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SPEECH WRITER'S BRIEFING

MARCH 30, 1989

Inside cover of notebook -- EPA Journal
November/December Issue
"Are Today's Institutional Tools Up to
Task?" by Michael Gruber

White House Communications Liaison
with EPA (A)

Memorandum -- EPA Communications
Overview (B)

William K. Reilly's Confirmation
Statement to the U.S. Senate (C)

William K. Reilly's Keynote
Address at the Annual Meeting
of the National Wildlife Federation (D)

White House Communications
Liaison with EPA

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ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

Communications Overview

Overall E.P.A. Communications Message:

The Bush Administration has a serious commitment to addressing and resolving environmental issues, both on a national and international scale. The role of the Federal government is to act as a catalyst for cost-effective change.

Discussion: Part of the mission is to remove "the environment" from the list of partisan issues. Conservation is a principle that should transcend politics. The invocation of Theodore Roosevelt as the secular "patron saint" of the American environmental movement is a symbolic attempt to illustrate this point.

Communications Overview

Major E.P.A. Communications Themes:

Discussion: All the themes presented here presuppose one thing--that E.P.A. will conduct its business with integrity, with openness and with commitment.

Under normal circumstances, that message alone would suffice, but these are extraordinary times. The key points E.P.A. wants to convey are:

1. Pollution Prevention--Ultimately, pollution problems must be solved before they are created, rather than at the "end of the pipe."

Supporting actions:

√ President Bush, in his budget message, committed the country to achieving a 25 percent solid waste recycling rate.

√ E.P.A. will be promulgating new rules greatly restricting the use of asbestos in commercial applications.

√ E.P.A. will be issuing the Cost of Clean Environment Report in mid-summer, and evaluation of the true costs of controlling pollution.

√ E.P.A. will be issuing its Toxic Release Inventory national report, a survey of the types of toxic materials being released into the air, ground and water by commercial users and other applications. This information will be made available via the states to individuals.

√ E.P.A. has published the first analysis of the options available to control some of the factors contributing to the Greenhouse Effect.

√ President Bush has pledged to introduce comprehensive Clean Air Act legislation. The bill will include provisions for controlling acid rain.

Communications Overview

2. Enforcement--Pollution of the environment is an attack upon society as a whole. Enforcement of existing statues and regulations will be increased, with an emphasis on compliance. In the criminal area, polluters will be identified, prosecuted, fined and/or jailed.

Supporting actions:

√ President Bush's FY1990 budget calls for a 30 percent increase in E.P.A. criminal investigators. For the first time, E.P.A. will have a criminal investigative force within the agency, rather than acting under the direction of the Justice Department.

√ E.P.A. is conducting an internal management review of the Superfund program, due to be completed on June 1, that will address major enforcement and compliance problems in the program as currently administered.

√ Consistent with the President's campaign promise to clean up the nation's beaches, E.P.A. recently issued regulations concerning the monitoring and reporting of medical waste disposal.

3. Ecology--The preservation, restoration and conservation of ecosystems is in the national interest and is consistent with the tradition of President Theodore Roosevelt.

Supporting actions:

√ President Bush has pledged "no net loss" of American wetlands.

√ The President has called for a "new era of coastal awareness" and has instructed E.P.A. to develop initiatives in this regard.

√ E.P.A., working with the Department of Interior, is, for the first time, part of the policy team reviewing coastal water development management practices.

√ E.P.A. Administrator William Reilly, with the approval of the White House, order a complete review of the Two Forks Dam project on the South Platte River (Colorado) because the plans failed to prove there were not environmentally superior alternatives.

Communications Overview

4. International--Environmental issues transcend national boundaries, and require international cooperation and coordinated global action.

Supporting actions:

√ President Bush has called for the global phaseout of CFCs by the year 2000 as a partial solution to the ozone problem.

√ President Bush has called for the enactment of legislation requiring bilateral agreements for the international shipment and disposition of hazardous wastes.

√ President Bush met personally with Japanese and Brazilian political leaders to express his concern over the funding and construction of the proposed Trans-Amazon Highway.

√ President Bush has instructed Secretary of State Baker to make environmental issues, such as global warming, a cornerstone of American foreign policy. The E.P.A. will elevate its office of International Affairs to Assistant Administrator status.

