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Earth in the Balance

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Theodore Roszak

790 CRAGMONT AVENUE, BERKELEY CALIFORNIA 94708, (510) 525-4220

August 5, 1992

Katy McGinty
Office of Senator Al Gore
393 Russell Office Bldg
Washington, DC 20510.

Dear Katy McGinty:

Not that Senator Gore needs still another rave review for *Earth in the Balance* at this point in his busy life ... but I thought you might like to know that the British science magazine *New Scientist* elected to feature the book as its lead review. The editor also asked that I include some reference in the review to the Senator's position in the coming campaign.

As you will see, I decided to mention my concern about the way the Senator's opposition may try to use selected portions of his book against him -- something I hope you are preparing to deal with in the campaign. This was on my mind because I got a small hint of it just the other week. I came home to find a message waiting for me from channel 7 the local ABC affiliate in San Francisco. The reporter wanted to know what role Senator Gore's environmental record might play in the campaign. Would it count against him -- primarily as a "big spending" item in any budget he has a role in creating?

Unfortunately, I arrived home too late to respond to the invitation. But if you have drafted any literature you wish to disseminate on this question, I would be grateful to have it at hand.

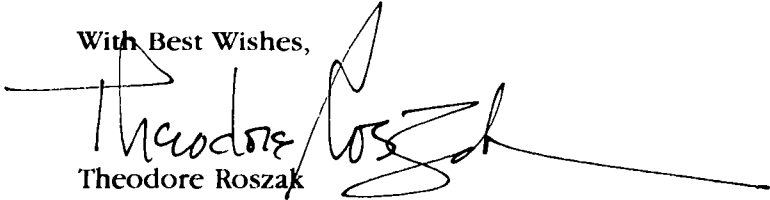
I have been faced with questions about the cost of environmental policy whenever I lecture. It is obviously a concern people have. May I share with you one response that often proves effective? I invoke the familiar American image of "the frontier." I ask people to go back in their imagination two centuries to the point at which our nation was a coast-to-coast frontier, presenting many challenges, many "costs," but many opportunities. Some might have turned away for fear of facing the risks and the expenses. But others of greater vision went forward and discovered the wealth of the nation in these new lands.

I of course always make sure I mention the fact that this historical American frontier that is now behind us was also characterized by violence, devastation, and often a reckless haste. In fact, some of what our forerunners did to settle that frontier laid the foundation for the ecological problems we must face today. In contrast, our new "environmental frontier" offers the prospect of a far greater, more enduring wealth that can be shared by all. If John Kennedy hadn't used the term "new frontier," it would be the perfect phrase to employ here; I use "environmental frontier" instead to speak of the opportunity we now have to create a finer, gentler, more sustainable quality of life for all our people. Every project on the environmental frontier can be designed to generate jobs, stimulate new technology, employ skills, improve public health, increase wealth. And it is a frontier that need never close. It is really the equivalent to the dramatic retooling of the American economy we went through in World War Two. As in that case, this is nothing to which a fixed price tag can be sensibly attached; rather, it is a project by project process, each step along the way keenly assessed for its job-creating, wealth-generating potential.

Some people find this a persuasive and affirmative new angle.

I hope the Senator knows that he has many allies in the environmental movement who think it is imperative that the Clinton-Gore ticket get elected and who are more than eager to make sure his environmental record and expertise count in his favor at every point in the campaign ahead. We should make certain that the public feels proud and confident to have a man of his studied intelligence dealing with the great environmental issues we face. I hope you will feel free to call upon us if you believe we can make a contribution.

With Best Wishes,



Theodore Roszak
Professor of History
California State University, Hayward

Birth control for elephants

soul?

With warmest wishes
best
T. R.



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REVIEW

Environmental running mate

Earth in the Balance: Forging a New Common Purpose

by Al Gore, *Earthscan*, pp 408, £14.95

Theodore Roszak

BOOKS by prominent public figures usually get slotted into a special, condescending category. Reviewers expect to find little more in them than inside dope about the political process or tidbits of gossip gleaned from the corridors of power. In short, they are not taken seriously. Senator Al Gore's *Earth in the Balance* ranks as an exception.

The senator offers plenty of the insights and anecdotes available only to seasoned players on the Washington scene; he traces the deceptive twists and turns of the Bush administration's environmental policies, naming names and assigning blame. But his book is also a solid intellectual achievement, a work many scholars and environmental specialists might be proud to write.

Gore has embedded years of reading, thought and legislative savvy in this volume. Above all, he has put his heart into it, defending a cause that he obviously holds dear. In 1988 he made a run for the presidency. At the time he gambled on the hope that a strong environmental position might win him the White House. He is frank to say he misjudged the popular appeal of issues such as the greenhouse effect and the ozone layer. But his political disappointment has not led him to abandon his environmental concerns. On the contrary: from his failed campaign, he salvaged a noble purpose in whose service he now offers one of the few books that manages to treat the environmental crisis with the complexity it deserves and on the scale it demands.

Moreover, with Gore now the unexpected vice-presidential nominee of the Democratic Party, *Earth in the Balance* offers an unintended preview of the policies he now must champion as he makes his second bid for national office. By his very presence on the Democratic ticket, he has intruded environmentalism into the American political agenda as a major issue.

The book is bound to be used against him in the current campaign by George Bush, who cast himself as the pariah of the recent Earth Summit in Rio. Gore's Republican opposition, freighted with a dismal environmental record, is already calling him a "tree-hugger" whose programmes mark him out as a liberal spendthrift. Much to his own surprise, Gore is being offered another opportunity to talk ecological sense to the American public. If anyone can handle the challenge, it is the man who now qualifies as the country's most respected environmental spokesman.

Gore's range is remarkable. If it offered nothing more, *Earth in the Balance* would

make a handy, nearly encyclopedic compendium of environmental problems. It is loaded with authoritative analyses of biospheric damage, some of them compiled from the senator's own junkets to inspect the devastation of the rainforests, the game parks of Africa and the ozone hole above Antarctica. But *Earth in the Balance* reaches well beyond mere reportage and exposition.

The intellectual meat of the book lies in the ethical issues and philosophical conundrums it explores. These Gore handles with admirable sophistication; he has read up on his sprawling subject and sought out the best minds.

The breadth of approach prevents him from settling for what other politicians might take to be adequate: purely economic adjustments and technological solutions. Though economic policy and technology (especially appropriate technology) come in for extensive discussion, Gore recognises that many environmental issues also have to be treated holistically on the level of conscience and consciousness. For example, his recommendations for population policy—the highest priority in his global programme—acknowledge that the education and liberation of women are just as important as the distribution of contraceptives.

The big finish toward which he builds is the call for a "global Marshall Plan" to be undertaken, in the post-Cold War era, with even greater urgency and financial resources than the original. In hands other than those of a practical politician, an appeal like this might become a "wish list" of painful improbabilities. But Gore means to be effective, bringing his special experience as a law maker to bear for all it is worth. And, as senator of Tennessee, he has known what it is like to face intractable political choices.

For example, he relates how, as a member of the Southern farm bloc in Congress, he has had to struggle over sugar subsidies with corn-syrup lobbyists in his state. This seemingly minor issue relates directly to the devastation of the Everglades in Florida. Those of us who are used to thinking and writing about environmental affairs at a loftier level might learn a few valuable lessons from Gore about the nitty-gritty of real-life decision making.

The final chapters of the book brim with bright ideas that seek to translate Gore's high-level analysis into a comprehensive



Al Gore: a Democrat talking ecological sense

programme. There is almost too much here to take in: tax incentives, export controls, forestry policy, waste reduction and recycling proposals, CO₂ taxes, electrical co-generation, virgin materials fees... There is even a discussion of energy-saving light bulbs and how to market them more efficiently.

Among the bigger ideas is a new global accounting system that includes such factors as sustainability and environmental restoration in the calculation of GNP. Gore presents it all with the zest and conviction of a professional politician out to make things happen—and get them done. It is a dazzlingly meticulous array of schemes and solutions; reading through it makes for a welcome antidote to the steady diet of gloom and doom we usually expect from environmental studies.

The senator displays a commendable awareness of First World/Third World

NEW SCIENTIST

REVIEW

asymmetries in development. He does not flinch from raising the tough question of international fairness. "The promotion of justice and the protection of the environmental must go hand in hand in any society, whether in the context of a nation's domestic policies or in the design of 'North-South' agreements between the industrial nations and the Third World."

One may disagree with this or that about Gore's approach, but taken as a whole, his book serves as a model for the politically relevant, comprehensive discussion of environmental policy. The man has mapped the terrain, drawing in philosophy as well as science, religion and ethics as well as economics.

I expect to go back to this book for facts,

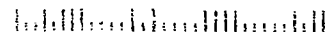
ideas, political insights, but above all to remind myself that there are still those working on environmental issues who believe there is cause to hope.

Theodore Roszak is professor of history at California State University, Hayward. His latest book is *The Voice of the Earth* (Simon and Schuster).

Roszak
790 Cragmont Ave
Berkeley, CA, 94708



Katy McGinty
Office of Senator Al Gore
393 Russell Office Bldg
Washington, DC 20510.





THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS
AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

Law Department



19th August 1992

Katey McGinty
Assistant to Senator Al Gore,
SR-393 Russell Senate
Office Building
Washington D.C. 20510

Dear Katey,

TELEPHONE INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR GORE

I am afraid that my fax to you concerning the Q&A interview for the LSE Magazine and the LSE Centre for Environmental Law and Policy's Bulletin, of mid-July, must have gone astray. You will recall that the Senator undertook at Rio in June to give such an interview by telephone following receipt of my review of his book. I enclose a copy of the latter, to appear in the next edition of the LSE Magazine. I would like to accompany it with the text of an interview, if the Senator's happy new status does not render this impossible. Could we arrange a date?

Yours truly, Glen Plant (Sr.)

Earth in the Balance: Forging a New Common Purpose, by Senator Albert Gore, 1992, 407pp., £14.95.

This is a truly thought-provoking book, the scope of which is almost breath-taking. Much has been made by the media, since Governor Clinton chose him as his running mate for the Presidential election in November, of Senator Gore's bringing credibility on "the environment" to the Democratic ticket. They frequently invoke his authorship of this book in this respect, but it is an inadequate description to call this a book about just "the environment".

In one sense it is an account of the Senator's own journey over the last quarter century in his public and private life, intellectually and spiritually, towards a true understanding of the global ecological crisis and how it can be resolved. In another it is a science-based account of some of the main environmental crises threatening the Earth, a personal view of the manner in which the inadequacies of modern political and economic systems and a general social and spiritual dysfunctionality is inhibiting remedial action and the Senator's proposal for a Global Marshall Plan to solve these crises. In a third sense it is the account of a politician, generally acknowledged to be the most articulate and experienced Democratic senator in the field, of the role that politicians, particularly American politicians, can and should play in meeting the challenge and an indictment of President Bush's record in this respect. As a politician's book, indeed, it is a brave book, because in it he calls for radical action and, by citing President Bush's promises, during and before the 1988 Presidential campaign, to be environmentally active and contrasting them with what he sees as his failure to act, he has laid himself open to the possibility of similar charges being brought against him, right or wrong, in the future.

It is, of course, a book aimed mainly at the American public. Its political analyses refer mainly to that country, and it is perhaps best for a Briton to express no views on this, except to say this; in this reviewer's opinion the Senator is quite correct to emphasise again and again the need for US leadership in this field. If Senator Gore does become the next Vice-President of the USA, this book will be of very great significance when it comes to judgement of the leadership shown by the new Administration.

It would be impossible in this short space to give a clear idea of the full scope of the book. Instead this reviewer proposes to emphasise the points emphasised to him by Senator Gore himself in a conversation at the Rio Conference in June this year.

The first of the three Parts essentially describes the relationship between climate and civilisation and the various environmental threats to the earth's atmosphere, hydrosphere and biosphere, as well as the loss of genetic diversity in food crops and the proliferation of wastes, all of them based largely on up-to-the-minute discussions with prominent scientists and current scientific writings. One of the few frustrating aspects of the book is, perhaps, that discussion of the science is relatively brief and not footnoted in an orthodox manner. One is left with the desire to see some of the assertions validated, only to discover at the end of the book a fairly impressive, but general

descriptive set of notes to chapters, of the existence of which there is no earlier indication in the text. What becomes clear from this and the acknowledgments is that the Senator has chosen and checked his excellent sources thoroughly.

Part 2 deals first with the familiar notions of short-term vision in politics and of traditional economics' failure in treating environmental costs as externalities, before tackling the crux of the thesis. The author considers society to be dysfunctional and, indeed, in a state of spiritual confusion, vis-à-vis the environmental crisis, largely because of the dominance of the Platonic-Cartesian philosophical school in our era, which has encouraged us to regard ourselves as separate from nature and able to exploit it freely with little regard to consequences.

Finally, Part 3 sets out the details of the Senator's proposed Global Marshal Plan. This, if put into effect, will have the general, integrating role of establishing social and political conditions conducive to sustainable development and five strategic goals: the stabilization of World populations; the rapid creation and development of environmentally appropriate technologies (specifically through a US-led "Strategic Environment Initiative"); a change in economic calculations to reflect environmental costs; the negotiation of a new generation of international agreements; and a cooperative plan of global environmental education. On each of these topics, he suggests a number of positive steps to be taken and describes his view of the USA's role. In relation to economic matters, for example, he suggests a number of US domestic reforms, including the imposition of a carbon tax (though not one involving an overall increase in the tax burden) and a Virgin Materials Fee. What is most noteworthy, however, are perhaps the acceptance that the USA will need other countries to help foot the bill and the absence of any indication of what the bill might be. The proposal contains many interesting, but as yet not fully developed ideas. It will be interesting to follow their future fate.

Glen Plant

August 13, 1992

M E M O R A N D U M

FROM: KENNETH BERLIN 

TO: JOHN SALLET ✓
KATIE MCGINTY

Attached are a few responses I had prepared before you asked me to stop work on the project. Please call me if you have any questions or would like me to work on any other responses.

K.B.

Responses

1. Taxes

Senator Gore has proposed a partial restructuring of the way we protect the environment against pollution, not an increase in the taxes we pay. Currently, we try in most cases to reduce or stop pollution by regulations that set forth detailed rules on how business should operate. Senator Gore has proposed replacing some of these regulations with market based incentives to reduce the discharge of pollutants, including charges on pollutants and a charge on emissions of carbon dioxide. Each of these proposed charges would be offset on a dollar for dollar basis by decreases in other taxes so that they would not create a new tax burden in the economy. This approach, replacing certain regulations with market based incentives to stop pollution, is supported by many business persons and environmental groups.

Governor Clinton and Senator Gore do not believe a carbon tax is necessary to achieve the nation's commitment of stabilizing by the year 2000 the emissions of carbon dioxide at 1990 levels. That can be achieved by applying American know-how through standards and incentives to increase energy efficiency and the use of renewable energy sources. If larger emission reductions are needed in the future, and the science suggests that they will be, then we would consider all the available options based on their costs and effectiveness, including a carbon tax.

2. Science

President Bush is playing loose and fast with the facts and with our future when he makes this change. The United Nations Intergovernmental Fund on Climate Change, the National Academy of Sciences, and most of the world's scientists agree that "business as usual" emissions of greenhouse gases would most likely lead during the next few decades to a dramatic change in the earth's climate unprecedented in the history of human civilization.

There is no dispute that the level of carbon dioxide and other heat absorbing molecules increased 25 percent since World War II. President Bush argues that we are not sure what effect this will have and how much and how fast the earth would warm. The overwhelming weight of scientific evidence, however, indicates that the earth will warm by 3-8 degrees Fahrenheit if carbon dioxide concentrations in the atmosphere are allowed to reach twice

their preindustrial levels. The result would be an ecological and probable human catastrophe. Sea levels would rise flooding coastal areas in Florida, Louisiana, and other low-lying areas; severe drought would become much more frequent in the Midwest grain belt; fresh water would be more scarce in California; tropical diseases would become epidemic throughout the Southern United States; and many species would be pushed over the edge to extinction.

3. Technology

Al Gore is a strong supporter of technological change and innovation. He supports tax incentives and research and development funding for new technology, a national network of "information super highways and a global network to accelerate the development of cost effective photovoltaic cells. The Republican charge is based on Senator Gore's cautioning us against assuming that new technologies can solve our problems before those technologies are tested and in place. They are also based on Senator Gore's position that we should replace technology that harms the environment with environmentally sensitive technology. These are, however, conservative and rational ways to view the future. Senator Gore's proposal to bring about changes to more appropriate technologies through tax incentives and development funding show that he is deeply committed to technological change and innovation.

Consumption of earth

Senator Gore believes we are destroying the natural resource base on which our civilization depends at a rate which is not sustainable. In arguing for sustainable development, Senator Gore is acting consistently with the position taken by leaders of virtually all the nations in the world at the recent Earth Summit in Rio, as well as with many American business leaders.

4. Big Spender

Senator Gore has proposed that the U.S. together with Japan, European nations, Arab oil states and other developed countries establish a Global Marshall Fund to protect the earth's environment. He believes such a plan is necessary because problems in the undeveloped world contribute to global warming, air and water pollution and species extinction in a manner which adversely affects us in the United States. The problems are serious and require a major multi-year response, but the United States will share this burden with other developed countries and our share will be no greater than we can afford as a nation.

5. Economic Growth

Senator Gore believes in sustainable development - growth that can be repeated in the future, not growth which will be stopped in the future because we have abused our resources and our environment. He believes that sustainable growth will be robust, in fact, far more robust than the anemic growth during the years of President Bush's mishandling of the economy. As Newsweek Magazine wrote in its June 1, 1992 issue, only right-wing Republicans in the United States and leaders of the former Communist Bloc still believe that environmental protection and economic growth are incompatible, and that this "is increasingly a fringe position even among many of the business executives it is supposed to benefit." (pg. 21).

August 13, 1992

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Don't you miss central argument - Hence - That is,
IT'S NOT CAFE KILLING THE AUTO INDUSTRY, IT'S HIGH HEALTH CARE
COSTS AND A SLUGGISH ECONOMY, ALSO, AMERICANS WANT CARS
WITH BETTER MILEAGE - DEMOS DON'T WANT TO TAP INTO THAT DEMAND -
BELOW THE OPPORTUNITY INSTEAD OF STATUS QUO BUT
TONE IS OF HERE CAFE

Bill Clinton and I are determined to get our country moving forward again. Creating new jobs. Revitalizing our industries. Keeping our technology on the cutting edge. And empowering each and every one of us by ensuring that everyone has access to affordable health care and a good education -- these are the goals we are shooting for. We want America in the forefront again.

2. The U.S. auto industry drives our economy probably more than any other single industry in the country. The health of the industry has a profound impact on the health of our economy and on the well-being of our workers. In addition to creating high productivity, high wage jobs directly, the auto industry spurs many other critical U.S. industries -- textiles, glass, ceramics, steel, aluminum and many others all depend on the domestic automotive industry as an important customer.

defense

That's why Bill Clinton and I are committed to working with the U.S. auto industry. While George Bush has been in charge, hundreds of thousands of workers have lost their jobs in the domestic auto industry as the Japanese auto companies have captured a steadily rising share of the U.S. market. Thousands of workers in the automotive parts and supplier industries have also seen their jobs disappear as imported parts, materials and components have replaced domestic producers. Many communities around the country have been utterly devastated as a result.

Bill Clinton and I will work to turn this situation around. We believe that government needs to work in partnership with industry. We need to get our best and brightest working together to develop the technologies that will put us firmly in the forefront. Toward this end, I have proposed that we tap the enormous resources of our federal labs and engage lab scientists in the effort to develop the technologies of the future.

5/10/97 As a critical first step, we believe we need to make our cars more efficient. It's true that -- pound for pound -- cars made by American workers are every bit as fuel efficient as those made by any of our competitors. But we can do better. And indeed -- if we are going to remain competitive -- we must do better. High fuel prices in Europe and Japan mean that consumers in those countries are interested in buying the most efficient cars available. And here at home, we know what's selling -- the more efficient cars like GM's Saturn and the Ford Taurus, Tempo and Escort are leading the way.

And we have other compelling reasons to improve fuel efficiency, too -- reducing our use of oil is critical to our

national security; to the strength of our economy and to our health and well-being.

We now import more than half of our oil -- that's more than we've imported at any time in our history. We know well that this is a dangerous situation. Incredibly, the energy plan ^{SP} President Bush submitted to Congress would only have ~~worstened~~ this situation -- the Department of Energy's own analysis ~~of that~~ plan showed that -- if it was fully implemented -- we would be importing upwards of 60% of our oil. Bill Clinton and I think we can't let that happen.

Imported oil also accounts for half of our trade deficit. Billions of dollars -- and thousands of potential jobs -- leave the country as the oil comes in.

And our health and the health of our children suffers as we burn more oil and gas. Today, three of every five Americans breathe polluted air. Respiratory problems and heart ailments are all on the rise. This hits working families hard. The American Lung Association estimates that increased air pollution costs us up to 50 billion every year in added health care costs, crop and material damage.

Clearly, we need to move ahead again. Health care. Education. Partnership in technology development. Bill Clinton and I are ready to work together with industry to get us back in front of the curve.

CARBON TAXES AND VIRGIN MATERIALS FEES

working families
Republican leadership over the last 12 years has taken a hard toll on the ~~middle class~~ in this country. While the richest 2% of the country ~~have grown ever richer~~, ~~working families have~~ *are* putting in longer hours ~~-- only to take home far fewer dollars.~~ *(are growing and)*

off Bill Clinton and I are committed to putting an end to this unfairness. It's time to give ~~the middle class~~ a break -- and make the privileged few carry their fair share of the burden. We need to right the balance. That's why our plan will cut ~~middle-class taxes~~ and make up the difference by calling on those who have so richly profited over the last 12 years to pick up a greater and more equitable portion of the tab. *Middle income families*

off While making the ~~middle class~~ *more* whole again has to be job-1, we should start thinking about a tax system that would reward the kinds of things we want to encourage in society -- like hard work and savings -- and that penalizes things we want to discourage -- like pollution and waste. Simply stated, it just makes sense to tax pollution instead of productivity and hard-earned savings. *Income America*
far had working american

02
① priority
helping
② job security
env. prot. =
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③ polluter
pays
poll. prot.

dumping
relying on

The Europeans and Japanese have already begun to consider this type of approach and, increasingly, economists agree that in addition to rewarding people for doing "the right thing" -- this type of approach will fuel and revitalize the economy by reducing waste and encouraging efficiency. While penalizing polluters ~~by taxing them for the amount of carbon dioxide they put in the air, for example, or for the amount of new materials they use~~ (instead of using recycled materials wherever possible and reducing waste), these pollution charges would be designed to make average citizens whole. Payroll taxes could be reduced. A program could be set up and monies made available to offset the cost to consumers of purchasing the most efficient products. And government laboratories and scientists could be charged with working with industry to accelerate the development of technologies that take less energy to run and produce less waste. To ensure that our companies are not disadvantaged, we would need to encourage our competitors to implement similar systems, and indeed, they are signalling their interest in moving along these lines.

George Bush is opposed to these ideas. Why? Because it is clear that "pollution protection" is one of his top priorities. He and Dan Quayle have worked overtime to cut special loopholes in the law for their polluting buddies. They've undermined the Clean Air act, for example, by allowing companies to spew as much toxic pollution into the air as they want and ensuring that families living near these industries and workers in the plants have nothing to say about it. They have also prevented the Environmental Protection Agency from taking action to control the amount of toxic and carcinogenic pollution workers are being exposed to and are now actively trying to remove restrictions on some 90% [check this figure] of the chemicals the experts at EPA consider hazardous.

Bill Clinton and I will not let this happen. The health of our children; the health, safety, and productivity of our workers has to become "job-1" again.

But, we are committed to "pollution prevention" for another reason, too. The fact of the matter is that -- if we are going to remain competitive in the years ahead -- we need to move away from old polluting and wasteful ways and move aggressively to the forefront of producing and using the most advanced and efficient technologies. Increased efficiency reduces energy, materials, and clean-up costs and thereby frees US capital for investment. Moreover, as Germany and Japan are openly proclaiming, the biggest market opportunities in the history of world business are for the products and processes that will spur economic growth without destroying the environment. The market for environmentally sound technologies is now at 200 billion per year and is growing at close to 7% every year. If we are innovative and aggressive, we can lead the world in capturing these markets. Under George Bush's "pollution protection" plan, however, we have

been moving in the wrong direction -- while we used to supply most of the world with air pollution control technologies, we now import 70% of those technologies. And while we developed and once were in the forefront of producing wind and solar energy systems, we are now net importers of them too.

"Pollution protection" just doesn't work. It's time to get about the job of putting people first.

GLOBAL MARSHALL PLAN

The world looks to the United States for leadership. In the post Cold War world, American ideas -- political and economic freedom -- are ascendant and people everywhere are looking to the United States to lead them in confronting the new challenges we face. Central to those new challenges is finding the means to fuel economic growth without destroying our environment.

This is what Rio and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development were all about. President Bush once promised that he would be both the environmental and the foreign policy president. In Rio, he was neither.

I have proposed a Global Marshall Plan in which the leaders of the industrialized countries -- the United States, Japan and Europe -- would join together in an effort to produce environmentally sound technologies and find means to make those technologies available to the developing nations. We certainly cannot afford to do this alone -- but we also cannot afford to fail to lead the way.

Last year, some 35% of our exports went to developing countries. This figure is growing and the strength of our economy is becoming increasingly tied to the health and vitality of the global economy. Moreover, developing countries are learning from the experience of Mexico City, Sao Paulo, and Jakarta -- where industries are closing not for economic reasons, but because citizens are literally choking to death on pollution. Increasingly, environmentally sound technologies are in demand. Already at 200 billion dollars a year, the market for environmentally efficient products and processes is growing by some 7% a year. Mexico, for example, is sharply increasing its spending on green technologies, and Taiwan's government and businesses plan to spend more than \$20 billion by the end of this decade on pollution control equipment and environmental engineering and consulting.

The Global Marshall Plan is only an idea -- but it is responsive to the realities of the new challenges we face. We can lead the charge -- or we can cling to the past as President Bush is so desperately seeking to do.

→ need for international effort
no \$ spent -- opens to cooperation
could learn from \$

ANCIENT FORESTS

- o Its time to take our head out of the sand. It is time to stop favoring the short term interests of big business over the real interests and concerns of families and communities in the northwest.
- o Unlike the do-nothing approach of the Bush administration, we need to take action now to open opportunities for logging communities. We need to explore and implement new forest management techniques that can preserve our ancient forests while sustaining local economies. We can do that. In fact --- unless we do that, neither our forests nor the communities that have been build up around the timber industry will survive. I have seen the tragedy experienced by a community in the Olympic Peninsula when the last tree was cut down there. With that tree went all hopes for the future of that community. Nothing was left. This need not happen.
- o The real choice is not ^{jobs} people or the spotted owl. The real choice is jobs now AND jobs later. We need to manage our natural resources for the long-term so that our communities that have grown up around the timber industry will have resources next year -- and ten years from now.
- o We also need to take action to retain important wood processing jobs here in the United States while exploring ways to broaden and diversify the economies of communities in the Northwest.
- o We have to date seen an utter failure of government to come to grips with this issue. The result is that whole communities have been thrown into crisis as decisions are being made by fiat by the courts. We can't allow this situation to persist. We need to bring the logging industry, communities, environmentalists and government representatives together in an honest dialogue and arrive at solutions that are based on sound science -- rather than on politics or on a drive to maximize short-term financial gain of a few big companies.
- o If we act now, we can PRESERVE jobs and logging communities. If we fail to, we will preserve neither.

7-7-92

Defense on Earth in the Balance : Big hits coming on Thursday

AGJ ON THE ENVIRONMENT

o VIRGIN MATERIALS TAX:

[BASIC MESSAGE HERE IS THAT THIS IS JUST ONE POSSIBLE ELEMENT OF A CAMPAIGN TO REDUCE OUR GROWING SOLID WASTE PROBLEMS AND, AS A MARKET-BASED, RATHER THAN A COMMAND AND CONTROL TYPE APPROACH, IT MAY BE A PREFERRED POLICY OPTION.]

Every year, each of us -- every man, woman and child in the United States -- generates one ton of municipal solid waste. We throw enough away every 12 months to build a 12-foot-high wall stretching from New York to Los Angeles. Our "throw away" society is building these mounds of garbage at an ever increasing rate -- and we are rapidly losing landfill space to dispose of our trash. Fearing contamination of land and water, communities often strongly resist having new landfills sited near their homes, schools and areas where children play. We know that human health and the environment are at risk. What we are just beginning to appreciate is that our economy also suffers when we waste resources. The fact of the matter is that much of what we throw away is actually material that could be used as an important manufacturing feedstock. And, in many industrial processes, such as aluminum manufacturing, we save on energy when we use recycled rather than virgin materials.

We need an effective strategy now to address this growing problem of garbage build up -- and to take advantage of the many important opportunities presented by reusing materials. I would propose the following: First, we need to reduce waste at its source -- we need to encourage manufacturers to develop streamlined, efficient manufacturing processes. Second, we need to encourage recycling efforts. For example, I have worked hard on an initiative in Congress that would reward manufacturers who use recycled materials by requiring federal agencies to purchase their products in preference to products made completely from raw materials. Third, we should resort to incineration only where the materials are non-recyclable and only then when we are certain that the emissions from the facility do not threaten the health of those living near the facility. Moreover, wherever possible, we should try to harness the energy produced by incineration and thereby reduce other energy needs. Finally, we need to begin to explore ways to get the economic rules of the road right. For example, right now, because of the huge amounts of taxpayer dollars that go to subsidizing logging operations in our national forests -- we are selling our ancient trees for less than the price of a cheeseburger -- it often is cheaper for a paper manufacturer to use freshly cut trees as a feedstock rather than recycled pulp and paper. I believe we need to begin to change that situation -- we should investigate the idea, for example, of setting up a system where

manufacturers who want to invest in recycling equipment would be given tax credits for doing so, while those who do not want to recycle would pay a fee based on the amount of raw, virgin materials they use. We are learning that this kind of market-based, rather than the traditional command-and-control approach, may be the most efficient way to achieve environmental goals.

With this kind of strategy, I believe we can successfully and efficiently take on our garbage problems; improve our economy; and preserve our natural resources.

o CAFE

o The sound bite:

Q: Will increased fuel efficiency requirements harm the US auto industry?

A: "There is no reason to assume that increased efficiency requirements will harm US auto makers. In fact, if you look at cars on a size/class basis, you will see that US companies produce cars in every category that are just as efficient as those produced by any of our competitors. Japanese manufacturers have higher fleet averages -- but that is because they make more small cars than US manufacturers. And while US manufacturers have been improving their efficiency over the last several years, Japanese fleet averages have been decreasing. In supporting changes in our CAFE laws, I have fought for changes that would be fair to US manufacturers who produce a full range of cars -- unlike the current standards that work to the disadvantage of full range manufacturers.

If we really want to see why Detroit is suffering, let's look at soaring health care costs that are increasingly borne by manufacturers; let's look at the education and retraining expenses they have to shoulder because the Reagan/Bush team have turned their backs on the states; let's look at the fat salaries some CEO's have taken while their companies are struggling; and let's look at the unfair barriers that block US cars and auto parts from competing in other markets.

o While I emphasize the need to level the playing field, I do believe that we need to -- and can -- improve fuel efficiency. CAFE reform must be one part -- but just one part -- of what must be a truly global, comprehensive, and strategic approach to the dangerous situation we have placed ourselves in with regard to oil use. We currently import more than half of our oil needs. This jeopardizes our national security and imperils our economy -- oil imports account for the lion's share of our trade imbalance, and our foreign competitors use less than half the amount of energy than we do to produce the same amount of products. We also know that, because we

burn so much oil, we put more CO2 into the atmosphere than any other nation.

o President Bush apparently does not think this is a problem -- the energy plan he submitted to Congress had virtually no conservation measures in it and -- as determined by his own experts -- would have resulted in a further increase in our dependence on foreign sources of oil. In addition, President Bush was the only leader of the industrial world to oppose a Climate treaty with binding commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

o I believe that increased CAFE requirements should be part of our strategy, and I am a cosponsor of a measure that would raise standards (to 40 mpg by 2001). It is estimated that this initiative will save 2.5 million barrels of oil per day by 2005 and reduce projected CO2 emissions by 440 million tons. In addition, because it will reduce our fuel needs, the bill is expected to save consumers as much as \$74 billion.

o Will increased CAFE reduce auto safety? The evidence is to the contrary. Between 1974 and 1990, when US fleet fuel efficiency increased from 14 mpg to 27.8 mpg, US traffic fatalities decreased per 100 million vehicle miles travelled to 2.1 deaths in 1990 from 3.5 deaths in 1974. This is because fuel efficiency increases have not happened in a vacuum -- we have also made important strides in improving auto safety -- and we will continue that trend as fuel efficiency improves further. The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration predicts, for example, that by 1995, 95% of all cars will use airbags. Further advances are also being made in materials science, vehicle design, and anti-lock brakes systems that will further improve vehicle safety. And it is not the case that improvements in fuel efficiency can only be achieved through vehicle downsizing. The Office of Technology Assessment and other experts have testified before Congress that significant improvements could be achieved while the size and performance mix of the fleet is maintained. A study by the Bush administration reaches the same conclusion. The EPA 1990 "Trends Report" showed that, with no changes in size mix, a 45% gain in CAFE was possible with a fleet that included "Thunderbirds, Buick station wagons, and Rolls Royces."

o Are further improvements in fuel efficiency technically feasible? The best evidence that significant gains are possible is the Honda Civic VX. In just one product cycle, the fuel economy of this car was improved by 44%, and even the California version of this car -- which meets the toughest emissions standards -- is rated at 55 mpg. In addition, the car seats 5 passengers rather than the 4 passenger-capacity of earlier models.

