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Earth in the Balance: The Clinton/Gore Manifesto

"The Cold War is over, and we have entered a new era in which threats to our security are less evident but no less dangerous than ever before. As Senator Gore has dramatized in his recent and very fine book, "Earth in the Balance," if we do not find the vision and leadership to defeat the unprecedented new threats of global climate changes, ozone depletion, and unsustainable population growth, then those threats may defeat us instead."

Governor Bill Clinton at Drexel University, April 22, 1992.

Is this Moderate?

Al Gore's central thesis is that we need to take "bold and unequivocal action ... [to] make the **rescue of the environment the central organizing principle for civilization.**" (starting at p. 269).

A metaphor he uses throughout his book is that polluters, and those who believe in technological progress and thereby abet pollution, are like the Nazis. (See, for instance, pages 177, 196, 232-233, 256-57, 272-275, 281-282, 285, 294, 366)

"It is not merely in the service of analogy that I have referred so often to the struggles against Nazi and communist totalitarianism, because I believe that the emerging effort to save the environment is a continuation of these struggles, a crucial new phase of the long battle for true freedom and human dignity." (p. 275)

As you will see in the following brief summary of his book, Senator Gore's vision of America's mission is a radical departure from moderate, mainstream thought.

Overview

In Part I, consisting of the first eight chapters, the Senator sets out the problems of global warming, air pollution, climate change, deforestation, erosion, biodiversity, too much garbage and toxic waste. There are all sorts of errors in his description of these problems that the experts have found (the DNC acknowledges technical errors in the memo recently published by the Wall Street Journal, see attached) -- but one is tempted to poke fun at his overwrought rhetoric:

"In every breath we take, we bathe our lungs in a homogeneous sample of that same air -- many trillions of molecules of it -- with at least a few in each breath that were also breathed by Buddha at some point during his life, and a like number that were breathed by Jesus, Moses, Mohammed -- as well as Hitler, Stalin and Genghis Khan." (p. 84)

In Part II, the Senator examines what he postulates to be the political, economic, psychological, sociological and religious roots of the pollution problem. In part III, Senator Gore outlines his policy proposals for dealing with the problem. He sets out his plan of action with this important qualifier:

In any effort to conceive of a plan to heal the global environment, the essence of realism is recognizing that public attitudes are still changing -- and that proposals which are today considered too bold to be politically feasible will soon be derided as woefully inadequate to the task at hand. Yet while public acceptance of the magnitude of the threat is indeed curving upward -- and will eventually rise almost vertically as awareness of the awful truth suddenly makes the search for remedies an all-consuming passion -- it is just as important to recognize that at the present time, we are still in a period when the curve is just starting to bend. Ironically, at this stage, the maximum that is politically feasible still falls short of the minimum that is truly effective....

It seems to make sense, therefore, to put in place a policy framework that will be ready to accommodate the worldwide demands for action when the magnitude of the threat becomes clear. And it is also essential to offer strong measures that are politically feasible now -- even before the expected large shift in public opinion about the global environment -- and that can be quickly scaled up as awareness of the crisis grows and even stronger action becomes possible. (p. 304-305)

What follows, then, should be understood as a baseline for Senator Gore -- setting a framework for later action. Sometimes, the Senator hints at what that later action might be.

For instance, while the Senator now calls for stabilizing greenhouse gas emissions, his true policy position is probably far more radical: "Imagine that someone invented a miraculous technology that enabled human civilization to cut per capita emissions of greenhouse gases in half; imagine how much that might reduce our concern about global warming. (Actually, what may be even harder to imagine is that we will have to cut emissions even more than that.)" (p. 309-310)

Summary of Part II

Starting in chapter 9, Senator Gore analyzes the 'roots' of the problem he describes (inaccurately) in the first 8 chapters.

The Senator argues that our existing political system is failing to deal with the environmental crisis. Part of the problem, he argues, is due to technologies like TV, that have demeaned political debate. He points out that "Impressions and affect have become the coin of our political realm. Skillful 'visual rhetoric' has become as important as logic, knowledge, or experience in determining a candidate's success." (p. 168)

He follows with a touch of introspection: "I learned the visual rhetoric of my own television generation and found myself unconsciously practicing a new set of 'personality skills.'" (p. 168) He notes that acting has been considered an important political skill since the days of Machiavelli.

He segues into a critique of the Bush Administration's policies. Although he gives the President passing credit for the Clean Air Act, which he calls a "genuine accomplishment" (p. 174), and has some passing criticism for Congress, he is appalled that the Administration did not take even more dramatic steps to curb carbon dioxide production.

He asks derisively "Why would the Bush White House go to such lengths to avoid facing the facts about the environment? Is it because the necessary changes would be sufficiently discomfiting to voters and to companies enjoying the status quo as to cause some political risk?" (p. 176)

He, on the other hand, says he is ready to shake things up. "I am convinced they are hungry to hear hard truths and are nearly ready to make the all-out effort necessary for an effective response." (p. 174)

Gore goes on to compare the Bush Administration's 'foot-dragging' in the face of the public's desire for all-out measures to the US inaction in the wake of Hitler's Kristallnacht. (p. 177)

In chapter 10, Gore sets out his analysis -- and sweeping critique -- of classical economics. He believes that the victory of capitalism over communism "imposes upon us a new and even deeper obligation to address the shortcomings of capitalist economics

as it is now practiced." (p. 182)

He points out that external costs are not priced by the market without some outside intervention to the system. "Classical economics defines productivity narrowly and encourages us to equate gains in productivity with economic progress. But the Holy Grail of progress is so alluring that economists tend to overlook the bad side effects that often accompany improvements." (p. 188)

This shortcoming of markets he considers "philosophically ... similar in some ways to the moral blindness implicit in racism and anti-Semitism," (p. 189) an analogy he develops in the ensuing paragraph.

Later, Gore also argues that our approach to technological development has been shaped by aggressive male domination instead of by the nurturing instinct of women. "Ultimately, part of the solution for the environmental crisis may well lie in our ability to achieve a better balance between the sexes, leavening the dominant male perspective with a healthier respect for female ways of experiencing the world." (p. 213)

Gore wants to solve the problem of externalities by having government redefine the words "growth," "productivity" and so forth: "we must address the deficiencies of our current methods for defining what is progress and what is absurdity." (p. 195)

He would require government to include increases in cleanliness in GNP calculations, so that any declines in production due to environmental regulation are statistically offset by assigning values to lower pollution. He believes these changes would make it much easier to sell the tough new environmental policies he considers necessary. (p. 189-96)

Chapter 11, "We Are What We Use," develops the Luddite strain to Gore's thought. The general theme of this chapter is technology has disconnected us from the natural world, causing spiritual impoverishment.

"Thus as we focus our attention more and more on using technological processes to meet our needs, we numb the ability to feel our connections to the natural world." (p. 207) "Just as technology, when used thoughtlessly, can disrupt the ecological balance of the world, so too can some technologies disrupt the ecological balance in the way we experience the world." (p. 214)

As Gore suggests further in Part III, he believes technology development needs to be regulated in new ways.

In many cases, the technologies themselves need to be changed. For example, it makes little sense to continue manufacturing cars and trucks that get twenty miles per gallon and pump nineteen pounds of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere per gallon. And in fact we need to make a strategic decision to accelerate the development of new technologies, like solar electricity production, which have less harmful effects on the environment. But in every case, success will require careful attention to the way we relate through technology to the environment, and a much greater awareness of the profound effect any powerful technology can have on that relationship. (p. 207-8)

Chapter 12 reveals the spiritual basis of the Senator's environmental beliefs. In "Dysfunctional Civilization," he first rejects the Earth First notion of Deep Ecology -- the idea that man is like the HIV virus on mother earth. That, Gore thinks, is too extreme.

Instead, he postulates that:

our civilization is, in effect, addicted to the consumption of the earth itself. This addictive relationship distracts us from the pain of what we have lost: a direct experience of our connection to the vividness, vibrancy, and aliveness of the rest of the natural world. The froth and frenzy of industrial civilization mask our deep loneliness for that communion with the world that can lift our spirits and fill our senses with the richness and immediacy of life itself ... We seem increasingly eager to lose ourselves in the forms of culture, society, technology, the media, and the rituals of production and consumption, but the price we pay is the loss of our spiritual lives. (p. 220-21)

He develops the analogy to drug addiction in the ensuing pages, at one point saying derisively: "Our industrial civilization makes us a similar promise: the pursuit of happiness and comfort is paramount, and the consumption of an endless stream of shiny new products is encouraged as the best way to succeed in that pursuit." (p. 222)

According to the Senator, education of the masses is the answer:

Many people seem to be largely oblivious of this collision and the addictive nature of our unhealthy relationship to the earth. But education is a cure for those who lack knowledge; much more worrisome are those who will not acknowledge these destructive patterns. Indeed, many political, business, and intellectual leaders deny the existence of any such patterns in aggressive and dismissive tones. They serve as "enablers," removing inconvenient obstacles and helping to ensure that the addictive behavior continues. (p. 223)

"What I have called our addictive pattern of behavior is only part of the story, however, because it cannot explain the full complexity and ferocity of our assault on the earth." (p. 226) So the Senator moves on to the dysfunctional family and child abuse analogy.

"Like the rules of a dysfunctional family, the unwritten rules that govern our relationship to the environment have been passed down from one generation to the next since the time of Descartes, Bacon, and the other pioneers of the scientific revolution some 375 years ago." (p. 230)

He then discusses totalitarian states like Nazi Germany once again -- drawing the connection between those societies and our own. He ends with a flourish:

The unprecedented assault on the natural world by our global civilization is also extremely complex, and many of its causes are related specifically to the geographic and historical context of its many points of attack. But in psychological terms, our rapid and aggressive expansion into what remains of the wildness of the earth represents an effort to plunder from outside civilization what we cannot find inside. Our insatiable drive to rummage deep beneath the surface of the earth, remove all the coal, petroleum, and other fossil fuels we can find, then burn them as quickly as they are found -- in the process filling the atmosphere with carbon dioxide and other pollutants -- is a willful expansion of our dysfunctional civilization into vulnerable parts of the natural world. And the destruction by industrial civilization of most of the rain forests and old-growth forests is a particularly frightening example of our aggressive expansion beyond proper boundaries, an insatiable drive to find outside solutions to problems arising from a dysfunctional pattern within. (p. 234)

The next chapter, "Environmentalism of the Spirit," considers the religious precedent for environmentalism. He starts the chapter with a provocative question:

When giving us dominion over the earth, did God choose an appropriate technology? Knowing what we do about our new power as a species to interfere with and even overwhelm the earth's natural systems and recognizing that we are now doing so with reckless abandon, one is tempted to answer, the jury is still out. (p. 238)

He examines his own Baptist roots first -- and finds his environmental beliefs consistent with, if not required by, his religious belief. He then segues to an analysis of the philosophical underpinnings of the improper (that is nonenvironmental) reading of

the Bible: the enlightenment works of Descartes and Bacon.

The Cartesian method, the heart of scientific inquiry, is particularly disparaged by Gore for disconnecting man from nature. Nor is Gore fond of Bacon:

Taking "Cartesian dualism" one step further, Bacon argued that not only were humans separate from nature; science, he said, could safely be regarded as separate from religion. In his view, "facts" derived through the scientific method had no moral significance in and of themselves; only "moral knowledge" of matters concerning the distinction between good and evil had religious significance. This facile distinction carried a profound implication: the new power derived from scientific knowledge could be used to dominate nature with moral impunity. (p. 252)

He acknowledges that this shift in thinking was essential for bringing the Dark Ages to an end and launching the modern world. However, Gore thinks Plato and then Descartes and Bacon broke an important "spiritual triangulation" in human thought:

This process of spiritual triangulation identified the natural world as sacred, not because each rock and tree was animated by a mysterious spirit, but because each rock and tree was created by God. Moreover, the physical world was understood, investigated, and ordered in terms of its relationship to the one God who had created it. And the very process by which this inquiry into the nature of the world took place reinforced the assumption that humankind is part of the world, because each inquiry relied on an understanding of our relationship to both God and the physical world in which we live. (p. 255)

...

Francis Bacon[']s] ... moral confusion -- the confusion at the heart of much of modern science -- came from his assumption, echoing Plato, that human intellect could safely analyze and understand the natural world without reference to any moral principles defining our relationship and duties to both God and God's creation. (p. 256)

Gore argues that this error, lying at the heart of the scientific revolution, is responsible for, among other evils, the atrocities of Hitler and Stalin.

It is my view that the underlying moral schism that contributed to these extreme manifestations of evil has also conditioned our civilization to insulate its conscience from any responsibility for the collective endeavors that invisibly link

millions of small, silent, banal acts and omissions together in a pattern of terrible cause and effect.... But for the separation of science and religion, we might not be pumping so much gaseous chemical waste into the atmosphere and threatening the destruction of the earth's climate balance. (p. 257)

He ends this chapter by revealing his belief that "the image of God can be seen in every corner of creation, even in us, but only faintly. By gathering in the mind's eye all of creation, one can perceive the image of the Creator vividly." (p. 265) Gore thinks this phenomenon is analogous to how a hologram works to create 3-D pictures of things.

Summary of Part III

In Part III, Senator Gore sets out his environmental agenda, the guiding principle of which is extraordinarily radical: **"We must make the rescue of the environment the central organizing principle for civilization."** (p. 269) He goes on to analogize the effort needed for this mission to the mobilization of the country to defeat the Nazis and to win the Cold War.