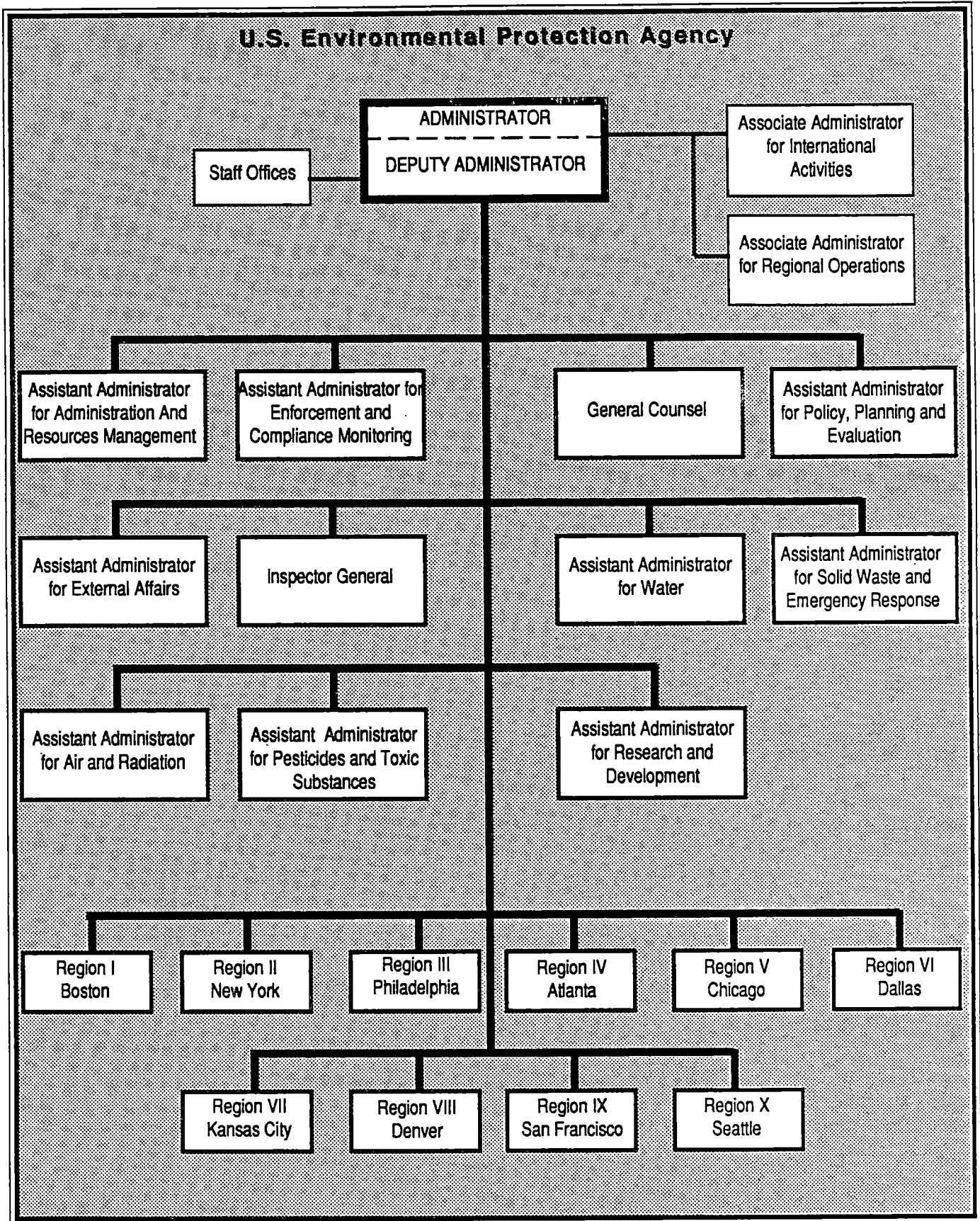
Communications Overview

Upcoming EPA activities and opportunities:

These are events and substantive issues that are currently proposed for the Administrator's direct participation. Some may be suitable for White House involvement.

1. Clean Beaches Activities.
2. National Press Club Speech--April 20th (Earth Day)
3. "Enviro Cops"
4. Clean Air/Acid Rain Bill--Due out in Mid-May
5. Coastal Water Initiatives
6. Pollution Prevention Initiatives
7. Environmental Awards Program
8. Earth Day 1990--April 20th, 1990
9. International Initiatives
10. Minorities and the Environment Initiative
11. Native American Initiative
12. Environmental Education--Burdick bill is due out in mid to late April.
13. Wetlands Initiative/Chesapeake Bay activities

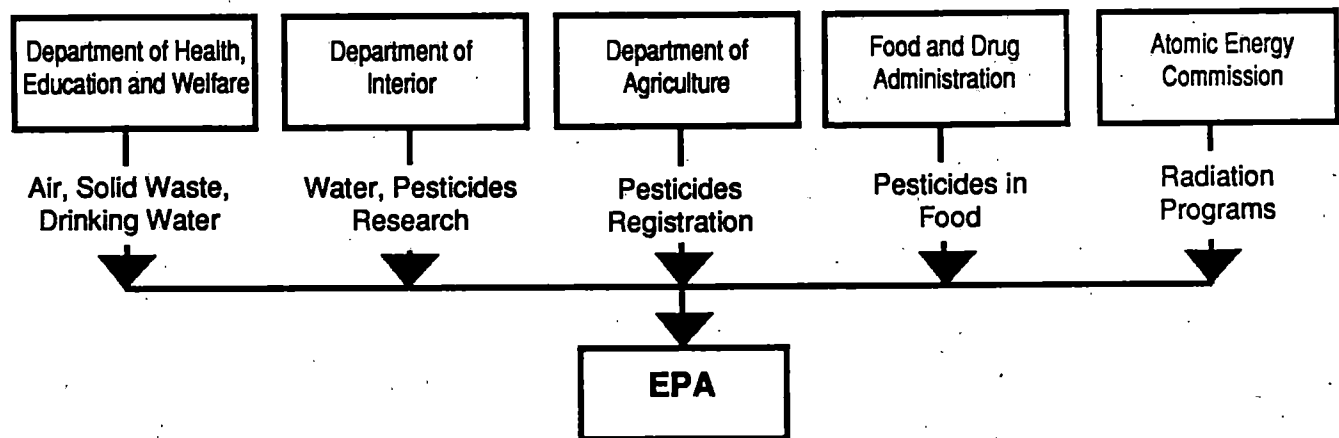
ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT



HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION OF EPA

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency was created through an Executive reorganization plan designed to consolidate a number of Federal environmental activities into a single agency. The plan (Reorganization Plan #3 of 1970) was sent to Congress by President Nixon on July 9, 1970, and EPA was formally established as an independent agency in the Executive Branch on December 2, 1970.

EPA was formed by bringing together 15 components from five Executive departments and independent agencies. Air pollution control, solid waste management, radiation control and the drinking water program were transferred from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (now the Department of Health and Human Services). The Federal water pollution control program was taken from the