Moreover, there is a wealth of technology on the shelf that can be used to further enhance fuel efficiency. Transmission control, variable valve timing, engine friction reduction, improved aerodynamics, lean-burn engines, and two-stroke engines are just some

of the technologies that will improve fleet efficiency if used more extensively by auto manufacturers.

[Finally, it should be noted that the Bryan bill offers credits for flexibly and alternatively fueled vehicles that offset the mileage requirements and gives the Secretary of Transportation to roll back the requirements if it is found that they are infeasible.]

- o Are improved fuel efficiency requirements to the competitive disadvantage of domestic auto makers? During the 1981-1991 period -- when the Reagan/Bush team repeatedly rolled back CAFE standards -- the Big three share of the US auto market fell from 71 to 60%. At the same time, imports of fuel efficient cars rose by 300%. Clearly there is a strong market for fuel efficient automobiles and Detroit would be wise to move aggressively to capture it.

I suppose it could be argued that President Bush -- who opposes increased CAFE standards -- really has served the best interests of the US auto industry. Just look at how he even took the heads of the Big three with him to Tokyo....

- o CO2 TAX

It makes sense to tax pollution -- rather than productivity and hard-earned savings as we now do. I believe that a political consensus is building that would support the imposition of a carbon tax -- if it were revenue neutral -- that is, if the revenues raised were given back to consumers through payroll deductions or to offset the added cost of purchasing the most efficient appliances, for example. It would also be important that our competitors adopted similar measures -- and indeed, leaders in Japan and the European Community have already signaled their interest in doing so. We need to investigate this issue thoroughly. Recent studies by the EPA and others have shown that, if designed along the lines described, this type of tax could strengthen and stimulate our economy.

- o THE GLOBAL MARSHALL PLAN

- o First and most importantly -- this is not proposed as an initiative that would be undertaken solely by the United States. Rather it is described "within a framework of global agreements that obligate all nations to act in concert." (EITB, p. 301).

- o Funding is to come from all developed nations -- and the oil rich Arab nations -- not from the US alone.

- o This would not be a give-away of the proprietary rights of US companies. To the contrary, "better protection for patents and copyrights" and "significant improvements in the current patchwork of laws, especially in those countries that fail to safeguard the rights

of inventors and developers of new technology" (EITB, p. 320) are express elements of the Strategic environment initiative proposed as part of the Global Marshall Plan.

ANCIENT FORESTS

- o We must act now to protect our ancient forests. Less than 5% of our original forest cover remains.
- o If we act now, we can PRESERVE jobs and logging communities. It is because of the Bush administration's failure to deal with this problem -- the Administration's repeated efforts to undermine legislation that is carefully crafted to preserve our forest resources; to fire those Forest Service employees who have tried to manage the forests in a way that properly balances commodity uses with other uses of the forests; and to ignore the changes that are happening in the forest industry such as increased automation and mechanization -- that we have reached this critical stage.
- o I have seen the tragedy experienced by a community in the Olympic Peninsula when the last tree was cut down there. With that tree went all hopes for the future of that community. Nothing was left.
- o This need not happen. But it will happen unless we realize that cannot continue business as usual.
- o We have known for almost 30 years that we can't keep harvesting as much timber from the northwest as we had been. There have been at least 5 forest service studies predicting a major contraction in timber supply in the northwest between 1990 and 2005 -- simply because the trees were being cut faster than they can grow back. In addition, technological developments in the logging industry continue to reduce job opportunities -- in the past 15 years, the Northwest lost 30,000 jobs in the wood products industry before any action was taken on the spotted owl, largely because of increased mechanization of wood work and processing.
- o The Bush administration would prefer to ignore all of this -- their strategy at best has been to shoot the messenger while staging phoney photo ops. Indeed, just as the president was in California last week for a staged signing of a proclamation to protect ancient trees in Sequoia national forest, a member of his own cabinet -- Secretary Madigan who has responsibility for the Forest service -- said that there is nothing the government can do to save the spotted owl and that a plank of the republican platform will include a call to "string all the environmentalists up."
- o Its time to take our head out of the sand. It is time to stop favoring the short term interests of big business over the real interests and concerns of families and communities in the northwest.
- o Unlike the do-nothing approach of the Bush administration, we need to take action now to open opportunities for logging communities. I

am a cosponsor of the Adams bill -- a piece of legislation that will take important steps toward preserving our ancient forests -- and thereby preserving logging communities. We need to reduce the export of raw logs and retain important and skilled jobs here in the United States. We need to offer job retraining opportunities to those who will lose their jobs as we reduce harvests to sustainable levels -- as we must -- and as logging becomes more mechanized. We need to stop wasting taxpayer monies by subsidizing timber companies and selling off our national forests for the price of a cheeseburger.

5 PAGES

TO: Katie
FROM: Brett
DATE: 13 August 1992

DRAFT CAFE TALKING POINTS

O Governor Bill Clinton's and Senator Al Gore's economic plan has three overarching objectives: to create a strong domestic economy, to create competitiveness in the global economy, and have a healthy American people. Though CAFE standards are a difficult and controversial issue the position that Governor Clinton has taken is one that will best serve to achieve these objectives:

O A strong domestic economy means jobs for the American people and not just any jobs. The American people want jobs that are longterm, high skill, and high wage. By promoting a gradual change in the CAFE standards the American auto industry will become more competitive in a time frame that is achievable. Additionally, fuel efficiency is not simply good for the air, it is great for the pocketbooks of Americans who must drive to work every day. Money saved is money to invest in savings for college educations or to spend in the American economy.

O On the point of competitiveness in the global economy, increasing fuel efficiency results in American automakers increased competitiveness. By providing more fuel efficient cars American auto manufacturers will be more competitive world wide.

O Additionally, Bill Clinton and Al Gore are interested in a healthy environment...

MORE STUFF

Clinton and Al Gore believe that to compete in the world economy and to protect U.S. jobs and the environment, we must increase energy efficiency in all areas by 20% by the year 2000.

One reason that German employees make 125% what U.S. workers do is that German companies use only half the energy to produce their goods. We must achieve international standards of efficiency to compete in a 21st century global market.

One of the best ways to increase energy efficiency, encourage innovation to protect U.S. auto jobs, improve the air for America's cities, and save consumers billions of dollars is to increase auto efficiency.

The doubling of auto efficiency from 1974 to 1990 from 14 miles per

gallon(mpg) to over 28 mpg saved consumers billions, kept the U.S. auto makers competitive through several oil price shocks, protect U.S. auto jobs against foreign cars that get better mileage, and was the most effective program to reduce our reliance on risky foreign oil.

The Clinton/Gore team supports increasing the Corporate Auto Fuel Efficiency(CAFE) standards by 40% in the next 9 years to:

CUT OUR RELIANCE ON FOREIGN OIL

The U.S. now imports 52% of its oil-- the most in history -- which accounts for half of the U.S. trade deficit, and the loss of thousands of jobs due to billions of dollars leaving the country. This puts our national security and economy at risk to the whims of dictators like Saddam Hussein.

PROTECT U.S. JOBS

Increasing CAFE will protect U.S. auto jobs by keeping U.S. automakers competitive with foreign competition. Tragically, the GM plants that recently closed, produced cars that were not selling well and averaged 21 miles per gallon(mpg) while the U.S. fleet averaged 28 mpg and the Japanese average over 30 mpg.

The top selling cars in the U.S. tend to be more efficient cars like the GM Saturn and Ford Taurus, Tempo and Escort that incorporate high technology features like aerodynamic bodies, frontwheel drive, overdrive transmissions, and personal safety features like airbags.

INCREASE JOBS BY PUTTING MORE MONEY IN CONSUMERS' POCKET

Increasing CAFE will increase jobs by saving consumers up to \$74 billion annually -- that is \$300 per person. This could create over 1,000,000 new jobs.

HELP U.S. AUTOMAKERS COMPETE

For U.S. cars to compete in a tough international market, we must produce more efficient cars. In 1990 gas prices in Europe and Japan ranged from \$2.50 to \$4.25 per gallon versus \$1.05 in the U.S.

This year, the Japanese auto analysts told U.S. automakers to do two things to sell more cars in Japan: put the steering wheel on the right side and make cars that get better mileage.

According to a recent National Academy of Sciences study, "fuel economy requirements that are set too low could leave the nation and its automotive industry seriously disadvantaged."(NRC, page 156)

CREATE NEW TECHNOLOGIES

Efficiency will also create new technologies to compete in the world clean car markets like Mexico City, Bangkok, and Jakarta. These are the car markets of the future.

These technologies would include the lean-burn engine that gets 55-61 mpg, the Stirling and turbine engines. This would ensure U.S. automakers a place in the clean, Greencar market now being dominated by the Japanese and Europeans.

EFFICIENT CARS ARE SAFE CARS

Increased auto efficiency does not make cars less safe. In fact, it may make them safer. Between 1974 and 1990, cars went from 14 to 28 mpg, yet auto fatalities dropped by 40%. This is because most auto efficiency improvements came from improved technology like frontwheel drive and composite materials, rather than downsizing. Also most cars will have airbags by 1995 which will significantly increase safety.

40% INCREASE IS ACHIEVABLE

U.S. automakers can easily achieve this by 2001. Today the most efficient car in each class averages 35 mpg -- a 25% improvement. Automakers have 9 years to increase that fleet average to 40 mpg.

AUTO EFFICIENCY IS THE EASIEST WAY TO ACHIEVE CLEAN AIR

Three of five Americans breathe polluted air and the American Lung Association estimates this may cost up to \$50 billion per year in added health care costs, crop and material damage. The Clean Air Act requires cities to clean their air by either requiring tougher California pollution standards or other measures. Improving CAFE to reduce the pollution from autos will allow some cities to meet the standards without losing jobs to mandated restrictions.

clcafe2, Brett Hulsey, x2643

July 29, 1992

STATEMENT OF

**STEVE BECKMAN
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIST
INTERNATIONAL UNION, UAW**

before the

**COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
UNITED STATES SENATE**

on

AUTO TRADE POLICY

on behalf of:

**International Union, United
Automobile, Aerospace &
Agricultural Implement Workers
of America (UAW)**

**Summary Statement of
Steve Beckman
International Economist
International Union, UAW**

For many years the trade debate in this country has focused on our trade imbalance with Japan. Another constant in U.S.-Japan trade has been the massive contribution of trade in automotive products. This single category of products accounted for U.S. trade deficits with Japan amounting to more than \$250 billion during the past decade and more than \$30 billion last year.

The UAW believes it is time for Congress to take the steps necessary to reduce our huge trade imbalance with Japan and to help preserve strong domestic auto and auto parts industries. The health of the domestic U.S. automotive industry has a profound impact on the health of the entire U.S. economy and the well-being of American workers. As a customer for a wide variety of materials and sophisticated industrial equipment, the automotive industry, either directly or indirectly, has an impact on millions of American workers.

The UAW strongly supports the proposed Trade Enhancement Act of 1992 (S. 2145). This legislation would require the U.S.-Japan merchandise trade imbalance to decline by at least 20 percent each year for five years. If this does not occur, imports of Japanese vehicles would be limited to 2.3 million, the number which were imported in 1990. The number of Japanese imports would have to be reduced by an amount equal to any increase in production by the Japanese companies' U.S. operations (transplants). This would ensure that additional transplant production will offset imports from Japan, rather than vehicles produced by the Big Three domestic auto companies.

The UAW believes that the Automotive Competitiveness Act of 1992 (S. 2395), introduced by Sen. Baucus, would also help to preserve a strong domestic automotive industry and reduce our huge trade imbalance with Japan. This bill would require the Administration to negotiate a trade agreement with Japan limiting Japanese imports and low domestic content Japanese transplant production to 3.6 million vehicles per year. This would encourage the Japanese transplants to increase their percentage of domestic content above 70 percent, since such vehicles would not be subject to any limitations. In exchange for this relief from imports, the Baucus bill would require the domestic auto companies to improve their competitiveness.

The UAW also urges the Committee to give favorable consideration to the auto trade amendment sponsored by Reps. Gephardt and Levin, which was adopted by the House during consideration of H.R. 5100. It would require the Administration to negotiate with Japan for a continuation of the existing voluntary restraint on imports of motor vehicles from Japan at the current level, and require the Administration to monitor whether the Japanese auto companies are complying with the commitments announced in Tokyo in January concerning increased purchases of U.S. built auto parts. The amendment makes these commitments, including the increased domestic sourcing of parts for the transplants from 50 percent to 70 percent, subject to enforcement under Section 301 of U.S. trade law. Contrary to the claims of opponents of the amendment, it would not harm the operation of the Japanese companies' U.S. assembly facilities or the Japanese parts suppliers that have built plants in the U.S. It is not a burdensome or discriminatory requirement, since it merely requires the Japanese auto companies to live up to the commitments which they made.

Mr. Chairman, my name is Steve Beckman. I am the International Economist for the International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW). I appear here today on behalf of the 1.4 million active and retired members of the UAW and their families. We appreciate the opportunity to present our views on auto trade policy.

For many years the trade debate in this country has focused on our trading relationship with Japan. Since the early 1980s, when the U.S. worldwide trade deficit began to soar, the U.S. trade imbalance with Japan has been paramount. Some people attributed the dramatic rise in Japan's surplus to the dollar-yen exchange rate; others focused attention on U.S. industry's lack of an "export orientation" or of "competitiveness".

Many other political and economic theories have been advanced to explain the persistent U.S.-Japan trade imbalance. But although much has changed in politics and economics during the last decade, the huge U.S. trade deficit with Japan has remained. It has survived wide swings in exchange rates, vigorous U.S. export promotion programs and Japanese import facilitation programs, substantial improvement in U.S. trade accounts with other countries, shifts in macroeconomic policy, bilateral negotiations in specific product areas and on "structural impediments", and numerous changes in U.S. trade laws.

Another constant in U.S.-Japan trade has been the massive contribution of trade in automotive products. This single category of products, which includes vehicles, parts, components and materials, accounted for U.S. trade deficits with Japan amounting to more than \$250 billion during the past decade and more than \$30 billion last year.

Mr. Chairman, the UAW is convinced that the U.S.-Japan trade imbalance will not be significantly reduced without substantial reduction of the U.S. deficit in automotive trade. We are equally convinced that the overall U.S. deficit with Japan will not disappear without concerted effort by both governments and by private business interests.

During the period of extremely large U.S. trade deficits with Japan, the domestic auto industry has gone through a radical transformation. The changes implemented by companies throughout the industry have produced remarkable improvements in vehicle quality, a wide variety of new models, utilization of advanced technologies in the production and operation of vehicles, compliance with increasingly stringent safety, fuel economy and emissions requirements and numerous other benefits.

But there have been painful, harmful changes as well. Hundreds of thousands of workers have lost their jobs in the domestic auto industry as the Japanese auto companies have captured a steadily rising share of the U.S. market. In addition, thousands of workers in the automotive parts and supplier industries have also seen their jobs disappear as imported parts, materials and components replaced domestic products. This has had a devastating impact on countless communities throughout the United States. The announcement by General Motors in December 1991 that it would be closing 21 plants affecting 74,000 employees, and the February announcement of many of the specific plants affected, were simply the latest in a long series of retrenchments by the domestic auto and auto parts companies.

The U.S. merchandise trade figures for 1991 demonstrate the utter lack of progress in reducing the U.S. trade deficit with Japan. While the total U.S. deficit fell from \$102 billion to \$65 billion, the deficit with Japan increased from \$41 billion in 1990 to \$43 billion last year. Further deterioration in the U.S. trade balance with Japan has occurred this year. The deficit for the first five months of 1991 was \$16.1 billion; it grew to \$18.5 billion in the same months of 1992. Mr. Chairman, the U.S. trade deficit with Japan is clearly moving in the wrong direction and it is imperative that this deterioration in bilateral trade be stopped.

The worsening of the U.S. deficit with Japan in 1991 was especially troubling because of the economic circumstances in which it occurred. With Japan's economy expanding, though slowly, and the U.S. economy in serious recession last year, U.S. exports to Japan should have been growing and imports from Japan shrinking. Instead, the opposite took place and the U.S. deficit widened. Now that the Japanese economy is weakening, U.S. exports have fallen and there

is greater pressure in Japan to keep production levels high by increasing exports. This pattern has been observed during past Japanese recessions, and it is visible today. Japan's global trade surplus has increased substantially this year and it is headed even higher.

Unfortunately, President Bush's trip to Japan early this year did nothing to correct our trade imbalance with Japan. Instead of getting enforceable commitments, the President came back with more "promises" from the Japanese government and Japanese auto companies. It is worth noting that every Japanese government trade package announced since 1983 has claimed to have resolved the trade imbalance between the two countries. Unless the U.S. government takes concrete steps to enforce the latest promises, they are likely to be equally ineffective.

The UAW believes it is time for Congress to take those steps necessary to reduce our huge trade imbalance with Japan, and to help preserve strong domestic auto and auto parts industries. We cannot be content any longer with vague promises.

The UAW has been objecting to the huge automotive trade imbalance with Japan since the early 1980s. The Japanese auto companies responded to this criticism by building transplant assembly facilities in this country, and then significantly expanding production at those facilities. But this has come at the expense of sales by the domestic auto companies, not Japanese imports. As a result, the share of the U.S. auto market captured by Japanese auto companies has steadily risen to nearly one-third of the U.S. retail market. At the same time, there has been a corresponding erosion of the domestic auto industry. This has had a devastating impact not only on the workers employed in the domestic auto industry, but also on the entire U.S. economy.

The health of the domestic U.S. automotive industry has a profound impact on the health of the entire U.S. economy and the well-being of American workers. In addition to creating high productivity, high wage jobs directly, the industry is a major customer for other important American industries. Many producers of materials, such as textiles, glass, ceramics, steel, aluminum and others, utilize advanced technologies to be as efficient as their competitors around the world. They depend on the domestic automotive industry as an important customer.

Domestic producers of the most sophisticated industrial equipment also rely on purchases by the domestic auto companies to justify their investments in research and development and innovative products. This is the case for American machine tool producers, for firms specializing in robotics, for computer-assisted design and manufacturing (CAD-CAM) equipment makers, for semiconductor firms and a variety of other companies. The automotive industry, including the traditional producers of materials, parts and supplies, is essential to the further development of the high-technology industries in this country because, whether we like it or not, purchases of this equipment are often made on the basis of national strategies for technology development rather than price, quality and service.

Thus, the continued erosion of the traditional domestic auto and auto parts and suppliers industries will have a devastating impact on other industries and the health of the entire U.S. economy. The jobs of hundreds of thousands of workers in other industries are dependent, either directly or indirectly, on the preservation of a strong domestic automotive industry. We will not be able to "jump start" our economy and enter a vigorous recovery from the recession so long as the domestic automotive industry continues to hemorrhage.

In an effort to deflect criticism over the huge, ongoing automotive trade imbalance, the Japanese automakers have embarked on a vigorous PR campaign designed to convince the media and the public that they are just as "American" as the Big Three domestic automakers. By making exaggerated claims about the domestic content in the vehicles assembled at their transplant facilities, the Japanese auto companies have tried to create the impression that there is no difference between the level of domestic content in their transplant vehicles and vehicles produced by the Big Three domestic automakers. They have also argued that their investments in this country have more than offset any decline in the domestic auto and auto parts companies, thereby resulting in a net plus for the U.S. economy. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Recent studies by the University of Michigan's Office for the Study of Automotive Transportation (OSAT) and the Economic Strategy Institute (ESI) have indicated the extent of the difference between traditional U.S. producers and the Japanese transplants. For example,

OSAT found that only half of the parts value for Honda's Ohio-assembled Accord model were domestic. As the transplant that has been in operation the longest, this figure is likely to be among the highest for the transplant assemblers. By way of comparison, Big Three models assembled here have far higher levels of domestically purchased parts. On average, models sold by the Big Three have about 85-90 percent domestic content. Similarly, the ESI study shows that Japanese transplants import about two-thirds of the value of machinery and equipment used in vehicle assembly, while the Big Three buy more than three-quarters of theirs in this country. The General Accounting Office (GAO) has found that, due to this higher level of foreign sourcing, the substitution of Japanese transplant production for traditional domestic producers has resulted in a net job loss for American workers in the auto and related industries. UAW studies have reached similar conclusions, but with an even larger negative impact on employment of about 80,000 jobs in 1991.

The fact that the Japanese transplant operations in the U.S. purchase a large proportion of their parts and production machinery from Japan and elsewhere diminishes the chance for other American workers to benefit from these investments. The keiretsu supplier firms that have followed the Japanese assemblers to the U.S. also purchase more of their inputs from Japan, so their contribution to the U.S. economy is also smaller than traditional U.S. firms.

Mr. Chairman, because of these factors and their relevance to U.S. employment in well paid manufacturing and related service industries, the UAW draws a distinction between the traditional U.S. automotive industry and the Japanese transplants. We believe it is imperative that the United States adopt tough trade policies to ensure the preservation of a strong domestic automotive industry.

The UAW strongly supports the proposed Trade Enhancement Act of 1992 (S. 2145), introduced by Senator Don Riegle. This legislation would require that the U.S.-Japan merchandise trade imbalance decline by at least 20 percent each year for five years. This would gradually eliminate the U.S. deficit. Since Japan accounted for two-thirds of the total U.S. deficit

in 1991, and an even larger share so far this year, this requirement should have a substantial positive impact on total U.S. trade.

Significantly, the legislation does not specify the method for achieving trade balance. It leaves the needed combination of changes in exports and imports up to the governments and private businesses to determine. Thus, Japan would retain flexibility in how to meet the trade deficit reduction targets. Since auto and auto parts accounted for three fourths of the trade deficit in 1991, as a practical matter Japan would have to reduce its exports of autos and auto parts to the United States, or increase its imports of U.S. built autos and auto parts, in order to meet the targets. But Japan could also help to bring its trade into balance by importing other U.S. goods and services, including agriculture commodities.

However, S. 2145 leaves no doubt as to the importance of meeting these trade deficit reduction targets. If the trade imbalance is not reduced by 20 percent in any one of the years, imports of motor vehicles from Japan into the U.S. would be subjected to restrictions. The number of Japanese imports would be limited to 2,300,000 (which is the number which entered this country in 1990).

Under the proposed legislation, Japanese auto producers would be allowed to increase their U.S. vehicle imports in an amount equal to any increase in exports of U.S. built vehicles to Japan. This reciprocity provision should encourage Japan to open up its automotive market, which up to now has been virtually closed to U.S. producers.

On the other hand, under S. 2145 the number of Japanese imports would have to be reduced by an amount equal to any increase in production by the Japanese transplant assembly facilities. This provision would ensure that additional transplant production will offset imports from Japan, rather than vehicles produced by the Big Three domestic auto companies.

The UAW believes that the use of automotive trade sanctions to meet the trade deficit reduction requirements of S. 2145 is entirely appropriate. As we pointed out earlier, auto trade accounts for about three-quarters of the U.S.-Japan trade imbalance. There is no apparent way to eliminate the overall trade imbalance without substantially eliminating the auto trade deficit. The

sanctions in S. 2145 provide a specific method for achieving that result should the U.S. deficit not otherwise narrow.

Senator Baucus has also introduced legislation, the proposed Automotive Competitiveness Act of 1992 (S. 2395), which would help to preserve a strong domestic automotive industry and to reduce our huge trade imbalance with Japan. This bill would require the Administration to negotiate a trade agreement with Japan limiting imports of Japanese motor vehicles to 3,600,000 per year. The bill would include within the definition of Japanese imports sales of vehicles by the Japanese transplant operations in this country which have less than 70 percent domestic content. Thus, in addition to restraining the growth of Japanese imports, S. 2395 would encourage the Japanese transplants to increase their percentage of domestic content above 70 percent (just as they promised to do in Tokyo last January). Japanese transplants with domestic content in excess of 70 percent would not be subjected to any limitations.

In exchange for providing relief from Japanese imports, the Baucus bill would require the domestic auto companies to meet certain standards for improving the quality of their products and limiting executive compensation. The premise underlying these requirements is that the Big Three automakers should be required to improve their competitiveness, which would ultimately benefit consumers, as the quid pro quo for any trade relief.

The UAW believes that the Baucus bill represents a very positive contribution to the debate on auto trade issues. It recognizes the importance of preserving a strong domestic auto industry, both for the workers employed directly in the industry and for the overall health of the entire U.S. economy. It also recognizes that the continuing high levels of Japanese imports, along with the growth in production of low-domestic content Japanese transplants, are undermining the domestic auto industry. The insistence that the Big Three continue to improve the quality of their vehicles and begin to limit executive compensation certainly seems reasonable from our perspective.

In addition to the bills which have been introduced by Senator Riegle (S. 2145) and Senator Baucus (S. 2395), we believe this Committee should give favorable consideration to the

auto trade amendment sponsored by Representatives Gephardt and Levin, which was adopted by the House of Representatives on July 10, 1992 by a vote of 260 to 166 during consideration of the Trade Expansion Act of 1992 (H.R. 5100). This amendment contains two basic requirements:

- (1) It would require the U.S. Trade Representative to negotiate with Japan for a continuation of the existing Voluntary Restraint Agreement on imports of Japanese motor vehicles into this country; and
- (2) It would require the Administration to monitor whether the Japanese auto companies are complying with the commitments which were announced by President Bush and Prime Minister Miyazawa last January in Tokyo concerning increased purchases of U.S. built auto parts, and would make these commitments enforceable under Section 301 of the U.S. trade laws.

To dispel any notion that the amendment would somehow hurt Japanese transplant operations in this country, the Gephardt-Levin amendment contains a specific section stating that:

"Nothing in this Act may be construed to have the effect of --

- (1) terminating or limiting to any extent the production of motor vehicles by transplant vehicle manufacturers; or
- (2) limiting or reducing jobs of United States workers at the facilities of such manufacturers."

Despite the inclusion of this provision, opponents of the Gephardt-Levin amendment have continued to argue that it would somehow harm the Japanese transplants. This is not accurate. In fact, the amendment would actually help to stimulate employment at the transplant facilities and other parts companies in this country.

Opponents of the Gephardt-Levin Amendment have argued that it would somehow place a cap on overall production at the Japanese transplants. This is totally false. As indicated above, the amendment contains a section which specifically provides that there shall not be any limit on Japanese transplant production. The amendment does require the U.S. Trade Representative to negotiate a continuation of the existing VRA on Japanese imports. But this applies only to

imports, not to Japanese transplant production. Although the underlying trade bill to which the Gephardt-Levin amendment was attached, H.R. 5100, originally contained a provision that was construed by some as limiting Japanese transplant production, this provision was deleted by the Ways and Means Committee's Trade Subcommittee.

Opponents of the Gephardt-Levin amendment have also argued that it unfairly discriminates against the Japanese transplants because it imposes a 70 percent domestic content standard on their products, but does not impose a similar requirement on the Big Three domestic automakers or other foreign producers (such as BMW) who may begin assembling cars in this country.

However, the amendment simply asks the Japanese transplants to live up to the commitments they made on auto parts during the Tokyo summit in January. This can hardly be considered "discriminatory". After all, the Japanese auto companies would not have made the commitments in the first place if they felt they were unreasonable or unfair.

In any event, the Big Three domestic auto makers already have, on average, about 85-90 percent domestic parts content in the vehicles which they assemble in this country. Thus, as a practical matter they already meet the 70 percent standard set forth by the Japanese companies in Tokyo. Accordingly, there is no need to seek legislation to monitor or enforce compliance by the Big Three with this standard.

Furthermore, many of the persons who are now opposing the Gephardt-Levin amendment also were opposed to the across-the-board domestic content bill considered by Congress in the early 1980s that would have applied to all companies selling vehicles in the U.S. market. Thus, they are being disingenuous when they criticize the Gephardt-Levin bill on the grounds that it is too narrow.

The BMW issue is a total red herring. BMW has simply announced its intention to build an assembly facility in this country. It does not, as of yet, assemble any vehicles in the United States. Even after BMW begins assembly operations, the relatively small volume of output expected is not likely to have any significant impact on auto parts purchases. The across-the-board

domestic content bill considered by Congress in the early 80's contained an exemption for low volume producers (such as new, start-up operations like the proposed BMW facility). No one claimed that this was somehow "discriminatory".

Opponents of the Gephardt-Levin amendment have also argued that it represents an attempt by American owned auto parts companies to get more business, and that this will prevent the Japanese transplants from expanding in-house production of auto parts, or from expanding production at Japanese owned parts companies which are located in this country. That fact is, however, that the Japanese auto companies can satisfy the 70 percent domestic content standard set forth in the Tokyo commitments by building more parts in-house at the Japanese transplant facilities, or by purchasing more parts from Japanese affiliated suppliers located in this country. The Japanese automakers are not limited to parts produced by traditional, American owned parts companies.

Thus, the Gephardt-Levin amendment could actually lead to increased production and employment at the Japanese transplants and Japanese owned parts companies in this country, as well as traditional American parts companies. The thrust of the amendment is to ensure that the Japanese live up to their promises to raise the level of U.S. built auto parts in the Japanese transplant vehicles. It does not matter which companies produce those parts, so long as they are built in this country.

Some persons have argued that the Japanese transplants will not be able to meet the 70 percent domestic content standard. As a result, production and employment at those plants will suffer. This ignores the fact that the 70 percent domestic content standard was proposed by the Japanese auto companies themselves. They would not have committed to reach this figure if it was burdensome.

In any event, if a Japanese transplant fails to meet the 70 percent standard, the Gephardt-Levin amendment simply directs the U.S. Trade Representative to determine what actions to take under Section 301 of our trade laws to enforce the auto parts commitments. The amendment specifies that the U.S. Trade Representative shall only take action under section 301 against the

"foreign goods or economic sector" involved. Thus, the USTR may not take any action against the Japanese transplants. The amendment also states that the USTR may not take any action against goods produced by parent corporations of Japanese transplants which comply with the auto parts commitments. Thus, for example, the USTR could not take any action against imports of Toyotas, simply because Honda has failed to comply with the auto parts commitments.

In addition to strongly supporting the Gephardt-Levin amendment, the UAW also supports several of the other provisions included in H.R. 5100, which passed the House earlier this month. The changes in anti-dumping and countervailing duty laws would tighten enforcement of these protections against unfair trade. We also endorse reinstatement of the Super 301 provision that was included in the 1988 trade act but has since expired. It can be a useful element in a U.S. trade policy that stands up for U.S. production and employment.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, the UAW is convinced that the jobs of hundreds of thousands of UAW members, hundreds of thousands of other American workers and the continued survival of many communities across the nation are at stake in the battle to preserve our domestic automotive industry. Only Congress can provide the industry and its workers with the opportunity to make their appropriate contribution to the economic strength of the country. Accordingly, the UAW strongly urges this Committee to give favorable consideration to the auto trade bills sponsored by Senator Riegle (S. 2145) and by Senator Baucus (S. 2395), as well as the Gephardt-Levin amendment which was adopted by the House as part of the comprehensive trade legislation (H.R. 5100).

The UAW appreciates the opportunity to testify on auto trade policy. We look forward to working with you, Mr. Chairman, and the other Members of this Committee as you consider this critically important issue. Thank you.

August 13, 1992

M E M O R A N D U M

FROM: KENNETH BERLIN

TO: /JOHN SALLET
KATIE MCGINTY

Attached are a few responses I had prepared before you asked me to stop work on the project. Please call me if you have any questions or would like me to work on any other responses.

K.B.

Responses

1. Taxes

Senator Gore has proposed a partial restructuring of the way we protect the environment against pollution, not an increase in the taxes we pay. Currently, we try in most cases to reduce or stop pollution by regulations that set forth detailed rules on how business should operate. Senator Gore has proposed replacing some of these regulations with market based incentives to reduce the discharge of pollutants, including charges on pollutants and a charge on emissions of carbon dioxide. Each of these proposed charges would be offset on a dollar for dollar basis by decreases in other taxes so that they would not create a new tax burden in the economy. This approach, replacing certain regulations with market based incentives to stop pollution, is supported by many business persons and environmental groups.

Governor Clinton and Senator Gore do not believe a carbon tax is necessary to achieve the nation's commitment of stabilizing by the year 2000 the emissions of carbon dioxide at 1990 levels. That can be achieved by applying American know-how through standards and incentives to increase energy efficiency and the use of renewable energy sources. If larger emission reductions are needed in the future, and the science suggests that they will be, then we would consider all the available options based on their costs and effectiveness, including a carbon tax.

2. Science

President Bush is playing loose and fast with the facts and with our future when he makes this change. The United Nations Intergovernmental Fund on Climate Change, the National Academy of Sciences, and most of the world's scientists agree that "business as usual" emissions of greenhouse gases would most likely lead during the next few decades to a dramatic change in the earth's climate unprecedented in the history of human civilization.

There is no dispute that the level of carbon dioxide and other heat absorbing molecules increased 25 percent since World War II. President Bush argues that we are not sure what effect this will have and how much and how fast the earth would warm. The overwhelming weight of scientific evidence, however, indicates that the earth will warm by 3-8 degrees Fahrenheit if carbon dioxide concentrations in the atmosphere are allowed to reach twice

their preindustrial levels. The result would be an ecological and probable human catastrophe. Sea levels would rise flooding coastal areas in Florida, Louisiana, and other low-lying areas; severe drought would become much more frequent in the Midwest grain belt; fresh water would be more scarce in California; tropical diseases would become epidemic throughout the Southern United States; and many species would be pushed over the edge to extinction.