In chapter 15, "A Global Marshall Plan," Gore suggests that \$100 billion, the equivalent in today's dollars to the commitment made in the original Marshall Plan, might be the amount needed in a new environmental Marshall Plan. (p. 304) "To work," Gore says, "any such effort will also require wealthy nations to make a transition themselves that will be in some ways more wrenching than that of the Third World." (p. 300-301)

His minimum plan has five goals:

- 1) Stabilizing the world population
- 2) Rapid creation and development of environmentally appropriate technologies -- especially in the fields of energy, transportation, agriculture, building construction, and manufacturing -- capable of accommodating sustainable economic progress without the concurrent degradation of the environment. These new technologies must then be quickly transferred to all nations -- especially those in the Third World, which should be allowed to pay for them by discharging the various obligations they incur as participants in the Global Marshall Plan.
- 3) Comprehensive and ubiquitous change in the economic "rules of the road" by which we measure the impact of our decisions on the environment

- 4) Negotiation and approval of a new generation of international agreements that will embody the regulatory frameworks, specific prohibitions, enforcement mechanisms, cooperative planning, sharing arrangements, incentives, penalties, and mutual obligations necessary to make the overall plan a success.
 - 5) Establishment of a cooperative plan for educating the world's citizens about our global environment
-

1) Stabilizing the world population

Before launching into his discussion of population control, Senator Gore (who has four kids!) suggests three things are necessary to slow population growth: greater literacy, lower infant mortality and more birth control. On the third point, he thinks the US should "ensure that birth control devices and techniques are made ubiquitously available along with culturally appropriate instruction." (p. 314)

One might wonder what "culturally appropriate instruction" might be. Earlier, the Senator saluted the activities of a Thai birth control advocate, "often called 'the P.T. Barnum of birth control.' Through eye-catching and humorous promotional activities, he has helped cut Thailand's population growth dramatically.... Although some of his showmanship may seem outlandish -- balloon blowing contests with condoms, the distribution of condoms by traffic policemen on New Year's Eve in what he calls a 'cops and rubbers' operation, schemes to give car insurance payments to taxi drivers who sell a quota of condoms, to mention only a few -- he has also established a network of thousands of family planning centers...." (p. 288)

2) Rapid creation and development of environmentally appropriate technologies

Reminding the reader about his skepticism regarding technology, Gore calls for a "highly focused and well-financed program" to develop "appropriate technology" -- which need not be "new" technology. In particular, he proposes a Strategic Environment Initiative (SEI). A copy of his summary of the basic components of the SEI is attached as Appendix A.

Perhaps the most provocative of the proposals is number 5: **"The establishment of rigorous and sophisticated technology assessment procedures, paying close attention to all of the costs and benefits -- both monetary and ecological -- of the new proposed substitute technologies."**

The Senator does not expand on exactly what those procedures would be, but by the context of the discussion, he clearly envisions some government bureaucracy screening all new technologies for their "appropriateness." Senator Gore makes clear his belief that cars as we know them today are not what he considers appropriate.

We now know that their cumulative impact on the global environment is posing a mortal threat to the security of every nation that is more deadly than that of any military enemy we are ever again likely to confront.... I support new laws to mandate improvements in automobile fleet mileage, but much more is needed. Within the context of the SEI, it ought to be possible to establish a coordinated global program to accomplish the strategic goal of completely eliminating the internal combustion engine over, say, a twenty-five-year period.

He tries to blunt criticism of this far-reaching industrial policy by arguing that the Bush Administration supports industrial policy too when it comes to national defense. He argues that the environmental crisis warrants extending our approach to defense technology to all other technologies as well. (p. 336-337)

3) Comprehensive and ubiquitous change in the economic "rules of the road" by which we measure the impact of our decisions on the environment

The summary of his plan is attached as Appendix B.

Gore's outline for "a new global eco-nomics" is partially an exercise in redefining the relevant measures of a nation's economic activity. The purpose of this effort is clear -- it would enable the government to obscure the costs of environmental protection by calling them "benefits" and force businesses to list as "costs" some wealth-creating activity that would otherwise be considered beneficial to society.

Gore also calls for "a new generation of environmental antitrust laws that insist on carefully scrutinizing the ways in which vertical integration, for example, can work to the disadvantage of the environment." (p. 342-43)

Similarly, Gore thinks trade laws need to incorporate environmental provisions. "Just as government subsidies of a particular industry are sometimes considered unfair under the trade laws, weak and ineffectual enforcement of pollution control measures should also be included in the definition of unfair trading practices." (p. 343) He goes on to point to the ongoing NAFTA talks as an example.

Finally, as you can see on pages 349-51, Gore supports all of the big government

ideas like higher CAFE standards, virgin materials fees and higher efficiency standards for other products and so forth.

4) Negotiation and approval of a new generation of international agreements

In his brief discussion of his intentions here, he points to the Montreal Protocol, a treaty to eliminate CFCs (negotiated by the Reagan and Bush Administrations!), as the model and then launches into a critique of how the Bush Administration has handled other ongoing negotiations.

5) Establishment of a cooperative plan for educating the world's citizens about our global environment

This section includes a call for mobilizing teachers and school children in the process of constant monitoring of pollution and carbon dioxide levels. Among the benefits of this program: planting the "seed" of environmentalism in the next generation.

He closes his discussion with a call for shifting to massively parallel computing as the preferred option for processing the data they collect. He does not consider the economic viability of this technology, but the Senator believes this form of computing has other benefits worth noting:

These computers are valuable in another way too, for they provide a metaphor that I think is particularly useful in figuring out how to best cope with the task of collecting and processing the enormous quantity of data and how best, in the process, to change minds and hearts all over the world on the subject of the environment. (p. 358)

tutes. As soon as possible, the SEI should be the subject of intensive international discussions, first among the industrial nations and then between them and the developing world. The initiative should include, at a minimum, the following:

1. Tax incentives for the new technologies and disincentives for the old.
2. Research and development funding for new technologies and prospective bans on the old ones.
3. Government purchasing programs for early marketable versions of the new.
4. The promise of large profits in a market certain to emerge as older technologies are phased out.
5. The establishment of rigorous and sophisticated technology assessment procedures, paying close attention to all of the costs and benefits — both monetary and ecological — of the new proposed substitute technologies.
6. The establishment of a network of training centers around the world, thus creating a core of environmentally educated planners and technicians and ensuring that the developing nations will be ready to accept environmentally attractive technologies and practices. We have a model for this initiative as well: during the Green Revolution, agricultural research centers of exactly this sort were set up throughout the world.
7. The imposition of export controls in developed countries that assess a technology's ecological effect, just as the Cold War technology control regime (known as COCOM) made careful and unusually accurate analyses of the potential military impact of technologies proposed for export.
8. Significant improvements in the current patchwork of laws, especially in those countries that now effectively fail to safeguard the rights of inventors and developers of new technology. This is no minor point; it is one of the principal ways to insure the viability of a major technology transfer program, and adequate protection for intellectual property rights is already a major bone of contention in global trade negotiations.
9. Better protection for patents and copyrights, improved licensing agreements, joint ventures, franchises, distributorships,

and a variety of similar legal concepts. All will be essential to unleash the creative genius on which we must draw.

I have chosen the phrase Strategic Environment Initiative purposely to imply an environmental equivalent of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), the crash program to develop a series of technological breakthroughs focused on a common, if highly controversial, military objective. I have always opposed the deployment of a grand-scale SDI. Nevertheless, the research program has been remarkably successful in drawing together previously disconnected government programs, in stimulating the development of new technologies, and in forcing upon us a wave of intense new analysis of subjects previously thought to have been exhausted.

We need that same focus and intensity, and similar levels of funding, to deal comprehensively with the global environmental crisis. Just as SDI has led to well-focused programs aimed at such activities as target acquisition, instantaneous management of complex computer data streams, ultra-high-speed interception, and missile launch detection from orbit, the SEI must focus on the development of environmentally appropriate technologies. One caution, however: we should not make the mistake of equating technology with only "high" technology. Often, the most appropriate and environmentally benign approach involves "low" technology — an uncomplicated but clever approach or a passive rather than active approach. In the effort to develop the new technologies we need rapidly, all of the policy tools I have suggested here can and should be applied in a variety of fields, especially agriculture, forestry, energy production and use (in, for example, transportation and manufacturing), building technology, and waste reduction and recycling. Following is a brief discussion of how the SEI would address what's needed in each area.

Agriculture. Although the Green Revolution produced vast growth in Third World food production, it often relied on environmentally destructive techniques: heavily subsidized fertilizers and pesticides, the extravagant use of water in poorly designed irrigation schemes, the exploitation of the short-term productivity of soils (which sometimes led to massive soil erosion), monocultured crops (which drove out diverse indigenous strains), and accel-

this would become a way to rationalize investments in the most efficient alternatives for all CO₂-generating activities, whether substituting renewable forms of energy for fossil fuels, developing new techniques for efficiency and conservation, or designing entirely new approaches to large activities that are now taken for granted. Of course, agreeing on how to parcel out the emission rights will not be easy, nor will determining the feasibility of reducing the overall limits each year. But once enough nations come to recognize the grave threat posed by CO₂ emissions, working out a treaty may not be an insurmountable challenge.

Clearly, then, if sustainable development is to become feasible, our approach to economic policy must be transformed. At the earliest opportunity, world leaders and their economic ministers should convene a global summit to discuss new approaches to this challenge. Their agenda should include the immediate adoption of a new set of economic rules of the road. Following is a summary of those I have proposed:

1. The definition of GNP should be changed to include environmental costs and benefits.
2. The definition of productivity should be changed to reflect calculations of environmental improvement or decline.
3. Governments should agree to eliminate the use of inappropriate discount rates and adopt better ways to quantify the effects of our decisions on future generations.
4. Governments should eliminate public expenditures that subsidize and encourage environmentally destructive activities.
5. Governments should improve the amount and accuracy of information on the environmental impacts of products and provide it to consumers.
6. Governments should adopt measures to encourage full disclosure of companies' responsibility for environmental damage.
7. Governments should adopt programs to assist companies in the study of the costs and benefits of environmental efficiency.
8. Nations should revise their antitrust laws to encompass environmental harm.
9. Governments should require the incorporation of standards

to protect the environment in treaties and international agreements, including trade agreements.

10. Environmental concerns should be integrated into the criteria used by international finance institutions for the evaluation of all proposed grants of development funds.

11. Governments should make accelerated use of debt-for-nature swaps to encourage environmental stewardship in return for debt relief.

12. Governments should develop an international treaty establishing limits on CO₂ emissions by country and a market for the trading of emission rights among countries that need more and countries that have an excess amount.

The U.S. Role

As the world's leading exemplar of free market economics, the United States has a special obligation to discover effective ways of using the power of market forces to help save the global environment. Yet even as we correctly point out the dismal failures of communism, and even as we push the underdeveloped world — appropriately, in my view — to adopt a market-based approach to economics, we have been reluctant to admit our failure to bring environmental values into our economic decisions. Further, the Bush administration has shown little interest in changing the government policies that presently distort the principles of market economics in ways that encourage the destruction of the environment.

Many U.S. policy-makers seem content to leave the environmental consequences of our economic choices in the large waste-basket of economic theory labeled externalities. As I stated in Chapter 10, anything that economists wish to forget about is called an externality and then banished from serious thought. For example, consider this analysis by President Bush's Council of Economic Advisers of the impact of global warming on agriculture: "The costs of today's agricultural policies are estimated to be more important in economic terms than even pessimistic estimates of the effects of global warming, largely because the former must be borne in the

present and the latter may occur, if at all, in the relatively distant future."

That's it. As far as the council is concerned, global warming need be given no further thought. Since it has been discounted into insignificance, they figure we can just forget about it. And meanwhile we go on preaching to the rest of the world that our brand of market economics takes everything into account in the most efficient way imaginable.

What if we took a broader view and began incorporating factors affecting the environment into our economic system? How would we do it? Well, here are some specific proposals.

None is likely to be more effective than finding ways to put a price on the environmental consequences of our choices, a price that would then be reflected in the marketplace. For example, if we were to tax the pollution dumped by factories into the air and water, we would get less of it. And we might well notice a sudden increase in the amount of interest companies show in improving the efficiency of their processes in order to reduce the pollution they cause.

To most of us, the principle sounds unassailable: let the polluter pay. But what about when it applies to each of us instead of to a nameless, faceless, corporation? For example, rather than require homeowners to pay higher property taxes to cover the cost of garbage collection, why not lower property taxes and then charge for garbage collection directly — by the pound? Those responsible for creating more garbage would pay more; those who found ways to cut down would pay less. The interest in recycling might rise dramatically. And when choosing between products at the store, people might even start avoiding unnecessary and bulky packaging if they knew it was going to end up in their garbage. There is an economic rule of thumb: whatever we tax, we tend to get less of; whatever we subsidize, we tend to get more of. Currently, we tax work and we subsidize the depletion of natural resources — and both policies have contributed to high unemployment and the waste of natural resources. What if we lowered the tax on work and simultaneously raised it on the burning of fossil fuels? It is entirely possible to change the tax code in a way that keeps the total amount of taxes at the same level, avoids unfairness and

"regressivity," but discourages the constant creation of massive amounts of pollution.

Accordingly, I propose:

1. That we create an Environmental Security Trust Fund, with payments into the Fund based on the amount of CO₂ put into the atmosphere. Production of gasoline, heating oil and other oil-based fuels, coal, natural gas, and electricity generated from fossil fuels would trigger incremental payments of the CO₂ tax according to the carbon content of the fuels produced. These payments would be reserved in a trust fund, which would be used to subsidize the purchase by consumers of environmentally benign technologies — such as low-energy light bulbs or high-mileage automobiles. A corresponding reduction in the amount of taxes paid on incomes and payrolls in the same year would ensure that the trust fund plan does not raise taxes but leaves them as they are — while having sufficient flexibility to ensure progressivity and to deal equitably with special hardships encountered in the transition to renewable energy sources (such as those faced by someone with no immediate alternative to the purchase of large quantities of heating oil, gasoline, or the like). I am convinced that a CO₂ tax which is completely offset by decreases in other taxes is rapidly becoming politically feasible.