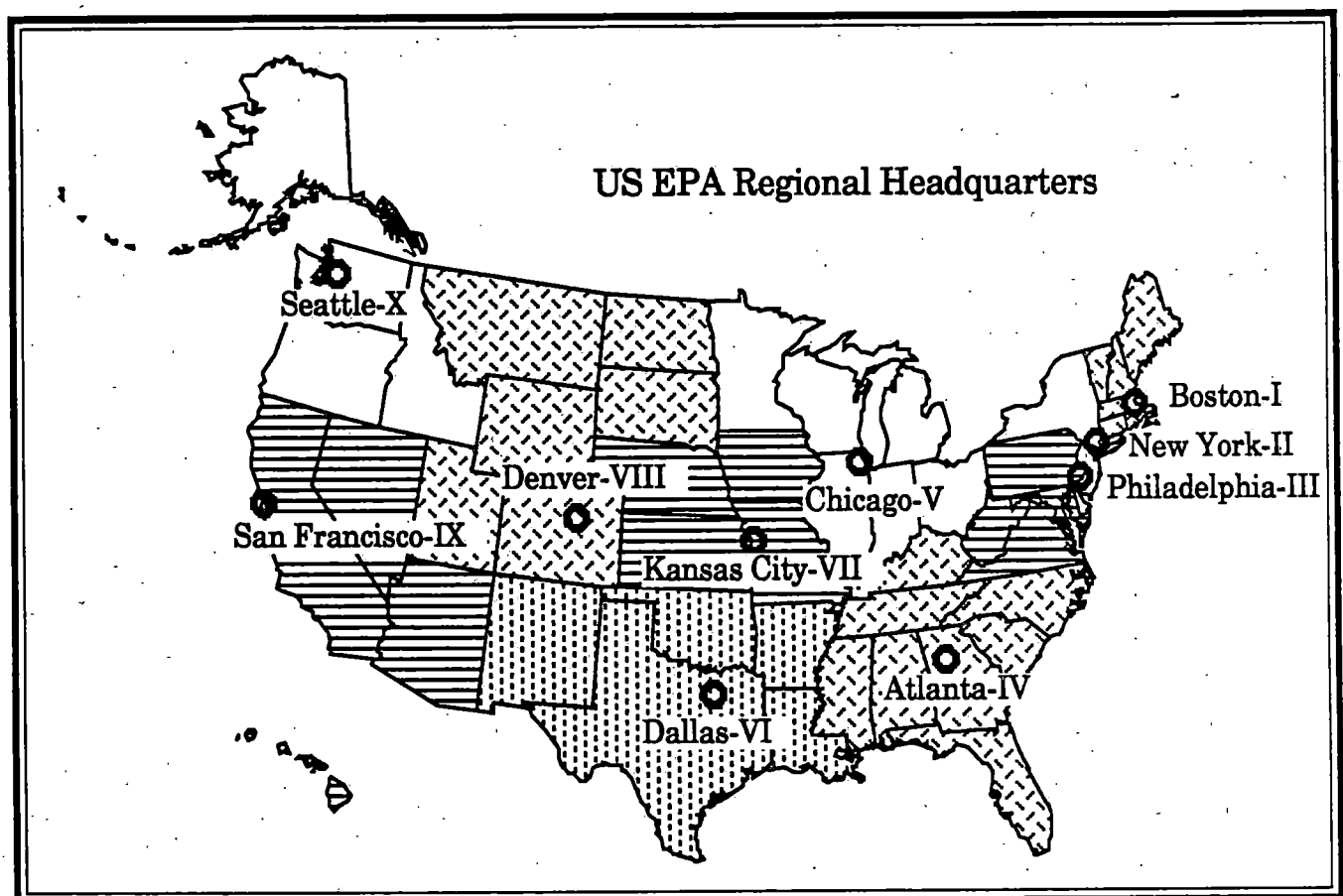
Department of Interior, as was part of the pesticides research program. EPA acquired authority to register pesticides and regulate their use from the Department of Agriculture. From the Food and Drug Administration, the Agency inherited the responsibility to set tolerance levels for pesticides in food. EPA was assigned responsibility for setting certain environmental radiation protection standards from the old Atomic Energy Commission, and absorbed some of the duties of the Federal Radiation Council.

The enactment of major new environmental laws and amendments to older laws in the 1970s greatly expanded EPA's responsibilities. The Agency now administers eleven major statutes: The Clean Water Act (CWA); the Clean Air Act (CAA); the Safe Drinking Water Act (SDWA); the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act (CERCLA or Superfund); the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA); the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act (FIFRA); the Toxic Substances Control Act (TSCA); the Marine Protection, Research, and Sanctuaries Act (MPRSA); the Uranium Mill Tailings Radiation Control Act (UMTRCA); Asbestos School Hazard Abatement Act (ASHSA); and the Environmental Research, Development, and Demonstration Authorizing Act (ERDDA).

The Agency is directed by an Administrator and Deputy Administrator who are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. Nine Assistant Administrators (who manage specific environmental activities or direct other Agency functions), the Agency's General Counsel, and its Inspector General also are named by the President and subject to Senate confirmation. Each of the nine Assistant Administrators head either a program (Air and Radiation; Water; Pesticides and Toxic Substances; and Solid Waste and Emergency Response) or a function (Research and Development; Enforcement and Compliance Monitoring; Administration and Resources Management; Policy, Planning and Evaluation; and External Affairs).

Ten Regional Administrators across the nation cooperate closely with Federal, State, interstate and local agencies, industry, academic institutions, and other public and private groups to make sure Regional needs are considered and Federal environmental laws implemented. The Federal Regional Structure was set up in the early 1970's and essentially selected ten cities in which the Federal Government established its field offices. EPA maintains its Region I Office in Boston; Region II in New York; Region III in Philadelphia; Region IV in Atlanta; Region V in Chicago; Region VI in Dallas; Region VII in Kansas City; Region VIII in Denver; Region IX in San Francisco; and Region X in Seattle. Finally, the Agency's executive staff includes Associate Administrators for International Activities and Regional Operations.

Together, these executives supervise a staff of over 14,000 Federal workers and administer a five billion dollar budget.



LOCATIONS OF OTHER EPA FIELD UNITS

Anchorage, AK
Juneau, AK
Helena, MT
Boise, ID
Duluth, MN
Monticello, MN
Cincinnati, OH
Ann Arbor, MI
Grosse Ile, MI

Westlake, OH
Newport, OR
Corvallis, OR
Sacramento, CA
Las Vegas, NV
Ada, OK
Houston, TX
Gulf Breeze, FL
Bay St. Louis, MS

Durham, NC
Chapel Hill, NC
Research Triangle
Park, NC
Athens, GA
Montgomery, AL
Lexington, MA
Narragansett, RI
Edison, NJ

Leonardo, NJ
Trenton, NJ
Middletown, PA
Wheeling, WV
Annapolis, MD
Warrenton, VA
Arlington, VA
Beltsville, MD
San Juan, PR

STATEMENT BY
WILLIAM K. REILLY
EPA ADMINISTRATOR-DESIGNATE

before the
COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS
THE UNITED STATES SENATE

January 31, 1989

MR. CHAIRMAN, DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE. IT IS MY GREAT HONOR TO APPEAR BEFORE YOU TODAY AS THE PRESIDENT'S NOMINEE FOR ADMINISTRATOR OF THE UNITED STATES ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY.

WHEN PRESIDENT-ELECT BUSH ASKED ME TO SERVE IN HIS ADMINISTRATION, HE SPOKE OF HIS STRONG COMMITMENT TO ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY, NOT ONLY WITHIN THE UNITED STATES, BUT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

I HAVE SPENT MY CAREER SEEKING BETTER WAYS FOR US TO MANAGE THIS COUNTRY'S ABUNDANT NATURAL RESOURCES, ON WHICH OUR ECONOMIC WELL BEING DEPENDS. I HAVE SOUGHT BETTER WAYS TO PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC HEALTH FROM POLLUTION. IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, AS PRESIDENT OF WORLD WILDLIFE FUND, I HAVE WORKED INTERNATIONALLY TO PROTECT WILDLIFE AND TO AID DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AS THEY STRUGGLE WITH MONUMENTALLY SERIOUS PROBLEMS OF ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION AND DESTRUCTION OF THEIR FORESTS.