3. Technology

Al Gore is a strong supporter of technological change and innovation. He supports tax incentives and research and development funding for new technology, a national network of "information super highways and a global network to accelerate the development of cost effective photovoltaic cells. The Republican charge is based on Senator Gore's cautioning us against assuming that new technologies can solve our problems before those technologies are tested and in place. They are also based on Senator Gore's position that we should replace technology that harms the environment with environmentally sensitive technology. These are, however, conservative and rational ways to view the future. Senator Gore's proposal to bring about changes to more appropriate technologies through tax incentives and development funding show that he is deeply committed to technological change and innovation.

Consumption of earth

Senator Gore believes we are destroying the natural resource base on which our civilization depends at a rate which is not sustainable. In arguing for sustainable development, Senator Gore is acting consistently with the position taken by leaders of virtually all the nations in the world at the recent Earth Summit in Rio, as well as with many American business leaders.

4. Big Spender

Senator Gore has proposed that the U.S. together with Japan, European nations, Arab oil states and other developed countries establish a Global Marshall Fund to protect the earth's environment. He believes such a plan is necessary because problems in the undeveloped world contribute to global warming, air and water pollution and species extinction in a manner which adversely affects us in the United States. The problems are serious and require a major multi-year response, but the United States will share this burden with other developed countries and our share will be no greater than we can afford as a nation.

5. Economic Growth

Senator Gore believes in sustainable development - growth that can be repeated in the future, not growth which will be stopped in the future because we have abused our resources and our environment. He believes that sustainable growth will be robust, in fact, far more robust than the anemic growth during the years of President Bush's mishandling of the economy. As Newsweek Magazine wrote in its June 1, 1992 issue, only right-wing Republicans in the United States and leaders of the former Communist Bloc still believe that environmental protection and economic growth are incompatible, and that this "is increasingly a fringe position even among many of the business executives it is supposed to benefit." (pg. 21).

STATEMENT OF
DICK WARDEN, LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR
UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL
IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA, UAW

before the
CONSUMER SUBCOMMITTEE
of the
COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE AND
TRANSPORTATION

U.S. SENATE

February 21, 1991

Mr. Chairman, my name is Dick Warden. I am the Legislative Director of the UAW. Accompanying me today is Alan Reuther, Associate General Counsel in the UAW Washington Office. We are pleased to be here today to share with you the views of the UAW on the fuel efficiency issue.

Our President, Owen Bieber, wanted to be here to testify today, but he is unable to do so because of his participation in the meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council in Florida this week. He asked that I express his regrets to you, Mr. Chairman, and the other members of the Subcommittee.

The UAW supported the fuel efficiency measure that was enacted in the mid-1970s. The enactment of that legislation, part of the Environmental Policy and Conservation Act, in our judgment, represented wise public policy, and the so-called CAFE standards have helped to make the automobiles on our nation's highways today more fuel-efficient. The UAW continues to support that statute.

In 1975, we advocated the approach to CAFE standards which proposed to require the fuel economy of each company to be averaged across separate domestic and foreign fleets. As you know, that is the way the statute was structured.

We believed then that standards based on fleetwide averages would have several advantages. First, the law would act as an incentive for the motor vehicle manufacturers to make progress toward improved fuel efficiency. Second, we thought the fleetwide average approach would allow the companies the flexibility to provide a full range of vehicles. Finally, because we were concerned that domestic manufacturers, comparatively inexperienced in small car production, might try to meet the fuel economy standards by importing small cars, we hoped the separate fleet averaging requirement would promote American jobs in small car production.

We believe now that your bill represents an important and constructive contribution to the debate on the fuel economy issue, and we do endorse several of its provisions. In its present form, however, we cannot support S. 279 in its entirety, and we welcome this opportunity to explain why.

We do not oppose an increase in the fuel economy requirements for motor vehicles. We believe the manufacturers will be making such improvements in the future. But it is essential that increases that may be required by federal law be feasible technologically.

In the last Congress, we opposed S. 1224, the bill sponsored by you and others, Mr. Chairman. We did so because it proposed standards that, in our judgment, are not feasible. Your new bill (S. 279) would require a 20 percent improvement for each

manufacturer's fleet by 1996 and 40 percent by the year 2001. For the same reason we opposed the bill last year, we must oppose S. 279, in its present form, in this Congress.

Given the technology that is available, we believe increases of the magnitude called for in S. 279 cannot be achieved without making drastic changes in the product mix. That statement is based upon our best judgment. We are convinced, after analysis of information from a variety of sources, that full implementation of existing technology could not reach the level of increases required by your legislation.

If that is indeed the case, there would have to be significant changes in the kinds of automobiles and light trucks the manufacturers produce. If the product mix had to be changed, phasing out production associated with family-sized, larger and less fuel-efficient cars, it would lead to plant closings and job loss for workers in those plants and in related industries. We cannot support legislation that would place the jobs of our members and other workers in serious jeopardy.

Mr. Chairman, the foregoing should not be interpreted to mean that the UAW would oppose any increase in the fuel efficiency standards. We could endorse an increase, but the requirements would have to be technologically feasible. Motor vehicles produced in this country and those imported into this country should be more fuel efficient. We need improvement -- especially now when we are faced with the need to develop more effective energy conservation programs because of the uncertainty about future energy supplies and our need to become more energy-independent. If that were not clear a year ago, it certainly should be now in light of the conflict in the Persian Gulf.

Having stated our opposition to the levels of fuel efficiency improvement that would be mandated by S. 279, let me say that we do support the approach of your bill. We believe you are to be commended for applying the percentage increase requirements of your bill to the domestic and foreign fleets of cars. All companies would be required to improve their fuel economy, thus producing the maximum energy efficiency from the CAFE standards.

In addition, because the companies would have to achieve percentage improvements in both foreign and domestic fleets, it would make it more difficult for them to raise their domestic fleet average by outsourcing large cars. And since all firms would have to achieve improvement in fuel economy, it would be more difficult for any company to move into more high performance vehicles. That should reduce any CAFE-related competitive disadvantage that may exist for full line producers.

We also believe it is important to retain the administrative discretion to relax or strengthen standards which is now in the law. It is impossible to anticipate all events through 2001 which may prevent manufacturers which are acting in good faith from complying with the law.

One issue of concern to the UAW which your bill fails to address directly is the outsourcing of small cars. We mentioned this concern when we testified in the last Congress on S. 1224. Small car outsourcing is more than a jobs issue. It also threatens our automotive base in the long run.

We suggest that your bill could be improved by providing a CAFE incentive for domestic fuel efficient car production. A CAFE credit for such vehicles would provide an incentive to bring small car production back to underutilized U.S. factories.

Mr. Chairman, let me once again thank you for giving the UAW this opportunity to address the important issue of motor vehicle fuel economy.

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DD:Leg. IV

Gore says stance on environment doesn't favor tax

By James W. Broanan
The Commercial Appeal
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Al Gore says he would not advocate taxes to curb pollution and fuel consumption unless the taxes were offset with cuts to encourage recycling or to help working-class families.

The Democratic vice presidential nominee also said in an interview that providing U.S. aid to curb

Third World energy demands would "make money" for the United States. He did not say how much aid he has in mind.

The Tennessee senator's environmental stance has helped rally Democrats concerned about presidential candidate Bill Clinton's environmental

record as governor of Arkansas. But Gore's stance also has increasingly become a target of the Bush-Quayle campaign.

White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater has labeled Gore an "environmental extremist," although Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William Reilly disagreed.

Last week Vice President Dan Quayle said Clinton and Gore favor "unnecessary, and even harmful" regulations that would waste money and eliminate jobs. Republicans on the congressional Joint Economic Committee claimed this week that two Gore-backed proposals would cost more than 500,000 jobs.

Gore has been involved in environmental legislation for his 16 years in Congress, helping to author the Superfund law and the phaseout of chemicals depleting the ozone layer, among other laws.

But Republicans are finding

Please see GORE, Page A8



Al Gore's book on the environment has made him the target of attacks by the Bush-Quayle campaign, which says he favors regulations that would waste money and cost jobs.

From Page A1

Gore

most of their ammunition in Gore's best-selling book.

Earth in the Balance, Ecology and the Human Spirit climbed to eighth on The New York Times best-seller list for nonfiction, then went up to fourth after Clinton asked Gore to be his running mate.

Gore argues in the book that "we must make the rescue of the environment the central organizing principle for civilization."

That means more changes than just turning down air-conditioners.

Totalitarian regimes are no good because they're more polluting than democracies, Gore says.

And to stave off global warming, Gore proposes that developed countries like the United States reduce emissions of carbon dioxide by raising mileage requirements for new cars and taxing coal, oil and natural gas based on their carbon content.

Gore also proposed a Strategic Environmental Fund, financed by developed countries, that would be used to pay for "environmentally helpful technology" for developing countries.

Gore likens this plan to the Marshall Plan for the rebuilding of Europe after World War II. At one point, he quoted Harvard historian Charles Maier, who noted that annual U.S. expenditures for the Marshall Plan between 1948 and 1951 were nearly 2 percent of the U.S. gross national product, about \$100 billion a year in today's terms.

That led Quayle last week to charge that Clinton and Gore "envision a scheme under which Americans will pay another \$100 billion in taxes to foot the bills of Third World nations facing environmental problems."

Gore addressed the charge in the interview, portions of which follow:

Q — How much should U.S. taxpayers foot the bill in a global Marshall-type plan? Republicans say your book cites a figure of \$100 billion.

A — Not doesn't. They made it up out of thin air.

Q — But how much then?

A — I think it will make money for us. But the more relevant point is that it is a proposal for an international effort in which Japan, Europe, Canada, Australia and every other industrial nation in the world would participate. Those who do not participate would be in danger of losing their share of what the Japanese and Germans openly call the biggest new market in the history of world business.

Q — But you don't have a figure.

A — No. Q — How would you enforce environmental pollution and global warming provisions around the world? What if a country just said no? Would you use sanctions? Would you ever contemplate using military force?

A — No. And actually in the book I talk about the difference between an international approach with sanctions or whatever, which I argue against, and a series of international agreements to which nations voluntarily agree to bind themselves.

Q — You've been fairly interventionist when it comes to aiding the Kurds in Iraq. Should we go back to the CIA and topple these regimes we don't like to promote social justice and environmental causes?

A — No. I am not saying that. Nor have I ever said that. I'm saying that we should participate in a worldwide effort to advance this cause. And one way to do it is to gather the information we need to convince the remaining skeptics to change attitudes, to promote greater awareness of how serious this problem is, and in the process of negotiating solutions to attempt to build a consensus.

Q — You criticize the Bush administration for promoting a "false choice" between jobs and the environment. If that is not always the case, is it not equally true that in some cases it is the choice? Take for instance the spotted owl.

A — No. There were tens of thousands of jobs lost in the logging industry in Oregon before the controversy even began because of log exports to the ravens demand in Asia and because of mechanization in the logging industry. The choice is not between the spotted owls and jobs. It's a choice involving the techniques for managing the parks, cutting rates, protection of old growth forests and jobs now versus jobs later.

Q — In the book you propose a tax on "virgin" materials to be matched by rebates for using recycled materials, and a carbon tax to be matched by reductions in other taxes. Why not a gasoline tax or an oil import fee to encourage conservation? Do you always favor a revenue neutral approach?

A — Yes. A gas tax first of all singles out only one fuel. I prefer a different approach. Even if you did a gas tax I'd want to see a revenue-neutral approach to help working families with children.

Q — Are you an environmental extremist?

A — The administration went down to Rio (de Janeiro at the Earth Summit) and labeled as environmental extremist — France, Great Britain, Germany, Canada, Australia and every other nation in the world. They have no credibility using that phrase.

As a scientist, I'm concerned about democratic vice presidential candidate Albert Gore. According to prospective president Bill Clinton, Mr. Gore will provide leadership on environmental matters, which, in fact, are the senator's passion.

A lot of folks are scared by Mr. Gore because he is bright, telegenic and articulate. They shouldn't be, because that's what we expect of anyone who would be president, and he is as "presidential" in these attributes as anyone since John Kennedy, and as canonized by the media. Anyone who watched the Democratic Party convention and saw him up on the platform with Mr. Clinton knows he's the better of the two.

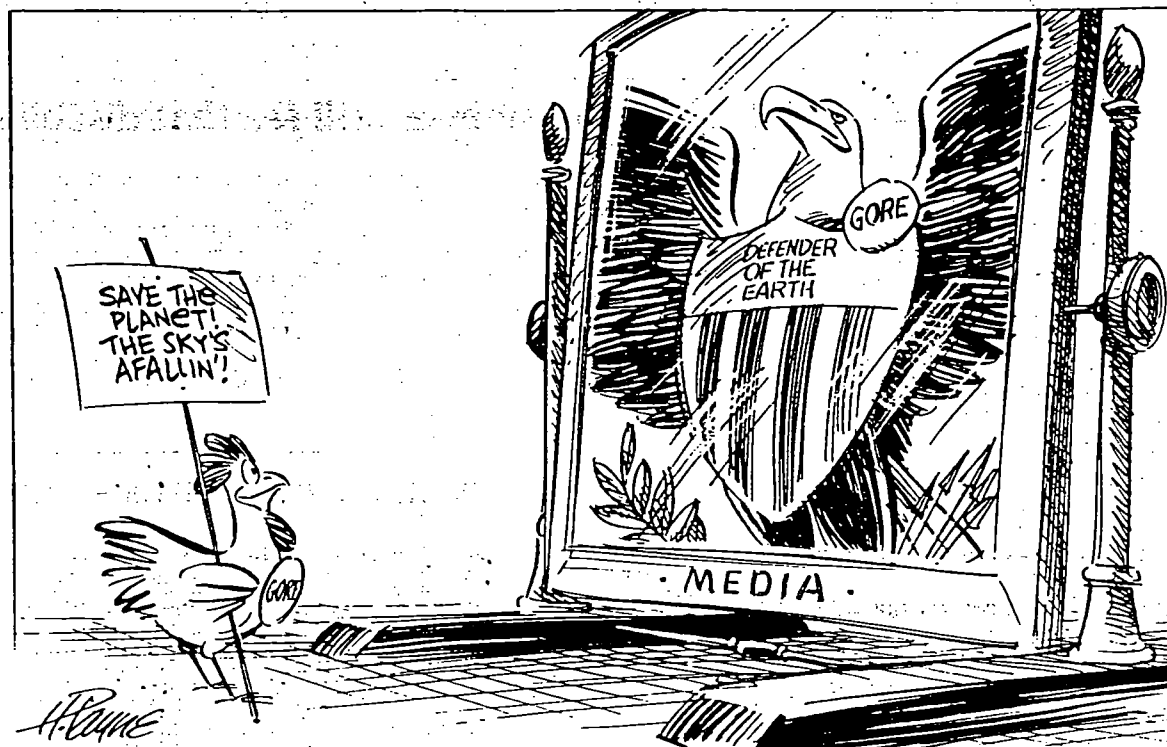
Rather, what raises my worry threshold is when a person that effective creates a new combination of science, religion and the state, and then stages show trials of eminent scientists to prove his point.

Read his book, "Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit," or review his vice presidential acceptance speech. Both are magnificent prose, written and spoken from the heart. Both define a required "new relationship" between man and the planet. "The task of saving the environment will be the central organizing principal of the post-Cold War period," say both. The book is more specific: Saving the Earth includes very expensive and regressive energy taxes and a central planning agency to determine the appropriateness of new technology.

Never mind that the book states

Patrick J. Michaels is associate professor of environmental sciences at the University of Virginia and is also a senior fellow in environmental science at the Cato Institute. He is the author of "Sound and Fury: The Science and Politics of Global Warming," to be released on Oct. 15 by National Book Network.

Good, evil and green for danger



that when Cain slew Abel and his blood spilled on the ground, Cain gave us the first example of pollution. "Dust thou art" would suggest it was more likely recycling. Never mind the facts, we're saving the Earth here.

If saving something is required, then the object of salvation must be in danger. But there is a plethora of evidence in the scientific literature that says while there are ecological problems, the Earth is by no means "threatened" in any serious sense by whatever man might do. In fact, in his powerful positions of oversight of the National Science Foundation and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Mr. Gore has been accused by some of distorting science for the purposes of his cam-

paign to save a world that may not need it. Richard Lindzen, a member of the National Academy of Sciences, and a distinguished climatologist from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has said these show trials of scientists are assaults against free expression and inquiry that are analogous to the Army-McCarthy hearings.

Mr. Lindzen recently told one of Mr. Gore's hearings that the data didn't support one of his many proposed ideas to explain the already obvious failure of the forecasts of climate gloom and doom. "Lindzen has recanted," one of Mr. Gore's staffers crowed, using a verb more reserved for the Inquisition than for science.

But here's a better example: Last

spring, Mr. Gore called to town one Sherwood Idso, a scientist with the Agriculture Department's Water Conservation Laboratory in Phoenix. Mr. Idso is stereotypical of the public's image of a scientist: shy, some would say "nerdy," and a person thoroughly engrossed in his ideas and experiments. His sophistication in politics is probably less than my 4-year-old daughter's.

An examination of the peer-refereed scientific journal publication record of science and engineering PhDs reveals that their most common trait is to author between one and three papers in that literature during their careers. There's a good reason: Scientific peers are a

see MICHAELS, page F4

Gore's litany

Democratic vice presidential nominee Al Gore is a frightening intellectual ingenu, and the manifold defects in his mental equipment are vastly more worrisome than misspelling potato.

As highlighted in his recently published scribblings, "Earth in the Balance," Mr. Gore devoutly believes that virtually all evils that bedevil contemporary life, including environmental pollution, are attributable to dysfunctional psyches and spiritual voids.

According to Mr. Gore, an asserted global ecological crisis has been caused by an increasingly elaborate "edifice of civilization" that has distanced man from "roots in the earth" and has caused a loss of a "feeling to connectedness to the rest of nature." Mr. Gore forcefully argues that mankind dares to pollute because it possess the hubris to wonder: "Are we [humans] so unique and powerful as to be essentially separate from the Earth?"

Mr. Gore disbelieves that pollution is caused by economic incentives and the innate desire of mankind for material acquisition. He further ignores that pollution was prevalent in ancient civilizations, for example, the Roman Empire, that

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were firmly rooted in the earth and thickly connected with nature. "Slash-and-burn" horticulture earmarked North and South American Indian Tribes, such as the Iroquoians, Algonquians and the Jivaro, in 1492.

Mr. Gore boldly preaches that modernity has precipitated dysfunctional civilizations and mental disorders by embracing a "Cartesian model of the disembodied intellect." That model, Mr. Gore maintains, defines "human beings as disembodied intellects separate from the physical world." The pernicious consequence, Mr. Gore frets, has been the creation of "an elaborate set of cultural rules designed to encourage

Mr. Gore disbelieves that pollution is caused by economic incentives and the innate desire of mankind for material acquisition.

the fullest expression of thought while simultaneously stifling the expression of feelings and emotions." That fretting seems misplaced. Modernity suffers from plummeting levels of intellectual achievement, as witnessed by SAT scores, and the triumph of passion over reason, as witnessed by the incidence of crime, sexual promiscuity and racial epithets as a form of free speech. Mr. Gore's contrary assertion suggests he might profit by a dose of "disembodied intellect."

Mr. Gore indicts the neocortex of the brain for causing profound psychological and other disorders — including recreational shopping, drug and alcohol addiction, and the accumulation of material goods. The following lengthy quotation from Mr. Gore should be pondered with sobriety in contemplating his fitness for the vice presidency: "Between the most basic and primitive part of our brain, responsible for bodily functions and instinct, and the last major structure within the brain to evolve,

see FEIN, page F4

MICHAELS

From page F1

notoriously cranky lot, and new and good ideas are hard to come by. Mr. Idso has about 300 publications in that literature.

A number of those papers describe experiments about the so-called "carbon dioxide fertilization effect," which simply translates into the idea that, with adequate nutrition, raising the amount of CO₂ in the atmosphere makes plants grow better.

As you can imagine, this isn't the kind of thing that will help someone who's been banging the tocsin of environmental apocalypse, and who obviously wants to be president. Those who believe that the enhanced greenhouse effect from CO₂ is the central issue requiring us to save the planet must also believe that any scientist who stands in the way is therefore destroying the planet. As Mr. Gore wrote about the environment in the New Republic in 1989, "Evil and good are terms not used frequently by politicians [on what planet is he anyway?], but I do not see how this problem can be solved without reference to spiritual values."

Mr. Gore consequently developed the scientific show trial as a means of destroying the reputations of those evil folks who don't believe

with him. It's a very easy thing to do; the rules of evidence and fairness are built along the model of the Clarence Thomas hearings, and the majority Democrats can call as many witnesses as they chose, while the minority Republicans can only use as many as they are permitted, usually one or zero.

At the Idso hearing, Mr. Gore lined up 10 scientists who were specifically selected to answer questions in a predictable fashion, while Mr. Idso was left to defend what everyone knows: Plants grow better if the carbon dioxide content of the atmosphere goes up, but they have to have adequate other nutrients, too. Because Mr. Idso's experiments implicitly included such nutrition, they were therefore deemed unrealistic, inasmuch as only man or God (as opposed to nature) can assure that an individual plant is adequately fed.

After softening him up on that one, Mr. Gore bore in with the haymaker: Wasn't it true that Mr. Idso's wife owned a corporation that had accepted money from the coal industry as a consultant on a film about the growth enhancement caused by carbon dioxide? ("Has your wife ever associated with known communists?"). After having Mr. Idso admit that critical experiments on plant growth had yet to be performed, Mr. Gore's tack was then to show that whatever Mr. Idso did was no good because his wife hung out with known capitalists.

If science were a black and white affair, such persecution would be difficult. But especially when trying to explain the real world, large numbers of variables often interact in ways that require considerable experimentation and are subject to multiple interpretation. As a result, if Albert Einstein were standing in his way, Mr. Gore could have put together a panel to discredit him. "Imagine", he might say, "this man actually believes that time isn't constant and depends upon how fast you are going. Everyone, from our eminent panel of testifying scientists to the man on the street knows that my watch doesn't change depending upon how fast I drive. . . and isn't it true, Mr. Einstein, that you took money from the enemy in World War I?"

What are the limits to Mr. Gore? I don't know, but I am really worried. Other worriers should be anyone who, however innocently, does work indicating that global warming in fact might not be the end of the world. Those who work in industries that contribute to the putative apocalypse (agriculture, coal, natural gas and automobiles, to name a few) should be climbing the walls.

Judging from Mr. Gore's scientific show trials, you're standing in his way, and this is a battle between good and evil, according to a man who would be president. In his mind, which of the two do you think you are?

FEIN

From page F1

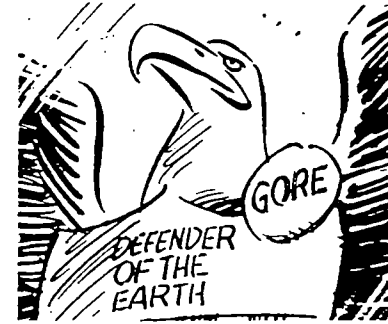
the part responsible for abstract thought and known as the neocortex, is the huge portion of our brain that governs emotion, called the limbic system. In a very real sense, the idea that human beings can function as disembodied intellects translates into the absurd notion that the functions of the neocortex are the only workings of our brains that matter.

"Yet abstract thought is but one dimension of awareness. Our feelings and emotions, our sensations, our awareness of our own bodies and of nature — all these are indispensable to the way we experience life, mentally and physically. To define the essence of who we are in terms that correspond with the analytical activity of the neocortex is to create an intolerable dilemma: How can we concentrate purely on abstract thinking when the rest of our brain floods our awareness with feelings, emotions and instincts?"

"Insisting on the supremacy of the neocortex exacts a high price, because the unnatural task of a disembodied mind is to somehow ignore the intense psychic pain that comes from the constant nagging awareness of what is missing: the experience of living in one's body as a fully integrated physical and mental being. Life confronts everyone with personal or circumstantial

problems, of course, and there are many varieties of psychic pain at the very root of the modern mind, making it harder for anyone who is suffering from other psychological wounds to be healed."

I will not vex the reader with additional imbecilities so copious in Mr. Gore's writings. They all corroborate his intellectual disqualifi-



cation for any office by his ignorance of human nature and the teachings of history. What Mr. Gore asserts as novel ailments have beset mankind since the beginning of civilization 6,000 years ago.

Egyptian pharaohs were infatuated with trumpery and wealth. Slavery and human sacrifices to pagan deities were cornerstones of ancient Egypt. Warfare for commercial or baser motives and political treachery was chronic.

In ancient Greece at its zenith, politicians and military chieftains,

such as Alcibiades, were lionized one day and anathematized the next, depending on popular whims driven by an obsession with the moment. Similarly, Athenians revered Socrates soon after imposing a death sentence for failing to worship the gods and teaching youth to pursue truth. During the Roman Empire, barbarism was exalted in gladiatorial combat. Greed, ambition and religious fanaticism fostered the decline and fall of the empire, as brilliantly chronicled by Edward Gibbon. The Ottoman Empire, the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, and the Mongol Emperors under Genghis Khan and his disciples were comparably depraved. Chinese civilization celebrated the odious foot-binding of women.

The statesmen searches in vain for any era of human existence un-plagued by the seven deadly sins and worse. That elementary knowledge is the foundation of political wisdom. It forestalls delusionary panaceas for alleviating evil on the false premise that human nature is either perfectible or has been corrupted by modernity. It instructs the politician to coax human nature in positive directions, and to shun the fanaticism of Robespierre who would cram virtue down the throats of Frenchmen if they persisted in vice.

Al Gore should not be entrusted with political power because he knows virtually nothing of the species he yearns to rule.

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SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY PROJECT

February 6, 1992

"Letters to the Editor"
The Washington Times
3600 New York Avenue, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Sir:

Karen Riley's gushing review of Senator Al Gore's book, *Earth in the Balance* ("Primer on the Green Side," February 26) underscores the folly of having non-science writers critique environmental publications. There is nothing in Mr. Gore's book, or in his various alarmist presentations on talk shows around town, that is "painstakingly objective."

To the best of my knowledge, there has been no survey of atmospheric scientists to indicate who agrees, or disagrees, with whom.

But the Science and Environmental Policy Project, which is supported by the Bradley, Smith-Richardson, and Forbes foundations, just last week began a mail survey of U.S. atmospheric scientists on the global warming issue. While responses are only just beginning to come in, we have already heard from more than a dozen top atmospheric scientists from the National Climatic Data Center, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute, and from university research centers at Yale, M.I.T., Arizona State University, the University of Virginia, and others.

All of these scientists strongly agreed that current catastrophic global warming predictions are unsupported by the scientific evidence, and that they are based on theoretical climate models that cannot be relied upon and are not validated by the existing climate record.

Moreover, it is highly unlikely that Senator Gore knows how many dissenting scientists there are, since he seems to go to great lengths to avoid them.

Gore was scheduled to appear on CNN's Larry King Live on January 27 with atmospheric scientist S. Fred Singer, the director of this Project. Singer is not only the man who designed the currently used satellite instrument for measuring atmospheric ozone but was the first to point out that population growth would inevitably increase methane--an important greenhouse gas--in the atmosphere. He is also one of those who discounts the global warming models.

When Gore learned that Singer was booked for the show, his response was that he "could not appear under those circumstances," and the segment was canceled. (Gore and his publicist were more successful a week later, however, when Larry King agreed to let him on the show alone and unchallenged.

Senator Gore's "spiritual," "almost holy" book notwithstanding, global warming and global ozone depletion are still speculation, not fact. The American people will be poorly served if costly federal policies are thrown together on the basis of incomplete science. The result can only be a further crippling of the U.S. economy and the unnecessary destruction of more American jobs.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Candace C. Crandall", written in a cursive style.

Candace C. Crandall
Editorial Director
(703) 503-5064

COMMENTS ON "EARTH IN THE BALANCE" BY SENATOR AL GORE

OVERVIEW

The apparent goal of this book is to support Senator Gore's proposal to initiate a Global political movement that has "... the rescue of the environment as the central organizing principle for civilization." Senator Gore proposes a "Global Marshall Plan" (the original Marshall Plan having the defeat of Communism as its organizing principle) to deal with what he calls an "ungodly" environmental crisis facing the earth. In the book, Senator Gore portends not to be alarmist in tone and to propose an insightful, comprehensive, and integrated solution to the crisis, if only society can muster the courage to implement it. Indeed, on a philosophical level, much of what is proposed appears comprehensive and integrated and is hard to disagree with. However, on a practical level, the more discerning reader discovers a more narrow, single-minded agenda with little critical analysis or tolerance for alternative views. Instead, Senator Gore cleverly weaves a mixture of fact, erroneous extrapolation, implication, un-caveated speculation, and stark, alarming images to establish his credibility, to paint "gloom and doom" characterizations of what he calls "strategic environmental threats," and to establish the reasonableness of his proposed solutions. The book shows little evidence of balance and portrays a definite disdain for disagreement with the author's opinions. The proposed solutions are not creative nor insightful. They lack specificity and any analysis of their consequences on other facets of society. Senator Gore also contradicts himself in places, demonstrating a clear problem of interpreting situations just to prove his point.

At best, the book by Senator Gore is a major disappointment to those who were hoping for either new insights into environmental issues or creative ideas for new policy directions. At worst, this book is dangerous and misleading in that it presents an overly simplistic discussion of the science of climate change, and will seriously delude the less discerning reader who is willing to accept on faith Senator Gore's arrogant, unsupported premise that catastrophic climate change is an imminent certainty and anyone who believes otherwise is just plain wrong.

SPECIFIC COMMENTARY

o Senator Gore misrepresents scientific evidence.

- Page 10: Senator Gore repeats the often cited claim that decade of the 1980s was the warmest on record. On page 53 he refers to 1990 as the warmest year on record. Such statements ignore potential biases associated with historical variations in methods and spatial coverage of the measurements analyzed, all of which make declaring the "warmest on record" problematic. Contrary evidence suggested by satellite data is also ignored.

- Page 22: Senator Gore writes that "even a small reduction in one country's emissions had changed the amount of pollution found in the remotest and least accessible place on earth." His support, a scientist pointing to an Antarctic ice core and saying "[H]ere's where the U.S. Congress passed the Clean Air Act." What was the scientist pointing to? What pollution? More than likely, the statement was made to indicate relative timing versus "depth" of ice, not to point out some visual characteristic of the ice.
- Page 22: Referring to a single day's measurement of an unnamed pollutant in Antarctica, Senator Gore suggests that each day the concentration increases. No such evidence exists given natural variability. This suggestion is also contradicted by the classic CO2 concentration plot of Keeling (page 5) which shows "annual" increases, but seasonal oscillations.
- Page 23: Senator Gore states that the Arctic ice cap has thinned by 2% in the last decade, that the spring snowmelt is occurring earlier each spring, and that the temperature of the earth is steadily rising. There is no discussion of natural variability, how this "evidence" relates to such variability, the influence of possible precipitation changes, nor the existence of contrary evidence.
- Page 25: Senator Gore states as fact that warmer ocean temperatures are causing coral bleaching all over the earth. There is no discussion of other possible causes such as water pollution from overdeveloped islands or coastlines, or physical disturbance from harbor development. There is also no firm evidence that the sea temperature has warmed more than 0.1°C in recent times.
- Page 26: The hypothesized linkage of stratospheric (noctilucent) clouds with methane release is very far-fetched.
- Page 27: Where is the evidence for "the new frequency of days when the temperature exceeds 100 degrees, the new speed with which the sun burns our skin, . . ."? This latter is sheer speculation.
- Page 37: All serious attempts to date to find a catastrophe in marginal climate warming have been fruitless. While increased atmospheric CO2 levels (2 x current CO2 level) may result in a surface temperature increase, there is no evidence of catastrophic earth changes.
- Pages 39 - 40: Referring to the IPCC, Senator Gore states: "These scientists concluded -- almost unanimously -- that global warming is real and the time to act is now." This is a clear overstatement of the IPCC summary conclusion. Further, it ignores the fact that the IPCC also reported that we do not know if the observed temperature increases are the result of greenhouse warming or if they are simply the result of natural climate variability. Fred Singer's survey of

IPCC contributors, as reported in the Wall Street Journal article of 9/23/91, indicates that there was no near-unanimous agreement with the IPCC summary conclusions.

- Page 40: The statement that "... global warming (is) ... the most serious threat we have ever faced" is unsubstantiated by any science.
- Page 53: Siberia is said to be "one of the regions of the world that seems to be warming rapidly." This assumes there are many places warming. Warming and cooling occur in many locations for natural reasons. No scientist today will link localized changes to global climate warming.
- Page 53: With respect to U.V. effects on photosynthesis, added U.V. to the spectrum is not at chlorophyll wavelengths so that, unless cells are already damaged, U.V. would not effect plants. Added U.V. at the surface has not been documented, except possibly in the Antarctic where no terrestrial plants to speak of exist.
- Page 73: Senator Gore claims that predictions of global warming are in the range of 3 to 8 degrees Centigrade. In fact, the IPCC concludes the most likely range is 1.5 to 4.5 degrees C.
- Page 87: The 1% decrease in stratospheric ozone resulting in a 4% increase in Skin cancer is pure speculation.
- Page 90: Most scientists believe that clouds are more likely to cool than warm. Also, a 0.5%-1% variability in solar constant equals the level of disturbance from accumulated CO2 in air over the last 100 years. 100-year solar variability can be this large.
- Page 91: The claim that "even a single degree's difference in global average temperature - if it occurs rapidly - can be incredibly disruptive to civilization" makes no sense since the average temperature appears to be driven by night temperature, not daily maxima.
- Page 92: "The correlation between CO2 levels and temperature levels over time is well established." Correlations are not proof of cause and effect. The historical resolution is insufficient to determine which came first. What is more interesting from such records is what caused CO2 concentrations to change? Without the answer to this question it is difficult to test or place in perspective man's perturbation of the carbon cycle.
- Page 93: The claim that "... the range of this (CO2) natural fluctuation is quite small compared with changes caused by mankind" is true only in recent times.