But CO₂ taxes will not be enough to stop the profligate waste of virtually all other natural resources, and as a result I also propose:

2. That a Virgin Materials Fee be imposed on products at the point of manufacture or importation based on the quantity of nonrenewable, virgin materials built into the product. For example, paper mills would be charged a materials fee on the basis of the percentage of their paper made from freshly cut trees as opposed to recycled pulp and paper. The manufacturers and processors paying the tax would then qualify for tax credits to subsidize the purchase of equipment necessary for recycling and for the efficient collection and use of recycled materials, assuming confirmation of a net environmental benefit.

In addition to these two broad proposals, I also recommend several other specific changes in U.S. policy that would rewrite our economic rules of the road for the sake of the environment:

3. The government should adopt a policy of purchasing environmentally appropriate substitutes wherever they are competitive — taking into account full life-cycle costs — with older, less responsible technology. For example, it should replace every light bulb (when it wears out) with one of the new long-life bulbs that consume only a fraction as much electricity to produce the same amount of light. The government should also be required to purchase recycled paper in amounts that each year represent a larger percentage of its total needs until virtually all the paper it uses is recycled. If the government — with its substantial needs — can lead by example, it can make a tremendous difference to the ability of the new product manufacturer to achieve economies of scale and become viable enough to break into the market.

4. The government must establish higher mileage requirements for all cars and trucks sold in the United States. Although the carbon taxes and corresponding subsidies of the Environmental Security Trust Fund will be far more effective in accelerating the transition to more efficient vehicles, mandated improvements in the average fuel economy can be an important supplementary measure. With two of the largest automobile manufacturing plants in the world located in my own state, I have faced an awkward political problem in supporting tougher mileage requirements, and I do recognize some of the very real practical difficulties with the proposed legislation. Nevertheless, the amount of CO₂ emissions in the United States is so great that I think even imperfect measures to force remedial action are better than none at all.

5. Efficiency standards throughout the economy — for buildings, for industrial motors and engines, and for appliances — must also be strengthened. With tougher standards, there is less temptation for manufacturers to compete by cutting corners. The Bush administration — inexplicably — has fought hard against such standards.

6. Utility rate reform must encourage full use of conservation and efficiency measures. At present, some state governments are moving aggressively on this front, but federal policy has lagged far behind. All utilities should encourage conservation rather than build new generating capacity; helping to finance conservation has proved remarkably effective. Finally, utilities should be encour-

aged to plant forests to offset some portion of the CO₂ they generate.

7. Tree planting programs — with carefully selected seedlings appropriate to the areas being planted and careful follow-up to ensure tree survival — should be part of workfare programs in communities where work requirements are attached to welfare payments. Similarly, tree planting projects should be given higher priority in summer jobs programs for teenagers.

8. Accelerated phaseout of all ozone-destroying chemicals. We should also subsidize the development of truly benign substitutes.

There are, of course, many other problems that must be attended to if the government is going to play the key, constructive role necessary for it to lead the world environmental movement. We need to pay careful attention to the deep social and attitudinal causes of America's relative economic decline, some of which also contribute to the environmental crisis:

- The neglect of our human resources and falling levels of proficiency in literacy, numeracy, geography, and basic reasoning skills.

- Our unwillingness to make decisions with an eye to their long-term effects, coupled with our insistence on basing strategy on short-term time horizons: for example, the practice of rewarding business leaders on the basis of quarterly earnings, the willingness of investors to allocate capital on the basis of short-term profits instead of the quality of the goods produced, jobs provided, and long-term market share gained; the tendency of political leaders to base important decisions on the perception of their impact on the next election or even on the next public opinion polls.

- Our complacent pursuit of outdated strategies that used to work in the postwar markets, when we were the only strong economy left in the free world, but that have long since been surpassed by more streamlined and effective strategies.

- Our tolerance of government and industry working at cross purposes and failing to plan together or find ways to resolve persistent conflicts, not according to the Japanese model, but according to an original and innovative American model of a kind that existed in past national efforts such as the Apollo Program.

- Our inability to translate new discoveries in the laboratory into new advantages for American companies and workers.

All of these problems are deeply interrelated and all, I believe, can be solved with the same shift in thinking and a focused national effort represented by the Strategic Environment Initiative and the Global Marshall Plan.

IV. A NEW GENERATION OF TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS

The fourth strategic goal of the Global Marshall Plan should be the successful negotiation and resolution of an entirely new generation of international treaties and agreements aimed at protecting the environment. Just as democracy and market economics are important to a successful effort to restore the earth's ecological balance, so is a further extension of the rule of law.

The discussion earlier in this chapter about the trade-offs essential for the successful design of a Global Marshall Plan — the balance between the industrial nations and the developing nations — bears directly on virtually all of this new generation of treaties and agreements, and there will be a great many of them.

The prototype of this new kind of agreement was the Montreal Protocol, which was global in scope and called for a worldwide phasing out of the chemicals (like CFCs) that are destroying the ozone layer and featured a cost-sharing arrangement between the industrial and the impoverished nations. In addition, it anticipated the need for regular reviews as new information about the atmosphere became available. Indeed, the provisions of the original agreement have already been toughened considerably with the attachment of the London amendments, and further toughening is expected in the wake of the latest evidence — which continues to point toward an ever more serious threat.

Much attention is now focused on the efforts by the world community to conclude a counterpart to the Montreal Protocol that deals with greenhouse gases, especially CO₂. And many of the

innovations in the Montreal agreement will be directly applicable to the new agreement. But the new treaty will be infinitely more difficult to conclude than its predecessor, and as a result, nations now in the process of negotiating it will be tempted to look for some way to escape the necessity of actually agreeing to sharp reductions in the gases that are causing global warming and will try to substitute symbolic action.

As co-chairman of the Senate Observer Group on the climate change negotiations, I have paid careful attention to the twists and turns in these talks. For example, I witnessed an interesting twist in the early stages of the negotiation in 1991, when Japan formally proposed an approach called pledge and review: it stipulated that each nation would merely pledge to take action on its own and that the world community would later review the record to see how it did. The Bush administration, of course, was thrilled because the proposal offered a chance to appear to take action before the 1992 election without having to actually do anything at all. But the problem, of course, is that the politicians in power who make the pledge may not be the same ones in power when the performance is reviewed. And politicians are often tempted to make a promise that is not binding and hope for some unexpectedly easy way to keep the promise, though some, like Bush, are perfectly prepared to break promises if it turns out that there is no easy and painless way to keep them. The Japanese later called for tougher action.

The U.S. Role

The diversity and complexity of this new generation of global agreements are remarkable. There are, for example, two separate treaties and a third "statement of principles" now being negotiated in preparation for the so-called Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992: in addition to the "framework" treaty on climate change, negotiators are working on a treaty to protect biodiversity and a statement of principles to preserve the forests of the world. As these documents were under negotiation, another treaty was actually concluded and signed in 1991: a treaty to protect Antarctica from oil drilling and coal mining. But the way in which it was finally resolved caused many observers to be apprehensive

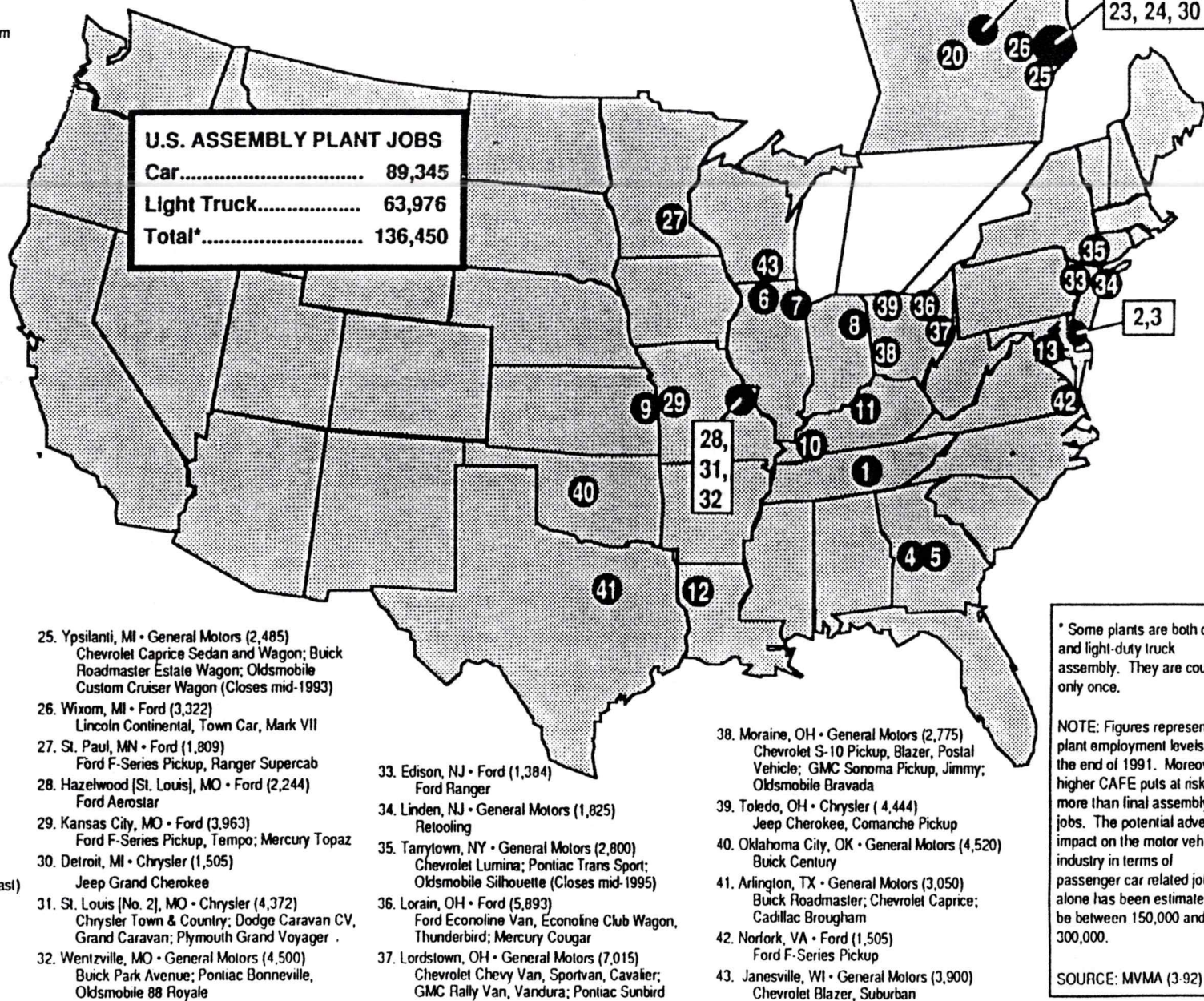
Model Year 1992 Car And Light Truck Assembly Plants

City, State • Company (Number of Employees)
Models Produced

1. Spring Hill, TN • General Motors (4,560)
Saturn
2. Newark, DE • Chrysler (3,577)
Chrysler LeBaron; Dodge Spirit; Plymouth Acclaim
3. Wilmington, DE • General Motors (3,150)
Chevrolet Corsica, Beretta
4. Atlanta, GA • Ford (2,404)
Ford Taurus; Mercury Sable
5. Doraville, GA • General Motors (2,395)
Oldsmobile Cutlass Supreme
6. Belvidere, IL • Chrysler (3,345)
Chrysler New Yorker Salon, New Yorker
Landau, Imperial, Fifth Avenue; Dodge Dynasty
7. Chicago, IL • Ford (2,322)
Ford Taurus; Mercury Sable
8. Fort Wayne, IN • General Motors (2,280)
Chevrolet C/K Pickup; GMC C/K Sierra Pickup
9. Kansas City, KS • General Motors (3,015)
Pontiac Grand Prix
10. Bowling Green, KY • General Motors (925)
Chevrolet Corvette
11. Louisville, KY • Ford (3,440)
Ford Ranger, Explorer; Mazda Navajo
12. Shreveport, LA • General Motors (2,195)
Chevrolet S-10 Pickup, S-10 Blazer;
GMC Sonoma Pickup, S-15 Jimmy
13. Baltimore, MD • General Motors (3,085)
Chevrolet Astro; GMC Safari
14. Dearborn, MI • Ford (1,769)
Ford Mustang
15. Detroit, MI • General Motors (320)
Commercial Chassis; Recreational Chassis;
Specialty Vehicle Chassis
16. Detroit-Hamtramck, MI • General Motors (2,770)
Buick Riviera; Oldsmobile Toronado;
Cadillac Eldorado, Seville, Allante
17. Flint, MI • General Motors (3,885)
Retooling
18. Flint, MI • General Motors (5,020)
Buick LeSabre; Oldsmobile 88 Royale
19. Lake Orion, MI • General Motors (5,275)
Cadillac DeVille; Oldsmobile 98 Regency
20. Lansing, MI • General Motors (6,840)
Buick Skylark; Oldsmobile Achieva; Pontiac
Grand Am
21. Pontiac [East], MI • General Motors (5,970 -
East/West Combined)
Chevrolet C/K Pickup; GMC Sierra C/K Pickup
22. Pontiac [West], MI • General Motors (See Pontiac East)
Chevrolet S-10 Pickup, S-10 Blazer; GMC
Sonoma Pickup, Typhoon Pickup, S-15 Jimmy
23. Warren, MI • Chrysler (3,152)
Dodge Full size and Mid-size Pickup
24. Wayne, MI • Ford (1,445)
Ford F-Series Pickup, Bronco