MY EXPERIENCES HAVE LEFT ME WITH THE VERY STRONG SENSE THAT THE STATE OF THE EARTH TODAY OFFERS GROUND BOTH FOR HOPE, AND FOR DESPAIR, IN EQUAL MEASURE. WHILE NATURE IS SUFFERING UNDER UNPRECEDENTED ASSAULT ALL ACROSS THE PLANET, PUBLIC AWARENESS AND CONCERN ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENT HAS PROBABLY NEVER BEEN HIGHER, PARTICULARLY IN NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE. THUS WE ARE AT A HISTORIC MOMENT, CHARACTERIZED BY URGENCY AND OPPORTUNITY. RARELY IF EVER BEFORE HAS THERE BEEN SUCH A NEED FOR LEADERSHIP ON THE ENVIRONMENT. THE PRESIDENT SEES THE NEED TO MOVE NOW TO MAKE THE ENVIRONMENT A PRIORITY OF INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC POLICY.

IN ACCEPTING THE PRESIDENT'S INVITATION TO SERVE, I TOLD HIM I WANTED TO HELP HIM BE A GREAT ENVIRONMENTAL PRESIDENT. IF I AM CONFIRMED, I PLEDGE TO YOU AND THIS COMMITTEE, TO THE CONGRESS,

AND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT I WILL DO ALL WITHIN MY POWER TO FULFILL MY RESPONSIBILITIES TO PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT AND HUMAN HEALTH.

AFTER MEETING WITH MANY OF THIS COMMITTEE'S MEMBERS INDIVIDUALLY, I KNOW THAT YOU, TOO, LIKE PRESIDENT BUSH, HAVE HIGH EXPECTATIONS. YOU WANT STEADY, TANGIBLE ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRESS AS THE MEASURE OF SUCCESS.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT THE SAME THING. CLEARLY, THE ENVIRONMENTAL DRAMA OF LAST SUMMER TAPPED DEEP-SEATED CONCERNS HELD BY MANY, IF NOT MOST, AMERICANS -- HIGHLY EMOTIONAL CONCERNS ABOUT POLLUTION RUN AMOK, AND ABOUT DRASTIC CHANGES IN THE ECOSYSTEM OF THIS EARTH THAT SUSTAINS US ALL.

LAST SUMMER, A RECORD DROUGHT SCORCHED MUCH OF OUR COUNTRY, AND AFTER A DECADE AWASH IN SURPLUS CROPS, EXPERTS WERE SPECULATING AGAIN ABOUT POSSIBLE FOOD SHORTAGES. DISTURBING NEW EVIDENCE EMERGED OF HUMAN-INDUCED CHANGE IN THE GLOBAL CLIMATE, THE CONSEQUENCES OF WHICH WE ARE ONLY BEGINNING TO FATHOM. BEACHES WERE FOULED BY MEDICAL WASTES. AN AWESOME, UNCONTROLLABLE FIRE INCINERATED THOUSANDS OF ACRES IN YELLOWSTONE PARK, A REMNANT OF WILDERNESS MANY AMERICANS HAD CONSIDERED PERMANENTLY PRISTINE AND UNTHREATENED. FROM BRAZIL CAME NEWS OF FIRES EVEN MORE DEVASTATING, FIRES DESTROYING MILLIONS OF ACRES OF AMAZON RAINFOREST. TO STEP FROM THAT REMARKABLE, WONDROUS, BIOLOGICALLY RICH WORLD ONTO A BLACKENED LANDSCAPE, I ASSURE YOU, IS TO GLIMPSE A PLAUSIBLE VISION OF THE APOCALYPSE.

AND AFTER ALL THIS, WHEN TIME MAGAZINE NAMED EARTH THE "PLANET OF THE YEAR" FOR 1988, ALMOST EVERYONE EXPRESSED SURPRISE -- EVERYONE BUT COMEDIAN JAY LENO, WHO SIMPLY NOTED THAT ALL THE JUDGES CAME FROM EARTH. HE HAD A POINT. SO FAR AS WE KNOW, THEY COULD HAVE COME FROM NOWHERE ELSE BUT THIS BRIGHT BLUE ORB, FLOATING IN SPACE, WHOSE IMAGE WE SAW FOR THE FIRST TIME ONLY TWENTY YEARS AGO.

IN THE TWO DECADES SINCE THEN, IT MUST BE SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE GREAT PROGRESS IN DEALING WITH ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS. WE HAVE ESTABLISHED THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE REGULATORY FRAMEWORK FOR POLLUTION CONTROL IN THE WORLD. ENORMOUS INVESTMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE BY THE PUBLIC, BY INDUSTRY, BY GOVERNMENT AT ALL LEVELS. AND THESE INVESTMENTS HAVE PAID OFF HANDSOMELY. WE HAVE MADE PROGRESS REDUCING MANY POLLUTANTS -- SULFUR DIOXIDES, NITROGEN OXIDES, PARTICULATES, AND LEAD, TO NAME A FEW -- DURING A PERIOD IN WHICH OUR ECONOMY HAS GROWN SIGNIFICANTLY. THIS IS AN AMERICAN SUCCESS STORY, AND WE SHOULD TAKE PRIDE IN IT. PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR CLEAN AIR AND WATER HAS NEVER BEEN HIGHER.

YET THE DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENTAL AGENDA SEEMS ONLY TO HAVE LENGTHENED AND GROWN MORE COMPLEX WITH TIME. IT TURNS OUT THAT WE DIDN'T KNOW ALL THAT WAS BEING PUT INTO THE AIR AND WATER. NEW, MORE SENSITIVE MEASUREMENT TECHNIQUES AND MORE EXTENSIVE MONITORING HAVE REVEALED TOXIC SUBSTANCES OF GREAT VARIETY, DISTRIBUTED WIDELY IN AIR, WATER, LAND, AND WILDLIFE. IN SOME PLACES "SANITARY LANDFILLS" OF A DECADE AGO HAVE BECOME TODAY'S ENVIRONMENTAL HAZARDS. AIR POLLUTION INDOORS APPEARS TO BE THREATENING MANY AMERICANS MORE THAN AIR POLLUTION OUTDOORS. ABANDONED TOXIC WASTE DUMPS DOT THE LANDSCAPE. POLLUTANTS OF ALL SORTS HAVE SEEPED INTO THE VAST, UNSEEN RESERVES OF GROUNDWATER FROM WHICH MILLIONS OF AMERICANS DRAW THEIR DRINKING WATER.