- Page 94: In an obvious attempt to alarm, Senator Gore provides a figure of CO₂ versus temperature from an ice core and arbitrarily adds to the CO₂ line an increase from present day concentration to 600 ppmv all in one year. Only then does he begin to "dash the line" pointing ever upward to indicate a projection.
 - Pages 93 - 95: Senator Gore dismisses outright, using selected factors and unspecified "evidence," the possibility that the oceans and terrestrial biosphere may continue to slow the increase in atmospheric CO₂ concentration. He correctly states that nutrient limitation will limit CO₂ uptake by trees, but incorrectly suggests that all trees are currently nutrient limited. He also incorrectly suggests that increased decay rates and plant respiration will increase CO₂ concentrations.
 - Page 98: The claim that "as the poles warm at a faster rate than the equator . . ." is a result of models. Over 30 years of observations show no evidence of warming in the polar regions.
 - Pages 105 - 106: In his discussion of sea level rise due to melting of ice caps and glaciers, Senator Gore fails to acknowledge or discuss the role that changes in precipitation will have in this issue. The discussion on hurricanes ignores some evidence that suggests a decrease in the severity and frequency of hurricanes since their formation depends on temperature gradients (hypothesized to decrease under global warming), as well as the overall magnitude of temperature.
 - Page 195: Senator Gore belittles statements by some that the predicted temperature changes are no more severe than those between Atlanta and New York by asking what will Atlanta then be like and suggesting that it will be undesirable. This approach ignores the conventional wisdom that a) Atlanta may warm but people live in places warmer than Atlanta and b) projections are for the warming to be less, if at all, in the tropics than the poles.
- o Senator Gore totally discounts any evidence or possibility of mechanisms that could temper the catastrophe he believes is inevitable. His zeal to promote "positive feedbacks" and dismiss "negative feedbacks" flies in the face of his statements that the Earth is in "dynamic equilibrium." The Earth simply cannot maintain any sense of climate equilibrium without negative feedbacks.
- Pages 36 - 37: Senator Gore mentions some of the mechanisms that could dampen temperature increases, but does so in a cavalier and cynical fashion that incorrectly leaves the readers with the impression that these are crackpot theories that should not be taken seriously.

- Pages 50 - 54: Senator Gore presents several examples of positive feedback loops, generally highlighting their non-linear nature and extrapolating the effects to the point of careening out of control. No mention is made of any countervailing negative feedback loops, leaving the undiscerning reader with the false impression that nature has no mechanisms for self-adjustment, and that the system is truly reeling out of control. In fact, there must be negative feedbacks to maintain the Earth's dynamic equilibrium.
- o Senator Gore is intolerant of anyone who disagrees with his interpretations or offers alternative explanations or insights. Any such disagreements are just "excuses for delay" since we know more than enough to act. Furthermore, additional research is needed for, among other things, to provide knowledge that will "deprive the skeptics of some of their excuses for procrastination."
 - Page 37: Research is needed to a) eliminate uncertainties that distract us from taking action, b) deprive the skeptics of excuses, c) help choose strategies, d) identify most effective and least costly solutions, and e) solidify public support for the hard decisions ahead. The last three reasons are certainly commendable, but appear in contrast to the first two which imply he already knows the answers. Prejudging the results of research is not appropriate.
 - Pages 36 - 40: Senator Gore uses many phrases to belittle the opinions of those that disagree: "A small number of scientists," "a very few scientists," "false reassurances of a tiny group within the scientific community," and "their views sometimes carry far too much weight."
 - Page 40: Ironically, after declaring that the majority who agree that climate change will be catastrophe are right and the minority who question this are clearly wrong, Senator Gore mentions Galileo and suggests he should not have acknowledged the subversiveness of his ideas. Galileo was indeed a skeptic and very much in the minority in his day. Yet today's skeptics are clearly wrong and should acknowledge this. Clear evidence of inconsistency.
- o Senator Gore mischaracterizes "the other side" as wanting absolute certainty before acting, taking a no action position, and wanting to choose adaptation over mitigation.
 - Page 37, 40, & 92: "But research in lieu of action is unconscionable." "Those who argue that we should do nothing" "The insistence on complete certainty about the full details of global warming . . . is actually an effort to avoid the awful, uncomfortable truth" "As we contemplate a choice between adapting to the changes we are causing and preventing those changes" All of these statements mischaracterize the oppositions position which calls for action that makes sense for other reasons and urges research to help reduce uncertainties so better choices can be made.

- o Senator Gore confuses climate variability with climate change, local and regional effects with prospects for the future, and the consequences of warming versus cooling. He ignores his own evidence that warming is not inherently catastrophic. He draws the conclusion that mitigative action is needed now but ignores an equally plausible conclusion which is to invest in adaptative actions to protect against the inevitable consequences of climate variability.
 - Chapter 3: This chapter is a continuous series of examples where relatively short-term climate changes or, more appropriately, climate variability (usually cooling caused by volcanoes) were the proximate cause or a contributor to calamity. It is certainly true that variability and changes of both weather and climate affect societies, many times adversely. However, some of the examples presented bordered on the absurd. For example, he speculates that the ice age led to people moving into caves which led to cave paintings which led to the "first known graphic communication" (page 61); the Little Ice Age led to the evolution of "new social patterns" (page 68); and "the fierce tropical sunshine took its toll on a society that had grown up in a slightly cooler and more hospitable climate" may be one reason for the disappearance of the Mayans.
 - Senator Gore incorrectly implies that these adverse effects from climate variability, if indeed causality can be established, are indicators of what will happen under future climate change. The effects cited were in response to changes occurring over and lasting only seasons or a few years. Such climate variability and their potential to have large, adverse effects will continue to occur in the future, with or without man-induced climate change.
 - All of Chapter 3 demonstrates that climate variability can have positive as well as negative impacts, and that mankind has been able to adapt to them in a positive manner. In many cases, it was the cooling that caused problems and disaster, while periods of warming eased life for many.
 - Pages 66 - 67: Warming from about 900 to 1300 enabled travel to Greenland. "After the warming epoch, temperatures dropped again at the beginning of the fourteenth century, causing major problems in Europe and Asia."
- o Senator Gore states his personal views as incontrovertible fact.
 - Page 23: "CO₂ levels are rising just as rapidly, and ultimately temperatures will rise with them."
 - Page 37: "We already know more than enough."
 - Page 37: "But it is clear that doubling CO₂ will in fact increase global temperatures and in the process subject us to the risk of catastrophic changes in global climate patterns."

- o Senator Gore contradicts himself and often falls into the same trap that he accuses others of.
 - Page 34: "The only way to understand our new role as co-architect of nature is to see ourselves as a part of a complex system that does not operate according to the same simple rules of cause and effect we are used to." Yet Gore ignores the complexity of the natural system in his belief that CO₂ emissions are going to result in imminent catastrophe. As some of the previous examples indicate, he ignores the complexity of the climate system.
 - Page 37: "We already know enough" about climate change. On page 200 he states, "We have generated more data, statistics, words, formulas, images, documents, and declarations than we can possibly absorb," and implies that we need to better understand what we have rather than collecting even more. Yet in his discussion of his policy approach, Gore advocates collection of massive amounts of new data (pages 356-60).
 - Page 318: Senator Gore advocates careful study of new technologies and yet applauds the rapidity with which CFC substitutes have been discovered. There is no mention of the adequacy of the testing program for these substitutes. Intuition suggests that rapidity is not consistent with careful study.
 - Page 331: Senator Gore makes an important point about the need for retraining of workers displaced by the hard actions needed to address the issue. He makes no mention of retraining when discussing his decision not to continue supporting sugar price supports on page 341. Does he plan to propose Federal help for the sugar cane industry workers?
 - Page 360: "In discussing information and its value, it is also worth remembering that some self-interested cynics are seeking to cloud the underlying issue of the environment with disinformation." As demonstrated by previous examples and points, this book is guilty of disinformation through its selective, simplistic, and misleading presentation of scientific information concerning climate change.
- o Senator Gore fails to alert the reader as to the tradeoffs inherent in his policy approach.
 - In Chapter 10, economists are criticized for not considering the environmental degradation inherent in economic growth. (This argument will be addressed later.) However, in Chapter 15, Senator Gore never once addresses the potential economic tradeoffs inherent in his massive proposal. On page 304, he points out that Marshall Plan expenditures were about 2% of GNP. That same percentage today would amount to about \$100 billion a year, and yet he fails to address what portion of his plan could be achieved for \$100 billion a year. Some estimates indicate that it will cost that much in the early 21st century simply to stabilize or slightly reduce CO₂

emissions. What will the nation need to give up to devote the \$100 billion to CO₂ reduction? And how much will it cost to implement the rest of his plan?

- Recent political discussions, particularly by Democrats, have focused on the social and human costs to our country that resulted, in part, from the military expenditures of the 1980s. Yet, according to Senator Gore's own figures (p. 304), the \$100 billion far exceeds military expenditures (of \$15 billion). He does not address the human and social costs that this diversion of resources will entail.
- o Senator Gore misrepresents economic principles and the role of economists. As a result, many of his conclusions are invalid and unsupported.
 - Both Chapter 10 and Chapter 15 indicate that discounting should not be used in cost/benefit analysis where environmental resources are involved because it does not give proper value to future generations. This is patently untrue. The "problem" is not the methodology. Very low present value components for future resources reflect both the discount rate and the future value given to the resource. Current analysis and resulting decisions reflect, in part, a relatively low value given to resources many years into the future.
 - In Chapters 10 and 15 Senator Gore appears to blame economists for the current environmental crisis because GNP and other statistics do not include measures of environmental quality. This is a patently absurd argument. Senator Gore ignores the entire economic concept of consumer choice. Consumers choose economic/material goods because of the level of satisfaction they provide the consumer, not because economists measure material goods only in GNP or because economists tell consumers to choose material goods. The nature of the measure does not preclude consumers from choosing environmental quality over economic goods if that is what gives them greatest value. It may be that consumers need greater information on environmental quality or the impacts of their decisions on the environment; however, providing this information is not the role of economists.
 - Pages 182-83: "The hard truth is that our economic system is partially blind. . . . It carefully measures and keeps track of the value of those things most important to buyers and sellers. . . . But its intricate calculations often completely ignore the value of other things that are harder to buy and sell: fresh water, clean air, ... In fact, the partial blindness of our current economic system is the single most powerful force behind what seem to be irrational decisions about the global environment." This logic is flawed. Gore inappropriately equates the economic system with economic measures and statistics. The fact that something is or is not measured has no bearing on whether it plays a role in the functioning of the economic system. For example, the concept of utility or satisfaction plays an important role in economic theory,

yet it is not measured. Further, the fact that environmental impacts are not measured by economists is irrelevant to whether or not they are considered in global decision-making.

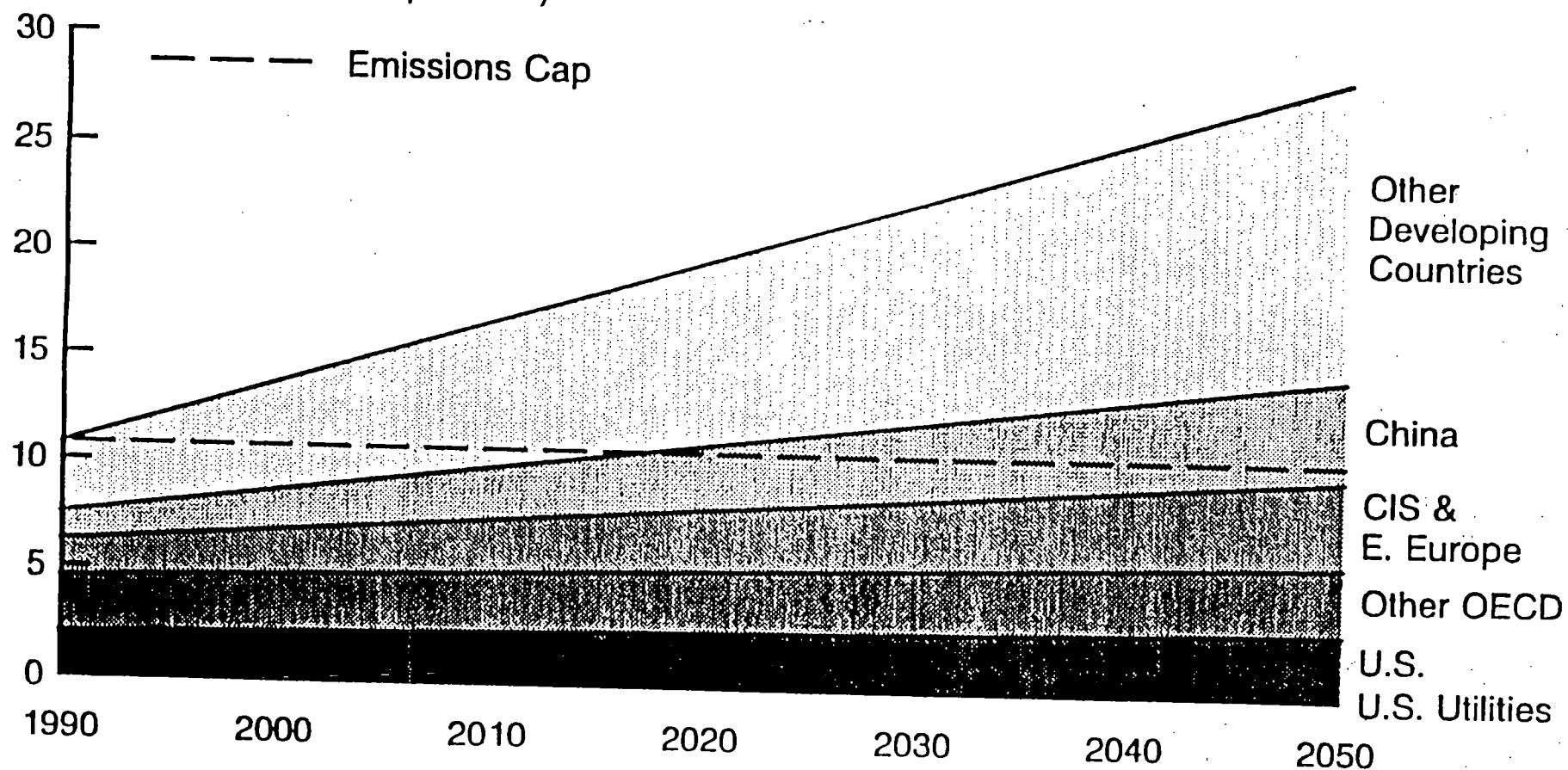
- Page 183: "Many popular textbooks on economic theory fail even to address subjects as basic to our economic choices as pollution or the depletion of natural resources. Although these issues have been studied by many microeconomists in specific business contexts, they have generally not been integrated into economic theory." Though this statement is somewhat confusing, it appears that Gore is saying that economists are ignoring certain matters. This is simply not true. There are specialized fields within the discipline of economics that focus exclusively on environmental economics and natural resource economics.
- Page 183: "In calculating GNP, natural resources are not depreciated as they are used up." This blanket statement is not true. GNP includes values for coal, oil, copper, water rights, and a variety of other natural resources that are used in producing goods. GNP and prices also reflect the cost of compliance with numerous environmental regulations that help reduce environmental damage.
- Page 185: "For all practical purposes, GNP treats the rapid and reckless destruction of the environment as a good thing." This is an illogical statement. GNP is simply a numerical measure of the market value of goods and services produced in a given year. It makes no value judgments as to whether the things measured are good, bad, or a mixture of both.
- Page 185-186: "Classical economists like to argue that all participants in the struggle between supply and demand have "perfect information". . . . The logical extension of "perfect information" is what economists call the market-clearing feature of the economic system, which they also assume to be perfect. . . . Such theories border on intellectual arrogance. . . ." This characterization wrongly implies that economists believe that these assumptions regarding "perfect information" and "perfectly competitive markets" are fulfilled in the "real world." Economists are well aware of the fact that assumptions made to conceptualize the workings of the economic system are simplifications of reality. For example, one area of economic research and literature deals with the role of information and its acquisition, given that perfect information does not exist and acquisition of information is not costless. Economists are also investigating the functioning of the market under a variety of conditions where perfect competition does not exist. Finally, it is not clear what is meant by a "classical" economist. Does this simply mean a trained, professional economist, or is it a reference to something more narrow?

- Page 186: "This assumption stems in part from the fact that the system of national income accounts was established by John Maynard Keynes before the end of the colonial era. . . ." While it's not clear what is meant by "the end of the colonial era," it is easy for the reader to interpret this to mean the end of the US colonial era. For the record, Keynes' major work was published in 1936.
- Page 187: ". . . But what if the clever new process results not only in the increased production of good things but also in an even larger increase in the number of bad things? Shouldn't that count? After all, it may cost a lot of money to deal with the consequences of the extra bad things." "And the absurdity doesn't stop there. Later, when expenditures are required to clean up the pollution, they are usually included in the national accounts as another positive entry on the ledger." This is a clear contradiction. On one hand, the "system" is criticized for not including the costs of the consequences of the "bad" things such as waste and pollution. On the other hand, the "system" is criticized when it does take into account the cost of "fixing" the damage. It's not at all clear exactly what the perceived problem is or what a workable solution might be.
- Page 188: "But the Holy Grail of progress is so alluring that economists tend to overlook the bad side effects that often accompany improvements . . ." "The bad things economists want to ignore while they measure the good things are often said to be too difficult to integrate into their calculations. . . . Therefore, since the effort to keep track of the bad things would complicate the valuation of the good things, the bad things are simply defined away as external to the process and called externalities." "This habit of using an arbitrary definition to exclude inconvenient facts from the calculation of what is good and what is bad is a form of dishonesty." There are a number of flaws in this whole discussion. The ongoing characterization injects a wealth of value judgments and ulterior motives into economic research and analysis that are not valid. First, the striving for economic growth is more the product of our American culture that emphasizes "more is better" rather than the "evil doing" of economists. Second, economists have not chosen to ignore externalities; they have recognized their presence since the 1930s. It is clearly a debatable value judgment to say that is the responsibility of the economists to change the system to internalize these externalities. Third, as mentioned previously, the concept of good/bad does not enter into either the measure of GNP or the definition of externalities. Neither definition is "arbitrary."
- Page 189: "In much the same way, our current system of economics arbitrarily draws a circle of value around those things in our civilization we have decided to keep track of and measure." This statement completely ignores those things of value to our civilization that are kept track of and measured as a part of all disciplines other than economics.

- Page 189-190: "For example, a coal-fired power station produces both kilowatt-hours of electricity and tons of atmospheric pollution. . . . But it is also possible to evaluate at least some of the economic significance of the atmospheric emissions. . . . there is a well-accepted and agreed-upon range, and some value within that range could and should be used in calculating the costs and benefits of each ton of coal burned." First, there is no such thing as "a well-accepted and agreed-upon" range of values for environmental damage costs; existing estimates vary dramatically and are subject to great debate. Second, it is not clear what policy is being advocated in this discussion. Is Gore proposing that these external damage costs be included in the price of coal/electricity? This approach would increase the price of electricity and could possibly increase GNP. According to earlier statements, a higher GNP value that results from "bads" is not acceptable. Alternatively, could he be proposing that GNP be reduced by the pollution damages? This would imply that the value of the goods that we produce is lessened when scarce natural/environmental resources are used. This seems to run counter to his thesis that we need to put greater value on these environmental resources. Whatever point is trying to be made is not stated clearly and is not intuitively obvious from the discussion.
- Page 190-191: "The accepted formulas of conventional economic analysis contain short-sighted and arguably illogical assumptions about what is valuable in the future as opposed to the present. . . ." There is nothing implicit in discounting/present value methodology referred to here that inherently devalues future resources; to the contrary, resources not used currently will have greater value to future generations when such principles are applied. Further, the results of applying this methodology will depend on both the discount rate and the future value of the resource chosen by the analyst. Thus, decisions made using this methodology largely reflect the values and judgment of the analyst, not an intrinsic flaw in the methodology itself.

CONTRIBUTION TO ANNUAL GLOBAL GREENHOUSE EMISSIONS

Annual Global Greenhouse Gas Emissions
(10^9 Tons/Yr Carbon Equivalent)



WLF 8-13-92

Gore's Book of the Year

In the column nearby, we reprint a memo from a Democratic National Committee staffer, apparently alarmed at the political vulnerability of Senator Al Gore's book, "Earth in the Balance." We're alarmed that it's taken this long after his nomination for Vice President for any of this to come out.

Marla Romash, the communications director for the Gore campaign, called us from the campaign plane to explain the memo:

"We asked Jonathan Sallet, one of the smartest people we know, to act like one of the most stupid people we know: a Bush/Quayle staffer. We asked him to be as irresponsible, out-

rageous and sneaky as we know the Bush people are and come up with all the ridiculous lines of attack that will be made on Senator Gore's book so we could be prepared for it."

Attacks on the book aren't necessary; all it needs is readership. The book contains specific ideas and policies relating to the U.S. economy, industry, culture and the federal government's involvement in these areas. Almost any serious person perusing the cited passages in a bookstore will see why the Sallet memo reads as it does. If Al Gore is going to sit one heartbeat from the presidency, his book deserves to be read by voters.

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 312[5]).

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

- Wants to give away American technology.

WSG
8-13-92

committee today and to
ore a final vote Thursday. Party
e a 25 percent vote to force a
unk to the floor, but yesterday's
ubt on chances that 2,210 dele-

the platform is language that
that the Republican Party includes
supports a variety of opinions."
An official in the Weld administration,
Leighton said after the vote she was not in-

The final speaker was the subcommittee
chairman, Mary Potter Summa of North
Carolina, who said she was months
pregnant. "As a lawyer, I to analogize
things," she said. "What's inside me is not a

abortion in the Subcommittee on Individual
Rights, Good Homes and Safe Streets drew
a score of reporters and 12 television
eras. Attendance was sparse at some other
sessions.

Gore set for GOP attacks on book

Says Bush policy on environment is only 'a sham'

By Curtis Wilde.
GLOBE STAFF

HARTFORD - Sen. Al Gore of Tennessee said last night he looked forward to defending his passionately pro-environment book, "Earth in the Balance," against Republican attacks this fall.

Engaging President Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle in an environmental discussion "will be like having a debate with people who think the moon landing took place in a movie lot," Gore said. "It's pitiful how Bush and Quayle deny the existence of any problems."

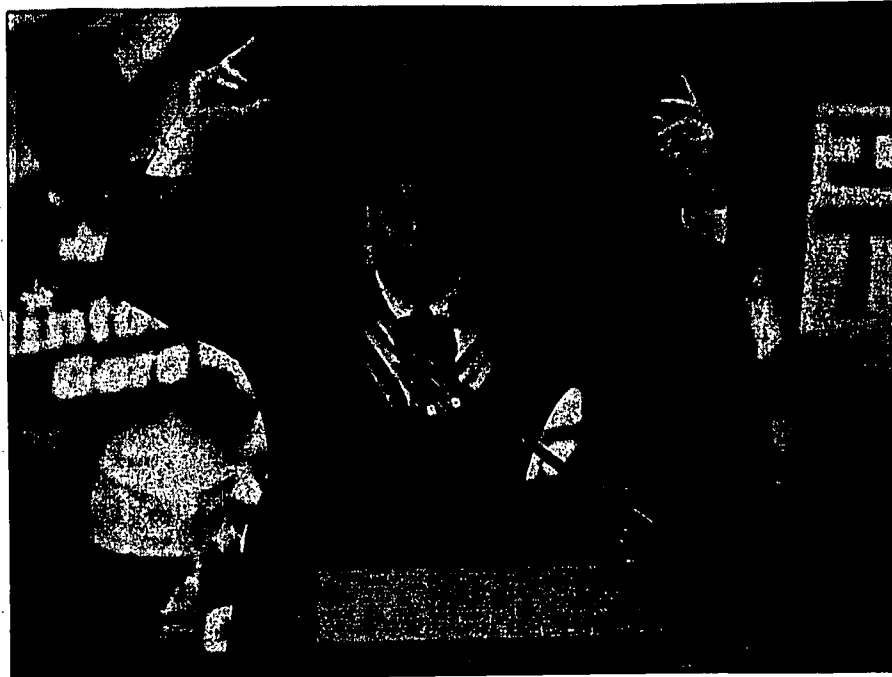
In an interview last night with The Boston Globe, Gore said some of the proposals he advocates in the book are designed "to explore the outer boundaries of what is feasible," and he acknowledged that the Democratic presidential candidate, Gov. Bill Clinton, had not formally endorsed all of his environmental ideas. But he said he was not troubled by the prospect that the book would become a campaign issue.

"I welcome it," Gore said of the debate that is expected to be provoked by Republican charges that some of his proposals make him an "environmental extremist." Gore said he anticipated that his adversaries would put an extravagant price tag on some of his proposals in an attempt to frighten voters this fall.

"They're already promoting a big lie," he said of assertions that a "Global Marshall Plan" he proposes for international environmental initiatives would cost \$100 billion.

Gore does not project costs, but he proposes the imposition of taxes on fuel producers based on the amount of carbon dioxide their products release in the atmosphere and a tax on manufacturers using "virgin material." He also calls for the US government to put "the force of law" behind efforts to use "green labels" to identify products that are environmentally sound.

Gore campaigned in Connecticut yesterday before heading for Boston last night. He will attend some



AP PHOTO

Sen. Al Gore exhorts crowd at a campaign rally yesterday afternoon in Hartford.

morning fund-raising sessions today and later tour Thinking Machines Corp. in Cambridge.

Although William Reilly, the director of the Environmental Protection Agency, gave Gore some cover over the weekend by dismissing Republican claims that the Democratic vice presidential candidate is an "extremist," Republican strategists have indicated that they intend to attack Gore on the subject.

"He has his book, just like Tsongas had his book. There's a lot of ammunition in it," said Marlin Fitzwater, Bush's press secretary. In his remarks last week, Fitzwater was referring to Paul Tsongas' campaign book of pro-business beliefs that Clinton used against Tsongas in several presidential primaries with working-class constituencies last spring.

In the industrial Midwest, Republicans say, they intend to exploit Gore's proposals to force high mileage requirements on the auto indus-

try. Gore proposes in the book "a coordinated global program to accomplish the strategic goal of completely eliminating the internal combustion engine over, say, a 25-year period."

Gore said the Republicans "ignore the consequences of not taking action" and defended his proposals. "Part of political leadership is creating a new way of thinking."

He called Bush "a phony" and described the president's environmental policies as "a sham" in the course of the interview. Although the administration charges that Gore's proposals put environmental concerns ahead of jobs, the vice presidential candidate said Bush failed to recognize that environmental improvements actually increase manufacturing efficiency.

Gore was in New England to open the Democratic ticket's offensive in the region. He spent much of the day in Connecticut - in Stratford, Waterbury and Hartford - attacking the administration's economic policies and promising that he and

Clinton were committed to new approaches to create jobs and training programs in the region.

Referring to defense industry employees and military personnel being mustered out of jobs, Gore told an audience of several thousand at a late afternoon rally in Hartford: "Our nation has to move aggressively to open up more opportunities for the men and women who won the Cold War."

He cited programs to build a high-speed nationwide rail network, a suggestion that provoked cheers, as well as environmental projects as potential targets for investments to create jobs in a Democratic administration.

Gore flew to Boston last night to reinforce his party's campaign in events in the area today. He was greeted by Mayor Flynn, Rep. Joseph Kennedy 2d and a crowd of several hundred reporters. It is the first trip to the region by a member of the Democratic ticket since last month's convention.

Boston Globe 8-11-92

Books

EARTH IN THE BALANCE: ECOLOGY AND THE HUMAN SPIRIT

Senator Al Gore

Houghton Mifflin • 407pp • \$22.95

A CALCULATED CALL TO ECOLOGICAL ARMS

Al Gore's prescription for the world's environmental crisis, *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit*, is well researched, informative—and a bit strange. It mixes such favorite baby-boomer topics as global-village citizenship and mid-life angst and adds some very fresh scientific thinking. The result is a book that is often confusing, but nevertheless worthwhile.

First published in January, book sales have picked up since Gore became the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee. GOP campaign strategists already are using it to paint Gore as an environmental extremist whose remedies would result in economic paralysis. Betting that most voters won't actually read it, the GOP snipers choose to ignore the fact that the book is hardly radical.

Less partisan readers may simply object to the preachy opinions and introspection that obscure the book's important points. After a touchy-feely introduction, however, the first eight chapters are a useful primer on the world's environmental problems. Here, Gore adroitly brings such dangers as climate change and deforestation to life.

It's the second part of the book that begins the magical mystery tour into Al Gore's soul. Subtitled "The Search for Balance," it actually reels so much as to induce motion sickness. Gore careens from the Harvard core curriculum to the greatest hits of public TV, then rushes us through hundreds of sources, ranging from Aristotle's *Ethics* to Carl Sagan's *Broca's Brain* and—wheel!—over the rapids into *Saturday Night Live*.

TV, Gore says, has led the public to focus on form over substance in politics and has forced politicians to become actors too spineless to take any environmental steps that would discomfort the electorate. With characteristic overstatement, Gore likens this complacency to the appeasement of Nazi Germany, even going so far as to assert that economists

who neglect environmental costs are as morally blind as antisemites.

Next, our interdisciplinary tour guide ventures into psychology, comparing modern civilization to a dysfunctional family. Society's detachment from nature makes us like neglected children, desperate for self-affirmation as we suppress "emotions that might allow us to feel the absence of our connection to the earth." Just as these unfortunate children create false selves to hide their despair, "we have constructed a false world of AstroTurf, air conditioning, and

such as the GNP to account for environmental costs. But American voters may not have the urge to upset the status quo that Poles had in the waning days of communism, even if Gore says they should. Many Americans find driving their gas-guzzling four-wheel-drive vehicles a pleasurable experience, not a sign of a dysfunctional civilization. Lots of folks don't fear the automobile or shopping mall. They fear giving them up.

A seasoned politician, Gore knows all this. His "tough new proposals," in fact, aren't all that tough. Many of his energy-efficiency measures were actually proposed by the Bush Energy Dept. in its first National Energy Strategy draft. (As reasonable as they seemed, they were later either removed by Administration hard-liners or watered down in the Senate under industry pressure.) Gore proposes taxing businesses based on the carbon content of the fuels they produce or use. But he balances it with

cuts in income taxes. His Global Marshall Plan requires action from international organizations and producers and only indirectly affects consumers. It would impose strict energy-efficiency standards on appliance manufacturers, tax the use of nonrecyclable materials in manufacturing, and insist that international finance institutions use environmental criteria in awarding development grants.

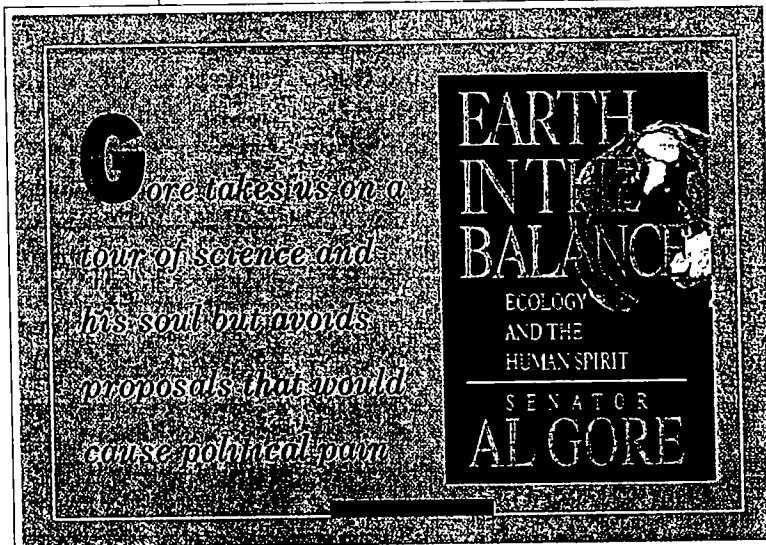
Even though he wasn't on the ticket then, one senses he wrote the book worrying as much about political fallout as acid

rain. Despite his repeated warning that only decisive action will save the earth and his condemnations of America's overconsumption, Gore ducks any measure that would really make voters pay for their lifestyles—such as high gasoline taxes, which he admits would be "logical." Suggestions such as restoring U.S. participation in worldwide population-control programs require scant voter sacrifice. All in all, Gore risks very little political capital in his proposals. That shields him from opposition researchers, but weakens his book.

Gore, however, says he sees the light. "I have become very impatient with my own tendency to put a finger to the political winds and proceed cautiously," he writes. But one can't help but notice that Gore's finger is still out there.

BY PETER HONG

Hong covers the environment from BW's Washington bureau.



fluorescent lights, windows that don't open and background music that never stops, days when we don't know whether it has rained or not, nights when the sky never stops glowing..."

Gore himself admits in the book that he's the kind of guy who has the air conditioner on full blast while driving to give a speech against the use of chlorofluorocarbons. The book is introspective right to the end, where Gore tells us that a new physics theory on how sandpiles build up and collapse led him to understand subtle and profound changes in the world and himself.

If the people of the former East bloc could topple their oppressive old order, Gore reasons, Americans can mobilize themselves to be world environmental leaders. He proposes a Global Marshall Plan, a series of measures to stabilize population, promote environmental technologies, and reform economic indicators

The Bottom Line/Christopher Byron

MR. GORE'S PLANET

* death row 1930-1935
* 9/11/1935

A CASE OF ECO-BABBLE?

BILL CLINTON DIDN'T HAVE MUCH TO SAY ON the environment until recently. But now that Al Gore, the Senate's most insistent advocate of environmental activism, is on the ticket, hand-wringing over "the fate of the earth" seems likely to emerge as a major campaign activity for both men in the weeks and months ahead.

