollution~~ problems are due largely to pollutants ~~transported~~ generated in other ~~regions~~ ~~any sanctions will target only the polluting areas responsible,~~

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.

Thank you. God Bless you. And God Bless the United States of America.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 12, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ANNOUNCEMENT OF
THE CLEAN AIR ACT AMENDMENT

The East Room

11:15 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Please -- Governor. Well, 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 and people who have devoted their lives to creating a cleaner and safer environment. And I've 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. And with the minds, the energy, the talent assembled here, we can find a solution.

So let me tell you the purposes of this morning's gathering. First, I'd like to lay on the table my proposals to curb acid rain and 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. And 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 here in this country. It's been a force for good, for a safer, healthier America. And as a people, we want and need that economic growth, but now we must also expect environmental responsibility and respect the natural world. And this will demand a national sense of commitment, a new ethic of conservation. And I reject the notion that sound

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 the generations to come. If we take this commitment seriously, if we believe that every American expects and deserves clean air, and then 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, and we've had the benefit of some good thinking on the Hill. And we've met with business leaders who see environmental protection as essential to long-term economic growth, and we've talked with environmentalists who know that cost-effective solutions help build public support for conservation. And we've worked with academics and innovative thinkers from every quarter who have laid the groundwork for this approach.

And just this morning I spoke by phone with Prime Minister Mulroney of Canada. I believe he's excited about the prospect, too. 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.

And we've had to make some tough choices. And 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 and 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 is 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, it will be cost-effective, but above all, it will work. We will make the 1990s the era for clean air.

And 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 10 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. And that means five million tons will be cut by 1995, and the

There's 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." Well, it's true. Acid rain must be stopped and 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 try to micromanage 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 on the job. And if Congress will act on the clean air reforms that I'm offering today, 20 years from now, every American in every city in America will breathe clean air. Today, 81 cities don't need federal air quality standards. This legislation will bring clean air to all but about 20 cities by 1995, and within 20 years, even Los Angeles and 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're 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're sensitive to the problems of smaller cities, whose own ozone problems are due to largely to pollutants that are generated in other areas, other regions, other cities. 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'm asking the EPA to develop rules like those we're 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

near industrial facilities should not have to fear for their health.

And for 10 years, we've struggled to engage a united effort on behalf of clean air, and we're now on the edge of real change. Nineteen eighty nine 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. And 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. And we cannot -- we must not fail. We must prevail. I ask for your support. We need your support to make all of this into a reality.

Thank you all and God bless you, and thank you very much for coming. (Applause.)

END

11:30 A.M. EDT