IF ANYTHING, THE AMERICAN PUBLIC IS BECOMING MORE SENSITIZED, MORE AWARE OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS AND HEALTH RISKS. WE'VE LEARNED THE HARD WAY THAT IT COSTS MUCH MORE TO CLEAN UP POLLUTION THAN TO PREVENT IT IN THE FIRST PLACE. IN THE WORDS OF PROJECT BLUEPRINT, THE REPORT OF A NUMBER OF ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS, ONE FUNCTION OF NEW LEADERSHIP AT EPA MUST BE TO HELP THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ACHIEVE AN EVEN BETTER "UNDERSTANDING OF THE EXTENT AND SERIOUSNESS OF ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES."

AT THE SAME TIME, A NEW INTERNATIONAL AGENDA IS COMING SHARPLY INTO FOCUS. ACID RAIN, OZONE DEPLETION, GLOBAL WARMING, DESTRUCTION OF SPECIES-RICH TROPICAL RAINFORESTS, OCEAN POLLUTION FROM NUMEROUS SOURCES -- THESE DAUNTING PROBLEMS REQUIRE AN UNPRECEDENTED DEGREE OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION, FOR WE IN THE UNITED STATES ARE HOSTAGE TO DECISIONS MADE BY OTHER COUNTRIES JUST AS THEY ARE HOSTAGE TO OURS. YET THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS IS ONLY BEGINNING TO CONSTRUCT THE LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR ADDRESSING THESE PROBLEMS.

HISTORICALLY THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN A LEADER IN THE EFFORT TO PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ON THE ENVIRONMENT, AND EPA WILL HAVE TO CROSS THE BORDERS MORE AND MORE IF WE ARE TO DO AN EFFECTIVE JOB. AS THE WORLD ENTERS A TIME OF UNPRECEDENTED ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES AND DEMANDS, THE UNITED STATES MUST BE AT THE FOREFRONT, SHARING OUR RESEARCH AND OUR SCIENCE, OUR TECHNOLOGY AND OUR EXPERIENCE, OUR SUCCESSES AND OUR FAILURES. A GREAT DEAL REMAINS TO BE DONE, AND, AS PRESIDENT BUSH HAS REQUESTED, INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES WILL BE A PRIORITY OF MINE IF I AM CONFIRMED.

IN APPROACHING THESE CHALLENGES AND OTHERS, I WILL ENDEAVOR TO SET AND UPHOLD THE HIGHEST STANDARDS FOR CONDUCTING THE BUSINESS OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY.

THE FIRST OF THESE STANDARDS IS RESPECT FOR THE RULE OF LAW. I WANT TO STRESS BEFORE THIS COMMITTEE THAT I UNDERSTAND AND ACCEPT AS MY DUTY, FIRST AND FOREMOST, TO IMPLEMENT THE ENVIRONMENTAL LAWS OF THIS LAND AS CONGRESS HAS WRITTEN THEM. THE CONSTITUTION AND OUR ENVIRONMENTAL LAWS GUARANTEE RIGHTS TO ALL OUR CITIZENS, INCLUDING THOSE WHOSE ACTIVITIES ARE SUBJECT TO REGULATION. SO OUR ENFORCEMENT EFFORTS MUST RESPECT DUE PROCESS AND THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY. AND ENFORCEMENT MUST BE INSPIRED BY A SENSE OF VIGOR AND URGENCY, FOR THE AIM OF THE ENTERPRISE IS NO LESS THAN THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN HEALTH, OF LIVES, AND OF THE NATURAL ORDER THAT SUSTAINS CIVILIZATION. SO I PLEDGE TO TAKE

AGGRESSIVE AND TIMELY ENFORCEMENT ACTION WHENEVER IT IS WARRANTED TO SAFEGUARD PUBLIC HEALTH OR ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY.

I DO LOOK FORWARD TO DISCUSSIONS WITH MEMBERS OF THIS AND OTHER COMMITTEES IN CONGRESS ABOUT HOW WE MAY BE ABLE TO STRENGTHEN OUR POLLUTION CONTROL EFFORTS -- BASED ON ADVANCES IN SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND YEARS OF EXPERIENCE WITH POLLUTION CONTROL AND REGULATION. HOW CAN WE BETTER EXPLOIT THE SEEMINGLY GREAT POTENTIAL OF WASTE REDUCTION AND RECYCLING? HOW CAN WE HARNESS MARKET FORCES AND THE INVENTIVE GENIUS OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY TO THE TASK OF ABATING POLLUTION? HOW CAN WE BEST PROTECT OUR WETLANDS AND GROUNDWATER AND OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES ON WHICH WE DEPEND? AS YOU MAY KNOW, THE CONSERVATION FOUNDATION EXPLORED SUCH QUESTIONS IN SOME DETAIL DURING MY TENURE, AND I LOOK FORWARD TO OPPORTUNITIES TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE ANSWERS WITH YOU.

MY DECISIONS AS ADMINISTRATOR AND THOSE OF OTHERS IN THE AGENCY WILL BE GUIDED BY THE MOST RIGOROUS SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION WE CAN BRING TO BEAR.

FINALLY, AS MR. RUCKELSHAUS TOLD THIS COMMITTEE IN 1983, ENDING THE GREATEST CRISIS IN EPA'S HISTORY, WHAT EPA DOES WILL BE DONE IN A FISHBOWL. THE AMERICAN PUBLIC DEMANDS, AND DESERVES, FULL ACCESS TO EPA'S DECISIONMAKING; IF CONFIRMED, I EXPECT TO ENGAGE THE PUBLIC IN EVERY ASPECT OF THE AGENCY'S WORK.

IF CONFIRMED, I WILL INHERIT A DEDICATED, KNOWLEDGEABLE, THOROUGHLY PROFESSIONAL STAFF AT EPA. I HOLD THEM IN HIGH REGARD AND HAVE EVERY CONFIDENCE THAT, WITH THE SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATOR AND THE CONGRESS, THEY CAN HELP THIS NATION AND THE WORLD TO ACHIEVE AN ENVIRONMENT THAT IS HEALTHY AND NATURAL SYSTEMS THAT REMAIN PRODUCTIVE.

DURING THE CAMPAIGN, PRESIDENT BUSH OBSERVED THAT "ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION HAS TOO OFTEN BEEN MARKED BY BITTER AND OFTEN NON-PRODUCTIVE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN COMPETING INTERESTS." I HARBOR

NO DELUSION THAT THIS COMPETITION WILL CEASE. YET WE NO LONGER HAVE THE TIME OR LUXURY OF ALLOWING THE BITTERNESS, THE POLARIZATION, THE WASTED RESOURCES, AND THE OTHER EXCESSES OF THAT COMPETITION TO STAY OUR PROGRESS.