Wall Street hardly seems happy about the prospect. The stock market began to wobble about two months ago. Now, with Perot out of the race and Clinton and Gore ahead of Bush and Quayle in the polls, the market has been visibly crumbling, dropping 20 and 30 points at a time.

One explanation is obvious enough. On the economic front, Clinton comes across as a business-pleasing ersatz Republican. But on the environmental front, with Gore as his running mate, the Democratic candidate conjures images of government overregulation heaping cost after cost on business, whether it can afford the burdens or not.

The U.S. has spent lavishly on environmental concerns—more than \$800 billion in the past ten years alone. Though much of the outlay went for worthy and commendable pursuits like reducing auto emissions and upgrading municipal waste treatment, a great deal of it has gotten squandered on doubtful undertakings such as asbestos removal and overzealous pesticide control.

More of that sort of thing is not what American business needs in the nineties. But with Clinton in the White House, environmental activists could be expected to push for anything from a regulatory strengthening of the 1990 Clean Air Act to tough new taxes on business to pay for Third World environmental initiatives.

"We had our doubts about Clinton at first," says Sarah McCourt of the League of Conservation Voters in Washington. "But with Gore now beside him, it's beginning to look like a different ball game."

Environmentalists insist that twelve years of Reagan and Bush makes new initiatives by the movement necessary. But it may also be the case that so-called crises like global warming and ozone depletion are a lot less urgent than the environmentalists contend.

In fact, for years now, environmentalists have been

advancing "threats" that many reputable scientists dispute. Yet the movement has made headway by asking the public to choose between burdensome and often unnecessary legislation, on the one hand, and extinction of all life on the planet, on the other.

Gore's book, *Earth in the Balance*, which briefly made the New York Times best-seller list earlier this year and is on it again as a result of his nomination, reeks of this approach. "The future of human civilization depends on our stewardship of the environment," he writes at one point, dismissing those who disagree with him as being the same as appeasers of Hitler in the thirties.

"What we have in the environmental movement is not science but a guilt-obsessed, secular religion," says Steven Hayward, chief of research for San Francisco's Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy. "These people don't deal in evidence and research but in the advocacy of 'received truth.'"

Along the way, inconvenient facts just get brushed aside. Take Stephen Schneider, of the National Center for Atmospheric Research, in Boulder, Colorado. Sixteen years ago, Schneider wrote a glowing dust-jacket blurb for a book on an environmental fear of the seventies—global cooling, a meteorological problem unrelated to a similar-sounding concern: nuclear winter. Today, he's one of the environmental movement's leading proponents of the global-warming theory.

In 1989, this environmentalist for all temperatures expounded in *Discover* magazine on how to capture and hold the public's imagination. He recommended that environmentalists "offer up scary scenarios, make simplified, dramatic statements, and make 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."

Schneider denies that he has any interest in distorting facts for tactical advantage. But others in the movement hardly seem troubled by morality. At the extreme, there are "deep ecology" outfits like Earth First!, who put spikes in trees to break loggers' saws.

Professor George Reisman of Pepperdine University, a leading historian of science, traces the intellec-

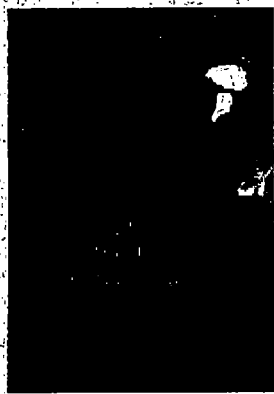


EARTH MAN: Gore scares some businessmen.

tual roots of such people not to the age of scientific enlightenment but to the self-loathing of Christian asceticism. In the memorable image offered by David Graber, a research biologist for the National Park Service, humans are seen not as the lords of the earth but as a "plague" that has infected and is destroying the "wild and healthy" planet.

This kind of eco-zealotry produces anti-business legislation in abundance. Consider the 1990 Clean Air Act, which was urged upon Congress by the environmental lobby on the claim that industrial plants throughout the Midwest needed to install hugely expensive smokestack "scrubbers" in order to eliminate "acid rain." Doing so, it was said, would save thousands of acid-polluted lakes throughout the Northeast, mainly in the Adirondacks.

No one denies that acid rain exists. But a federally funded ten-year study—the National Acid Precipitation Assessment Program, completed in 1990—concluded that acid in lakes has little to do with industrial emissions, airborne or other-



HIS BOOK: *Unbalanced?*

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wise. Instead, the acid in lakes gets there as a result of nature itself, as rainwater runoff passes through the naturally acidic watersheds of wilderness areas forested with firs and other pine trees.

To treat the problem, the study recommended a solution that was both simple and cheap: dosing the acid lakes annually with lime. John McKetta, a chemical engineering professor at the University of Texas, calculates that every acid lake in the Adirondacks could be treated effectively in this way at a cost of no more than \$300,000 per year.

Yet Congress passed the 1990 Clean Air Act instead. Result? The act has now burdened businesses with somewhere between \$4- and \$7 billion annually in outlays to build and operate scrubbers, the principal goal of the act. According to the NAPAP study, the program will treat the acidity in no more than a mere 26 northeastern lakes.

Nor is acid rain the only misrepresented and overhyped eco-threat. There's "global warming" as well. Environmentalists say the earth's temperature is rising as a result of a complex chain reaction of interlinked events related to urban pollution, overpopulation, and the clear-cutting of tropical rain forests.

In his book, Gore writes that there "really is no remaining dispute" that global warming is happening; in the process threatening to raise ocean levels, disrupt harvests, and bring on numerous other cataclysmic events.

In fact, there is little hard evidence to support any aspect of the global-warming theory. In a fascinating new book of essays, *Rational Readings on Environmental Concerns*, published in June by Van Nostrand Reinhold, S. Fred Singer, onetime head of the National Weather Satellite Center, says that the best available scientific evidence indicates that the earth has warmed by an average of precisely one-half a degree centigrade since 1880. This is an amount so negligible as to be lost within the margin of error of the testing equipment. Moreover, most of the increase occurred before 1938—long before the time when carbon-dioxide levels are believed to have begun increasing in the atmosphere.

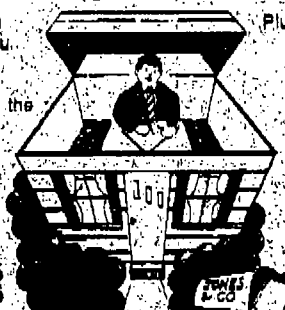
During the 1988 campaign, George Bush told the American people he wanted to be the country's "environmental president." But once elected, he did little of note about the matter one way or another for the following four years. So if Bill Clinton wins in November and becomes America's forty-second president, will he, too, be able to backpedal on a legacy of environmental campaign promises that he might just as soon forget? With Al Gore taking office right alongside him, and the expectations of environmentalists consequently aroused, that looks to be a bit of awkward political ed.

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HEADLINE: THE 1992 CAMPAIGN: The Environmental Debate;
Gore Says Bush Is Hypocritical on Ecology Issues

BYLINE: By STEVEN A. HOLMES, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: NEWARK, Calif., Aug. 3

BODY:

Giving full voice to an issue that has been muted in the early stages of the Presidential campaign, Senator Al Gore today sharply criticized President Bush for his environmental record, saying he had been hypocritical on those issues.

The New York Times, August 4, 1992

In stops at a factory in Irvine, Calif., that makes environmentally safe intravenous bags for hospitals and at a plant here that recycles used motor oil, Mr. Gore sought to highlight his own credentials as an environmentalist.

Mr. Gore, the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee, used an appearance at the Evergreen Oil plant to underscore contrasts with Mr. Bush, who visited the same plant in June just after the United Nations Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. The Tennessee Senator said the company was struggling to survive primarily because the Bush Administration had failed to promulgate regulations that would encourage the recycling of oil.

Indeed, Evergreen is a member of the Hazardous Waste Treatment Council, an industry group that is suing the Environmental Protection Agency for its failure to draft regulations that company officials say would lead to more oil recycling. Currently, 90 percent of used motor oil is either burned or dumped in landfills.

'The Hypocritical President'

"The American people trusted George Bush when he said he was going to be the environmental President," Mr. Gore told a crowd of employees and their families. "When George Bush came to Evergreen, he was the hypocritical President."

The New York Times, August 4, 1992

Today's comments mark the first time Mr. Gore has made detailed criticism of the Administration's environmental record. His nomination was cheered by many environmentalists, who said it would mean that matters like pollution and global warming would receive more attention in the campaign. But until today, Mr. Gore had mainly articulated the broad outlines of the party's message and attacked the Administration's handling of the economy.

Mr. Gore's reluctance to speak on the environment is a marked contrast to criticism in his book, "Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit," of politicians -- including himself -- for not boldly addressing ecological issues.

In the book's introduction he wrote that he had "become very impatient with my own tendency to put a finger to the political winds" when it came to environmental issues.

Yet, as Mr. Gore steps up his comments on the environment, the Republicans have already begun to hit back, at times using Mr. Gore's book to try to portray him as an environmental extremist.

The New York Times, August 4, 1992

Last week, after Mr. Gore spoke at a Washington clinic on women's health issues, Republican campaign workers circulated several pages from Mr. Gore's book that dealt with the harvesting of Pacific yew trees, whose bark yields the chemical taxol, which has shown promise as a treatment for ovarian, lung and breast cancers.

Mr. Gore took no position on whether the trees should be harvested, but the message the Republicans intended to convey was that he cared more about trees than cancer victims.

Jobs vs. the Environment

Democrats acknowledge that Mr. Gore must proceed carefully, in the face of Republican charges that environmental proposals will cost jobs. The task for Democrats, these officials say, is to sell environmental protection as a job-creating program.

"We've got to do a clear job of saying that the choice George Bush lays out there of the environment or jobs is an absolutely false one," said Senator Tim Wirth, a Colorado Democrat who is coordinating the campaign's environmental policy.

The New York Times, August 4, 1992

Mr. Gore's visits to both Evergreen Oil and McGaw Inc. in Irvine were intended to highlight the Democrats' message of creating jobs while saving the environment. McGaw manufactures an intravenous bag for hospitals that contains no polyvinyl chlorides and can therefore be recycled.

Larry Watts, a company vice president, said McGaw had revenues last year of about \$300 million, with \$200 million of that coming from recyclable intravenous bags.

In his speech to the company's employees, Mr. Gore said: "This demand in the marketplace for new, more environmentally efficient products is a worldwide demand. And if we are going to enjoy the kind of economic advantage in the 90's and in the next century that we want for our kids, we really should be leading this environmental revolution in all industries, the way you're leading it in your industry."

GRAPHIC: Photo: Senator Al Gore addressing a crowd of more than 500 supporters yesterday at a rally in Stockton, Calif. (Associated Press)

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1992; ELECTION ISSUES; ENVIRONMENT

The New York Times, August 4, 1992

NAME: HOLMES, STEVEN A; GORE, ALBERT JR (SEN); BUSH, GEORGE (PRES)



When the rain forest is clear-cut or burned, the thin soils of the forest floor soon become vulnerable to erosion. This area of Brazil near Manaus illustrates the aftereffects.

being burned to clear land for pasture; they are being clear-cut with chain saws for lumber; they are being flooded by hydroelectric dams to generate power. They are disappearing from the face of the earth at the rate of one and a half acres a second, night and day, every day, all year round. And, for a number of reasons, the destruction of tropical rain forests is still picking up speed: the rapid population growth in tropical countries is leading to relentless pressure for expansion into marginal areas; shortages of fuel confronting an estimated 1 billion people in large areas of the Third World lead many to ravage the surrounding forests; mounting debts owed by developing countries to the industrial world encourage the exploitation of all available natural resources in a short-term effort to earn hard currency; massive, often misguided development projects that are inappropriate for tropical countries are opening formerly inaccessible vast areas to the civilized world; and livestock farming, with its insatiable demand for cleared pastureland every year, continues to spread. The list of reasons is long and complex, but the essential point is simple: in the daily battle

between a growing ecosystem, the cultures who depend on the trees and the land — an estimated 2 billion people in the rain forests — and the forces of destruction, the balance is gradually changing.

At the current rate, the rain forests will be gone in 20 years. This destruction will allow this destruction of a storehouse of genetic material, possible cures for diseases, hundreds of important medicines from plants and animals. Reagan was struck by the critical importance of the rain forest medication from the tropics.

Most of the danger, partly because of the contrast, comes from the temperate forests of the Pacific Northwest. These forests are processed to produce a promise of cure for cancer in patients who have no choice — sacrifice — three trees must be cut down for every specimen made. The medical in their battle against cancer is on earth. How important are those of us who are trying to extend the lives of those of life will die. Human lives are special property. We must debate the loss of the long way from



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between a growing, always ravenous civilization and an ancient ecosystem, the ecosystem is losing badly. So are the indigenous cultures who depend on the forest. Disappearing along with the trees and the living species are the last remaining ancient societies — an estimated 50 million tribal people who still live in the tropical rain forests — whose cultures have in some cases remained essentially unchanged since the Stone Age.

At the current rate of deforestation, virtually all of the tropical rain forests will be gone partway through the next century. If we allow this destruction to take place, the world will lose the richest storehouse of genetic information on the planet, and along with it possible cures for many of the diseases that afflict us. Indeed, hundreds of important medicines now in common use are derived from plants and animals of the tropical forests. When President Reagan was struggling to survive his would-be assassin's bullet, one of the critical drugs used to stabilize him was a blood pressure medication from an Amazonian bush viper.

Most of the species unique to the rain forests are in imminent danger, partly because there is no one to speak up for them. In contrast, consider the recent controversy over the yew tree, a temperate forest species, one variety of which now grows only in the Pacific Northwest. The Pacific yew can be cut down and processed to produce a potent chemical, taxol, which offers some promise of curing certain forms of lung, breast, and ovarian cancer in patients who would otherwise quickly die. It seems an easy choice — sacrifice the tree for a human life — until one learns that three trees must be destroyed for each patient treated, that only specimens more than a hundred years old contain the potent chemical in their bark, and that there are very few of these yews remaining on earth. Suddenly we must confront some tough questions. How important are the medical needs of future generations? Are those of us alive today entitled to cut down all of these trees to extend the lives of a few of us, even if it means that this unique form of life will disappear forever, thus making it impossible to save human lives in the future? News reports about the yew and its special properties have provoked healthy debate, but who will debate the loss of species unique to the rain forest? Scientists are a long way from even identifying all the species of plants and animals

Negative/Critical
Earth in the
Balance

+ 4 copies

SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY PROJECT

February 6, 1992

"Letters to the Editor"

The Washington Times
3600 New York Avenue, NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Sir:

Karen Riley's gushing review of Senator Al Gore's book, *Earth in the Balance* ("Primer on the Green Side," February 26) underscores the folly of having non-science writers critique environmental publications. There is nothing in Mr. Gore's book, or in his various alarmist presentations on talk shows around town, that is "painstakingly objective."

To the best of my knowledge, there has been no survey of atmospheric scientists to indicate who agrees, or disagrees, with whom.

But the Science and Environmental Policy Project, which is supported by the Bradley, Smith-Richardson, and Forbes foundations, just last week began a mail survey of U.S. atmospheric scientists on the global warming issue. While responses are only just beginning to come in, we have already heard from more than a dozen top atmospheric scientists from the National Climatic Data Center, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute, and from university research centers at Yale, M.I.T., Arizona State University, the University of Virginia, and others.

All of these scientists strongly agreed that current catastrophic global warming predictions are unsupported by the scientific evidence, and that they are based on theoretical climate models that cannot be relied upon and are not validated by the existing climate record.

Moreover, it is highly unlikely that Senator Gore knows how many dissenting scientists there are, since he seems to go to great lengths to avoid them.

Gore was scheduled to appear on CNN's Larry King Live on January 27 with atmospheric scientist S. Fred Singer, the director of this Project. Singer is not only the man who designed the currently used satellite instrument for measuring atmospheric ozone but was the first to point out that population growth would inevitably increase methane--an important greenhouse gas--in the atmosphere. He is also one of those who discounts the global warming models.

When Gore learned that Singer was booked for the show, his response was that he "could not appear under those circumstances," and the segment was canceled. (Gore and his publicist were more successful a week later, however, when Larry King agreed to let him on the show alone and unchallenged.)

Senator Gore's "spiritual," "almost holy" book notwithstanding, global warming and global ozone depletion are still speculation, not fact. The American people will be poorly served if costly federal policies are thrown together on the basis of incomplete science. The result can only be a further crippling of the U.S. economy and the unnecessary destruction of more American jobs.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Candace C. Crandall".

Candace C. Crandall
Editorial Director
(703) 503-5064

COMMENTS ON "EARTH IN THE BALANCE" BY SENATOR AL GORE

OVERVIEW

The apparent goal of this book is to support Senator Gore's proposal to initiate a Global political movement that has "... the rescue of the environment as the central organizing principle for civilization." Senator Gore proposes a "Global Marshall Plan" (the original Marshall Plan having the defeat of Communism as its organizing principle) to deal with what he calls an "ungodly" environmental crisis facing the earth. In the book, Senator Gore portends not to be alarmist in tone and to propose an insightful, comprehensive, and integrated solution to the crisis, if only society can muster the courage to implement it. Indeed, on a philosophical level, much of what is proposed appears comprehensive and integrated and is hard to disagree with. However, on a practical level, the more discerning reader discovers a more narrow, single-minded agenda with little critical analysis or tolerance for alternative views. Instead, Senator Gore cleverly weaves a mixture of fact, erroneous extrapolation, implication, un-caveated speculation, and stark, alarming images to establish his credibility, to paint "gloom and doom" characterizations of what he calls "strategic environmental threats," and to establish the reasonableness of his proposed solutions. The book shows little evidence of balance and portrays a definite disdain for disagreement with the author's opinions. The proposed solutions are not creative nor insightful. They lack specificity and any analysis of their consequences on other facets of society. Senator Gore also contradicts himself in places, demonstrating a clear problem of interpreting situations just to prove his point.

At best, the book by Senator Gore is a major disappointment to those who were hoping for either new insights into environmental issues or creative ideas for new policy directions. At worst, this book is dangerous and misleading in that it presents an overly simplistic discussion of the science of climate change, and will seriously delude the less discerning reader who is willing to accept on faith Senator Gore's arrogant, unsupported premise that catastrophic climate change is an imminent certainty and anyone who believes otherwise is just plain wrong.

SPECIFIC COMMENTARY

o Senator Gore misrepresents scientific evidence.

- Page 10: Senator Gore repeats the often cited claim that decade of the 1980s was the warmest on record. On page 53 he refers to 1990 as the warmest year on record. Such statements ignore potential biases associated with historical variations in methods and spatial coverage of the measurements analyzed, all of which make declaring the "warmest on record" problematic. Contrary evidence suggested by satellite data is also ignored.

- Page 22: Senator Gore writes that "even a small reduction in one country's emissions had changed the amount of pollution found in the remotest and least accessible place on earth." His support, a scientist pointing to an Antarctic ice core and saying "[H]ere's where the U.S. Congress passed the Clean Air Act." What was the scientist pointing to? What pollution? More than likely, the statement was made to indicate relative timing versus "depth" of ice, not to point out some visual characteristic of the ice.
- Page 22: Referring to a single day's measurement of an unnamed pollutant in Antarctica, Senator Gore suggests that each day the concentration increases. No such evidence exists given natural variability. This suggestion is also contradicted by the classic CO2 concentration plot of Keeling (page 5) which shows "annual" increases, but seasonal oscillations.
- Page 23: Senator Gore states that the Arctic ice cap has thinned by 2% in the last decade, that the spring snowmelt is occurring earlier each spring, and that the temperature of the earth is steadily rising. There is no discussion of natural variability, how this "evidence" relates to such variability, the influence of possible precipitation changes, nor the existence of contrary evidence.
- Page 25: Senator Gore states as fact that warmer ocean temperatures are causing coral bleaching all over the earth. There is no discussion of other possible causes such as water pollution from overdeveloped islands or coastlines, or physical disturbance from harbor development. There is also no firm evidence that the sea temperature has warmed more than 0.1°C in recent times.
- Page 26: The hypothesized linkage of stratospheric (noctilucent) clouds with methane release is very far-fetched.
- Page 27: Where is the evidence for "the new frequency of days when the temperature exceeds 100 degrees, the new speed with which the sun burns our skin, ..." This latter is sheer speculation.
- Page 37: All serious attempts to date to find a catastrophe in marginal climate warming have been fruitless. While increased atmospheric CO2 levels (2 x current CO2 level) may result in a surface temperature increase, there is no evidence of catastrophic earth changes.
- Pages 39 - 40: Referring to the IPCC, Senator Gore states: "These scientists concluded -- almost unanimously -- that global warming is real and the time to act is now." This is a clear overstatement of the IPCC summary conclusion. Further, it ignores the fact that the IPCC also reported that we do not know if the observed temperature increases are the result of greenhouse warming or if they are simply the result of natural climate variability. Fred Singer's survey of

IPCC contributors, as reported in the Wall Street Journal article of 9/23/91, indicates that there was no near-unanimous agreement with the IPCC summary conclusions.

- Page 40: The statement that "... global warming (is) ... the most serious threat we have ever faced" is unsubstantiated by any science.
- Page 53: Siberia is said to be "one of the regions of the world that seems to be warming rapidly." This assumes there are many places warming. Warming and cooling occur in many locations for natural reasons. No scientist today will link localized changes to global climate warming.
- Page 53: With respect to U.V. effects on photosynthesis, added U.V. to the spectrum is not at chlorophyll wavelengths so that, unless cells are already damaged, U.V. would not effect plants. Added U.V. at the surface has not been documented, except possibly in the Antarctic where no terrestrial plants to speak of exist.
- Page 73: Senator Gore claims that predictions of global warming are in the range of 3 to 8 degrees Centigrade. In fact, the IPCC concludes the most likely range is 1.5 to 4.5 degrees C.
- Page 87: The 1% decrease in stratospheric ozone resulting in a 4% increase in Skin cancer is pure speculation.
- Page 90: Most scientists believe that clouds are more likely to cool than warm. Also, a 0.5%-1% variability in solar constant equals the level of disturbance from accumulated CO2 in air over the last 100 years. 100-year solar variability can be this large.
- Page 91: The claim that "even a single degree's difference in global average temperature - if it occurs rapidly - can be incredibly disruptive to civilization" makes no sense since the average temperature appears to be driven by night temperature, not daily maxima.
- Page 92: "The correlation between CO2 levels and temperature levels over time is well established." Correlations are not proof of cause and effect. The historical resolution is insufficient to determine which came first. What is more interesting from such records is what caused CO2 concentrations to change? Without the answer to this question it is difficult to test or place in perspective man's perturbation of the carbon cycle.
- Page 93: The claim that "... the range of this (CO2) natural fluctuation is quite small compared with changes caused by mankind" is true only in recent times.

- Page 94: In an obvious attempt to alarm, Senator Gore provides a figure of CO2 versus temperature from an ice core and arbitrarily adds to the CO2 line an increase from present day concentration to 600 ppmv all in one year. Only then does he begin to "dash the line" pointing ever upward to indicate a projection.
- Pages 93 - 95: Senator Gore dismisses outright, using selected factors and unspecified "evidence," the possibility that the oceans and terrestrial biosphere may continue to slow the increase in atmospheric CO2 concentration. He correctly states that nutrient limitation will limit CO2 uptake by trees, but incorrectly suggests that all trees are currently nutrient limited. He also incorrectly suggests that increased decay rates and plant respiration will increase CO2 concentrations.
- Page 98: The claim that "as the poles warm at a faster rate than the equator . . ." is a result of models. Over 30 years of observations show no evidence of warming in the polar regions.
- Pages 105 - 106: In his discussion of sea level rise due to melting of ice caps and glaciers, Senator Gore fails to acknowledge or discuss the role that changes in precipitation will have in this issue. The discussion on hurricanes ignores some evidence that suggests a decrease in the severity and frequency of hurricanes since their formation depends on temperature gradients (hypothesized to decrease under global warming), as well as the overall magnitude of temperature.
- Page 195: Senator Gore belittles statements by some that the predicted temperature changes are no more severe than those between Atlanta and New York by asking what will Atlanta then be like and suggesting that it will be undesirable. This approach ignores the conventional wisdom that a) Atlanta may warm but people live in places warmer than Atlanta and b) projections are for the warming to be less, if at all, in the tropics than the poles.
- o Senator Gore totally discounts any evidence or possibility of mechanisms that could temper the catastrophe he believes is inevitable. His zeal to promote "positive feedbacks" and dismiss "negative feedbacks" flies in the face of his statements that the Earth is in "dynamic equilibrium." The Earth simply cannot maintain any sense of climate equilibrium without negative feedbacks.
- Pages 36 - 37: Senator Gore mentions some of the mechanisms that could dampen temperature increases, but does so in a cavalier and cynical fashion that incorrectly leaves the readers with the impression that these are crackpot theories that should not be taken seriously.

- Pages 50 - 54: Senator Gore presents several examples of positive feedback loops, generally highlighting their non-linear nature and extrapolating the effects to the point of careening out of control. No mention is made of any countervailing negative feedback loops, leaving the undiscerning reader with the false impression that nature has no mechanisms for self-adjustment, and that the system is truly reeling out of control. In fact, there must be negative feedbacks to maintain the Earth's dynamic equilibrium.
- o Senator Gore is intolerant of anyone who disagrees with his interpretations or offers alternative explanations or insights. Any such disagreements are just "excuses for delay" since we know more than enough to act. Furthermore, additional research is needed for, among other things, to provide knowledge that will "deprive the skeptics of some of their excuses for procrastination."
 - Page 37: Research is needed to a) eliminate uncertainties that distract us from taking action, b) deprive the skeptics of excuses, c) help choose strategies, d) identify most effective and least costly solutions, and e) solidify public support for the hard decisions ahead. The last three reasons are certainly commendable, but appear in contrast to the first two which imply he already knows the answers. Prejudging the results of research is not appropriate.
 - Pages 36 - 40: Senator Gore uses many phrases to belittle the opinions of those that disagree: "A small number of scientists," "a very few scientists," "false reassurances of a tiny group within the scientific community," and "their views sometimes carry far too much weight."
 - Page 40: Ironically, after declaring that the majority who agree that climate change will be catastrophe are right and the minority who question this are clearly wrong, Senator Gore mentions Galileo and suggests he should not have acknowledged the subversiveness of his ideas. Galileo was indeed a skeptic and very much in the minority in his day. Yet today's skeptics are clearly wrong and should acknowledge this. Clear evidence of inconsistency.
- o Senator Gore mischaracterizes "the other side" as wanting absolute certainty before acting, taking a no action position, and wanting to choose adaptation over mitigation.
 - Page 37, 40, & 92: "But research in lieu of action is unconscionable." "Those who argue that we should do nothing" "The insistence on complete certainty about the full details of global warming . . . is actually an effort to avoid the awful, uncomfortable truth" "As we contemplate a choice between adapting to the changes we are causing and preventing those changes . . ." All of these statements mischaracterize the oppositions position which calls for action that makes sense for other reasons and urges research to help reduce uncertainties so better choices can be made.

- o Senator Gore confuses climate variability with climate change, local and regional effects with prospects for the future, and the consequences of warming versus cooling. He ignores his own evidence that warming is not inherently catastrophic. He draws the conclusion that mitigative action is needed now but ignores an equally plausible conclusion which is to invest in adaptative actions to protect against the inevitable consequences of climate variability.
- Chapter 3: This chapter is a continuous series of examples where relatively short-term climate changes or, more appropriately, climate variability (usually cooling caused by volcanoes) were the proximate cause or a contributor to calamity. It is certainly true that variability and changes of both weather and climate affect societies, many times adversely. However, some of the examples presented bordered on the absurd. For example, he speculates that the ice age led to people moving into caves which led to cave paintings which led to the "first known graphic communication" (page 61); the Little Ice Age led to the evolution of "new social patterns" (page 68); and "the fierce tropical sunshine took its toll on a society that had grown up in a slightly cooler and more hospitable climate" may be one reason for the disappearance of the Mayans.
- Senator Gore incorrectly implies that these adverse effects from climate variability, if indeed causality can be established, are indicators of what will happen under future climate change. The effects cited were in response to changes occurring over and lasting only seasons or a few years. Such climate variability and their potential to have large, adverse effects will continue to occur in the future, with or without man-induced climate change.
- All of Chapter 3 demonstrates that climate variability can have positive as well as negative impacts, and that mankind has been able to adapt to them in a positive manner. In many cases, it was the cooling that caused problems and disaster, while periods of warming eased life for many.
- Pages 66 - 67: Warming from about 900 to 1300 enabled travel to Greenland. "After the warming epoch, temperatures dropped again at the beginning of the fourteenth century, causing major problems in Europe and Asia."
- o Senator Gore states his personal views as incontrovertible fact.
- Page 23: "CO₂ levels are rising just as rapidly, and ultimately temperatures will rise with them."
- Page 37: "We already know more than enough."
- Page 37: "But it is clear that doubling CO₂ will in fact increase global temperatures and in the process subject us to the risk of catastrophic changes in global climate patterns."

o Senator Gore contradicts himself and often falls into the same trap that he accuses others of.

- Page 34: "The only way to understand our new role as co-architect of nature is to see ourselves as a part of a complex system that does not operate according to the same simple rules of cause and effect we are used to." Yet Gore ignores the complexity of the natural system in his belief that CO₂ emissions are going to result in imminent catastrophe. As some of the previous examples indicate, he ignores the complexity of the climate system.
- Page 37: "We already know enough" about climate change. On page 200 he states, "We have generated more data, statistics, words, formulas, images, documents, and declarations than we can possibly absorb," and implies that we need to better understand what we have rather than collecting even more. Yet in his discussion of his policy approach, Gore advocates collection of massive amounts of new data (pages 356-60).
- Page 318: Senator Gore advocates careful study of new technologies and yet applauds the rapidity with which CFC substitutes have been discovered. There is no mention of the adequacy of the testing program for these substitutes. Intuition suggests that rapidity is not consistent with careful study.
- Page 331: Senator Gore makes an important point about the need for retraining of workers displaced by the hard actions needed to address the issue. He makes no mention of retraining when discussing his decision not to continue supporting sugar price supports on page 341. Does he plan to propose Federal help for the sugar cane industry workers?
- Page 360: "In discussing information and its value, it is also worth remembering that some self-interested cynics are seeking to cloud the underlying issue of the environment with disinformation." As demonstrated by previous examples and points, this book is guilty of disinformation through its selective, simplistic, and misleading presentation of scientific information concerning climate change.

o Senator Gore fails to alert the reader as to the tradeoffs inherent in his policy approach.

- In Chapter 10, economists are criticized for not considering the environmental degradation inherent in economic growth. (This argument will be addressed later.) However, in Chapter 15, Senator Gore never once addresses the potential economic tradeoffs inherent in his massive proposal. On page 304, he points out that Marshall Plan expenditures were about 2% of GNP. That same percentage today would amount to about \$100 billion a year, and yet he fails to address what portion of his plan could be achieved for \$100 billion a year. Some estimates indicate that it will cost that much in the early 21st century simply to stabilize or slightly reduce CO₂

emissions. What will the nation need to give up to devote the \$100 billion to CO₂ reduction? And how much will it cost to implement the rest of his plan?

- Recent political discussions, particularly by Democrats, have focused on the social and human costs to our country that resulted, in part, from the military expenditures of the 1980s. Yet, according to Senator Gore's own figures (p. 304), the \$100 billion far exceeds military expenditures (of \$15 billion). He does not address the human and social costs that this diversion of resources will entail.
- o Senator Gore misrepresents economic principles and the role of economists. As a result, many of his conclusions are invalid and unsupported.
 - Both Chapter 10 and Chapter 15 indicate that discounting should not be used in cost/benefit analysis where environmental resources are involved because it does not give proper value to future generations. This is patently untrue. The "problem" is not the methodology. Very low present value components for future resources reflect both the discount rate and the future value given to the resource. Current analysis and resulting decisions reflect, in part, a relatively low value given to resources many years into the future.
 - In Chapters 10 and 15 Senator Gore appears to blame economists for the current environmental crisis because GNP and other statistics do not include measures of environmental quality. This is a patently absurd argument. Senator Gore ignores the entire economic concept of consumer choice. Consumers choose economic/material goods because of the level of satisfaction they provide the consumer, not because economists measure material goods only in GNP or because economists tell consumers to choose material goods. The nature of the measure does not preclude consumers from choosing environmental quality over economic goods if that is what gives them greatest value. It may be that consumers need greater information on environmental quality or the impacts of their decisions on the environment; however, providing this information is not the role of economists.
 - Pages 182-83: "The hard truth is that our economic system is partially blind. . . . It carefully measures and keeps track of the value of those things most important to buyers and sellers. . . . But its intricate calculations often completely ignore the value of other things that are harder to buy and sell: fresh water, clean air, ... In fact, the partial blindness of our current economic system is the single most powerful force behind what seem to be irrational decisions about the global environment." This logic is flawed. Gore inappropriately equates the economic system with economic measures and statistics. The fact that something is or is not measured has no bearing on whether it plays a role in the functioning of the economic system. For example, the concept of utility or satisfaction plays an important role in economic theory,

yet it is not measured. Further, the fact that environmental impacts are not measured by economists is irrelevant to whether or not they are considered in global decision-making.