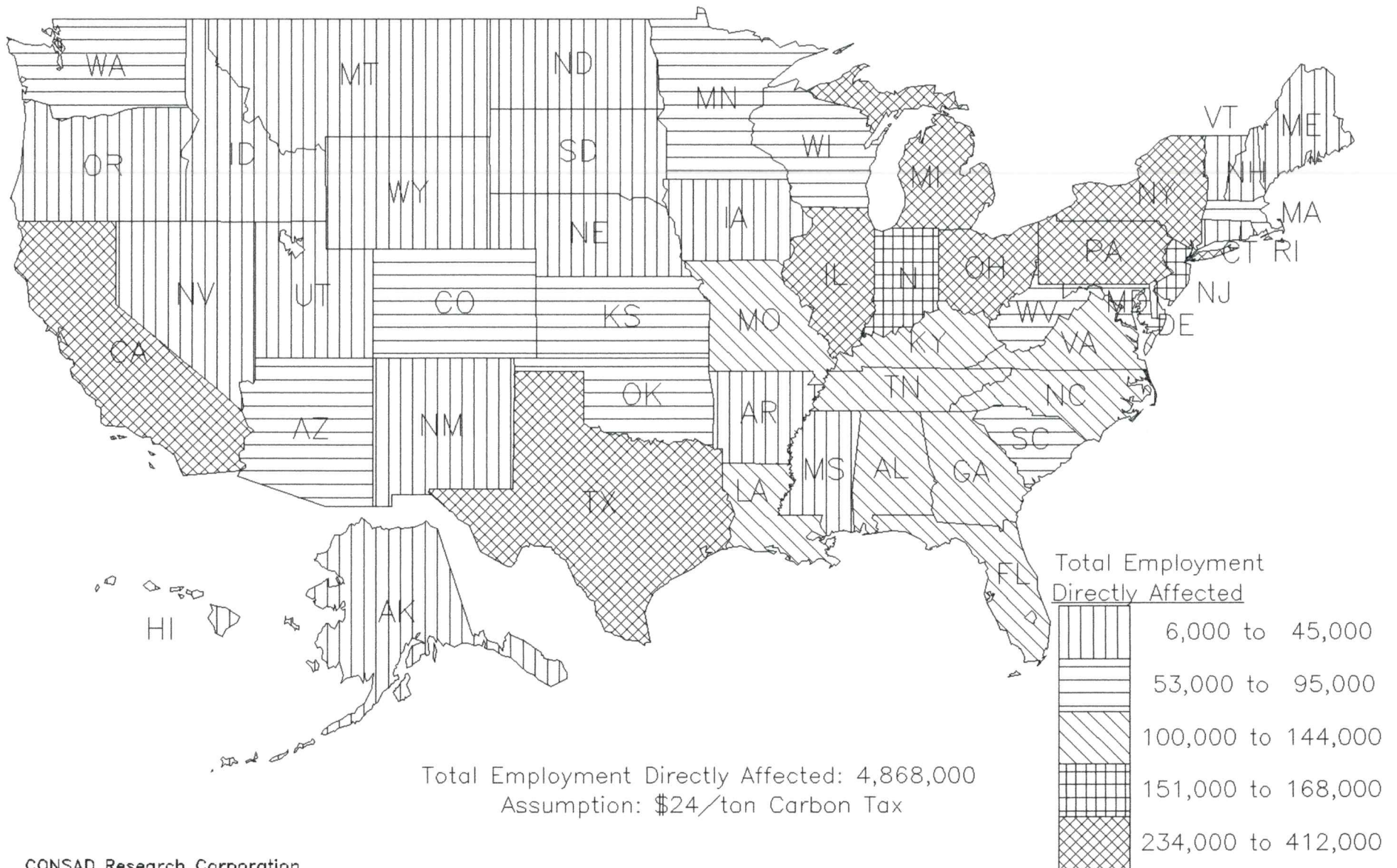
JOBS AT RISK

DOMESTIC CAR AND LIGHT TRUCK ASSEMBLY PLANTS ENDANGERED
BY PROPOSALS TO SHARPLY RAISE FUEL ECONOMY STANDARDS
(CAFE), INCLUDING THE BRYAN BILL (S.279)





Total State Employment Directly Affected



Vulnerable Industries in Selected States



INDUSTRIES AFFECTED (AT-RISK) IN SELECTED STATES (continued)

	10	12	13	14	26	27	28	29	30	32	33	34	36	37	40	41	44	45	49	Total
OH-Severe	20	7,221	4,957	0	0	0	106	3,977	0	766	36,310	0	0	86	12,807	1,000	578	1,446	11,414	80,688
OH-Moderate	0	59	10	182	8,465	0	5,584	856	0	2,928	13,866	4,966	0	35,395	0	1,899	5	10,868	1,760	86,842
OH-Minimal	0	0	0	393	1,970	1,773	12,389	55	10,348	6,244	498	3,750	927	63,320	0	4,343	2,410	0	6,685	115,106
OH-all	20	7,280	4,967	575	10,435	1,773	18,079	4,888	10,348	9,938	50,674	8,716	927	98,801	12,807	7,242	2,993	12,314	19,859	282,636
PA-Severe	19	18,053	3,403	0	0	0	276	6,880	0	325	46,080	0	0	201	0	2,790	547	2,095	9,592	90,260
PA-Moderate	0	108	24	85	8,726	0	4,485	718	0	3,170	12,601	2,498	0	4,741	13,981	14,062	651	16,199	17,508	99,558
PA-Minimal	0	0	0	160	2,752	1,226	7,894	47	2,139	7,891	498	3,381	2,385	14,716	0	5,677	3,467	0	5,792	58,025
PA-all	19	18,161	3,427	245	11,478	1,226	12,655	7,645	2,139	11,386	59,179	5,879	2,385	19,658	13,981	22,529	4,665	18,294	32,892	247,843
TN-Severe	0	1,816	197	0	0	0	55	708	0	51	5,644	0	0	86	0	628	703	2,996	1,473	14,356
TN-Moderate	0	12	0	0	4,970	0	11,615	267	0	821	2,084	605	0	5,275	7,076	1,141	9	24,099	10	57,984
TN-Minimal	0	0	0	725	4,280	939	13,063	18	3,018	368	107	859	1,750	15,212	0	775	1,056	0	2,016	44,186
TN-all	0	1,828	197	725	9,250	939	24,733	993	3,018	1,240	7,835	1,464	1,750	20,573	7,076	2,543	1,768	27,095	3,499	116,526
TX-Severe	70	3,873	100,570	0	0	0	315	23,845	0	1,363	8,886	0	0	270	0	5,772	4,072	6,658	18,156	173,851
TX-Moderate	0	62	4,862	370	7,206	0	19,452	668	0	3,972	3,723	3,026	0	9,261	20,336	1,660	1,289	51,362	1,760	129,010
TX-Minimal	0	0	0	940	1,337	1,674	31,988	43	2,184	3,989	498	2,857	336	6,382	0	3,284	9,859	0	6,163	71,534
TX-all	70	3,935	105,432	1,310	8,543	1,674	51,755	24,556	2,184	9,324	13,108	5,883	336	15,913	20,336	10,716	15,220	58,020	26,079	374,394
WV-Severe	435	24,878	3,920	0	0	0	0	294	0	27	11,091	0	0	20	0	255	70	68	4,501	45,561
WV-Moderate	0	80	10	5	161	0	5,037	55	0	158	1,144	235	0	169	5,622	217	0	519	10	13,421
WV-Minimal	0	0	0	5	389	0	6,874	4	472	1,500	0	60	375	431	0	750	410	0	375	11,644
WV-all	435	24,958	3,930	10	550	0	11,911	353	472	1,685	12,235	295	375	620	5,622	1,222	480	587	4,886	70,626
WY-Severe	0	3,923	5,962	0	0	0	161	966	0	184	9	0	0	0	0	361	60	33	926	12,586
WY-Moderate	0	62	762	1,420	0	0	304	57	0	51	1	175	0	0	4,010	68	0	246	175	7,330
WY-Minimal	0	0	0	1,601	0	0	160	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	61	10	0	32	1,868
WY-all	0	3,985	6,724	3,021	0	0	625	1,027	0	235	10	175	0	0	4,010	489	70	279	1,133	21,783

SIC

10 - Metal Mining
 12 - Coal Mining
 13 - Oil & Gas Extraction
 14 - Mining & Quarrying of non-Metallic Minerals (exc. fuels)
 26 - Paper and Allied Products
 27 - Printing, Publishing and Allied Products
 28 - Chemicals and Allied Products
 29 - Petroleum Refining and Related Industries
 30 - Rubber and Miscellaneous Plastics Products

32 - Stone, Clay, Glass, and Concrete Products
 33 - Primary Metal Industries
 34 - Fabricated Metal Products (exc. machinery & transportation products)
 36 - Electronic and other Electrical Equipment & Components (exc. computers)
 37 - Transportation Equipment
 40 - Railroad Transportation
 41 - Local and Suburban Transit and Interurban Highway Passenger Transportation
 44 - Water Transportation
 45 - Transportation by Air
 49 - Electric, Gas, and Sanitary Services

INDUSTRIES AFFECTED (AT-RISK) IN SELECTED STATES

	10	12	13	14	26	27	28	29	30	32	33	34	36	37	40	41	44	45	49	Total
AK-Severe	0	172	5,640	0	0	0	316	275	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	251	441	646	70	7,810
AK-Moderate	0	3	0	0	0	0	69	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	476	31	4,938	60	5,587
AK-Minimal	0	0	0	0	760	10	10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	186	593	0	125	1,685
AK-all	0	175	5,640	0	760	10	395	285	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	913	1,065	5,584	255	15,082
AR-Severe	0	24	1,974	0	0	0	150	1,092	0	234	2,216	0	0	14	0	179	279	101	1,504	7,768
AR-Moderate	0	0	60	0	5,363	0	858	122	0	866	777	435	0	252	5,898	227	4	690	70	15,620
AR-Minimal	0	0	0	235	191	134	2,312	8	1,750	245	0	175	60	5,222	0	377	237	0	1,249	12,196
AR-all	0	24	2,034	235	5,554	134	3,320	1,221	1,750	1,345	2,993	610	60	5,489	5,898	783	520	791	2,823	35,584
CA-Severe	194	70	21,822	0	0	0	358	14,093	0	1,632	4,343	0	0	237	0	7,712	2,284	10,830	41,250	104,825
CA-Moderate	0	0	800	961	3,971	0	4,608	1,096	0	3,957	8,191	6,965	0	9,927	19,460	8,666	1,035	84,230	4,500	158,367
CA-minimal	0	0	0	1,174	3,046	3,764	9,975	72	5,050	11,110	50	951	372	21,912	0	12,745	14,807	0	15,497	100,526
CA-all	194	70	22,622	2,135	7,017	3,764	14,941	15,261	5,050	16,699	12,584	7,916	372	32,076	19,460	29,124	18,126	95,060	61,247	363,718
IL-Severe	0	12,172	3,207	0	0	0	159	6,446	0	258	18,508	0	0	186	19,799	4,248	867	4,272	7,151	77,272
IL-Moderate	0	62	10	85	1,838	0	4,597	329	0	845	6,456	5,139	0	9,651	0	8,891	54	34,095	7,560	79,612
IL-Minimal	0	0	0	150	1,258	3,392	12,031	20	2,426	4,987	50	3,101	40	18,559	0	3,495	2,724	0	5,228	57,460
IL-all	0	12,234	3,217	235	3,096	3,392	16,787	6,794	2,426	6,090	25,014	8,240	40	28,395	19,799	16,634	3,645	38,367	19,939	214,344
IN-Severe	10	3,923	738	0	0	0	117	3,206	0	1,871	38,546	0	0	358	7,172	1,060	249	560	3,439	61,249
IN-Moderate	0	62	0	0	1,673	0	1,836	253	0	1,058	7,813	810	0	8,617	0	1,537	1	4,277	3,810	31,748
IN-Minimal	0	0	0	60	1,920	643	3,109	16	3,074	5,905	0	1,750	0	42,139	0	1,748	2,252	0	1,922	64,537
IN-all	10	3,985	738	60	3,593	643	5,062	3,475	3,074	8,834	46,359	2,560	0	51,114	7,172	4,345	2,502	4,837	9,171	157,534
LA-Severe	10	59	41,948	0	0	0	840	9,447	0	375	924	0	0	24	0	630	5,288	748	4,766	65,058
LA-Moderate	0	1	1,019	494	7,761	0	9,585	68	0	185	508	357	0	3,703	4,671	299	660	5,849	20	35,179
LA-Minimal	0	0	0	581	479	60	11,138	4	60	370	0	10	175	449	0	1,440	14,149	0	2,498	31,413
LA-all	10	60	42,967	1,075	8,240	60	21,563	9,518	60	930	1,432	367	175	4,175	4,671	2,369	20,097	6,597	7,284	131,650
KY-Severe	0	30,303	1,127	0	0	0	20	1,989	0	9	10,572	0	0	43	0	386	783	840	3,099	49,172
KY-Moderate	0	177	60	5	911	0	2,848	170	0	801	2,063	235	0	9,007	7,982	641	1	6,647	375	31,923
KY-Minimal	0	0	0	240	490	694	6,000	11	60	992	50	375	10	8,132	0	755	1,477	0	958	20,244
KY-all	0	30,480	1,187	245	1,401	694	8,869	2,170	60	1,802	12,685	610	10	17,182	7,982	1,782	2,261	7,487	4,432	101,339
MI-Severe	500	0	4,543	0	0	0	46	1,722	0	610	13,040	0	0	7	0	1,014	671	1,725	3,284	30,161
MI-Moderate	0	0	61	5	10,481	0	4,430	164	0	1,496	6,037	550	0	74,560	8,194	1,301	5	13,482	7,500	128,265
MI-Minimal	0	0	0	5	1,346	1,301	10,857	10	973	1,194	107	2,636	398	131,970	0	2,561	559	0	3,750	157,668
MI-all	500	0	4,604	10	11,827	1,301	15,333	1,896	973	3,300	19,184	3,186	398	206,537	8,194	4,876	1,235	15,207	14,534	316,095
MO-Severe	185	758	261	0	0	0	161	969	0	203	5,176	0	0	145	0	1,706	595	2,097	3,788	16,042
MO-Moderate	0	12	0	29	55	0	1,403	190	0	1,584	1,740	1,810	0	19,475	12,703	4,339	139	16,734	810	61,025
MO-Minimal	0	0	0	219	112	1,320	4,739	11	1,590	2,163	214	175	10	10,197	0	1,862	958	0	2,183	25,752
MO-all	185	770	261	248	167	1,320	6,303	1,170	1,590	3,950	7,130	1,985	10	29,817	12,703	7,907	1,692	18,831	6,781	102,820
NY-Severe	70	79	1,153	0	0	0	62	777	0	864	7,393	0	0	7	0	7,428	2,491	6,499	11,334	38,157
NY-Moderate	0	1	10	182	8,537	0	4,274	1,294	0	682	3,405	925	0	1,806	4,396	21,543	762	51,085	27,562	126,465
NY-Minimal	0	0	0	203	2,612	3,943	8,753	88	891	2,454	107	753	846	21,946	0	10,776	5,391	0	4,562	63,325
NY-all	70	80	1,163	385	11,149	3,943	13,090	2,160	891	4,000	10,905	1,678	846	23,759	4,396	39,747	8,644	57,584	43,458	227,948

was "all public record." But an FBI spokesman said the bureau had "never heard of" the plot. Then Perot told *The New York Times* that unnamed sources in the CIA informed him that he "might quietly disappear" for pursuing the MIAs. The Viet Cong, he charged, had also asked the Black Panthers to murder him. Perot's logic was this: he alone could make a deal to free the prisoners, and even forge a business arrangement, with those who were his purported assassins, who were at the same time trying to destroy him to win concessions from George Bush. Or something along those lines.