I FIRMLY BELIEVE WE MUST USHER IN A NEW ERA IN THE HISTORY OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY -- AN ERA MARKED MORE BY RECONCILIATION OF INTERESTS, BY IMAGINATIVE SOLUTIONS ARRIVED AT THROUGH COOPERATION AND CONSENSUS, BY THE RESOLVE TO LISTEN AND WORK OUT OUR DIFFERENCES. AFTER ALL, IT IS IN EVERYONE'S INTEREST TO PROTECT THE PLANET WE SHARE, AT A TIME WHEN EVIDENCE IS MOUNTING OF THE EARTH'S VULNERABILITY TO DESTABILIZATION.

I AM A CONSERVATIONIST. IT IS MY LIFE'S WORK. THROUGHOUT, IT HAS BEEN MY INSTINCT CONSCIOUSLY TO SEEK THE ADVICE AND OPINIONS OF A WIDE SPECTRUM OF AFFECTED PARTIES ON EVERY ISSUE OF CONSEQUENCE I HAVE FACED.

I HAVE SPENT MY ENTIRE CAREER ADVOCATING ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH, IN THE CONVICTION THAT GROWTH PROVIDES THE WHEREWITHAL TO PURSUE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, TO APPLY THE CONSERVATION WISDOM THAT WE HAVE ACQUIRED THUS FAR, AND TO EXPAND OUR KNOWLEDGE. I DO NOT SEE A HEALTHY ENVIRONMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AS FUNDAMENTALLY AT ODDS. THE ECONOMIC GROWTH WE WANT IS THE KIND THAT DOESN'T SHORTEN OUR BREATH OR OUR LIVES. IT IS THE KIND THAT CAN BE SUSTAINED.

TO BE SURE, DECISIONS I WILL MAKE IF CONFIRMED AS EPA ADMINISTRATOR WILL INVOLVE TRADEOFFS, OFTEN SERIOUS TRADEOFFS. BUT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE ASKING THEIR LEADERS TO DO MORE THAN WRANGLE OVER THE ENVIRONMENT. THEY ARE INSISTING, I BELIEVE, THAT WE FIND THE COMMON GROUND OF SUSTAINABLE AND ENVIRONMENTALLY SOUND ECONOMIC GROWTH. I AM CONVINCED WE CAN FIND IT. ESPECIALLY IF OUR SEARCH EXTENDS BEYOND THE HALLS OF EPA AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, TO STATES, AND TO THE PRIVATE SECTOR, BOTH PROFIT AND NONPROFIT. SO MANY OF THE BEST IDEAS,

FOR THE ENVIRONMENT AS FOR SO MUCH ELSE, ARE OUT IN THE COUNTRY, BEING QUIETLY TRIED AND TESTED. WE NEED TO FIND THESE IDEAS. OUR REGIONAL OFFICES ARE WELL-EQUIPPED TO LISTEN AND QUESTION, COOPERATE AND CONSULT, AND THEN MOVE FORWARD IDEAS THAT HAVE BEEN FIELD TESTED.

I WILL TAKE THESE INITIATIVES VERY SERIOUSLY, AS I WILL THE NEED FOR VIGOROUS AND AGGRESSIVE ENFORCEMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL LAWS AND THE NEW WORLDWIDE ENVIRONMENTAL MISSION IN WHICH EPA MUST PLAY A LEADING PART.

IN SUM, I BELIEVE THAT IN THE YEARS AHEAD THE NATION'S ENVIRONMENTAL POLICIES SHOULD REFLECT FIVE PRINCIPAL PRIORITIES:

1. RESPECT FOR SCIENCE;
2. POLLUTION PREVENTION THROUGH WASTE MINIMIZATION AND RECYCLING;
3. A SIGNIFICANTLY HIGHER DEGREE OF INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY AND COOPERATION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE; PASSING THE POLLUTION NEXT DOOR MAKES NO SENSE;
4. AGGRESSIVE ENFORCEMENT: IT IS THE KEY TO AN EFFECTIVE EPA AND A CLEAN ENVIRONMENT; AND
5. WIDE CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION WITH CONGRESS, THE STATES AND LOCALITIES, WITH BUSINESS, PROFESSIONAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS IN THE SEARCH FOR THE BEST IDEAS FOR MORE EFFECTIVE POLICIES AND PROGRAMS.

LET ME CONCLUDE BY REAFFIRMING AN OBSERVATION DATING FROM MY EARLIEST DAYS IN WASHINGTON. BI-PARTISAN COOPERATION AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH -- THESE ARE THE PREREQUISITES OF SOUND AND ENDURING ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY.

WHEN I LAST SERVED IN GOVERNMENT, IN THE EARLY 1970'S, THE ENVIRONMENT ENJOYED A HIGH DEGREE OF BI-PARTISAN COOPERATION, AND WE GOT THINGS DONE.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I LOOK FORWARD TO THE CHANCE TO BEGIN BUILDING A PRODUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH CONGRESS BY WORKING FOR THE REAUTHORIZATION OF THE CLEAN AIR ACT. WE EXPECT TO OFFER A COMPREHENSIVE PROPOSAL FOR CONGRESSIONAL CONSIDERATION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AND I WOULD HOPE THAT, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE LAW THAT EVENTUALLY EMERGES WILL RESULT IN THE SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION OF ACID RAIN BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY -- A GOAL TO WHICH PRESIDENT BUSH IS COMMITTED.

IF WE HAVE ANY HOPE OF ENTERING THE NEXT CENTURY WITH A SAFE ENVIRONMENT, ABUNDANT NATURAL RESOURCES, THE SUBLIME EXPERIENCE OF WILDERNESS FOR ANY WHO WANT IT, AND A HEALTHY, GROWING ECONOMY, MUCH MORE WILL HAVE TO BE DONE. I LOOK FORWARD TO THE WORK--OR, ANYWAY, MOST OF IT--WITH ENTHUSIASM, HAVING DECIDED LONG AGO THAT NOTHING COULD BE MORE IMPORTANT OR REWARDING THAN PROTECTING THIS EARTH AND THE MAGNIFICENT LIFE UPON IT.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I WILL DO MY BEST TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS YOU AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE MAY HAVE. THANK YOU.