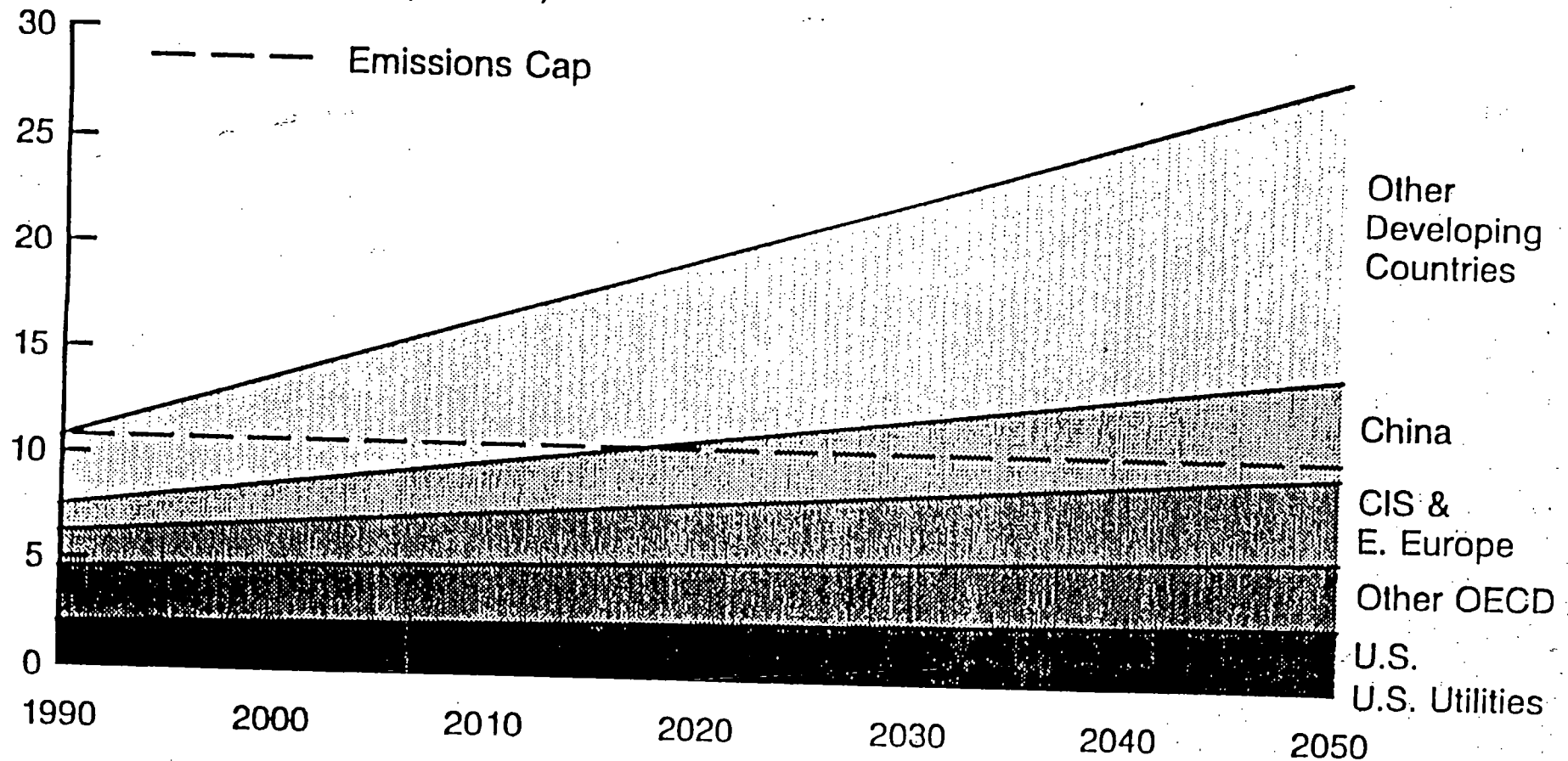
- Page 183: "Many popular textbooks on economic theory fail even to address subjects as basic to our economic choices as pollution or the depletion of natural resources. Although these issues have been studied by many microeconomists in specific business contexts, they have generally not been integrated into economic theory." Though this statement is somewhat confusing, it appears that Gore is saying that economists are ignoring certain matters. This is simply not true. There are specialized fields within the discipline of economics that focus exclusively on environmental economics and natural resource economics.
- Page 183: "In calculating GNP, natural resources are not depreciated as they are used up." This blanket statement is not true. GNP includes values for coal, oil, copper, water rights, and a variety of other natural resources that are used in producing goods. GNP and prices also reflect the cost of compliance with numerous environmental regulations that help reduce environmental damage.
- Page 185: "For all practical purposes, GNP treats the rapid and reckless destruction of the environment as a good thing." This is an illogical statement. GNP is simply a numerical measure of the market value of goods and services produced in a given year. It makes no value judgments as to whether the things measured are good, bad, or a mixture of both.
- Page 185-186: "Classical economists like to argue that all participants in the struggle between supply and demand have "perfect information". . . . The logical extension of "perfect information" is what economists call the market-clearing feature of the economic system, which they also assume to be perfect. . . . Such theories border on intellectual arrogance. . . ." This characterization wrongly implies that economists believe that these assumptions regarding "perfect information" and "perfectly competitive markets" are fulfilled in the "real world." Economists are well aware of the fact that assumptions made to conceptualize the workings of the economic system are simplifications of reality. For example, one area of economic research and literature deals with the role of information and its acquisition, given that perfect information does not exist and acquisition of information is not costless. Economists are also investigating the functioning of the market under a variety of conditions where perfect competition does not exist. Finally, it is not clear what is meant by a "classical" economist. Does this simply mean a trained, professional economist, or is it a reference to something more narrow?

- Page 186: "This assumption stems in part from the fact that the system of national income accounts was established by John Maynard Keynes before the end of the colonial era. . . ." While it's not clear what is meant by "the end of the colonial era," it is easy for the reader to interpret this to mean the end of the US colonial era. For the record, Keynes' major work was published in 1936.
- Page 187: ". . . But what if the clever new process results not only in the increased production of good things but also in an even larger increase in the number of bad things? Shouldn't that count? After all, it may cost a lot of money to deal with the consequences of the extra bad things." "And the absurdity doesn't stop there. Later, when expenditures are required to clean up the pollution, they are usually included in the national accounts as another positive entry on the ledger." This is a clear contradiction. On one hand, the "system" is criticized for not including the costs of the consequences of the "bad" things such as waste and pollution. On the other hand, the "system" is criticized when it does take into account the cost of "fixing" the damage. It's not at all clear exactly what the perceived problem is or what a workable solution might be.
- Page 188: "But the Holy Grail of progress is so alluring that economists tend to overlook the bad side effects that often accompany improvements . . ." "The bad things economists want to ignore while they measure the good things are often said to be too difficult to integrate into their calculations. . . . Therefore, since the effort to keep track of the bad things would complicate the valuation of the good things, the bad things are simply defined away as external to the process and called externalities." "This habit of using an arbitrary definition to exclude inconvenient facts from the calculation of what is good and what is bad is a form of dishonesty." There are a number of flaws in this whole discussion. The ongoing characterization injects a wealth of value judgments and ulterior motives into economic research and analysis that are not valid. First, the striving for economic growth is more the product of our American culture that emphasizes "more is better" rather than the "evil doing" of economists. Second, economists have not chosen to ignore externalities; they have recognized their presence since the 1930s. It is clearly a debatable value judgment to say that is the responsibility of the economists to change the system to internalize these externalities. Third, as mentioned previously, the concept of good/bad does not enter into either the measure of GNP or the definition of externalities. Neither definition is "arbitrary."
- Page 189: "In much the same way, our current system of economics arbitrarily draws a circle of value around those things in our civilization we have decided to keep track of and measure." This statement completely ignores those things of value to our civilization that are kept track of and measured as a part of all disciplines other than economics.

- Page 189-190: "For example, a coal-fired power station produces both kilowatt-hours of electricity and tons of atmospheric pollution. . . . But it is also possible to evaluate at least some of the economic significance of the atmospheric emissions. . . . there is a well-accepted and agreed-upon range, and some value within that range could and should be used in calculating the costs and benefits of each ton of coal burned." First, there is no such thing as "a well-accepted and agreed-upon" range of values for environmental damage costs; existing estimates vary dramatically and are subject to great debate. Second, it is not clear what policy is being advocated in this discussion. Is Gore proposing that these external damage costs be included in the price of coal/electricity? This approach would increase the price of electricity and could possibly increase GNP. According to earlier statements, a higher GNP value that results from "bads" is not acceptable. Alternatively, could he be proposing that GNP be reduced by the pollution damages? This would imply that the value of the goods that we produce is lessened when scarce natural/environmental resources are used. This seems to run counter to his thesis that we need to put greater value on these environmental resources. Whatever point is trying to be made is not stated clearly and is not intuitively obvious from the discussion.
- Page 190-191: "The accepted formulas of conventional economic analysis contain short-sighted and arguably illogical assumptions about what is valuable in the future as opposed to the present. . . ." There is nothing implicit in discounting/present value methodology referred to here that inherently devalues future resources; to the contrary, resources not used currently will have greater value to future generations when such principles are applied. Further, the results of applying this methodology will depend on both the discount rate and the future value of the resource chosen by the analyst. Thus, decisions made using this methodology largely reflect the values and judgment of the analyst, not an intrinsic flaw in the methodology itself.

CONTRIBUTION TO ANNUAL GLOBAL GREENHOUSE EMISSIONS

Annual Global Greenhouse Gas Emissions
(10^9 Tons/Yr Carbon Equivalent)



Any truth in the balance?

Sen. Albert Gore's recent book is called "Earth in the Balance." But it is truth that is in the balance, rather than our very durable planet. The book is as ignorant a collection of clichés as anything ever published on the subject. And there is lots of tough competition for that abysmal bottom spot.

Just about every assertion in the book points in the wrong direction—suggesting that conditions are getting worse rather than getting better, which they are. Lest the reader accuse me of hunting-and-picking for errant soft targets, let's start with the very first topic in the book, soil erosion, and go from there.

After the obligatory drama about how "eight acres" worth of prime topsoil floats past Memphis every hour," Mr. Gore says Iowa "used to have an average of 16 inches of the best topsoil in the world. Now it is down to eight inches."

The first footnote in the book says only that his source was "conversations with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Iowa Department of Agriculture and Land Stewardship." One cannot check the Iowa situation with his anonymous quote (Indeed, printed sources are generally

scarce in the book). But we do know the trend of increasing erosion for the country as a whole.

If Mr. Gore had done his homework, he would have examined the data in the publications of the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Economic Research Service. He would have talked to Bruce Gardner, now assistant secretary of agriculture for economics, and to Mr. Gardner's teacher at the University of Chicago, Theodore Schultz, who has been watching soil erosion since his days as a farmboy in South Dakota in the 1920s, and who received a Nobel Prize for his work in agricultural economics and human capital. The senator would have read the articles by Mr. Schultz, and by respected agricultural economists Earl Swanson at the University of Illinois and Earl Heady at the University of Iowa.

Mr. Gore would then have found that the facts are exactly the opposite of what he writes. The farms in the United States are becoming less rather than more eroded, on average. Decade after recent decade, fewer rather than more acres suffer from severe erosion. This emerges from comparison of Soil Conservation Service surveys done at intervals since the 1930s.

This first item sets the pattern for all the rest. Mr. Gore alleges—in the first sentence of the book—that there is a "global ecological crisis," that conditions have been worsening. But in fact all trends pertaining to human welfare have been improving rather than deteriorating.

The second specific item Mr.

Gore mentions is DDT, "which became for me a symbol of how carelessly our civilization could do harm to the world." He gives no data and provides no references, though he later adds that DDT "can be environmentally dangerous in tiny amounts." A touch of research would have turned up tons of writings such as "Mosquitoes, Malaria and Man," by Gordon Harrison, who was director of the Ford Foundation's environmental program. Mr. Gore would have learned that with the aid of DDT, "India had brought the number of malaria cases down from the estimated 75 million in 1951 to about 50,000 in 1961. Sri Lanka . . . reduced malaria from about 3 million cases after World War II to just 29 in 1964." Then as the use of DDT went down, "Endemic malaria returned to India like the turnaround of a tide. By 1977 'the number of cases reached at least 30 million and perhaps 50 million.' Does that suggest that DDT does harm to civilization, or does good?

Gradually, it became clear, too, that DDT could be used quite safely. The scary scenarios in Rachel Carson's book, that Mr. Gore remembers troubled his mother, turned out to be without foundation. In 1971, amidst the fight that led to the banning of DDT in 1972, the president of the National Academy of Sciences, distinguished biologist Philip H. H. H. said, "DDT is the greatest chemical that has ever been discovered." Commission after commission, top expert after top Nobel prize-winning expert have given DDT a clean bill of health, as Mr. Gore could find out in Elizabeth Whelan's "Toxic Terror" and the host of references therein. But evidence on such matters has no place in Mr. Gore's book.

The third item Mr. Gore mentions is Agent Orange, which he uses weasel words to describe as "the suspected cause of chromosomal damage and birth defects." Again no references in Mr. Gore's book. And

see SIMON, page F4

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Al Gore

P. 1

SIMON

From page F1

with reason, because though Agent Orange (dioxin) was indeed "suspected" by Mr. Gore and his colleagues, it was pronounced innocent in the federal courtroom when veterans brought suit. There simply is no solid scientific evidence of ill effects from dioxin.

In August 1991, the New York Times front-page headline was "U.S. Backing Away from Saying Dioxin is a Deadly Peril." The story continued, "Exposure to the chemical, once thought to be much more hazardous than chain smoking, is now considered by some experts to be no more risky than spending a week sunbathing." And the Centers for Disease Control now admits that the Times Beach evacuation was unnecessary. But Mr. Gore has not gotten the word.

Love Canal is next in the book. Mr. Gore seems unaware that the solid scientific consensus is that there was no observable damage to humans from living near Love Canal. So far, we have only reached page 3. And the entire book is filled with this sort of environmental gossip, backed by no sources, and contradicted by solid data.

Though the senator undoubtedly cares sincerely about environmental and resource issues, his ignorance is willful rather than naive. He

I'll bet a week's or a month's pay with Mr. Gore that I've got the above matters right and he does not.

has been told in the past that his utterances on these subjects do not correspond with the facts. But he has chosen to ignore the scientific literature.

Furthermore, the advisers Mr. Gore leans heavily on — Paul Ehrlich and Lester Brown — have been proven wrong in every one of the forecasts they have made in the past two decades, a truly astonishing record of consistency. Yet it is still their agenda that Mr. Gore puts forth, almost as if he is writing from handouts of the environmental movement.

Moreover, Mr. Gore is suspicious about others' motives and behavior. He writes that, "The statistics about forests can be deceptive too: although the United States, like several other developed nations, actually has more forested land now than it did a hundred years ago, many of the huge tracts ... have been converted from diverse hardwoods to a monoculture of softwood." But the same U.S. Forest statistics that showed Mr. Gore that the total volume of trees is increasing also show that the volume of hardwood trees is going up, rather than being driven out by softwoods. Just who is deceiving whom?

The reader may wonder who is to be believed. One crude test is whether people will put their money where their mouths are. So here is my offer: I'll bet a week's or a month's pay with Mr. Gore or anyone else that I've got the above matters right and he does not. And I'll go further: I'll bet that just about any broad aggregate trend pertaining to human welfare will improve rather than get worse — health, standard of living, cleanliness of our air and water, natural resource availability — you name it, and you pick any year in the future. First, come, first served.

It is not surprising that a U.S. senator does not have time for the kind of library digging that an academic researcher does. But that is no excuse for publicizing and acting on wrong facts, because it is not harmless — whether as a senator who has a large say in national policy on these matters, or as the president of the United States that some would have Mr. Gore be. Mr. Gore would (among other measures) tax the use of new raw materials to force more recycling, establish higher mileage requirements for cars, require "efficiency standards throughout the economy" — all of which would raise costs and increase government intervention in people's lives. All this on the basis of beliefs he holds that are utterly contradicted by the solid scientific facts.

p. 2

Gore: on an ecological limb

By James W. Brosnan

The Commercial Appeal
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Most politicians endure their midlife crisis before they run for president.

Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.), 43, is going through his now, four years after he made the race, and it's one reason his book that goes on sale Wednesday is so compelling.

In *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit*, Gore deliberately charts a course for himself from which there is no turning back. From now on his political fate is tied squarely to the success of the environmental movement.

Already a recognized environmental leader in Congress, Gore now attempts to outline an environmental agenda of controversial proposals.

He calls for taxing carbon dioxide emissions to prevent global warming, which would surely drive up the price of electricity and cars.

He thinks people should pay for their garbage pickups based on how many pounds of garbage they produce.

He wants schoolchildren around the world to keep daily weather measures.

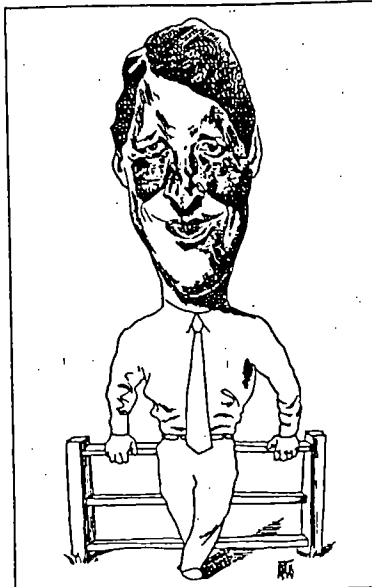
He wants accounting systems changed to reflect the environmental consequences of pollution and resource depletion.

HE EVEN FEELS compelled to say that he will rebel against the Southern farm bloc and no longer support sugarcane subsidies — because sugarcane is destroying the Everglades.

On the other side, Gore attacks the Earth-Firsters of the "deep ecology" movement for suggesting that man's every advance should be stymied.

He suggests mildly that population control advocates might break bread

North America Syndicate Inc.



Sen. Albert Gore Jr.

with the Catholic Church and work together to raise Third World living standards, which would then persuade Third World families to have fewer children.

And he attempts bravely to develop a theological underpinning for the "environmentalism of the spirit."

But even these ideas would not mark a new political path were it not for Gore's assertion that "we must make the rescue of the environment the central organizing principle for civilization" in the post-Cold War era.

As a corollary this also requires countries to adopt democratic forms of governments and guarantees of human rights, because only men and women who are "politically empowered" can "effect remedies to ecological problems wherever they live."

A GORE-LED United States would not retreat from the world, as some Democrats suggest, but try to use its influence to make other countries choose the environmentally and democratically correct choices.

Under a new global Marshall Plan, Gore would aid countries that make the right choices and deny U.S. technology to countries not prepared to use it in an environmentally safe manner.

This is the kind of stuff that would send pundits and opposing speechwriters racing to their keyboards should Gore ever run for president again. That's especially true if global warming and the ozone hole do not prove to be the dangers Gore asserts they are.

So why write it?

Books by politicians are seldom best-sellers and Gore already had enormous support among environmental groups. Gore has taken to begging this year's crop of Democratic candidates to even talk about the issue, which he acknowledged is a second-tier concern of voters.

The book reflects nothing of Gore's

efforts to broaden his appeal on economic matters since the 1988 campaign.

The book also is deeper than it needs to be to impress anyone.

No political guru would advise his candidate to say the environmental problems facing the Earth reflect a "dysfunctional civilization."

But what this book does say is that if Gore runs for president again he will run on his issues and his philosophy.

In 1988, Gore was at various times viewed as the candidate of party fatcats, a not-quite-ready but very ambitious youngster, and the Southern-oriented, strong-on-defense moderate.

His views on the environment were either derided or ignored.

"The harder truth," confesses Gore, "is that I simply lacked the strength to keep on talking about the environmental crisis constantly whether it was reported in the press or not."

ABOUT A YEAR after withdrawing from that race, Gore saw his then-6-year-old son, Albert III, hit by a car and thrown 30 feet through the air. After months of care, young Albert recovered.

But the accident clearly made Gore think more deeply about his family obligations. It and the book were probably the single two biggest factors in Gore's decision not to run for president this time.

(The cynics who snickered last summer when Gore said George Bush could be beaten can only wonder now if Gore would be at the top of the polls among Democrats in New Hampshire, not Bill Clinton.)

The 1988 loss, Albert's accident and the book seem to have combined to force Gore to reconcile political ambition with faith and root beliefs.

Gore has always displayed ambivalence about political life.

Growing up as the son of a senator he learned how to be sensitive — maybe "too sensitive," Gore suggests — to the views of others. He wrote a college paper on the possible impact of television coverage on Congress. He enjoys much of the political game and is as skillful a manipulator of the media as there is in Washington.

But Gore was alienated from political life in his early 20s following his father's defeat and his own return from the Vietnam War. Gore became a journalist and went to divinity school at night searching for some answers. After a few years he took the easy jump on his father's name to Congress.

Now as he looks back on 15 years in Congress and six political campaigns, he notes the "layers of artifice and authenticity running through the civilization of which I am a part."

Gore writes that he has become impatient "with my own tendency to put a finger to the political winds" and so decided to "summon the courage" through the book to make an unrestrained commitment.

"The global environmental crisis is, as we say in Tennessee, real as rain, and I cannot stand the thought of leaving my children with a degraded Earth and a diminished future," writes Gore.

Now, he'll sink or swim with the flood.

By Debbie Gurnott

BOOKS

The World According To Gore

Earth In the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit
By Senator Al Gore (Houghton Mifflin Company, \$22.88)

If you want to know what Al Gore's new book is about, go back and read the *Flyer's* review of the Worldwatch Institute's *Saving the Planet* in our January 16th issue. Both books carry the same message; both are well worth your time and attention. But if you can only read one of them, choose Gore's.

Why? Three reasons: It's more entertaining; it explicates more fully some of the issues that are only outlined in the much shorter Worldwatch book; and, unlike most environmental books, it's written by a person who's actually in a position to help bring about the changes he proposes.

It is Gore's status as a United States senator and a former (and possibly future) presidential candidate that makes his words so provocative. Many people will judge the book solely as a measure of Gore's political character and ignore message it contains.

Unfortunately, Gore's exhortatory tone only serves to undermine his credibility. Conservative reviewers have labeled the book "hysterical" and "shrill," and it's easy to see why. Where the Worldwatch book is a meticulously documented statement of the facts, Gore's is more of an extended pep talk. But this is clearly his intention. It's not enough, Gore apparently feels, to merely describe what the problems are; he aims to incite those in power to get off their butts and do something.

Yet in order to arouse the necessary sense of urgency, Gore must first convince the skeptics that an "ecological catastrophe" is indeed occurring. This he fails to do, despite impassioned rhetoric. His comprehensive understanding of environmental issues is indisputable, and anyone who works in the environmental field will recognize that what he's saying is true. But if Gore really wishes to be taken seriously, why didn't he use footnotes? Surely he must have anticipated criticism; yet he doesn't give critics the option of looking up references and ascertaining the truth for themselves.

Typical of this sloppiness is a quote preceded by the introduction, "In the words of expert Steve Witt." Expert in what? Affiliated with which organization?

This lack of references, however, hardly detracts from the sheer pleasure of the book. It's surprisingly readable—not at all the tedious doublespeak you'd expect from a politician. Where most environmental books are depressing, this one is somehow uplifting. Gore describes in detail the problems we've created—often using comparisons to everyday phenomena to help make scientific principles understandable—yet at the same time fills us with a sense of wonder about the world and our place in it.

After covering all the familiar environmental issues—ozone depletion, global warming, groundwater pollution, etc.—and a few not so familiar—such as the vulnerability of the world's 12 "genetic centers" containing the seeds of our most important food crops—Gore embarks on a spiritual journey, taking us on a concise tour through the history of philosophy and our changing relationship with the physical world. We are not, he assures us, as evil as the "Deep Ecologists"—who regard humans as a virus invading the Earth—would have us believe. Rather, we're digging ourselves an ecological grave through our

"dysfunctional" thinking, based on the Cartesian viewpoint that humans are above and separate from all other life on Earth.

What we need, then, is an attitude adjustment. Gore acknowledges that it will be difficult to change the mind-set of every person on the planet (although he cites the fall of communism as an example of that possibility), but he argues that we should now adopt saving the environment as our new central organizing principle.

To that end, he unveils the "Global Marshall Plan," a set of ecologically sound political and economic strategies. Just as in the original Marshall Plan, when the United States helped devastated countries rebuild themselves after World War II, Gore's proposal calls for the wealthier nations to ease the burden of Third World countries (where the effects of environmental destruction are felt most acutely).

Gore's plan consists of five strategic goals: stabilizing world population; developing ecologically safe technologies; restructuring the world's economic system; establishing international treaties to enforce environmental policies; and launching a massive educational effort to change the public's way of thinking.

It all sounds utopian. But Gore leaves the vital question unanswered: Who is going to take the initiative and implement these reforms? Many of the world's countries will have to spend the 1990s trying to recover from their own political revolutions; overseeing the environmental movement will be out of the question. The responsibility should fall to us. In a poll taken just after the Gulf War, 93 percent of respondents felt the United States should be "using its position to get other countries to join together to take action against world environmental problems."

Unfortunately for the world, Bush and his cabinet are not part of that 93 percent, and the upcoming presidential election shows scant potential for new leadership on this issue. At a recent appearance at the Memphis main library, Gore said he believed an "environmental president" was still a possibility, though he implied that this could be so only if a Democrat were in the White House.

"I still hope to run for president again," he told the *Flyer*. "I would like to be president. And if I run, I will make this [the environment] a strong issue."

In fact, Gore thinks the environment could still be a significant issue in this year's election: "The Earth Summit (to be held in Rio de Janeiro in early June) will coincide with the California primary, and if George Bush follows his stated intention and is the only world leader not to attend, that could have a major effect [on Bush's image]."

And what of Gore's own image? Did he write *Earth In the Balance* merely to bolster his reputation among the environmentalist faction, amassing an army of ready supporters for a future presidential race?

I don't think so. This is a book Gore felt he had to write. Whether it ultimately helps him or hurts him politically is irrelevant. What matters is that among all of the cowardly and corrupt souls who supposedly represent the interests of the American people, at least there is one who cares enough to speak out eloquently in defense of the planet. ■

Letters

Sen. Al Gore's book has credibility hole

Karen Riley's gushing Feb. 26 Commentary section review of Sen. Al Gore's book, "Earth in the Balance" ("Primer on the Green Side"), underscores the folly of having non-science writers critique environmental publications. There is nothing in Mr. Gore's book or in his various alarmist presentations on talk shows around town that is "painstakingly objective."

To the best of my knowledge, there has been no survey of atmospheric scientists to indicate who agrees, or disagrees, with whom.

But the Science and Environmental Policy Project, which is supported by the Bradley, Smith-Richardson and Forbes foundations, just last week began a mail survey of U.S. atmospheric scientists on the global-warming issue. While responses are only just beginning to come in, we have already heard from more than a dozen top atmospheric scientists from the National Climatic Data Center, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, Woods Hole

Oceanographic Institute and from university research centers at Yale, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Arizona State University, the University of Virginia and others.

All of these scientists strongly agreed that current catastrophic global-warming predictions are unsupported by the scientific evidence and that they are based on theoretical climate models that cannot be relied upon and are not validated by the existing climate record.

Moreover, it is highly unlikely that Mr. Gore knows how many dissenting scientists there are, since he seems to go to great length to avoid them.

Mr. Gore was scheduled to appear on CNN's "Larry King Live" on Jan. 27 with atmospheric scientists S. Fred Singer, the director of this project. Mr. Singer is not only the man who designed the currently used satellite instrument for measuring atmospheric ozone but was the first to point out that population growth would inevitably increase methane — an impor-

tant greenhouse gas — in the atmosphere. He is also one of those who discounts the global-warming models.

When Mr. Gore learned that Mr. Singer was booked for the show, his response was that he "could not appear under those circumstances," and the segment was canceled. (Mr. Gore and his publicist were more successful a week later, however, when Larry King agreed to let him on the show alone and unchallenged.)

Mr. Gore's "spiritual," "almost holy" book notwithstanding, global warming and global ozone depletion are still speculation, not fact. The American people will be poorly served if only costly federal policies are thrown together on the basis of incomplete science. The result can only be a further crippling of the U.S. economy and the unnecessary destruction of more American jobs.

CANDACE C. CRANDALL
Editorial Director
Science and Environmental
Policy Project
Washington

Examining Earth's Ecological Problems

Reviewed by Phillip J. Wingate

In "Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit," Sen. Al Gore (D-Tenn.) tries, in 14 chapters, to analyze the ecological problems of the world, and then, in a 15th chapter, to offer a solution to all these problems. The task that Gore gave himself is one so monumental that it should surprise no one that the book falls woefully short both in its analysis and in its proposed solution to the problems.

The best thing that can be said about the book is that it is clearly written and parts of it are interesting. However, nearly all of it is a fluffy recapitulation of the doomsday theories of those members of a modern environmentalist group who see nothing but disaster and catastrophe in store for the human race, and perhaps all other forms of life on Earth, unless people change their wicked ways—at once.

The chapter called "Climate and Civilization: A Short History" illustrates both the enormous scope of the problems the Senator tackles and the superficial treatment he gives them. In just 24 pages he reviews the climate changes that have occurred in the past 65 million years and suggests that small variations in the composition of Earth's atmosphere, such as the recent increase of carbon dioxide from 0.030% to 0.035%, may have caused or ended many ice ages.

Perhaps the most interesting part of this chapter discusses how volcanoes affect temperature and other climate conditions around the world. The evidence is overwhelming that giant eruptions, such as those of Krakatoa (1883), Tambora (1815), Hekla (1136 B.C.), and Santorini (1600 B.C.) did cool Earth for a period of time by hurling billions or trillions of tons of dust and gases into the atmosphere. Even the Philippines' Mount Pinatubo volcano of 1991, which was a mere firecracker by comparison, is being credited with having a cooling effect on Earth, thereby offsetting the global warming caused by the increase in "greenhouse gases" such as



U.S. Senator's superficial examination of Earth's ecological woes leads to a vague call to quickly change people's wicked ways

"Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit," by Sen. Al Gore, Houghton Mifflin Co., 2 Park St., Boston, Mass. 02108, 1992, 416 pages, \$22.95

carbon dioxide, methane, and the chlorofluorocarbon (CFC) gases.

Gore writes: "The story of humankind and our relationship to the Earth may be seen as a continuing adventure or tragedy shrouded in mystery. The choice is ours. The 'year without a summer' teaches us how vulnerable civilization is to small global climate changes. ... We are carelessly initiating climate change which could well last for hundreds or even thousands of years." In short, apocalypse now, unless we quickly change our wicked ways.

Gore wisely does not go into any details about what must be done, al-

though the inference is clear that the production of carbon dioxide must be decreased. He does say firmly that "the choice is ours," but he gives no hint as to how we can gain any more control over volcanoes of the future than our ancestors had over those of the past. Or over such things as sunspots and flares, showers of meteor dust, ocean currents, and variable cloud formations.

Scientists are in complete agreement that the study of the complex chemistry of the atmosphere should continue and be accelerated in every way possible, but to argue that we now know enough about the "greenhouse gases" to permit us to ignore the giant forces of nature, such as volcanoes and variations in radiation from the Sun, is sheer nonsense. If "the year without a summer" (1816), which produced massive famines, according to Gore, returns after another volcano like Tambora, the human race would probably welcome any warming effect produced by an increase of carbon dioxide in the air from the present 0.035% to, say, 0.045%.

However, it should be remembered that as recently as the early 1970s, some other doomsday prophets were saying that an increase in carbon dioxide might bring on a new ice age. No matter which way the beleaguered human race turns, there is always some prophet ready to denounce its wicked ways.

And so it goes throughout the first 14 chapters of "Earth in the Balance." Disasters and catastrophes abound in chapters with such headings as "If the Well Goes Dry," "Seeds of Privation," "We Are What We Use," "Environmentalism of the Spirit," and "Dysfunctional Civilization." What binds it all together is that Gore finds disaster and apocalypse, imminent or in the distant future, wherever he goes, which is just about all over the world.

There is very little science in the chapter on climate, and even less in other chapters. As the Senator notes, some of his friends at Johns Hopkins University urged him to "be more specific and to articulate more precisely the linkage between my ideas and con-

cepts." He elected not to take their advice, so there is very little to connect the disasters he sees coming with any solid science. Indeed, there is virtually no solid science anywhere in the book. Instead, we have very large doses of moralizing and philosophizing.

In the final chapter, called "A Global Marshall Plan," Gore ranges over even wider fields than he has previously. But the poor statesman who seeks to find just exactly what the Senator is advocating will be in almost as much trouble as the poor scientist who reads "Earth in the Balance" while looking for scientific answers to the real problems of life on this planet.

For example, Gore advocates stabilizing world population, a proposal that many statesmen and scientists would agree with. But although he correctly says the need is great in Nigeria and similar places around the world, he gives no hint as to how any plan to do this would avoid the charges of racism and genocide that would surely follow. He leaves the general impression that he thinks the industrial processes and products that have raised the standard of living in the developed nations are somehow almost certain to destroy or seriously harm all forms of life on Earth. He returns again and again to the hazards related to carbon dioxide and CFCs, but also includes others, such as fertilizers and insecticides, as potential villains.

Anyone reading "Earth in the Balance" is almost certain to conclude that its author is a sincere idealist, dedicated to making the world a better place. He is so sincere that he even deplors "my own hypocrisy" in calling for a ban on CFCs while continuing to use them in the air-conditioning system of his own car. The Senator's idealism is the kind that was popular among the elite of this world when knighthood was in flower and the knight-errant was expected to battle all evil no matter what the cost might be. There is in Gore something of Sir Galahad, who, according to Tennyson, had the strength of 10 men "because my heart is pure." Also there is in him some of Sir Lancelot, who, according to lyric poets Lerner and Loewe, modestly claimed to be "the godliest man I know."

But more than any other noble knight, Gore brings to mind Don Quixote, the Man of La Mancha, made fa-

mous by Miguel Cervantes. Don Quixote was always willing to do battle with windmills or any other threats to a perfect world that his imagination could conjure up. But if scientists and responsible people in government are willing to play Sancho Panza to Gore's Don Quixote, then the world can expect to be beaten around the head even more frequently and far more severely than Don Quixote and the faithful Sancho were.