With each new story, Perot's denials have mounted. "Never once" had he financed a "foray" for MIAs, he told *Newsday*. All the memos about his offers of assistance to the Nixon administration, excavated in the National Archives, "were fabricated to help Republicans politically," he told C-SPAN. All his efforts on behalf of POWs were taken at the behest of presidents: "I did not ask to do it. I did not want to do it." But Perot was going to get his chance to explain everything publicly on June 30 at a Senate committee hearing on the whole history of the POW-MIA issue, chaired by Senator John Kerry, a decorated Vietnam veteran. Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president, responding to the committee's inquiry, even revealed that live prisoners captured during the Vietnam War were moved to Soviet labor camps and that some might still be alive. It was the first real breakthrough. If any definitive answer could be given to the question of MIAs, Yeltsin might give it. But this makes him, not Perot, the rescuer.

Perot was carefully courted to testify by Kerry, who spent hours with him. Perot was still obsessed with conspiracies and cover-ups. In March, when committee staffers met with him in his Dallas office, he rambled on

about Armitage and flourished the picture of the nude Vietnamese woman, which he keeps in a safe. He insisted, according to a committee source, that Rewald had been unjustly imprisoned. A day before he hired Ed Rollins and Hamilton Jordan as his handlers, he agreed to appear. Perot demanded and received classified clearance to review secret documents. (In May he told *Newsweek* editors in an off-the-record session that there were about thirty live prisoners in Laos. "The number he gives depends on the time of day," said a committee source.) But on June 15 he sent Kerry a letter declining to appear, charging in advance that the hearing would be a "political circus." So he rejected the one opportunity he had to testify under oath on the question he had defined as paramount: "I have one mission in life," he claimed in 1987, "and that's to get to the bottom of the POW-MIA situation." Suddenly, it seemed, it was not the MIAs but Perot's search for the MIAs that mattered.

Perot's balking at the Senate Committee should surprise no one. ("If I were Ed Rollins," said a committee source, "I'd probably do the same.") Perot's obsessive mentality has its own momentum, which must never be derailed, least of all by the slow, cold sifting of empirical fact. Perot must always expose new layers of conspiracy and always reach for higher authority to strike it down. Whenever his claims are unproven or disproved, he simply leaps ahead. He must maintain his relentless progress, or face the collapse of his elaborate fantasies and be exposed himself. He trusts no one with independent power to tell him the truth—not the FBI, the CIA, the Senate, the Pentagon, or the White House. Only he himself can absolutely confirm his own reality. And the only way Ross Perot can ultimately do that is to become president of the United States. •

Has environmentalism blown it?

GREEN CASSANDRAS

By Gregg Easterbrook

The distinction between a bicycle accident and the end of civilization has seldom been so blurred as at the Earth Summit, recently concluded in Rio de Janeiro. There, discussion of palpable threats to nature mixed in equal proportion with improbable claims of instant doom. Environmentalists, who would seem to have an interest in separating

the types of alarms, instead encouraged the confusion on doctrinal grounds, namely that all environmental news should be negative. This worldview may be appropriate for fund-raising and faculty sherry hours, but it can backfire in the realm of public policy.

Consider the interplay between global warming hype and the Earth Summit. Most U.S. pollution controls exceed those of other nations, including Japan and Western Europe. Carbon emissions are the one important environmental category where America is the worst

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offender. So in the conferences that preceded Rio, environmentalists and Southern diplomats relentlessly hammered Washington about the greenhouse effect, because this is where the United States can be made to seem the wolf, all others gentle ewes.

This swirl of overstatement managed to convince everyone, including the White House, that global warming was the principal issue to be addressed at Rio—though artificial warming is strictly a speculative threat, secondary or even tertiary compared with confirmed problems such as species extinction or, in the Third World, unsafe drinking water and poor sanitation. When it came time for Northern governments to offer the South new funds for addressing the low-profile issues that really matter, the rich countries (even the Scandinavians) said, "Sorry, we've made this huge commitment to greenhouse controls, no money left over." It may be years until the moment is ripe for the Third World to ask again.

There is something bordering on indecent about the world's heads of state gathering to bestow many tens of billions of dollars upon a hypothetical ecological concern like greenhouse warming while not lifting a finger to assist the 3.2 million impoverished Southern children who die each year of diarrheal diseases communicated through impure water. Yet this ordering of priorities is in sync with current environmental rhetoric.

Consider also last winter's ozone scare. NASA made an announcement that sounded as if the agency were saying that a stratospheric ozone hole had been detected over the populous regions of North America. (The ozone breaches so far have occurred above the Antarctica, where there is little life to harm.) Breathless network reports and magazine covers followed, adorned with the photos of blondes in bikinis that are necessary for coverage of this issue. Senator Al Gore of Tennessee declared the findings "an immediate, acute emergency threat... the single most important issue facing this country and this Earth."

It's just that, ummm, there never was any Northern ozone hole. What NASA monitors found were precursor chemicals that are sometimes, but not always, associated with ozone depletion. No actual breach had been detected, and none developed. The precursor compounds can derive from CFCs; they can also stem from volcanism, and last year there was an eruption of unusual power at Mount Pinatubo in the Philippines. These annoying details were dismissed in the name of a good panic.

This is especially frustrating because the straightforward case for CFC abolition (that there's nothing to fear now, but why gamble with radiation?) is sufficient. Increasingly, environmental advocates seem to think reforms can be sold only with benevolent Big Lies. If it is someday shown that stratospheric ozone trends are primarily natural—a possibility—the doomsday proclamations about depletion will be used to ridicule the premises of environmentalism.

It's worrisome that Gore in particular, the bright light

of political environmentalism, seems increasingly to believe that the only correct stance is to press the panic button on every issue. For instance, in his book *Earth in the Balance*, Gore describes in affectionate detail his association with the late ecologist Roger Revelle. Revelle is the modern father of greenhouse science, having in the 1950s pioneered the study of atmospheric carbon dioxide. As a Harvard undergraduate Gore met the great researcher; later he often called on Revelle to testify before congressional hearings. Gore cites Revelle as leading him toward his view that an emergency program of gas reductions is required because the greenhouse effect is "extremely grave... the most serious crisis that we have ever faced."

Earth in the Balance does not mention that before his death last year, Revelle published a paper that concludes, "The scientific base for greenhouse warming is too uncertain to justify drastic action at this time. There is little risk in delaying policy responses." A lifetime of study persuaded Revelle that carbon emissions should be restricted but are far less hazardous than initially feared. That position isn't bleak enough for current environmentalists, so Revelle is being eased out as a hero of the movement. As is the English scientist James Lovelock, co-author of the Gaia hypothesis and once an environmental demigod. Lovelock has become persona non grata by saying that the ecosphere is so resilient no amount of human malfeasance, including nuclear war, could end life.

Gore occupies a precarious position in the web of ecological events. His commitment to environment reform is genuine; he became involved long before the issue was trendy. And his reputation for intellect and dedication is deserved. But increasingly his environmental oratory is out of control. In Gore's standard after-dinner talk, declaiming coming ecological catastrophes, he works in continental drift, chaos theory, and even black holes.

Gore, and environmentalists generally, find it especially painful to acknowledge that there has been significant ecological progress on most fronts in the United States in recent decades. Air, water, toxic, landfill, and sewage pollution are steadily declining, even as population increases (Los Angeles today has significantly less smog than it did twenty years ago); the number of trees is greater than at the turn of the century; CFCs are being abolished; driftnet fishing, Alaskan and offshore oil exploration are down or out; energy use per dollar of GNP is falling; the list goes on. There's a weird sense that this good news should be hushed up. Shouldn't it instead be offered to the public as happy proof that environmental efforts pay off in surprisingly little time?

Lately Gore and the distinguished biologist Paul Ehrlich have ventured into dangerous territory by suggesting that journalists quietly self-censor environmental evidence that is not alarming, because such reports, in Gore's words, "undermine the effort to build a solid base of public support for the difficult actions we must soon take." Skeptical debate is supposed to be one of

the strengths of liberalism; it's eerie to hear liberal environmentalists asserting that views they disagree with ought not to be heard. More important, the desire to be exempt from confronting the arguments against one's position traditionally is seen when a movement fears it is about to be discredited. Why not defuse environmental rhetoric before an implosion?

In exemplary doublespeak, some enviros put forth that dissenting views should be suppressed in the name of balance. Gore, for example, asserts that reporters should attach little weight to scientists who question greenhouse emergency claims, because perhaps 2 percent of credentialed researchers feel that way. This simply isn't true. Greenpeace recently surveyed climatologists, doubtless hoping for evidence of global warming panic; instead it found that the largest group of respondents, 47 percent, believe a runaway greenhouse effect is nearly impossible. The two source authorities of the greenhouse business, reports by the National Academy of Sciences and the U.N.-affiliated Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, contain hundreds of pages of credentialed misgivings. Recently I attended the climate change sessions of the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. There was clear agreement that recent temperatures are up, that they might or might not continue to go up, and that the sky is blue.

One factor in environmental overstatement is the belief that only end-of-the-world locution can hold public attention. This assumption is wrong. Voters care about many issues that pose no threat to life, and they would continue to support environmentalism even if the rhetoric were more veracious, because the plain-spoken case for the environment is strong enough. At any rate, end-of-the-world environmental issues have been in short supply recently. Toxic wastes once seemed like a threat to general well-being, but experience has shown their impact locally confined and nowhere near as severe as assumed. Ozone depletion someday may imperil life, but with CFCs being banned there's little left to advocate, unless you know of a means to plug volcanos. Global warming holds out the appeal of a sweeping calamity, a bad science fiction movie come true. Enviro now seem almost to be rooting for temperature increases.

Well, enviro fund-raisers are, at least. As the movement has advanced from a low-budget operation to a branch office of the status quo, the need to acquire ever larger sums has driven many green groups to rely on direct mail. The direct-mail business is based on scare tactics, conspiracy theories, bogeymen, and preposterous levels of exaggeration. Some enviros now eagerly promote (to credulous acceptance in the big-deal press corps) the notion that EPA administrator William Reilly is a mere pawn before shadowy forces on Dan Quayle's Competitiveness Council. In fact, the council is a pipsqueak organization, and Reilly just persuaded Bush to go to Rio over the combined objections of numerous leading administration figures. But turning on a con-

spiracy theory, the notion makes for snazzy direct mail.

Supposedly Reilly recently was bested by Quayle's council in the writing of a Clean Air Act regulation regarding toxic emissions. Front-page stories devoted many paragraphs to interpretation of the event as a sign of impending environmental doom, while skipping glissando over what exactly happened, except to say, as *The New York Times* did, that Quayle's action granted companies the freedom to "increase air pollution without prior notice." Strictly speaking that is true, but only in the sense that the *Times* is free to publish libel without prior notice; legal penalties make it unlikely this will happen. The regulatory question was whether companies with valid air permits must go through a formal public hearing sequence to obtain a new permit each time they want to install new factory process equipment. Reilly thought they should, Quayle thought they shouldn't. Unaltered by the dispute, and unmentioned in the stories, was that if factory process changes do increase pollution, companies must disclose that fact and pay fines.

Once you know that, the incident is a mere technical skirmish about how best to minimize regulatory transaction costs. But what if enviro attacks on Reilly succeed in convincing Washington that he has lost power, and a self-fulfilling prophecy results? Thinking in terms of what may sell to the bulk-rate donor list engages the risk that, like politicians believing their own press releases, environmentalists will believe their own direct mail. This in turn raises the worst aspect in which ecological hype may backfire—the New Right parallel.