**HIGH HURDLING THROUGH THE ENVIRONMENT:
EXPECTATIONS FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS**

Keynote Address
by

WILLIAM K. REILLY

ADMINISTRATOR

U.S. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

at the

**ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
NATIONAL WILDLIFE FEDERATION**

March 16, 1989

I want to spend sometime this afternoon talking about expectations. Your expectations for what can be accomplished at EPA over the next four years, the President's expectations, and my own.

Washington is a place where perception often drives reality. That's especially true in an area as emotionally charged as the environment.

You don't have to be very well seasoned in the ways of this city to see that the best way to deal with conflicting opinions and emotions is to lower expectations.

If you tell people you are going to jump the three foot bar, they are happy and surprised when you soar four feet high. And if you tell folks you are going to clear the bar at seven feet, they are likely to be deeply disappointed even if you miss by only a few inches.

So the standard advice is set your sights low, especially as funds are few.

But the President is doing something different. He is setting out to reaffirm and reinvigorate the conservation tradition in American public life that began with Theodore Roosevelt. He is moving to take decisive steps within the federal government to create, as he put it, "a new attitude on the environment."

Consider what he's done in his first 50 days in office.

- o He authorized Secretary Baker to make global warming the subject of the first speech of his tenure.

- o In meetings with the President of Brazil and the Prime Minister of Japan he personally expressed American concern over the financing and construction of the Trans-Amazon Highway, which threatens one of the world's most important ecosystems.
- o In his budget message, George Bush pledged "no net loss" of wetlands, a goal to which Jay Hair contributed through his participation in The Conservation Foundation's National Wetlands Policy Forum.
- o The President also pledged to propose Clean Air legislation this year, an initiative that promises finally to break a 10 year deadlock.
- o Last week, the President stated his intention to seek legislation giving our government authority to ban exports of hazardous waste, except where there is an agreement with the receiving country that provides for safe handling of those wastes.
- o Finally, the President committed the United States to call for the complete phaseout of CFCs by the year 2000. We will work through the Montreal Protocol and ensure that the substitutes are safe.

With these early initiatives the President himself has set high expectations. I believe it is my mission to help him meet those expectations.

I also believe that high standards have been set by my predecessors. I think it's great that you are honoring Lee Thomas Saturday. He is a tough act to follow. Those who have followed EPA closely know very well what a great job Lee Thomas

performed, under difficult circumstances. In enforcement, asbestos cleanup, indoor air pollution, and building public understanding of international environmental issues, and many other issues, Lee made an outstanding contribution on which I will be proud to build.

So the second goal I have set for myself is to try to do as good a job as Lee Thomas did.

The third set of expectations are those of the people I work with, the 15,000 people of EPA. Not every Agency head considers his people the best and the brightest. But I truly believe that, in the entire federal government, EPA has the most dedicated, most talented staff, working on the toughest, most thankless issues, in the worst building.

EPA staff want more innovative approaches to environmental problems. They recognize, in these days of tight budgets, the wisdom of the British scientist who said, "Gentlemen we have no money, and therefore we must think."

Many of our EPA people are the children of the first Earth Day 20 years ago, and they want to see EPA reflect their highest personal values. So do I.

The final set of expectations, which are the highest of all, are those of the American people. The Bible says that "Without vision, the people perish," and I believe that our people have a vision, a vision of living in harmony with the planet that sustains us.

They want us to set our standards high, to reach and to stretch even if the results sometimes fall short. I share their expectations, and I am willing to take those risks.

We are not satisfied with the state of our environment. Despite huge investments over the past two decades, the environment today is under less control, the problems facing us more complex, the solutions more demanding than in the past. We must be resourceful and imaginative, even while our will is larger than our wallet. We dare not be satisfied. We can do better. We will do better.

We have in this society a large unfinished agenda of environmental business. These are the problems our laws were crafted to solve. But they are not solved.

Consider wetlands. We knew 20 years ago that wetlands play a vital role in nurturing marine life and waterfowl and filtering pollutants and buffering floodwaters. And yet, despite longstanding federal and state laws, we continue to lose these vital and productive resources. To this problem President Bush has said enough, no more, it's time to draw the line and set an ambitious new goal: "No net loss of wetlands."

A second longstanding concern is acid rain, a problem that has bedeviled the environment, damaged lakes and rivers, forests and buildings, fish and man. President Bush has made clear that "the time for study alone is over; now is the time for action." We will make public our legislative proposal for clean air this spring. And it will be a comprehensive proposal, dealing also with air toxics and ozone non-attainment, the smog problem that reached its worst in many cities during 1988's hot summer. I hope and believe that many members of Congress and the President's commitment to clean air will break the long, contentious, and exhausting stalemate and give us what we have not had in 12 years, a reauthorized Clean Air Act.

There are many other items of unfinished business -- one is our debt to clean up after generations of careless, ill-informed dumping of hazardous wastes. That debt is past-due. We are in arrears. And it's a big debt.

Numerous critical reports from the Congress and elsewhere make clear that Superfund is a flawed program. My charge is to fix it. I have begun an internal management review to consider the criticisms and recommendations in these reports. Bright, committed people have given their best to this program and still the results have disappointed us. The President made clear in his State of the Union address that he sees enforcement as central to the solution. He wants to see vigorous pursuit of those responsible for dumping hazardous wastes. We intend to use all the enforcement tools at our command.

You have all heard a great deal recently about EPA's regulation of pesticides. We must review our exhaustive and expensive testing and research process. This society halts trading in a bad stock faster than it cancels a bad chemical. So we'll work to correct that, if necessary by recommending new legislation.

But let me enter a caution: we must as a society speak frankly about risk. The scientists at EPA and elsewhere have worked for many years to develop methods for assessing risks. They have also contributed to our understanding of such concepts as "acceptable risk" and "negligible risk." Our society will need these concepts, for we cannot escape risks any more than we can run from life. But we will need consensus if EPA is to regulate and manage risks with public understanding and support.

The challenge to those of us who wish to see further progress on the environment is to steer a course between scaring the country to death on the one hand, and boring the country to death on the other. We are tempted to exaggerate and hyperbolize to get an issue on the agenda, and then to use esoteric and arcane language of the specialist once it becomes law. Superfund and pesticides have seen us err in both directions. I think sometimes I'll scream if I hear more jargon about RIFS' and ROD's. And how many people have any idea what 10 to the minus 6 means in assessing pesticide residues?

We need to communicate more clearly about risk and about choice, about consequence and about cost. The Bush Administration is serious about improving our environment. As we move forward, at a time when new money is hard to find, the premium will be on clear thinking and frank communication about difficult tradeoffs.