Cervantes' "Don Quixote" is about

twice as long as Gore's "Earth in the Balance," but it is many, many times more valuable as a guide to those who seek to make the world a better place to live. Everyone should read this great book. That is to say, they should read "Don Quixote."

Phillip J. Wingate is a retired vice president of Du Pont who has written frequently about the environment for many leading U.S. newspapers. He holds a Ph.D. degree in chemistry from the University of Maryland, College Park. □

Paperbacks

Biotechnics and Society: The Rise of Industrial Genetics. Sheldon Krinsky. xvii + 263 pages. Praeger Publishers, One Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10010. 1991. \$47.95

Electrical Effects in Particulate Matter Processes. Supplement No. 1. Edward R. Frederick. viii + 248 pages. E. R. Frederick, 294 Sunset Rd., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15237. 1991. \$40.

IARC Monographs on the Evaluation of Carcinogenic Risks to Humans. Vol. 51. 513 pages. International Agency for Research on Cancer. World Health Organization Distribution & Sales, 1211 Geneva 27, Switzerland. 1991. \$72.

Monitoring Human Tissues for Toxic Substances. Committee on National Monitoring of Human Tissues. xi + 211 pages. National Academy Press, 2101 Constitution Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20418. \$27 U.S., Canada, Mexico; \$32.50 elsewhere.

Nuclear Techniques in Structural Chemistry: A Special Edition of the Journal of Structural Chemistry. István Hargittai et al., editors. vii + 265 pages. VCH Publishers, Distribution Center, 303 Northwest 12th Ave., Deerfield Beach, Fla. 33442-1705. 1991. \$49.50.

Polymers: Chemistry and Physics of Modern Materials. 2nd Ed. J. M. G. Cowie. ix + 436 pages. Chapman & Hall, 29 West 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10001. 1991. \$39.95 U.S., \$49.95 Canada.

Practical Manual on Lipid Analysis: A Series of Monographs. J. G. Alvarez, J. C. Touchstone. 104 pages. Norell Inc., 22 Marlin Lane, Mays Landing, N.J. 08330. 1991. \$29.95.

Quanta: A Handbook of Concepts. 2nd Ed. P. W. Atkins. 434 pages. Oxford University Press, 200 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. 1991. \$95.

Regulation of Agrochemicals: A Driving Force in Their Evolution. Gino J. Marco, Robert M. Hollingworth, Jack R. Plimmer, editors. xvi + 1988 pages. American Chemical Society, 1155—16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. 1991. \$44.95 hardback, \$34.95 paperback.

Technology and Choice: Readings from Technology and Culture. Marcel C. LaFollette, Jeffrey K. Stine, editors. 341 pages. University of Chicago Press, P.O. Box 37005, Chicago, Ill. 60637. 1991. \$45.90.

Trends in Chemical Consulting. Charles S. Sodano, David M. Sturmer, editors. xvi + 165 pages. American Chemical Society, 1155—16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. 1991. \$29.95.

Waterjet Cutting: Technology and Industrial Applications. Richard K. Miller. 154 pages. The Fairmont Press Inc., 700 Indian Trail, Liburn, Ga., 30247. 1991. \$62.95.

Hardbacks

Bicyclic Diazepines: Diazepines with an Additional Ring. R. Ian Fryer, editor. xi + 1100 pages. John Wiley & Sons, 605 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. 1991. \$275.

Chemical Engineering at the University of Texas 1910-1990. Howard F. Rase, William A. Cunningham. xiii + 282 pages. The University of Texas at Austin, Department of Chemical Engineering, College of Engineering, Austin, Tex. 78712-1062. 1990. \$40.

Chemical Process and Plant Design Bibliography (1959-1989). Martyn S. Ray. xxvii + 196 pages. Noyes Publications, Mill Rd. at Grand Ave., Park Ridge, N.J. 07656. 1991. \$54.

The chemistry of sulphonic acids, esters and their derivatives. Saul Patai, Zvi Rappoport, editors. xvi + 1121 pages. John Wiley & Sons, 605 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. 1991. \$690.

tion to a regime in which greenhouse-gas emissions are reduced." In other words, we have at least a decade to study the problem without making it substantially worse.

The rush is a matter of politics, not science. Gore credits Roger Revelle, the former director of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography who rekindled interest in the greenhouse theory in the 1950s, as his mentor on the subject. Revelle co-authored a recent article that concluded: "*The scientific base for a greenhouse warming is too uncertain to justify drastic action at this time* [emphasis in original]."

Even if the climate did warm significantly, it would not spell disaster for humanity. We can easily adapt to any climate changes likely to occur over the next century, according to the Climate Change Adaptation Panel of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS). Human beings thrive in climates rang-

ing from the Sahara to Sarawak, from the Amazon to Alaska. The NAS points out that the change in temperatures predicted by the disaster theorists is "much smaller than that from day to night, from summer to winter, or between airports that one might leave and reach in an hour." The NAS also rejected predictions that climate change is apt to cause the catastrophic collapse of natural ecosystems or agriculture.

In other words, while environmental problems do exist, the end of the world is not at hand. With *Earth in the Balance*, Gore has joined the ranks of the end-of-the-second-millennium low-budget prophets. The real cause for concern is that such a demagogue writes legislation, influences our government's policy, and is widely discussed as a moderate and therefore one of the Democrats most likely to become President someday. □

dition. That the liberal tradition needs bolstering he is convinced, though not because its contemporary academic critics are especially intelligent or persuasive. Pangle begins by warming up on deconstructionism, but he hardly raises a sweat. Deconstructionism takes from Heidegger and Nietzsche a belief in the arbitrariness of all values, while passing over their insistence that some values must be willfully, even brutally, affirmed. What we get as a result are lightweights like Richard Rorty, who simultaneously endorse "the values of the Enlightenment" while "cut[ing] the links which connect those values with . . . Nature."

While the intellectuals of Paris and points west talked about structures of oppression inherent in language, the intellectuals of Prague were overthrowing oppressors. Pangle half hopes that Eastern Europe's experience may revive our seriousness. But he also fears that the new Europe may become "a Swedish California stretching from the Urals to the Atlantic." In the end, Americans have no alternative but to re-examine their own roots.

Pangle's re-examination forms the core of the book. He revisits the expected philosophers: Locke, the authors of *The Federalist Papers*, and Montesquieu, who was in many ways the French mediator between them. He also pays tribute to the Christian tradition of Natural Law. Straussians typically handle theology with tongs, unless they can portray it as a mask for secret skepticism. Laying the tongs aside, Pangle declares that "the substantial differences between classical political philosophy and biblical thought were not so great as to prevent . . . a variety of remarkably effective and convincing syntheses in each of the great religious dispensations." Since the dispensation of the majority of Americans has been Christian, Pangle honors the Natural Law tradition of Thomas Aquinas, which flowed into English Protestantism through Richard Hooker and watered Americans at least as recently as Martin Luther King Jr.

The Founders and their immediate successors did not expect their synthesis to clatter on like a perpetual-motion machine. They felt that each new generation of Americans would have to be educated to uphold it. Pangle cites chapter and verse from

Fresh Air?

RICHARD BROOKHISER

THOMAS Pangle's *The Ennobling of Democracy* is an academic's book, by an academic who cares passionately about his subject and who has suffered for his concerns. A dozen years ago Pangle, who now teaches at the University of Toronto, was extruded from the political science department of Yale, even though he was one of Yale's most popular lecturers, for the simple reason that he was a follower of Leo Strauss. "There are two kinds of people who should never be on a faculty: Leninists and Straussians," remarked one of

The Ennobling of Democracy, by Thomas L. Pangle (Johns Hopkins University Press, 240 pp., \$25.95)

Pangle's soon-to-be-ex-colleagues at the time (it's surprising the critic included Leninists on his Index of Prohibited Teachers).

If that Yale read Straussians today, perhaps he would have a better opinion of them. One of the main raps against Straussians has been the almost kabbalistic focus of their read-

ing on half a dozen political philosophers—Plato, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Rousseau, Marx, and Nietzsche—with a few exegetes and elaborators—Aristotle, Locke—thrown in. Straussians maintained that only these men were acute enough to lead us out of the cave of cultural presuppositions in which most of us spend our lives. Yet the Straussians' endless recycling of their greatest hits too often yielded an odor of damp and bat guano all its own.

In the last few years, however, Allan Bloom has written about Heidegger and Tocqueville. Francis Fukuyama has given us Hegel and his whimsical French disciple Alexandre Kojève. In *The Ennobling of Democracy*, Pangle has made the most additions to his library, surveying deconstructionists, Vaclav Havel, John Paul II, and even Benjamin Franklin. It is good to see the Straussians getting out and about.

The announced goal of Pangle's extended reading is to rediscover the arguments for "liberal constitutionalism" (by which he means, not the thought of Anthony Lewis, but the world the Founders made), and to bolster those arguments where necessary with help from outside the liberal tra-

Mr. Brookhiser's most recent book is The Way of the WASP.

Demagoguery in Green

RONALD BAILEY

SENATOR Albert Gore's new book artfully fuses New Age psychobabble with radical environmentalism into the quintessence of political correctness. Humanity, he warns, is treating swamps, jungles, and seas as though they were the "weakest and most vulnerable mem-

Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit, by Al Gore (Houghton Mifflin, 407 pp., \$22.95)

bers of [a] dysfunctional family." Our "dysfunctional civilization" is "addicted to the consumption of the earth itself" and is "in denial" over the harm its "addiction" is causing. Businessmen, intellectuals, and politicians are "enablers" who abet our "addictive behavior." Like recovering addicts who turn to Naranon, Gore apparently thinks humanity ought to seek its own collective 12-step recovery program. We could call it "Terranon."

While Gore's angle is new, the idea is not. H. L. Mencken observed that "the whole aim of practical politics is to keep the populace alarmed (and hence clamorous to be led to safety) by menacing it with an endless series of hobgoblins, all of them imaginary." Here, Gore peddles every doomsday prediction made by apocalyptic environmentalism—overpopulation, topsoil erosion, scarcity of fresh water, deforestation, thinning ozone, and, of course, global warming.

Set aside global warming for the moment and look at the other hobgoblins. Overpopulation and famine? The billions of deaths from famine predicted for the 1970s and 1980s by Gore's heroes, Paul Ehrlich and Lester Brown, never happened. Food production easily outpaced population growth since the 1950s. Soil scientist Pierre Crosson from Resources for the Future calculates that even without technological improvements, U.S. crop yields would drop at most 2 per cent over the next century because of soil erosion. Of course, improvements will be made, and used by farmers worldwide. Fresh water? The chief problem is misalloca-

tion because of enormous government subsidies and a lack of clear property rights. Forests? U.S. forests expanded from 600 million acres in 1920 to 728 million acres today.

Worries about the ozone layer, which screens out harmful ultraviolet radiation (UV) are also overdone. The Antarctic "ozone hole" occurs where no one lives, has not significantly harmed the Antarctic ecosystem, and will not engulf the planet. In the 1960s the ozone layer "thickened" by 5 per cent over the United States. The "thinning" in the 1980s just about brings ozone down to earlier levels. How dangerous



is a thinner layer? We put ourselves at greater risk of developing non-melanoma skin cancer simply by moving from New York to Washington, D.C., since UV increases as one travels south. Finally, the chemicals thought to be eroding the ozone layer have been banned and will no longer be produced after 1995.

Senator Gore flatly declares that global warming "is the most serious threat we have ever faced." Computer models predict the globe's average temperature will increase by 2° to 9° F. because of higher levels of atmospheric carbon dioxide liberated by burning fossil fuels. Earth's surface is warmed by the "greenhouse effect," in which carbon dioxide traps heat before it is reflected back into space.

But what is the evidence? Climate records, though spotty, do indicate that Earth has warmed by less than 1° F. over the last century. In his

book, Gore implies that 98 per cent of atmospheric scientists agree that catastrophic greenhouse warming has begun. However, a recent Gallup poll conducted for the Institute for Science, Technology, and Media found that of those scientists actively involved in global climate research, 53 per cent do not believe human-induced global warming has occurred and 30 per cent don't know, leaving only 17 per cent who think human-induced global warming occurred—far short of 98 per cent.

How does the senator answer skeptics? In *Time's* "Planet of the Year" issue, he complained that "those who, for the purpose of maintaining balance in the debate [over global warming], adopt the contrarian view that there is significant uncertainty about whether it's real are hurting our ability to respond." Extending the Chicken Little logic, Gore now takes the press to task for its coverage of greenhouse skeptics because it "undermines the effort to build a solid base of public support for the difficult actions we must soon take." Simply put: shut up and get with the program.

And what a program: He advocates creating a UN "Stewardship Council," modeled on the Security Council. He calls for a "global Marshall Plan" to halt the impending holocaust, redistributing wealth and technology from the industrialized world to the developing world. For example, Gore would slow economic and population growth and reduce CO₂ emissions by levying a worldwide "carbon tax" on fossil fuels. Now, it would take a 60 per cent cut in CO₂ emissions to stabilize greenhouse gases at 1990 levels. Yale University economist William Nordhaus calculates that lowering CO₂ emissions by 50 per cent would cost \$200 billion annually.

Gore's extremism, culminating in a demand that we "change the very foundation of our civilization," brings to mind what Richard Hofstadter termed the "paranoid style." Gore too "traffics in the birth and death of whole worlds, whole political orders, whole systems of human values. . . . Time is forever just running out."

But is time running out?

University of Illinois climate modeler Michael Schlesinger and his colleague Xingjian Jiang recently calculated that "the penalty is small for a ten-year delay in initiating the transi-

Mr. Bailey, currently at the Cato Institute, is writing a book on apocalyptic environmentalism for St. Martin's Press.

LUCE PRESS CLIPPINGS

■ **Non-FICTION**

**Gore can bore
and enlighten**

"Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit," by Al Gore (Houghton Mifflin; \$21.95; 372 pp.).

■ Journalists who cover science, economics, law and other technical

fields are used to having manuscripts reappear on their desks with the editorial acronym MEGO

scrawled in the margin — My Eyes Glaze Over. Tennes-



Gore

see Sen. Al Gore, having spent seven years as a journalist, is no doubt aware of the expression, but seems not to have taken it to heart; the first 150 pages of "Earth in the Balance" are MEGO City, to adapt a phrase from President Bush.

Gore's mission is to create a new kind of environmental ethic, one in which "the rescue of the environment is the central organizing principle for civilization," but he gets off on the wrong foot by piling up details, even about such tangential issues as feedback loops to black holes. Some of the particulars are fascinating — the chapter on decreasing genetic diversity among food plants is especially interesting — but the meat of the book, from the citizen's point of view, lies in Gore's discussion of his proposed Global Marshall Plan.

Gore suggests that the world cooperate against a common enemy — our own ignorance and short-sightedness — and provides a detailed program to that effect that emphasizes appropriate technology, environmental education and realistic "eco-nomics." Gore, here, shows himself to be a reflective and principled politician.

Sunday, March 22, 1992

Gore's book on environment is more cliché than science



**JULIAN
SIMON**

Sen. Albert Gore Jr., D-Tenn., has recently written a book called *Earth in the Balance*. But it is truth, not our very durable planet, that is in the balance. The book is as ignorant a collection of clichés as anything ever published on the subject.

Just about every assertion Sen. Gore makes points in the

wrong direction — suggesting that conditions are getting worse rather than better, which they are. Let's start with the very first topic in the book, soil erosion.

After trotting out the obligatory scare words about how "eight acres worth of prime topsoil floats past Memphis every hour," Sen. Gore says that Iowa "used to have an average of 16 inches of the best topsoil in the world. Now it is down to eight inches."

The first footnote says only, "Conversations with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Iowa Department of Agriculture and Land Stewardship." One cannot use that vague reference to check the situation in Iowa. (Indeed, printed sources are generally scarce in the book.) But we do know the trend of increasing erosion for the country as a whole.

If Sen. Gore had done his homework, he would have examined the data in the publications of the U.S. Agriculture Department's Economic Research

Service. He would have talked to Bruce Gardner, assistant secretary of agriculture for economics, and to Mr. Gardner's teacher at the University of Chicago, Theodore Schultz, who received a Nobel Prize for his work in agricultural economics and human capital. The senator would have read articles by respected agricultural economists Earl Swanson at the University of Illinois and Earl Heady at the University of Iowa.

Sen. Gore would have learned that the average farm in the United States is becoming less rather than more eroded. Decade after recent decade, fewer rather than more acres have been suffering from severe erosion. That becomes clear from comparison of Soil Conservation Service surveys done at intervals since the 1930s.

The second specific item Sen. Gore mentions is DDT, "which became for me a symbol of how carelessly our civilization could do harm to the world." He provides no data and cites no authorities, though he later adds that DDT "can be environmentally dangerous in tiny amounts."

A touch of research would have turned up writings such as *Mosquitoes, Malaria, and Man* by Gordon Harrison, former director of the Ford Foundation's environmental program. Sen. Gore would have learned that with the aid of DDT, "India (brought) the number of malaria cases down from the estimated 75 million in 1951 to about 50,000 in 1961, and Sri Lanka reduced malaria from about 3 million cases after World War II to just 29 in 1964."

However, as the use of DDT went down, "endemic malaria returned to India like the turnaround of a tide." By 1977, "the number of cases reached at least 30 million and perhaps 50 million."

Rachel Carson's frightening scenarios, which Sen. Gore remembers troubling his mother, turned out to be without foundation. In 1971, amidst the fight that led to the banning of DDT in 1972, the president of the National Academy of Sciences, distinguished biologist Philip Handler, said, "DDT is the greatest chemical that has ever been discovered." Commission after commission, top expert after top Nobel Prize-winning expert, has given DDT a clean bill of health.

The third item Sen. Gore mentions is Agent Orange (dioxin), which he describes as "the suspected cause of chromosomal damage and birth defects." Again, there is no documentation — this time with reason. Agent Orange was pronounced innocent by a federal judge when veterans brought suit. There is no solid scientific evidence of any ill effects of dioxin.

In August, a *New York Times* front-page headline read, "U.S. Backing Away from Saying Dioxin Is a Deadly Peril." The story continued, "Exposure to the chemical, once thought to be much more hazardous than chain smoking, is now considered by some experts to be no more risky than spending a week sunbathing."

Love Canal is next. Sen. Gore seems unaware that the solid scientific consensus is that living near

Love Canal did no observable damage to humans. And we are only up to Page 3. The entire book is filled with environmental gossip, backed by no sources and contradicted by solid data.

Although the senator undoubtedly cares sincerely about the environment and natural resources, his ignorance is willed. He has been told that his utterances do not correspond with the facts. But he has chosen to ignore the scientific literature.

Furthermore, all of the forecasts made in the past two decades by the advisers Mr. Gore leans on heavily — Paul Ehrlich and Lester Brown — have been proved wrong.

It is not surprising that a U.S. senator lacks the time for the kind of library digging that an academic researcher does. But to publicize and act on wrong information is not harmless, whether as a senator who has a large say in national policy on such matters or as president of the United States — which some would have Sen. Gore be.

Mr. Gore would (among other measures) tax the use of new raw materials to force more recycling, establish higher mileage requirements for cars, and require "efficiency standards throughout the economy" — all of which would raise costs and increase government intervention in people's lives.

Julian L. Simon teaches business at the University of Maryland and is an adjunct scholar of the Cato Institute in Washington, D.C. His most recent book is Population Matters: People, Resources, Environment, and Immigration.

Al Gore's balancing act

EARTH IN THE BALANCE: ECOLOGY IN THE HUMAN SPIRIT. By Senator Albert Gore. Houghton Mifflin, 1992. 407 pages. \$22.95 (Cloth).

by Donald E. Davis

Almost two years have passed since Steve Smith, the founder of the Knoxville based Center for Global Sustainability, and I stood directly behind Senator Albert Gore, watching as he planted on the University of Tennessee campus lawn a three-foot Tulip Poplar, the state tree of Tennessee. This event, one of the University's many 1990 Earth Day activities, received considerable local media attention, including brief coverage on the evening news. Smith and myself were seen on television holding a large banner, which stated in bold green letters, "Al Gore: We Want Leadership Not Showmanship." Senator Gore skillfully ignored us, as perhaps only a politician can, though he did seem genuinely surprised when an official from the College of Agriculture told him and the audience that the sapling had been genetically altered by University plant biologists.

This was Monday, April 23, the day after the "official" Earth Day celebration. It was a dark, grey afternoon and I had just returned from the Knoxville airport, where I had seen

Murray Bookchin, noted author and theoretical progenitor of the Green movement, off to an Earth Day lecture in New Orleans. The spirited, though aging Bookchin had spoken to a campus-wide audience the night before, telling us to be alert to the compromising and co-optive direction that mainstream environmentalism was taking. Bookchin, one of the five original speakers at the 1970 University of Michigan Earth Day "teach-in", argued that the popular notion environmentalism, which focused on cosmetic, incremental solutions (e.g., recycling bins popping up at local shopping centers), would not alone solve the crisis. The roots of environmental decay, he forcefully told us, lie in economic and social relationships that must be challenged and substantially altered if we are to restore the delicate balance of nature.

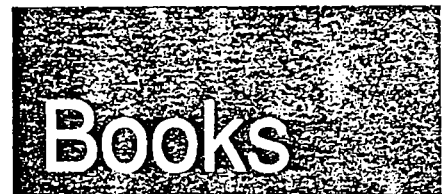
Since Earth Day 1990, I have thought a great deal about Bookchin's message, particularly as it relates to the environmental politics and policies of individuals like Senator Gore. Undoubtedly Gore, and others like him in Washington, D.C., serve an important political function, introducing and supporting federal legislation that is ostensibly designed to protect the natural environment. In Congress, Gore has been instrumental in creating the Superfund Law that appropriated funds for

cleaning up hazardous waste sites throughout the U.S. He also, among other things, helped to create the first Interparliamentary Conference on the Global Environment, bringing together 42 nations into multi-lateral agreements on threats to the global environment.

Certainly Senator Gore has been politically active on a number of environmental fronts -- from holding Congressional hearings on the increase of Chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) in the atmosphere to drafting a Global Marshall Plan -- but has he really challenged the economic and political status quo of our country, which, is at least partly responsible for our current environmental crisis? Is Gore's voting record on military expenditures, for example (I am thinking here of the nuclear Trident Submarine, whose production and maintenance has direct and severe environmental consequences), that of a truly "Green", environmentally and socially conscious politician?

Of course, I cannot answer these questions for everyone. Personal and political contradictions, some would say, are what makes our era, the late 20th century, the postmodern age. However, I think we can all agree that Gore's ecological politics are not completely based on a selfless, altruistic concern for our rapidly dying planet. Gore is also an astute political strategist, a promoter and seller of self, image, ideas -- and now books.

Gore's new book *Earth in the Balance* is, not



surprisingly, a public relations tour de force. On the book's jacket cover we -- many of us for the first time -- see him casually seated upon the bare ground, wearing faded blue jeans and a casual, loosely fitted shirt. Gore pushes all the right buttons in this book, placating nearly every environmental interest group, and addressing in perfunctory fashion nearly every environmental concern of recent years. Within the span of the book's 407 pages, he touches upon global warming, loss of genetic diversity, deep ecology, Christian stewardship doctrine, air and water pollution, alternative technology, recycling, population growth, garbage disposal, and environmental

national security. Gore's awareness of the diverse ethical positions and trends in the environmental movement is surprising, if not impressive. His sources are current and reputable.

Only two of the book's 15 chapters struck me as highly original or worthy of critical attention. Chapter 12, "Dysfunctional Civilization", has received considerable attention in earlier reviews of the book, primarily for Gore's "groundbreaking" analysis of the psychological relationship between human consumption patterns and environmental destruction. Gore maintains that the disharmony in our relationship to the earth stems, to a large degree, from our unconscious addiction to ecologically destructive consumption patterns. Gore pushes the addiction metaphor to its logical limits, arguing that we, as addicts of resource consumption, do not allow ourselves to perceive a connection between our own behavior and its destructive ecological consequences. We avoid responsibility for our destructive actions by denying their very existence.

Applying the metaphors of addiction, denial, and dysfunctionality to environmental destruction is certainly unique in contemporary thought. But in Gore's hands the analysis often descends into diluted pop psychology, which conveniently allows him to ignore other and perhaps more tenable causes for the present environmental crisis. By using the metaphor of the pathological addict, Gore places the responsibility of environmental reform upon innocuous individuals or groups, instead of directly upon social institutions such as American corporations, who have historically been the greatest destroyers and polluters of the natural environment. Numerous studies have shown, for example, that less than one-fourth of toxic waste is generated by American households, while the remaining three-fourths is produced by corporations such as Eastman-Kodak, General Electric, and Dow Chemical, who also have — through expensive Madison Avenue advertising campaigns — the deft ability to control the purchasing patterns of American consumers.

Chapter 15, "A Global Marshall Plan", is the book's last, detailing Gore's "strategic" plans for saving the global environment. This is perhaps the most important chapter in the book, since Gore specifically tells how he plans to translate his brand of environmentalism into policy programs and political realities. Gore uses the Marshall Plan of the



1940s, which helped rebuild the nations of Western Europe after World War II, as an organizational model for implementing global environmental policy. The goals of his Global Marshall plan are 1) to stabilize world population, 2) develop environmentally appropriate technologies, 3) create a system of economic accounting that assigns appropriate value to the ecological consequences of economic development, 4) negotiate and approve a new generation of international environmental agreements, and 5) establish a cooperative plan for educating the world's citizens about the fragile global environment. The implementation and integration of these five goals, argues Gore, would help developing countries establish a more sustainable, and thus less environmentally destructive, development course.

On the surface, Gore's plan of action is certainly noble and in theory, ecologically sound. In most environmental circles these five goals would be highly applauded. In fact, Gore's Global Marshall Plan is very similar to other sustainable development strategies that have been introduced by governments and multi-lateral agencies in recent years. Readers should be aware, however, that advocating sustainable development in principle, does not commit governments to its achievement in practice. From its inception in the early 1970s, advocates of sustainable development practices — from the Club of Rome to the World Commission on Environment & Development (The Brundtland Commission) —

have made convincing theoretical arguments for the political necessity of creating alternative technologies, limiting population growth, and curbing environmentally destructive economic practices. However, few of its proponents have critically discussed how sustainable development actually works at the local level of implementation.

In fact, there have been numerous critical responses to the Brundtland Commission Report, which shares, in both content and focus, many of the same objectives of Gore's Global Marshall Plan. Michael Redclift, in his recent assessment of the report, notes that while most the goals of the report are sensible and practical, most are difficult to implement at the grassroots level. Richard Chambers, of the University of Sussex, agrees, arguing that development is sustainable only if the priorities of the poorest populations are put first. He considers the rhetoric of sustainable development, as adopted by the Brundtland Commission and now Gore, as part of a discourse that ignores the primary and more immediate needs of the Third World poor.

In most critics' view, it is presumptuous for the First World to think that those living in abject poverty should give priority to environmental or economic sustainability. By putting emphasis on environmental considerations such as population stability and alternative technology, rather than on the more immediate needs of the poor, sustainable development actually restricts the poor's use of natural resources, becoming yet another instrument of First World oppression.

Vandana Shiva, an environmental scientist working in India, maintains that sustainable development goals such as Gore's will be successful only if citizens at the local community level are included in the planning and implementation. Unfortunately, Gore does not insure his readers that his Global Marshall Plan will include the voices of grassroots citizens, in this country or in others. Instead, he assumes his broadly conceived policy agendas will directly influence the environmental, political, and economic realities of local communities. Ignorance on this score, perhaps explains why Gore's words and deeds have had so little effect on the political and economic status quo in this country, while at the same time allowing him to create the illusion that he is making great and sweeping changes in environmental policy.

G'ville SUNN

3/24/92

Writer Not Impressed By Gore Book On Environment

✱
Dear Sir:

Because of your publisher's column on Senator Albert Gore Jr.'s *"Earth in the Balance,"* I read the book. It is 368 pages long and costs \$23. Save your money. I do not think it would be unreasonable to charge one dollar per page to read it. Though advertised as a work of scholarship and statesmanship, it is really just one more account of a mid-life crisis. A mid-life crisis in a United States Senator can, however, result in a real crisis for all us subjects.

According to the Senator, the earth is going to be destroyed by warming if we do not do the following: (1) quit cutting trees and plant more, (2) drive little-bitty cars, (3) quit having so many children, (4) do away with air-conditioning, and (5) something which I have forgotten. (2) will help with (3), remember high school. (4) will help with (3), remember the humid nights of July and August. (3) will help with all human problems. In fact, by completely quitting, in 50 years all the problems of humankind would be on their way to solution. Last one alive, turn out the lights.

I do not understand the modern environmental mind-set. "People are bad. Nature is good. Man is going to destroy nature. When man

destroys nature, he will die. This is bad."

This way of looking at the world is not logical. If people are bad, they should die out. Nature cannot die. She will proceed with or without us humans. Her utter indifference to us is obvious to anyone who has ever farmed and to those in the medical sciences. To worship something indifferent to mankind is a dangerous pagan practice which our culture has been discarding for 3,000 years. Those parts of the world where it has not been discarded, you would not want to visit.

An aide to President Calvin Coolidge once brought him a list of problems which experts had forecast would soon appear and that needed the attention of the president of the United States. Mr. Coolidge smiled when handed the list and then threw it in the trash can. The shocked aide asked why he did this. Mr. Coolidge said, "Young man, it has been my experience that if you look down the road and see 10 problems coming your way, nine of them will run into the ditch of their own accord."

These are still words to live by.

Tom Bewley
Rt. 9

In HISTORY

By The Associated Press

Today is Tuesday, March 24, the 84th day of 1992. There are 282 days left in the year.

Today's Highlight in History:

On March 24, 1882, German scientist Robert Koch announced in Berlin that he had discovered the bacillus responsible for tuberculosis.

On this date:

In 1765, Britain enacted the Quartering Act, requiring American colonists to provide temporary housing to British soldiers.

In 1883, long-distance telephone service was inaugurated between Chicago and New York.

In 1932, a New York radio station WABC broadcast a variety program from a moving train in Maryland.

BILLY GRAHAM

DEAR DR. GRAHAM: We're having a disagreement over how to discipline our children. My husband tends to punish them a lot when they do wrong. I don't disagree entirely, but I think we need to forgive and

and the kind of discipline which helps one child may actually break the spirit of another. My wife and I had five children — and each one of them was different, and needed to be disciplined differently. Seek to know your children, and ask God to give you wisdom about their personalities. to give you wisdom about their personalities. that our children need

Quayle, who
Lady To Be
Washington?

There is n
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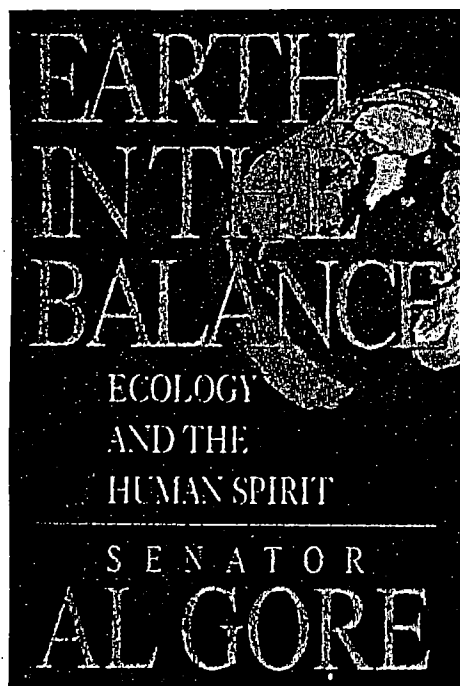
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COMMERCIAL APPEAL
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Gore on ecology: verbal warming

Hysteria mars informed book

Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit
By Al Gore
Houghton Mifflin, \$22.95

By Tom Charlier
The Commercial Appeal

If there was a crowning lesson to be learned from his 1988 bid for the White House, Albert Gore Jr. says it was the realization that "the issue of the global environment would not help get me elected president."

Cynics, then, may wonder why the junior senator from Tennessee has spent so much time lately parachuting

into one environmental nightmare after another. Whether he's trudging across Africa, crashing through polar ice in a Navy submarine or contemplating the wasteland that was the Aral Sea, Gore seems intent on adopting the environment as his trademark cause.

The effort has been largely successful. As an articulate advocate of ecological issues, Gore has endeared himself to environmentalists and received wide publicity, including prominent mention in Time magazine's "Planet of the Year" issue more than a year ago.

Now comes *Earth in the Balance*, a 416-page journey into the ecological realm. As the title suggests, it is not a pleasant trip.

The book, for which Gore acknowledges the help of a research assistant, succeeds in providing understanding of how various parts of nature interact in balance. This is a thoughtful work,

nicely accented by the senator's accounts of visits to the far reaches of the planet.

But the book ultimately is marred by vague calls for things like a "new relationship between humankind and the earth," as well as by disjointed prose and sometimes partisan and self-serving commentary.

Most of all it is Gore's shrill, hyperbolic tone that diminishes his book.

"Whether we realize it or not, we are now engaged in an epic battle to right the balance of our Earth" is among the more temperate of his declarations.

Indeed, so apocalyptic is his vision that the problems outlined seem laughably impervious to his remedy — a "Global Marshall Plan" to work out international agreements, educate the public and help Third World countries

Please see GORE, Page G2

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March 21, 1992
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FOR THE DAY
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Ray Blasts 'Political Environmentalists'

By JOHN M. JONES

I have just finished reading a book which claims that U.S. Senator Al Gore's views on our ecological problems are "extremist." The book questions Senator Gore's views that future generations may be unable to enjoy the earth after we and earlier generations have exploited its resources and damaged the environment with pollutants.