At one time the New Right consisted of underfunded voices crying in the wilderness. Then Ronald Reagan came to power and made some of the changes his backers favored. Rather than celebrating, many on the New Right became yet more strident, if only to differentiate themselves from a mainstream that had shifted somewhat in their direction. A dynamic took hold in which numerous conservative factions were more concerned about crazy claims for fund-raising purposes than about the actual condition of the real world. The public ceased believing conservative alarms: unstoppable as the New Right seemed in the early 1980s, it now borders on insignificance.

Enviros today risk the same progression of events. Once they were disfranchised outsiders, invariably right where industry was invariably wrong. Now the movement is a monied faction of the establishment, with many satisfying right/wrong distinctions blurred by the very reforms environmentalists set in motion. Like the New Right, enviros are evolving an internal dynamic of self-satisfaction based on mutual displays of stridency, with the state of the real world a subsidiary concern. That certainly seemed to be the name of the game at Rio. If environmentalists keep proclaiming that nature is ending when daily the sun continues to rise, they may find the public's "oh, shut up" point can be reached on environmentalism, too. •

Worried Memo: Dems Ponder Green Gore

Yesterday this page obtained a copy of a memo sent Tuesday by Democratic National Committee staffer Jonathan Sallet to the Clinton campaign, detailing possible problems with Sen. Albert Gore's book, "Earth in the Balance" (referred to as "EITB" in the text.) Excerpts run below. An editorial note appears nearby:

This memorandum will list the basic thematic attacks on "Earth in the Balance." There are, of course, a series of other, technical, objections that can be made to the book. I am in the process of compiling them in a separate, more detailed, list. They should be the subject of responses, but they are unlikely to form the basis of broadscale political attacks.

I. Basic Themes/Talking Points

First, to accentuate the positive:

- Senator Gore's vision tells us how America can meet, and overcome, the new environmental challenges that face America. If we are passive and afraid of change, our economy and the lives of our families will be diminished. If we are bold and confident enough to demand change, Senator Gore's leadership shows us the way to a better, stronger, nation. The choice is America's: To demonstrate that we have the strength to choose wisely and to vindicate our democratic faith.

- Al Gore's message is a comprehensive statement for the future, proposing real solutions that will lead to a safer environment, to a more competitive America, to a better quality of life for our children and their children. It is critically important that, as we face the beginning of a new historical era, we establish the principles that will secure our environmental and economic future.

- Al Gore's vision reflects his profound spiritual faith. We must renew the religious faith that teaches us that we are God's stewards here on earth.

- Al Gore understands that the "environment" is, in a very real sense, the world itself. That's why Al Gore's vision includes, for example, famine and population growth as critical issues that must be confronted.

- This book is a profile in courage. Not since Theodore Roosevelt (and before him Thomas Jefferson) has a national statesman devoted such an effort to determining how our advancing civilization can be reconciled with the needs of nature. This is an honest, tough-minded account of how to deal with potential ecological crises. It arises from Senator Gore's personal confrontation with the issues that will shape our nation's future.

Second, it is important in any response to compare Senator Gore's vision with the failures of the Bush/Quayle Administration.

- Responses should finish with a counter-attack on the failed policies of the Bush/Quayle Administration.

- We must emphasize, to the maximum degree possible, the specific failure of the Bush Administration to achieve economic growth.

II. Specific Areas of Thematic Attack

After our conversation, it seems to me that the basic attacks on EITB will fall in the following three categories:

- Al is not qualified to be vice-president.

- He has no principles. He admits that he has voted for programs in which he does not believe (EITB at 340), has changed his campaign tactics merely to suit the advice of political consultants (EITB at 8-9, at 167-69), and uses products that he simultaneously criticizes as being harmful to the environment (EITB at 15).

- He is a classic Washington insider, who has been trained since an early age to tailor his views to what he thinks the voters want to hear, not what he really believes (EITB at 9, 13, 15).

- He is a weak figure who, as he admits, feels "paralyzed" (EITB at 2), who has suffered the throes of a mid-life crisis (EITB at 14), and who doesn't even know what he thinks (EITB at 13).

- He's apparently guilt-ridden about the role of men in society (EITB at 213) and, perhaps as a result of his own weakness, believes that America as a whole is psychologically dysfunctional (EITB at 230-31).

- He is a hypocrite who urges [the need to stabilize] population growth on others while revering his own large family. (EITB at 307).

- He is a bad scientist, who doesn't care enough to get his facts straight. The fact is, we can't be certain that global warming or the level of CO2 or even the changes in the ozone layer pose a threat as burdensome as the costs of Al Gore's proposals.

Al is a radical environmentalist who wants to change the very fabric of America.

- He criticizes America for being America — a place where people enjoy the benefits of an advanced standard of living (EITB at 147, 156, 161, 308).

- He has no sense of proportion: He equates the failure to recycle aluminum cans with the Holocaust — an equation that parodies the former and dishonors the latter (EITB at 177-78, 275).

- He is a Luddite who holds the naive view that technology is evil and wants to abolish automobiles (EITB at 206, 318).

- He believes that our civilization, itself, is evil (because it is, in his words, "addicted to the consumption of the earth") (EITB at 220).

If Al Gore has his way, we would give up America's jobs and destroy the economy.

- All he wants to do is raise a host of taxes, including carbon taxes, pollution charges, a "Virgin Materials Fee," and a gasoline tax. (EITB at 273, 348-49).

- He is a big spender who thinks that we have to support the environmental programs of the entire world. (EITB 297, 304, 317).

- Wants to stop or retard economic growth. (EITB at 297, 300-310, 341, 342, 345).

- Wants to destroy the U.S. automotive industry, and a lot of jobs along with it. (EITB at 3[2]5).

- Favors the spotted owl over jobs. (EITB at 121).

- Wants to give away American technology.



No, it's not a takeoff on the Beatles' "Sgt. Pepper" cover; it's Gore at the annual blessing of beasts at New York's St. John the Divine Church.

HARD-GORE ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Summary: Presidential candidate Bill Clinton chose Al Gore to be his running mate largely because of the Tennessee senator's stand on the environment, but will it in fact prove to be an Achilles' heel? Republican strategists are busy preparing to pick apart what many see as Gore's record of ecological alarmism in his writings and in Congress.

Will Albert Gore Jr. become the Democrats' Robert Bork? Bill Clinton's choice of the Tennessee senator for running mate was warmly applauded by pundits and politicians alike, and on the surface it seemed an astute move. Here was a man, it was said, who would offset some of Clinton's liabilities. Gore served in Vietnam, inhaled, and he reportedly has a pristine personal life. And he has been the leading environmentalist in the Senate, a trait that would deflect Republican attacks on Clinton's dismal track record in Arkansas.

Yet what appears to be Gore's strongest suit — the environment — may turn out to be his greatest weakness. Already there are indications that the Republicans are gearing up to "bork" Gore — to use the vice presidential nominee's voluminous writings as evidence that his thinking falls well outside the mainstream.

Like the onetime Supreme Court nominee, Gore has left a paper trail of provocative writings; in addition to numerous speeches and articles, Gore's recent book, *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit*, has hit the best-seller lists. Unlike Bork, Gore's writing is not full of complex legal arguments from which opponents may infer sinister threats. Gore puts it all down in black and white.

Earth in the Balance is a call to arms. We have moved beyond traditional pollution problems needing traditional solutions, Gore argues; instead, the planet is in the midst of an "ungodly crisis" that calls for an "all-out response." Gore's litany of impending environmental doom includes vast and devastating changes in the climate due to global warming; enormous cancer-causing ozone holes opening up in the sky; massive deforestation; accelerating species extinction; out-of-control population growth; and the carnage of reckless industrial expansion.

The rhetoric is often violent. Gore compares the forces opposing him to the fascism of the 1930s, writing that in "the larger war to save the earth" the lessons of World War II must not be forgotten. To judge from Gore's book, one lesson seems to be that those who are not with Gore are, in effect, the moral equivalent of Nazis. "The [anti-Nazi] Resistance," Gore writes, "slowed the advance of fascism and scored important victories,

but fascism continued its relentless march to domination until the rest of the world finally awoke and made the defeat of fascism its central organizing principle."

The book is big on central organizing principles. Gore calls for the "rescue" of the Earth to be the "central organizing principle" of civilization. We must, he writes, "change the very foundation of our civilization" and undergo a "wrenching transformation of society." Modern industrial development, he writes, has brought us to the point where "we now face the prospect of a kind of global civil war between those who refuse to consider the consequences of civilization's relentless advance and those who refuse to be silent partners in the destruction."

The World War II metaphor pre-dates *Earth in the Balance*. In a 1989 opinion column for the *New York Times* titled "An Ecological Kristallnacht: Listen," Gore compared the planet's ecological condition to the opening stage of Adolf Hitler's war against the Jews. Like the clouds that gathered on Kristallnacht in 1938, he wrote, "clouds of a different sort signal an environmental holocaust without precedent."

An ecological Kristallnacht? A global civil war? Changing the foundation of civilization? Is this merely the stuff of polemics, or does Gore really believe in a war on behalf of the environment?

There are indications that Gore indeed is willing to go to extremes. The belief that wartime conditions exist tends to breed zealots who push aside inconvenient facts in the interests of victory. Gore and some of his supporters have shown a tendency to do just that.

A case in point is last winter's ozone scare. In February, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration released preliminary findings from the Airborne Arctic Stratospheric Expedition indicating that the development of an ozone hole over the Northern Hemisphere was likely. The press exploded with stories about cancer-causing ultraviolet rays, alterations in the food chain, radiation-induced blindness and even an increase in AIDS.

A chief source for these alarming views was Gore, who took to the Senate floor Feb. 6, proclaiming that hundreds of millions of people were at risk in Europe and North America; that "blind rabbits and blind salmon" had been found under the edge of the ozone hole in the Southern Hemisphere; that an ozone hole over the Northern Hemisphere could lead to more cases of cataracts and blindness in humans and "blind rabbits in our backyards"; and that increased ultraviolet rays due to ozone depletion could result in "the sudden and dramatic increase in every single disease of the human immune system: Graves' disease, arthritis, lupus, AIDS and herpes."

Ozone depletion, Gore told the Senate and the news media, was "not only a long-term critical threat to the global environment, but also an immediate, acute emergency."

It would have been a wonderful issue for Clinton and Gore in the fall, except that by March it was clear there was no ozone hole over the Northern Hemisphere. NASA had found only the chemicals and conditions that might have led to ozone depletion.

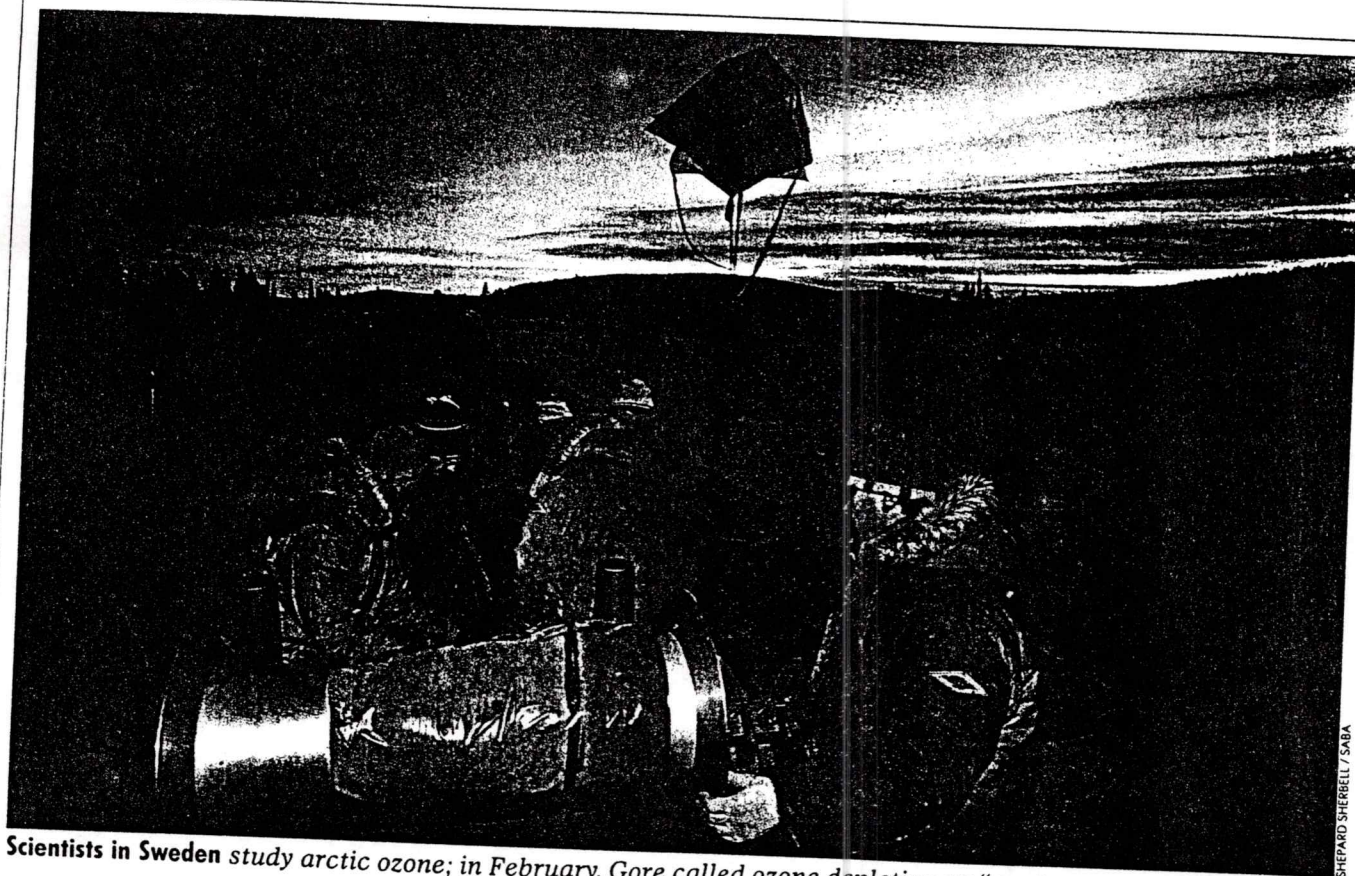
Gore and his science advisers knew in February that an ozone hole was possible but not probable, yet they brushed aside the doubts in the interests of publicizing the issue to force the White House to speed up the phaseout of ozone-eating industrial chemicals. Similarly,

Gore has ignored the many scientists who say fears of increased skin cancer and other "ozone-related illnesses" are wildly overstated.