I have spoken about our unfinished agenda. There is also a new agenda, one that wasn't understood back in the early 1970s when our major laws were enacted. This agenda derives from more recent discoveries: the pervasiveness of toxic substances and their tendency to move around among air, water and land; CFCs and the terrible destruction to stratospheric ozone they have caused, are causing, will continue to cause even if we were to cease their manufacture and use tomorrow. When President Bush was presented with the most recent scientific evidence indicating the problem is much more serious than had been believed, he acted at once to commit the United States to full phase-out of these chemicals through the Montreal Protocol by the end of the century. For this to work, we must ensure safe substitutes are available.

And global warming. Five of the 10 warmest years on record occurred in this decade. Carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has increased 25% in 100 years. Something significant may be occurring. We dare not ignore it. Tomorrow morning I will testify on EPA's just-completed report on the range of possible policy responses to global warming. This effort is the first by any government to take a comprehensive look at how nations might respond to global warming.

There is a fortunate and persuasive coincidence between the policies we would need to undertake to address global warming and the policies desirable in and of themselves for our own good environmentally and economically. These include phasing out CFCs which account for almost a fifth of all greenhouse gases. They include promoting energy efficiency -- saving energy also reduces carbon dioxide emissions. And they include using our influence with the World Bank and other multilateral aid and lending institutions, as well as our own foreign assistance, to give a higher priority to reforestation and to discouraging deforestation.

The weekend before last I headed the US delegation to the London conference on saving the ozone layer. President Bush gave me a personal letter to Prime Minister Thatcher affirming his strong interest in the international environment. In our conversation, the Prime Minister spoke with great urgency about our environmental challenges, and then referred to people's environmental concerns as part of an increasingly universal aspiration toward quality in all areas.

Mrs. Thatcher is correct. Americans want quality in their jobs and their homes, in the things they buy and the recreation they pursue. They want a better life, and they define environmental quality as an essential part of that life. They --

we -- want economic improvement, of course, that's what pays for our environmental gains, among other things, but we want economic growth that doesn't shorten our lives or our breath.

Let us as a people claim the environmental high ground and give definition to quality and to economic progress. Let us clarify for the world that investments in the protection of natural systems like clean air and estuaries, groundwater, and wetlands are every bit as essential and productive as investments in education, science, and defense.

To do this, to be a beacon to the world we will have to do better ourselves. We in the U.S. produce twice the solid waste per capita that West Germany does, and three times that of Italy. We use twice as much energy as Switzerland or West Germany and nearly three times that of Japan. We must seek international cooperation. We all use and pollute the earth's resources. Unilateral action by the U.S. will not be enough. The President places a very high priority on international cooperation.

We must learn not just to control pollution but to prevent it, not just to dispose of waste better but to eliminate it.

Here I must confess that more of the same -- more controls, tighter standards, better enforcement -- will not be enough to get us there. Regulations closing off waste disposal options will help, have helped. Greatly increased costs of waste disposal are creating the incentives. Did you know that a third of the landfills in the country will be obsolete in 5 years? Ten years ago the cost of solid waste disposal was \$5 to \$10 per ton. Now in some places it is \$125 per ton and rising.

When costs rise like this, so must our ingenuity and resourcefulness. We must learn to generate less waste in the

first place, use less, make products that are recyclable or reusable.

Speaking of resourcefulness, Governor Branstad of Iowa told me recently that he has proposed a law requiring that plastic bags and food containers be biodegradable. He told me of a poll indicating that 93% of Iowans support these measures. I learned later that the biodegradable bags are to be made of corn starch! That's Iowa ingenuity!

The agendas I've cited are in a sense a return to the roots of the environmental movement, the deep understanding that everything natural is connected, and that we are here as stewards. The environment will always be changed by human activity. I see nothing wrong with that. We are part of nature and we have a right to be here, and to earn our living from its bounty. We do not have the right to harm the ability of nature to supply that living to our posterity.

So I envision four priorities for the years ahead. First, we will make enforcement the vital core of our regulatory efforts, the means of ensuring that our laws are respected and liabilities are voluntarily settled.

Second, pollution prevention. It will increasingly become the measure against which all our policies and regulations are judged. We need strong incentives for pollution prevention, throughout our society.

Third, ecosystem protection. Wetlands, estuaries, and groundwater, the sea itself -- these are natural systems on which life and commerce depend. They will receive a high priority, as we move to give expression to the President's promise to introduce "a new era of coastal awareness."

Fourth, we will endeavor to reassert U.S. leadership in the international arena. We intend to enlarge and raise the status of EPA's international office, to revitalize important environmental treaties, and to assist in developing administration policy on aid and lending institutions, to help developing countries manage their environments. So much of what we must achieve cannot be achieved unless the world community cooperates. CFC phaseout is the most immediate example. Should other nations increase the manufacture and use of CFCs they could offset all the gains achieved from our phasing out of them. We will be a part of the team that seeks to make the environment an important priority of U.S. foreign policy, as the President's and Secretary of State's recent actions make clear.

Defending, improving the environment as we move toward a new century will increasingly affect the way we live. I think we will have to change the way we live, and develop, if I may coin a phrase, a kinder, gentler relationship with the environment. The role of the Environmental Protection Agency is to help manage that change.

What if we don't make this great change? We hear much talk about the fragility of Nature, and it is true that human ignorance and greed can destroy large portions of the environment. But Nature is not fragile; Nature is very tough indeed, as you might expect from something that has been around for three billion years. No, it is human society that is fragile, as is the temporary aspect of Nature -- the climate, for example -- that sustains life. This aspect can change, as it has in the distant past, in ways that would make this earth vastly less comfortable for our sort of life. Nature bats last, as we used to say in the environmental movement.

Such a change may be happening now. We don't know for sure, but the prudent person, or the prudent society, takes out insurance in the face of uncertainty. The modifications that I foresee in our way of life are in a sense the premiums on that insurance. If the insurance turns out to be unnecessary, no one complains to their insurance company because they're still alive!

When Time Magazine declared "Earth the Planet of the Year in 1988" everyone was surprised: everyone but the comedian Jay Leno who said wee of course, what would you expect, all the judges came from earth!

So they did, so we do, self-interested all of us, in making the changes necessary to life.

The Japanese have a social technique for implementing change. It is a slow process whereby the stakeholders in a particular adjustment are brought into the process far in advance of its activation, listened to, and made to feel that they are not being unduly harmed. They call this process "binding the roots." In this country our roots are wilder and more thorny by far than they are in Japan, but I think some variant of it can work. I certainly intend to try, and I hope I can rely on your support.

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