Grave reservations about ozone holes are no secret in the world of meteorologists and atmospheric chemists. But scientists say they rarely speak out because of fears of losing funding or jobs. Gore's science advisers have been the subject of much private criticism that they disregard dissenting views or discourage public expression of them.

Some of these complaints may simply be sour grapes directed at successful scientists who have hitched their wagons to a rising political star. The tendency to ignore dissent, however, surfaces not only in ozone depletion but in Gore's

Gore took to the Senate floor Feb. 6, proclaiming that an ozone hole over the Northern Hemisphere could lead to more cataracts and blindness in humans and "blind rabbits in our backyards."



Scientists in Sweden study arctic ozone; in February, Gore called ozone depletion an "acute emergency."

other big issue, global warming.

Stephen Schneider of the National Center for Atmospheric Research, a key scientific adviser to Gore, is a big booster of the global warming theory. In the past he has touted other theories of climatic disaster — including nuclear winter and global cooling. Schneider has come perilously close to advocating lying to the public for its own good — a sort of new green version of the old notion of the elite leading the masses. He told a 1989 Smithsonian conference of journalists and scientists that in order to "get some broad-based support" for environmental initiatives, scientists should "offer up some scary scenarios, make some simplified dramatic statements and little mention of any doubts we might have. . . . Each of us has to decide what the right balance is between being effective and being honest."

Gore seems to have taken the advice to heart. In his address on the Senate floor during the ozone debate, he segued from the perils of ozone depletion to the grave dangers posed by global warming. Citing unnamed scientists, he said the greenhouse effect would create "an increased intensity of storms coming in off the ocean . . . hurricanes 50 percent more powerful than the ones we have known throughout our lifetime."

In a characteristic statement, he derided more cautious views of global warming as coming from a "tiny minority of scientists" whom he likened to those "who work for tobacco companies" and say that evidence does not directly link smoking to lung cancer. The "scientific community is telling us," he declared, that global warming "will create a climate catastrophe for the entire world."

But that is precisely what the scientific community is not telling us. Two recent surveys of climate experts confirm that there are strong doubts about planetary warming.

In a survey of 113 scientists conducted by the environmental group Greenpeace, the experts were sharply divided over whether industrial growth contributed to the slight rise in global temperatures over the past century. Forty-seven percent of the scientists did not believe that current world industrial policies created "a serious risk of a runaway greenhouse effect." Forty-five percent said a greenhouse effect was "possible" or "probable."

Another poll of 400 leading scientists by the Center for Science, Technology & Media found that "most climate experts express uncertainty about the scientific basis for the global warming theory." Only 19 percent

of the experts polled — fewer than one in five — believe global warming is induced by human activities. The center conducted a companion survey of media coverage of global warming, which found that "scientists are presented as relatively united supporters of global warming theory," when in fact there is "considerable debate and uncertainty."

In *Earth in the Balance*, Gore declares that global warming "is the most serious threat we have ever faced." He implies that "ninety-eight percent" of the scientific community agrees with him, and cites the work of Roger Revelle, one of the fathers of greenhouse studies, as leading him to the conclusion that global warming is a "serious crisis."

Yet as noted recently by environmental writer Gregg Easterbrook, a contributing editor to *Newsweek* and the *Atlantic*, Gore never mentions that before Revelle's death last year, the scientist published a paper saying: "The scientific basis for global warming is too uncertain to justify drastic action at this time. There is little risk in delaying policy responses."

At the moment that should mark Gore's and environmentalism's greatest strength, a weird backlash seems to be developing. The quiet muttering in the scientific community about

"alarmists" and "Chicken Little research" appears to be growing louder. Donations are down at the major environmental groups. Easterbrook's highly critical article was published in the *New Republic*, a magazine that has enthusiastically supported Gore in the past — another indication of liberal unease with the green radicalism establishing itself at the heart of Bill Clinton's new Democratic Party.

Increasingly, Easterbrook writes in the July 6 article "Green Cassandra," Gore's "environmental oratory is out of control. . . . Gore, and environmentalists generally, find it especially painful to acknowledge that there has been significant ecological progress on most fronts in the United States in recent decades. Air, water, toxic, landfill and even sewage pollution are steadily declining, even as population increases (Los Angeles today has significantly less smog than it did 20 years ago); the number of trees is greater than at the turn of the century; chlorofluorocarbons are being abolished; drift-net fishing, Alaskan and offshore oil exploration are down or out; the list goes on."

All this may pose dangers for the Democrats. Gore can be painted as a radical demagogue, and a big-spending one at that. Although he doesn't mention it much on the campaign trail these days, Gore has called for a wonkily complex "Global Marshall Plan" and "Strategic Environment Initiative" that would involve billions in higher taxes, a web of global regulations and massive technology transfers to the developing world.

Gore is circumspect when it comes to costs but indicates that paying for the Global Marshall Plan

would cost somewhere around \$100 billion a year. On the domestic front, he would raise taxes on gasoline, heating oil and other oil-based fuels, coal, natural gas and electricity generated from fossil fuels. The tax revenues would go into a trust fund "to subsidize the purchase by consumers of environmentally benign technologies — such as low-energy light bulbs or high-mileage automobiles."

The new tax, Gore claims, "would be completely offset by decreases in other taxes." Yet Gore's proposals inevitably seem to come off as, well, tax-and-spend liberalism. He proposes a tariff — a "Virgin Materials Fee," he calls it — on wood products "at the point of manufacture or importation." He wants the government to purchase efficient light bulbs and recycled paper to help boost new product manufacturers. He wants "tree planting programs" and federal utility-rate reforms.

On the international front, he says the "first strategic goal" of the Global Marshall Plan should be "stabilizing world population." Birth control devices and techniques would be made "ubiquitously available," albeit with "culturally appropriate instructions." He sidesteps the abortion question, but would make the reduction of illiteracy and infant mortality part of the strategic goal.

The second strategic goal would be "the rapid creation and development of environmentally appropriate technologies," which "must then be quickly transferred to all nations." Other aspects of the plan include a "system of economic accountability that assigns appropriate values to the ecological consequences" of actions taken by individuals and nations, as

well as "a new generation of international agreements" that will regulate, reward and punish in the interests of making "the overall plan a success."

How much fodder is here for the Republicans is an open question. On the one hand, it would be President Clinton who would be running the show. On the other, candidate Clinton has repeatedly said that Gore would be his point man on the environment. This raises the prospect of a kind of reverse image of Vice President Dan Quayle's Competitiveness Council, with Gore leading a re-regulation charge where Quayle has been deregulating. A host of Gore-sponsored appointees could also be expected to move into prominent positions in government and science.

Despite the junior partner nature of the vice presidency, it's likely that Gore's environmental policies will be a matter of national debate. Does he really envision a "wrenching transformation of society" and a "global civil war"? How can he dismiss so many dissenting scientific views? And what will all this cost? So far, his campaign team has been unresponsive to inquiries on these matters.

Sources in Quayle's office, however, say the vice president is gearing up for just such a debate. And Bush-Quayle campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke has already begun attacking Gore for spending more time writing than legislating.

The listless White House may welcome a fight on this terrain, since it offers both the opportunity to split green extremists from the moderates and an issue on which to take the optimistic side, pointing to real environmental progress while portraying Gore as a gloom-and-doomer.

What's in it for Quayle is obvious. The borking of Gore would delight Bush's disaffected conservative base and lend energy to a lackluster campaign. Quayle would be in a no-lose position. Either he helps rescue Bush, or if Bush loses he has shored up conservative support for his own run in 1996.

The Democratic Party's vice presidential nominee writes that he wants to "change the very foundation of our civilization." That may be the most far-reaching proposal ever floated by an American politician — certainly it is one that conservatives will find alarming. The man at the top of the GOP ticket, however, will have to decide whether he is serious enough about the green debate to point out the huge ideological divide on environmental issues.



Rain forest burned for land: Gore warns of civilization's relentless advance.

NEWS RELEASE

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92

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
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CLINTON TO AMERICAN AUTO INDUSTRY: DROP DEAD -- CLINTON NAIVELY ENDORSES EXTREMIST ENVIRONMENTAL PROPOSAL -- THAT WOULD COST HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF JOBS

Houston, TX -- If Bill Clinton and his environmental extremist pals had their way the Joe Isuzu of American politics would be cross-country pandering in a fleet of Isuzus. The result of Clinton's pandering to environmental extremists -- and rubber stamping a naive proposal to raise fuel efficiency requirements to 40 MPG by the year 2000 -- places the American auto industry at risk, and could cost hundreds of thousands of jobs.

Is Bill Clinton out trumpeting this proposal to the voters of Michigan today, or will he discuss it in Ohio tomorrow? Of course not... Clinton has mastered the political art of pander early and avoid discussion later. Remember the middle-class tax cut?

"Bill Clinton has signed on to an extremist proposal that will send Michigan auto workers from the assembly line to the unemployment line," said Bush/Quayle Deputy Campaign Manager Mary Matalin.

The Corporate Average Fuel Efficiency Standards (CAFE) Clinton proposes to raise from the current 27.5 mpg to 40 MPG by the year 2000 would -- according to the Motor Vehicle Manufacturing Association -- severely damage the U.S. auto industry and put between 150,000 and 300,000 jobs at risk.

According to the former Administrator of the National Highway Traffic and Safety Administration Jerry Curry, raising CAFE would "decrease safety, harm U.S. competitiveness, put U.S. workers out of jobs and curtail consumer choice in the car marketplace."

As the Arkansas Governor was spewing forth his hollow rhetoric about protecting U.S. jobs in Michigan today, he neglected to tell the auto capital of the America his imposition of higher CAFE standards on the U.S. auto industry would prompt a shift to production overseas. So much for the consistency of Clinton's economic logic.

Buckle your seat belts America. The Governor from Arkansas is going to take you and your jobs for a real ride.

ATTACHMENTS

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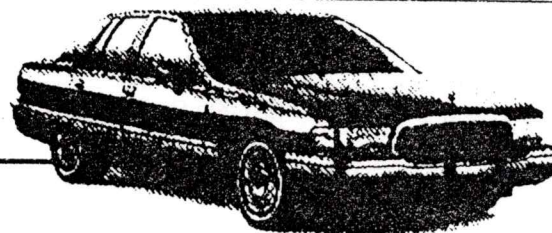
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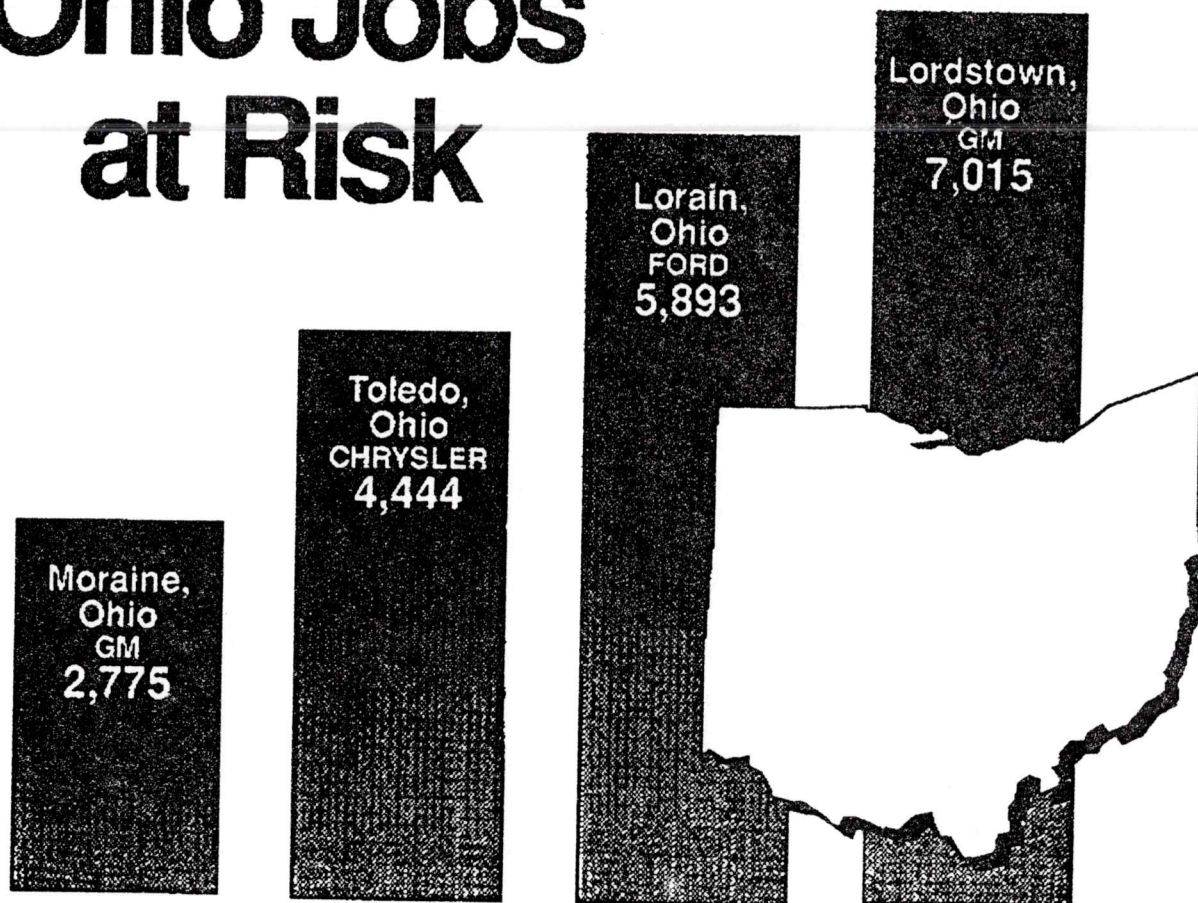
Michigan Jobs at Risk

Dearborn, Michigan	Ford	1,769
Detroit, Michigan	GM	320
Detroit, Michigan	GM	2,770
Flint, Michigan	GM	3,885
Flint, Michigan	GM	5,020
Lake Orion, Michigan	GM	5,275
Lansing, Michigan	GM	6,840
Pontiac, Michigan	GM	5,970
Warren, Michigan	Chrysler	3,152
Wayne, Michigan	Ford	1,445
Wixom, Michigan	Ford	3,322

Source: The Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association of the United States, Inc., March 1992



Ohio Jobs at Risk



SOURCE: The Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association of the United States, Inc., March 1992

Paid for by Bush-Queyle '92 General Committee, Inc.

IF BILL CLINTON HAS HIS WAY, 40,000 MICHIGAN AUTOWORKERS WILL GO FROM THE ASSEMBLY LINE TO THE UNEMPLOYMENT

THE U.A.W. VS. CLINTON/GORE

It's called the CAFE bill. Also known as the "Bryan Bill" in the U.S. Senate.

It would require that the corporate average fuel economy (CAFE) standard be raised to 40 mpg from 27.5 mpg. A requirement that would prompt more American auto manufacturers to shift large car production overseas. Putting up to 300,000 autoworker jobs at risk nationwide.

A risk America simply can't afford.

The legislation threatens so many jobs that the U.A.W. is among the groups who oppose it.

Bill Clinton, on the other hand, has fully and completely

LINE.

endorsed the 40 mpg standard. He even wants to raise it to 45 mpg.

And Clinton's running mate Al Gore was an original cosponsor of the CAFE

bill. Even though it would put 4,500 jobs at risk at the General Motors plant in Spring Hill, Tennessee, Senator Gore's home state.

And in his recent book, Gore calls for a total elimination of the internal combustion engine and identifies the automobile as America's greatest national security threat.

The Democrats say they want to make a difference.

For 40,000 autoworkers in Michigan, it could be the difference between working and not.

It's your vote. Use it to save your job.

Jobs at Risk		
DEARBORN	FORD	1,769
DETROIT	GENERAL MOTORS	820
DETROIT	GENERAL MOTORS	2,779
FLINT	GENERAL MOTORS	3,882
FLINT	GENERAL MOTORS	5,928
FLINT	GENERAL MOTORS	2,271
LAKE ORION	GENERAL MOTORS	6,840
LANSING	GENERAL MOTORS	5,979
PONTIAC	CHRYSLER	
WARREN	FORD	1,338
WAYNE	FORD	
WYOM	FORD	

Sources: The Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association of the United States, Inc., March 1990.

Paid for by Bush-Quayle '92 General Committee, Inc.

QUAYLE

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Jobs at Risk		
LORAIN	FORD	5,092
LODSTOWN	GENERAL MOTORS	7,013
MORAIN	GENERAL MOTORS	2,773
TOLEDO	CHRYSLER	4,444

Source: The Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association of the United States, Inc. March 1992

**BUSH
QUAYLE**

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Paid for by Bush - Quayle '92 General Committee, Inc.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Canton, Michigan)

For Immediate Release

August 25, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT BUSH-QUAYLE RALLY

Canton Township Heritage Park
Canton, Michigan

2:40 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much for that warm welcome. May I salute all the party leaders here, especially the great Governor of Michigan, John Engler. He's doing a first-class job. (Applause.) And may I thank the band, the Catholic High School band, the Motown Band, Canton VFW Colorguard; Susan Heintz and all those out here that have been out here making this program possible. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

You know, this town proves what we all know in our hearts -- America's best days are ahead of us. (Applause.)

Last Thursday at our great convention in Houston, I laid out a central challenge to our nation to win the global economic competition, to win the peace. And America must be a military superpower, an economic superpower and an export superpower. (Applause.)

I differ with the Governor of Arkansas. He wants to turn inward and protect, I want to look outward and expand markets, expand American jobs. (Applause.) Let me just touch on what Governor Engler said because it affects the life of everybody in the automobile industry and everybody who's connected with the automobile industry.

Governor Clinton's record on the environment, to be charitable, is a little less than stellar. Listen to his own Chairman of the Arkansas Pollution Control and Ecology Commission who said that the Arkansas laws are so lenient that, "if California was operating on the laws of Arkansas, you'd have to wear a gas mask." How is that for the laws in Arkansas on the environment? (Applause.)

Now, is it any wonder that they rank dead last in the nation in policies to protect the environment, according to a study by the Institute of Southern Studies. The good people of Arkansas deserve better than that, and we don't need that kind of record running the environmental policies of the United States government. (Applause.)

Remember what I said down there in Houston, slippery when wet? Well, listen to this one. Listen to this one. He's gone all the way over from that lousy record now to becoming bright green. He's turned that bright and if Clinton has his way, Michigan auto workers are going to be turning green with illness. Here's why.

In a speech in Drexel University on April 22, Governor Clinton talked about a more ambitious federal regulation that he supports involving the fuel standards for cars. He said this, and this is an exact quote, "In my administration we will accelerate our progress toward fuel-efficient cars and seek to raise the average goal for automakers to 40 miles per gallon by the year 2,000, 45 miles by the year 2020." Now, that is not me,

MORE

that is Governor Clinton talking. And you might ask what would happen if we did that. Well, according to the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, fatalities and injuries will increase. But the worst thing is we will throw American autoworkers out of their jobs, and I'm not going to have that. (Applause.)

The Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association in Michigan alone said that 40,000 workers would go from the assembly line to the unemployment line if we go from those ridiculous standards. We've got to fight against that kind of extremism. (Applause.) Those 40,000 will be joined by 700,000 workers put out there by the payroll tax that Governor Clinton is suggesting for his backdoor government takeover of our health care system.

You know, he says he likes to put people first. He doesn't mention that it's first out there on the unemployment line. We're trying to get people off of that and his tax-and-spend policies will put people out there. And we don't want that. (Applause.)

I normally don't speak much about his running mate, Senator Gore of Tennessee, but he's written this famous book now that Governor Clinton talks about. On page 325 of the book, he makes an interesting comparison. He says that the automobile industry -- and I quote right here; quotation -- "poses a mortal threat to the security of every nation, that is more deadly than that of any military enemy we're ever again likely to confront." That is Clinton's running mate talking about the auto industry that means so much to our country.

And one page later he calls for the "elimination of the internal combustion engine." What kind of people are we dealing with here? (Laughter.)

Well, it would be funny if it weren't so serious. If one out of six jobs in America today weren't in some way tied to the car industry, and if this philosophy of tax and spend, regulate and regulate wasn't going to make it impossible for us to win the economic competition. Now, look, we have a sound and positive and strong environmental record. And I fought for and won the first meaningful revision to the Clean Air Act and we got that done in spite of that gridlocked Congress. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Clean the House. Clean the House.

THE PRESIDENT: I'll be there. Just a minute. I've got more to say about that one, and I love saying it because it's true. Now, wait a minute, I'll be there in a second.

Environment -- we have expanded our parks and wildlife refuges. We've curtailed drilling in the environmental sensitive area of California and New England. We've enforced our environmental laws so we've collected record amounts of fines. And I have been criticized by some in big business and by environmentalists. But I believe that somewhere you can find a reasonable formula where you protect jobs and still clean up the environment. That's what we've got to do. (Applause.)

So when that Clinton-Gore bus goes off the left side of the highway onto the shoulder, we've got to guard against that, too.

Here's what I want to do to lift the burden from the small businessmen, the mom and pop operations and others: Put a freeze on unnecessary federal regulation; we're regulating ourselves to death. (Applause.)

You didn't hear much about this in the Clinton-Gore convention, but I'll tell you something, the federal deficit is threatening the very future of these children here today, these

young ones. So I am fighting for a line-item veto, a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. (Applause.) And you know who says no to all this -- the gridlocked Congress, the Clinton-Gore gridlocked Congress.

So last week, last week -- the editorial writers don't like this one, the sophisticated elitists don't like it -- but let me tell you something, I unveiled an idea last week that the American people like. And it says this. You have the right to check off on your tax return using up to 10 percent of your income tax for one purpose, if you want to, and that is to reduce the budget deficit. It's a good idea. And if Congress can't do it, let the American people have a shot at it. (Applause.)

The editorial writers and Congress, they call it a gimmick. But I think the American people want the power to say to Congress if you won't cut the deficit, we'll get the job done for you. (Applause.)

Yesterday, we unveiled a new program to help people that need to transition into new jobs. Because we've been successful in war and peace, because we've changed the world, we have been able to reduce defense spending. Now, that's cost people some jobs. So now we've got a new training program to help those people find work -- find work, jobs -- productive jobs in this country and so we're talking about skill grants. Giving workers in certain industries \$3,000 to go out and buy training on their own. The philosophy isn't to empower bureaucrats, but empower the people so you can stay ahead of the economic change. (Applause.)

And heavens knows, we've got to reform our welfare system, get people to work and to learn and avoid the indignity of welfare. (Applause.) And so later today I'm going to be signing a welfare waiver giving Michigan the authority to experiment with welfare programs that keep families together and get people off the dole and into jobs. (Applause.)

And one other thing. My opponent is supported by this trial lawyers group. I want to break the back of those who are suing us too much and caring for ourselves too little -- caring for us too little. (Applause.) These reckless lawsuits are keeping doctors from practicing medicine, keeping people out away from coaching Little League, and we've got to stop it. I've tried for three straight years. Now change that Congress and help me stop it. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Clean the House. Clean the House.

THE PRESIDENT: All right, I'll give you an example. That's a great idea. Now I'll give you an example. We know that our schools have to improve if our kids are going to -- (applause) -- if we're going to compete they've got to improve. And I believe competition can be a force for good in education, just as it's been a force for greatness in American industry. And earlier this year I sent a proposal to Capitol Hill, a G.I. Bill for kids to give states and localities the flexibility to allow parents, not government, to choose the schools their kids attend -- public, private or religious. (Applause.)

A few weeks ago this came before the gridlocked Congress, a brand new proposal and they killed it. And why did this great idea fail? It failed, according to news reports, because the Democratic leadership did not want to give me credit for a new idea in education. Now, that is not progress. That is gridlock, and they are doing it to the taxpayer in this country.

And let me be a little more specific. I'm a little tired of congressmen that talk one way in Michigan and vote different in Washington. I'll give you an example. One of those Democratic leaders that blocked this new proposal in education is named Congressman Ford, Bill Ford. He has stood against school

choice and just about every education reform I have put forward. And what's worse, Governor of Arkansas agrees with him.

AUDIENCE: Boooo.

THE PRESIDENT: Want parents to have real choice in where to send their kids to school. The Governor and Congressman Ford say no. I say yes. (Applause.)

You want to stand up to a Baghdad bully like Saddam Hussein? Governor Clinton waffled, Congressman Ford said no way. I say yes. (Applause.)

You want a balanced budget amendment that disciplines both the Congress and the Executive Branch? Governor Clinton and Congressman Ford say no -- and I say yes. (Applause.)

Do you want to limit the terms of Congressmen? Governor Clinton and Congressman Ford say no -- and I say, yes, it's about time. (Applause.) The President's term is limited; let's limit this gridlocked Congress and get them out of there. (Applause.)

And the key issue -- clean that House; you're right. And the key issue is, do you want to try to cut federal spending and give Americans relief from higher taxes? Well, Governor Clinton and Congressman Ford, linked together, say no -- and I say yes. (Applause.)

Governor Clinton refers to himself as Elvis. Well, let me tell you something. (Laughter.) He does. We're playing an old Elvis Presley song, "Return To Sender," -- Return to Arkansas. (Applause.) And as we get that done in November, as we get that done in November let's take Congressman Ford and others like him that talk one way at home, vote different in Washington -- that whole leadership of the gridlocked Congress -- and do what those brooms say, clean House. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Clean the House. Clean the House. Clean the House.

THE PRESIDENT: Get them out of there. We have been trying and trying to move this country forward, blocked by this gridlocked Congress. And I am tired of it. (Applause.)

And while we're at it, let's send Charles Vincent, Dick Chrysler, Megan O'Neill, John Gordon, Frank Beaumont, Nick Smith and don't forget Joe Knollenberg and John Pappageorge. Get them in there. (Applause.) And in this district, replace that leader that talks one way and votes another. Send Bob Geake to Washington and get this country moving. (Applause.)

You know, the other day we were in Alabama, a crowd of about 20,000 people in the rain. Lee Greenwood, you know, that great singer, was with us. And as he started to sing, "I'm Proud To Be An American," I looked out in the crowd and saw a little girl -- couldn't be more than four or five -- perched on her dad's shoulders, waving a little American flag and singing. This election is about that little girl, and all the kids in this crowd, all the kids across America. (Applause.)

Do we want them to grow up in an America that is stronger, safer, and secure, more secure? You bet we do. And with my ideas and a new Congress we can make it happen. We are the United States of America. We are going to make it happen. (Applause.)

May God bless Michigan and may God bless our great country. (Applause.)

END

2:57 P.M. EDT

U.S. ACTIONS FOR A BETTER ENVIRONMENT

A Sustained Commitment