The senator's viewpoint was presented in his own recently published book, *"Earth in the Balance/Ecology and the Human Spirit,"* an impressive work that was discussed in this column recently.

A good friend of mine who questions Senator Gore's conclusions gave me a book with a very different perspective written by a distinguished scientist, Dixy Lee Ray. She has impressive credentials, as a former governor of Washington, a former chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, a former assistant secretary of state in the U.S. Bureau of Oceans, and a long-time member of the zoology faculty of the University of Washington.

Her book, written with author and former newspaperman Lou Guzzo, is titled: *"Trashing the Planet, How Science Can Help Us Deal With Acid Rain, the Pollution of the Ozone, and Nuclear Waste (Among Other Things)."*

Dr. Ray takes the position that we know too little about the environment and man's influences upon it to take radical steps to "fix" it. She points out, for instance, that volcanoes shoot far more pollutants into the atmosphere than do all of man's industrial activities.

The thrust of *"Trashing the Planet"* is that what she calls "political environmentalists" seem to be rushing into solutions to problems without adequate information, and that these efforts become counter-productive.

Her chapter titles run down the list of "hot" environmental issues and bristle with challenge to more conventional environmentalists. One chapter, for example, is headed, "Who Speaks for Science?" Others focus on "Greenhouse Earth," acid rain, pesticides, "The Alar, Asbestos, PCB, and Dioxin Scares," and nuclear waste.

The book is full of thought-provoking data little known to the layman and challenging suggestions about priority-setting in a society and world like ours. For instance, she agrees that radon has become a problem but states that it has become a serious issue only since an energy-conservation emphasis in America has led to the widespread use of insulation that does not allow radon to escape naturally and harmlessly into the atmosphere.

Dr. Ray champions the safety and practicality of nuclear power generation. On the other hand, she expresses deep skepticism about both wind power and solar power as alternatives to more traditional means of generating electricity. She argues that they are too expensive, are impractical for large-scale energy generation, and, in the case of solar power, are less safe than nuclear power.

Although she acknowledges that the environmental movement has made some significant contributions, she is critical of what she calls "political environmentalists," and calls for them and other Americans to gain a sense of perspective on the natural world that doesn't view nature as "pure" and that is friendly toward humanity itself and its reasonable use of the environment.

She sets out to demolish much of what



One Man's Opinion

John M. Jones

she sees as the so-called scientific material indicating dangerous global warming, a rise in the shoreline of the oceans, the reported hole in the atmosphere over Antarctica, and many other situations presented as potential ecological disasters in the Gore book.

Former Governor Ray takes issue with environmentalists who, in her opinion, feature scare stories of looming man-made catastrophes that are so serious as to threaten continuation of life on earth. And she charges that the news media deal with these issues superficially instead of probing to the facts behind them and demanding proof of the conclusions that environmentalists frequently present as fact.

She quotes Paul Ehrlich, Stanford University biologist and a prominent environmentalist, as saying at least as early as the early 1980s that "We've already had too much economic growth in the United States. Economic growth in rich countries like ours is the disease, not the cure." She feels that Ehrlich expresses anti-human trends in political environmental thought; trends that, she says, "frequently manifest themselves in predictions of global famine or plans for draconian measures to halt or reverse population growth."

She contends that Senator Gore's call for global summit meetings to seek the "unprecedented international cooperation that the environmental crisis will demand" is a "radical" environmental position. She points out, however, that he has many supporters in Congress, including Senator Timothy Wirth of Colorado and others.

She says a bill entitled "The Global Warming Prevention Act of 1989" orders the United States government to take extensive tracts of land out of food production and cultivate sugar cane for ethanol to replace gasoline. On an international level, she says, this bill calls for cutting off all aid to countries that propose any development other than those using least-cost energy.

Dr. Ray says she feels that this type of proposal is totally unjustified. But, she adds, unfortunately there are many senators and representatives who support them.

She feels nuclear-powered electricity is our best and safest hope as a source for energy and she points to the tremendous advances in nuclear medicine and the fact that insecticides and pesticides have enabled us to feed most of the world, while reducing the number of persons actually engaged in farming.

She uses as an example what she refers to as the "disaster of DDT being banned." And she brings forward scientific support for her view that this action was a terrible mistake that is creating more problems than it is solving.

Dr. Ray's book makes me want to see her on the same platform with Senator Gore, to let them debate these issues vigorously and in depth so that all can have a better feeling about the true facts.

In any event, I strongly recommend that those interested in the environment read *"Trashing the Planet"* before some of the drastic changes that have been proposed are implemented in our Congress.

The writer is the publisher of *The Greenville Sun*.

Greenville Sun

3/21/92

GORE—AN ENVIRONMENTAL PLUS OR MINUS?

In the weeks following the Democratic National Convention, political pundits have had nothing but praise for Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's choice of Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore Jr. as his running mate.

Just the muscle man needed to push the Democratic ticket over the top in the fall, the political analysts say. They point to Gore's beefy foreign policy experience, which he acquired as a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Clinton has been accused of dodging the draft: Gore served in the Vietnam war. And Gore's "family values" quotient is off the charts—a big selling point in middle America.

Then there is Gore's powerful environmental record. The League of Conservation Voters has dubbed Gore "an environmental Paul Revere," and the Sierra Club is hinting that it will mobilize its huge nationwide political army behind the Democratic candidates.

Gore's addition to the ticket changed the way that leading environmental activists see Clinton, who during the primary season received the lowest environmental ratings of all the Democratic candidates. Even former Massachusetts Sen. Paul E. Tsongas, who supports nuclear energy, got higher grades from the League of Conservation Voters and the Sierra Club.

The environmentalists wildly applauded Clinton for selecting Gore. He is, after all, one of them. In January, for example, Gore wrote to all the Democratic presidential contenders, urging them to "use the megaphone of a presidential campaign" to focus attention on the issue of global climate change.

Gore warned that unless U.S. emissions of carbon dioxide and other global warming chemicals are curbed, sea levels will rise, food production will be disrupted and sensitive plant and animal species will become extinct.

In the months leading up to the United Nations's Earth Summit in June, Gore helped to lead the charge against the Bush Administration's opposition to an international treaty that would establish firm targets and timetables for reducing greenhouse gas emissions to their 1990 levels by the year 2000. President Bush favored—and other world leaders eventually accepted—vague language that merely urges industrialized nations to develop proposals to reduce emissions of global warming gases.

And Gore's recent book on global warming, *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit* (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1992), has been praised as a modern-day *Silent Spring*. Rachel Carson's 1962 treatise on the environmental dangers of pesticides and other chemicals, which has been widely credited with giving birth to the modern environmental movement.

But although Gore's passionate environmental positions were acceptable for a Senator, as a vice presidential candidate he may have to balance other considerations. In fact, many in corporate America are frightened at the prospect of Gore as the second-in-command of a Democratic Administration.

Gore's strident support for tough controls on emissions of global warming gases has drawn strong criticism from officials in the chemical, coal, electricity and oil industries. Since he joined



Shepard Shebell/SABA

the Democratic ticket, however, they have been reluctant to criticize him openly. Privately, however, they express concern that Clinton will embrace Gore's tough environmental proposals, such as a carbon tax to reduce global warming emissions.

"On the issue of global warming, Gore has made up his mind, and he's closed to information that doesn't agree with what he believes," an industry official complained. The official said that during congressional hearings, Gore has practiced "environmental McCarthyism" by bullying scientists or other Senators who don't agree with him.

"He approaches the issue with a religious fervor," said Michael S. Greve, the executive director of the Center for Individual Rights, a conservative public-interest law firm. A corporate executive took the complaint a step further: "On global warming, Al is messianic."

It's true that by selecting Gore, Clinton has effectively neutralized any plans that the Bush campaign may have had to attack his environmental record in Arkansas. "The Republicans can't pull a Boston Harbor on Clinton," Greve said.

But at the same time, the Democrats may have left themselves open to the charge that they are environmental extremists. Bush Administration officials argue that the kinds of environmental controls suggested by Gore would devastate the already ailing U.S. economy because the nation's energy and transportation systems are so heavily dependent on fossil fuels. And officials of the Bush campaign plan to exploit Gore's support for coal and oil taxes and for more environmental foreign aid as issues in the November campaign.

So far, Clinton's advisers haven't disavowed Gore's more strident environmental positions. But Brett Hulsey, the campaign's environmental policy adviser, said that the Clinton forces are sifting through Gore's environmental proposals to see how they jibe with Clinton's other political positions. "We have to consider jobs in everything," Hulsey said.

On some environmental policy issues, the two men agree. Both support legislation that would require Detroit to build more-energy-efficient cars. Gore will have no trouble embracing Clinton's goal of making the United States 20 per cent more-energy-efficient by 2000.

Where they might part company is on Gore's proposal to tax carbon dioxide emissions, which come primarily from burning fossil fuels. But even there, the campaign is looking for common ground. "We already tax fossil fuels in this country," Hulsey said. "So we're looking at how a carbon tax could interact with or replace the existing taxes on gasoline or coal."

Just how much Gore will change the dynamics of the Democratic campaign will be determined by the ability of Clinton's advisers to emphasize Gore's pluses and minimize his negatives. "You're now seeing an internal fight for the heart and soul of the campaign," a veteran of past Democratic presidential campaigns explained. "The question you ask is, are they going to take Al Gore in total or are they going to moderate his message?"

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Peter Knight

FROM: Jonathan Sallet

DATE: August 10, 1992

SUBJECT: "Earth in the Balance -- Ecology and the Human Spirit"

INTRODUCTION -- QUOTES TO REMEMBER

- * "Bush and Quayle will run as macho individualists. Clinton and Gore will run on a New Age Covenant of psychobabble." Quayle Chief-of-Staff William Kristol (Hotline, July 27, 1992)
- * "Real men don't get on the couch." Bush spokeswoman Torie Clark (same)
- * Al Gore is "Mr. Sellout America" who "goes to Rio, spends a week telling the world how crummy America is, how we don't care about the environment, we don't care about anything. Now he wants to be vice president. Now he tries to talk about economic growth when he spent a week in Rio saying 'the heck with the economy, sell it out to the environment.'" WH spokesperson Marlin Fitzwater. (Hotline July 23, 1992).
- * "Al Gore, in his book, consistently refers to people who want technological progress as Nazis." Congressman Bob Walker (Hotline, July 23, 1992)_.
- * Gore's "apocalyptic" rhetoric "goes beyond a desire to clean up air and water...For a radical out to remake American society, it's business as usual." Journalist Virginia Postrel (Hotline, July 27, 1992)
- * "The type of radical approach to the environment that Gore seems to espouse could have a potentially severe effect in the Midwest industrial regions. His proposals would severely damage -- if not destroy -- the auto industry." Bush issues director Jim Cicconi (same).
- * "Gore should have spent less of the taxpayer's time and money on his own book and a little

bit more time on legislation." Torie Clark (same).

- * "This book says that before we let new technology happen, we need to look at the risk. Doesn't that mean slower introductions to technology, slower job growth and economic stagnation." Fred Smith, Competitive Enterprise Institute (same).

ANALYSIS -- EARTH IN THE BALANCE

This memorandum attempts to predict unfounded Republican attacks on Al's book. Thus, the memorandum present quotations from the book followed by the kind of rhetoric we might hear in Republican attacks. Where I have used my own voice to suggest a response, a separate response paragraph has been added. In a couple of instances, quotations are included merely to note pending issues, like the NAFTA.

Introduction: The Basic Attack: A New Age panderer who doesn't know his own mind -- weak and confused, not a leader.

- 1: "feeling of connectedness": What does this mean?
- 2: "But we feel paralyzed": Who is we, kemo sabe?
- 3: "I went to Vietnam with the Army: Very careful phrasing should be noted.
- 4-5: "I began to doubt my own political judgment" and the remainder of this passage. Is this steering by the stars and not by the light of each passing ship? On what issues did Al follow the advice of professional hacks instead of speaking the truth? Has he done this on votes in the Senate? What about on votes during the presidential campaign?
- 9: "The harder truth is that I simply lacked the strength to keep on talking about the environmental crisis whether it was being reported in the press or not." Is this Lincolnesque? If he doesn't have the strength to talk about unpopular issues how can he have the strength to be president, if circumstances required?

- 10: Note Chafee and the Interparliamentary Conference on the Global Environment. Is there any way we can use this to blunt any attacks from Chafee?
- 13: "I grew up in a determinedly political family, in which I learned at an early age to be very sensitive -- too sensitive, perhaps -- to what others were thinking and to notice carefully -- maybe too carefully -- the similarities and differences between my way of thinking and that of society around me." Visions of Pander Bear?
- 13: "search for truths about myself." Alan Alda. The book links these statements closely to Albert, which may be the best response.
- 14: "I was, in a sense, vulnerable to the change that sought me out in the middle of my life..." Could we have a VP who isn't suffering a mid-life crisis?
- 15: "recognizing my own hypocrisy when I use CFCs in my automobile air conditioner, for example, on the way to a speech about why they should be banned." Does he still do this?
- 15: "But, perhaps most important, I have become very impatient with my own tendency to put a finger to the political winds and proceed cautiously." Again, where's the real Al?
- 16: "I am struggling..." What's so hard, if its wrong, say so.

Part I: Balance At Risk

1. Ships in the Desert
2. The Shadow Our Future Throws
3. Climate and Civilization: A Short History
4. Buddha's Breath
5. If the Well Goes Dry

110: "The New River, for example, which flows from northern Mexico southern California before reaching the Pacific, is generally regarded as the most polluted river in North America, due to lax enforcement of environmental standards by Mexico."

6. Skin Deep

121: "In national forests throughout the country, logging roads are being built in order to facilitate the more rapid logging, even clear-cutting, of public lands under contracts that require the sale of trees at rates far below market prices. This enormous taxpayer subsidy for the deforestation of public land contributes to both the budget deficit and an ecological tragedy." Then discussion of the "spotted owl." "The only issue was whether they would shift to new employment before or after the last remnant of forest was gone."

7. Seeds of Privation

8. The Wasteland

147: "a high rate of consumption has often been cited as a distinguishing characteristic of an advanced society. Now, however, this attitude can no longer be considered in any way healthy, desirable, or wise." Small is beautiful?

156: reference to "conspicuous consumption that has been exported to these countries along with Western culture and its consumers products." What does Al not want us to consume?

161: "What's required is a new way of thinking about consumer goods, a challenge to the assumption that everything must inevitably wear out or break and be replaced with a new and improved model, itself designed quickly to wear out or break out." Doesn't this inevitably lead to fewer jobs and a lower standard of living?

162-63 "Believing ourselves to be separate from the earth means having no idea how we fit into the natural cycle of life and no understanding of the natural processes of change that affect us and that we in turn are affecting. It means that we attempt to chart the course of our civilization by reference to ourselves alone.

No wonder we are lost and confused. No wonder so many people feel their lives are wasted." This is the 1990s version of the malaise speech? George Bush doesn't feel that his life is wasted. Does Al?

Part II -- The Search for Balance

9. Self-Stewardship

- 167: TV commercials and political opinion polling "can do more than manipulate the opinions of voters in two weeks than can all the speeches and debates and political organizations together can accomplish in ten years." Al admits that he's manipulating the public.
- 168: I "found myself unconsciously practicing a new set of 'personality skills'.... Has everyone been forced to become an actor?" What does this mean? Has he stopped practicing? Is he still acting?
- 169: "These techniques inevitably encourage inauthenticity in a politician's message...."
- 170: "Look at the budget, where we're borrowing a billion dollars every twenty-four hours and in the process endangering the future for our children, yet nobody is doing anything about it." What have you done about it Al?
- 177-78: The Kristallnacht passage. Do we really face an "ecological Kristallnacht"?

10. Eco-nomics: Truth or Consequences

- 189: Failure to recognize externalities. "Philosophically, it is similar in some ways to the moral blindness implicit in racism and anti-Semitism -- which also use arbitrary definitions to justify exclusions from the definition of right and wrong." Is Al really saying that the failure to internalize the externality of the noise from my lawn mower is the moral equivalent of the Holocaust?
- 194: "In the case of the paper industry, for instance, taxpayers currently subsidize the manufacture of paper products made from virgin timber, both as the single largest purchaser and by further subsidizing the construction of

logging roads into national forests. In addition, the federal government pays the entire cost of managing the forest system, including many activities that excessively benefit the timber industry. All of these policies encourage further destruction of a critical natural resource." Speaking about the spotted owl. "But if the remaining 10 percent of old-growth forest is logged out, as the timber industry prefers, the jobs will be lost anyway. The only question is whether the effort to create new jobs will begin now or later, after the forest is completely gone." Depicted as an anti-jobs diatribe. Out of touch with working Americans who need a job today even if they might lose it tomorrow. Imagine asking someone if she would like to lose her job now or later. What do we believe that the answer would be?

11. We Are What We Use

- 206: "We have also fallen victim to a new kind of technological hubris, which tempts us to believe that our new powers may be unlimited." Wasn't it this technological hubris that lifted the standard of living of our civilization, that built our nation, that we bring to the battle against AIDS?
- 207: "For example, it makes little sense to continue manufacturing cars and trucks that get twenty miles per gallon and pump nineteen pounds of CO2 into the atmosphere per gallon." Unless you want to save the jobs of US workers.
- 213: "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 dominate male perspective with a healthier respect for female ways of experiencing the world." What does this mean? Are we supposed to turn our economy over to radical feminists?
- 214: Criticisms of aluminum foil in space and iron in the oceans. What's the matter with these ideas?

12. Dysfunctional Civilization

- 219: "But the cleavage between mind and body, intellect and nature, has created a kind of psychic pain at the very root of the modern mind, making it harder for anyone who is suffering from other psychological wounds to be healed." I'm not suffering from psychological pain, are you Al?
- 220: "I believe that our civilization is, in effect, addicted to the consumption of the earth itself." Oh, come on. Are we all sick? Are we all the same as drug addicts and child abusers, all psychologically ill?
- 230-31: "As the use of this metaphor suggests, however, the environmental crisis is now so serious that I believe our civilization must be considered in some basic way dysfunctional....Many who feel their lives have no meaning and feel an inexplicable emptiness and alienation simply assume that they themselves are to blame, and that something is wrong with them. Ironically, it is our very separation from the physical world that creates much of this pain..." Psycho-babble.

13. Environmentalism of the Spirit

- 239: "We know what we are not, but we don't seem to know what we are...Inevitably, we resign ourselves to whatever fate those powerful forces are propelling us toward, a fate we have little role in choosing."
- 242: "And no wonder we have become resigned to the idea of a world without a future." Who has?
- 243: "it is certainly true that our civilization is built on the premise that we can use nature for our own ends without regard to the impact we have on it...." Is this certainly true?
- 258: From the psalmists: "They have a mouth but they will not speak, they have eyes but they will not see, they have nostrils but they will not smell, they have hands but they will not feel."

Response: Think of this as the Amazing Grace response. This is the Bush Administration. Al isn't weak, he's just willing to ask questions. But the Bush Administration is lost and afraid to ask directions, like the

classic Dad in the car with his family, who won't ask directions. What's funny for a family is tragic for a nation. We were lost (under Bush), but now we are found, we were blind, but now we see.

259: The Chief Seattle quote. Al is careful to say that the quote was "attributed" to Chief Seattle, but note the current controversy over the quote.

263: "In many parts of the world, society is given to instant gratification and consumerism while remaining indifferent to the damage which these cause." Hey, I work hard and I want to go home, watch football on TV and have a beer. OK?

264-65: "Why does it feel faintly heretical to a Christian to suppose that God is in us as human beings?...It is my own belief that the image of God can be seen in every corner of creation, even in us, but only faintly." Does this feel heretical to you Al?

Part III. Striking the Balance

14. A New Common Purpose

269: "we must make the rescue of the environment the central organizing principle for civilization." What does this mean in plain English? (See pp. 273-74)

275: "In Nazi Germany, dysfunctional thinking was institutionalized in the totalitarian state, its dogma, and its war machine. Today, a different dysfunction takes the form of ravenous, insatiable consumption, its dogma, and the mechanisms by which ever more resources are obtained. Totalitarianism and consumptionism have led to crises peculiar to advanced industrial civilization; both are examples of alienation and technology run amok....[T]his time the war is with ourselves. We are the enemy, just as we have only ourselves as allies." So this means that technology is like the Nazis.

279: Already, the dialogue between poor and wealthy nations is poisoned by Third World cynicism about the industrial nations' motives. But recently it has also been enriched by proposals such as 'debt for nature swaps' in

which debts are canceled in return for cooperation in protecting endangered part of the environment." Is this the Clinton position?

279: "Who is so bold as to say that any developed nation is prepared to abandon industrial and economic growth?" I'll tell you who, Al Gore, that's who.

285: Description of the Penans. "These are the front lines of the war against nature now raging throughout the world." Why is Al Gore defending environmental extremists who violate the law, like the radical environmentalists in the Pacific Northwest who are prepared to kill loggers in order to save trees?

288: Description of Mechai Viravayda who organizes balloon-blowing contests with condoms. Why does Al support someone who mocks family values?

291: "in my opinion the NIMBY syndrome is the beginning of a healthy trend." Why does Al defend rich white people who only ask that the poor confront environmental hazards?

15. A Global Marshall Plan

303: "Today, of course, the United States cannot conceivably be the principal financier for a global recovery program.....The financial resources must come from Japan and Europe and from wealthy, oil-producing states."

Response: This sentence is an important part of any response to the big-spender label.

306: "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." If history is any guide, giving away technology means giving away American jobs.

307: Among desirable goals is "equitable patterns of land ownership" in the Third World. Is this an endorsement of the Shining Path?

- 307: Goal of Stabilizing World Population. Senator Gore, you have four children. By your own words, that's two too many. Which two do you wish you didn't have? Or are you saying what's ok for rich nations is no good for poor ones?
- 308: "Any child born into the hugely consumptionist way of life so common in the industrial world will have an impact on the environment that is, on average, many times more destructive than that of a child born in the developing world." Hey, you can give America back to the Indians if you want, but George Bush thinks that its a good thing that America has a higher standard of living than Bangladesh.
- 317: "These new [environmentally appropriate] technologies must be efficiently and quickly transferred to those nations incapable of developing or purchasing them on their own." The word "purchasing" demonstrates that this is a give away of US technology and, inevitably, competitiveness.
- 318: "Unless we come to a better understanding of both the potential and the danger of technology, the addition of more technological power simply ensures further degradation of the environment...New technologies should not be embraced too eagerly, either; careful study of their environmental impact is essential." Luddites.
- 320: Export controls for ecological effects. Isn't this patronizing? Why can't a country choose for itself?
- 321: Discussion of high v. low technologies. Is this a naive view? Are we mandating a yuppie appetite for free-range chicken?\
- 324: "Though clear-cutting...is alleged to be the most cost-efficient for the companies doing the harvesting, it often badly degrades the land and so imposes devastating long-term costs."
- 325: Support for CAFE standards. Does this mean a loss of U.S. auto jobs?
- 326: Telecommuting. Attack as a yuppie notion of pastoral freedom, but unrealistic.

- 331: Discussion of worker re-training. Does this assume the loss of jobs instead of fighting to retain them?
- 340: Attack on agricultural subsidies in U.S., for logging roads, and sugarcane.
- 340: Discussion of sugarcane. I "have always voted for them without appreciating the full consequences of my vote...I have followed the general rule that I will vote for the established farm programs of others in the farm states...in return for their votes on behalf of the ones important to my state." This is an admission that Gore votes for positions he doesn't understand and is willing to blatantly swap votes regardless of what's right or wrong.
- 342-43 Advocacy of environmental antitrust laws. Another layer of regulation that prevents the US from organizing its companies in an efficient manner as is permitted in both Japan and Germany.
- 345: "A more equitable distribution of political power, wealth, and land is a prerequisite in many of these countries for any successful effort to rescue their environment and societies." Is there anything in this sentence that couldn't have been written by Che Guevera?
- 348-49: Tax pollution by factories, tax homeowners on garbage collection, tax burning of fossil fuels (CO2 tax), virgin materials fee. This is a man who could slap a tax on a galloping horse (and who might well want to slap a methane tax on Bessie the cow).
- 350: Higher mileage requirements are favored by Gore even though he admits that there are "very real practical difficulties with the proposed legislation." Why doesn't he consider the problems with new regulation before he imposes it on the American people?

Conclusion

- 363: "One reason I am drawn to this theory [of self-organized criticality] is that it has helped me understand change in my own life." Most people play with sandpiles when they're

children, Al Gore thinks that they changed his life.

367: "I have for several years now been engaged in an intensive search for truths about myself and my life...." Do we want a vice-president who has to find himself, or a vice-president who already knows who he is?

August 10, 1992

To: Peter Knight

Fr: Yehudah Mirsky

Re: The Book

As you requested, I am taking a first shot at likely attacks on the book, and responses. This is not the last word, by any means, but should provide a sound basis.

Two Kinds of Attacks: Facts and Themes

Broadly speaking, the attacks will be of two kinds: factual and thematic. The factual will zero in on specific points of information and analysis, while the thematic will attack the overall theses. Both lines of attack will aim to embed a series of broad-brush attitudes in people's minds, i.e. Al Gore is a wild-eyed extremist who loves trees more than people; Al Gore is a closet McGovernite who is against economic growth; Al Gore is a dilettante who shoots his mouth off without knowing the facts; Al Gore wants to spend billions upon billions of your money on futuristic one-worldish environmental schemes; subliminally, Al Gore is anti-Christian and un-American.

I have already picked up these themes listening to some of the Republicans thus far.

At the outset, it must be stressed that in writing the book, Al had precisely all these objections in mind and took great pains to argue that, on the contrary, environmentalism properly understood vindicates and promotes democracy, the free market and Judeo-Christian values. His argument is not only with "growth-at-any-cost," but also with the ideas of "deep ecology" and "Earth First!"

In short, Al Gore's environmentalism is pro-business, pro-American values and pro-God. His emphasis on reckoning with the costs of our choices and saving the earth for our children is the real pro-values, pro-family platform, rather than the GOP's mindless worship of the market, no matter what or whom it devours. The attacks on the book will take off from the GOP's usual litany of pro-growth, pro-values themes. As such they ought to be not simply countered, but turned around, portraying Al Gore as the true pro-growth, pro-value policymaker.

The Book: An Overview

First, a brief, smoothed-out statement of what the book is and about that can serve as the basic set of talking points:

"Earth in the Balance" is a rare combination of information and analysis from a broad range of scientific and scholarly fields, and powerful soul-searching and meaningful policy prescriptions. It is all the more striking in that it was written by a politician, and more specifically, a politician who has chosen to take a stand for the things he believes in and state forthrightly his findings, beliefs and opinions, rather than hide in vague phrases and slippery positions.

Based on Senator Gore's broad legislative experience, wide reading, global travel and deep personal reflection, the book first takes stock of the mounting environmental disasters piling up all around us. One can argue about the relative severity of each of the particular problems -- deforestation, air and water pollution, ozone depletion, global warming, the loss of biodiversity, to name a few -- but there is no doubt that taken together they present a massive challenge to the future health and well-being of our life on this planet.

It is true that civilization has been developing and expanding its reach for centuries. What makes this moment in history different is the combination of several factors: in particular modern technology has magnified our power to alter the global environment to a greater degree than was ever thought possible; at the same time the human population and its needs are growing by leaps and bounds, and often in those parts of the world where environmental devastation has been the greatest; while

modern economic thinking fails to take note of environmental damages in assessing costs and benefits. The result of all these is that environmental destruction is not just a set of problems; rather, taken as a whole it poses a strategic threat to our future on this planet.

None of this has occurred in a vacuum. Our global environmental crisis is not only a result of science and technology, but also of the philosophical underpinnings of much of modern life. For several centuries now, we have been seeing ourselves, not as the stewards of the earth, but its masters. We have created technologies, systems of government and belief, and the means have overtaken the ends. We see ourselves as separate from the earth; we act as if the government and the media had a life of their own. And as human beings we build hard shells around ourselves to insulate us from the destruction all around us.

The answer is not, as some radical environmentalists think, to do away with our Judeo-Christian faith, our belief in constitutional democracy or in the free market. To the contrary, our way out of the crisis is by deepening our belief in and commitment to those things. We must renew the religious faith that teaches us that we are God's stewards here on earth. We must learn anew the democratic faith that encourages us as individual citizens to take responsibility for our communities and our lives. (It is no accident that the worst environmental destruction takes place in those areas of the world where there is little democracy. Only people empowered by their governments can and will care for the earth.) And we must unleash the vitality and creativity of the free market to tackle these problems and encourage sustainable development. The Japanese and the Germans are massively investing in the development of environmentally safe products because that is the wave of their future. We ought not let them leave us behind.

With the end of the Cold War, the triumph of freedom over tyranny, we can now move towards saving the earth. We must begin with concrete, achievable steps now. Concretely, the book proposes a Global Marshall Plan, harnessing the same spirit of energy, goodwill and imagination that built a free and prosperous Europe out of the ashes and rubble of the Second World War. We must 1) stabilize world population 2) develop a new generation of environmentally sound technologies 3) begin calculating the economic costs of environmental destruction 4) reach agreements with other nations to limit environmental harm 5) educate ourselves about the environment 6) work to spread democracy, the only form of government that allows men and women to do what they need to do to save their earth for their children.

The Problem with Subtlety

Many questions will arise from the fact that Al's argument is in many respects subtle and wide-ranging, drawing connections as well as metaphors from a very wide range of social, historical and even psychological phenomena. This has already generated some very stinging sound-bites and will likely generate more.

Of particular interest here is Chapter 12, "Dysfunctional Civilization," which argues that our civilization can be likened to a dysfunctional family. We have cut ourselves off from our natural relationship to the earth, analogous to the way in which people in dysfunctional families, lacking internal validation, cut themselves off from their feelings, perpetuating self-destructive rules and wreaking havoc on their children. Totalitarian societies exhibit similar pathologies, and our advanced industrial civilization does too, our lack of the internal validation that comes from a healthy relationship to the earth driving us to rampant consumerism, getting lost in the minutiae of technology and consumerism.

This provides much fodder for attacks along the lines of: Al Gore thinks that businessmen and consumers are like Nazis, child abusers, people who go on Oprah etc.

The answer to all this is of course no. What Al is saying is that environmental destruction does not occur in a vacuum, but is part of the problems that have accompanied the progress of the Industrial Revolution. In other words, the progress of the last two centuries has come at a price. Modern technology has upset many traditional ways of life. This dislocation has had tragic results, in political

evil and psychological harm. The answer is not to leapfrog back into some nostalgic past, but to use modern technology to enhance the quality of our own lives rather than let it take over.

This being said, the arguments in this chapter are hard to present in sound-bites. Especially here and throughout, any response will have to begin with pointing out that sentences and ideas are being wrenched violently out of context.

Is Al Gore Anti-Business?

People will try to convey the impression that Al Gore wants to regulate business to death.

The basic answer here is that Al wants to make our businesses stronger and more competitive by orienting them towards the future. Only the imagination and initiative of the private sector will get us out of this mess. Part of environmental awareness is realizing that saving the planet is the essential prerequisite for any future growth or development. The Germans and the Japanese realize this, which is why they are doing a lot of R & D in environmentally safe products.

Overregulation is not the answer -- we see the greatest environmental destruction in the former Soviet bloc.

Specific Science Questions

We can expect many specific questions on points of fact. As to scientific matters, these are beyond my competence. But it seems to me that the overall way to look at these is to say that while we can quibble over the details of each environmental problem, the totality of the destruction we are witnessing is greater than the sum of its parts.

If deforestation is such a problem, why do we, net, have more trees planted now than ever before?

Haven't population alarmists like Paul Ehrlich, on whom the book draws, been proven wrong in the past? Why should we listen to them now?

We can expect lots of questions on global warming:

Didn't Roger Revelle himself conclude that the danger of global warming is overblown?

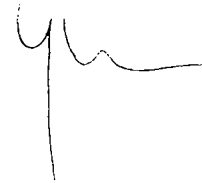
The former head of the National Weather Satellite Service, Fred Singer, says the earth has only warmed half a degree centigrade since 1880, most of that before WWII.

By and large, isn't climate change a notoriously difficult thing to measure?

One point to be made is that the consequences of climate change could be so catastrophic that we must take the threat seriously.

As I said at the outset, this is not exhaustive, but lays the foundation.

Y.M.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be 'Y.M.', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

7-7-92

Defense on Earth in the
Balance : Big hits
coming on Thursday

AGJ ON THE ENVIRONMENT

O VIRGIN MATERIALS TAX:

[BASIC MESSAGE HERE IS THAT THIS IS JUST ONE POSSIBLE ELEMENT OF A CAMPAIGN TO REDUCE OUR GROWING SOLID WASTE PROBLEMS AND, AS A MARKET-BASED, RATHER THAN A COMMAND AND CONTROL TYPE APPROACH, IT MAY BE A PREFERRED POLICY OPTION.]

Every year, each of us -- every man, woman and child in the United States -- generates one ton of municipal solid waste. We throw enough away every 12 months to build a 12-foot-high wall stretching from New York to Los Angeles. Our "throw away" society is building these mounds of garbage at an ever increasing rate -- and we are rapidly losing landfill space to dispose of our trash. Fearing contamination of land and water, communities often strongly resist having new landfills sited near their homes, schools and areas where children play. We know that human health and the environment are at risk. What we are just beginning to appreciate is that our economy also suffers when we waste resources. The fact of the matter is that much of what we throw away is actually material that could be used as an important manufacturing feedstock. And, in many industrial processes, such as aluminum manufacturing, we save on energy when we use recycled rather than virgin materials.

We need an effective strategy now to address this growing problem of garbage build up -- and to take advantage of the many important opportunities presented by reusing materials. I would propose the following: First, we need to reduce waste at its source -- we need to encourage manufacturers to develop streamlined, efficient manufacturing processes. Second, we need to encourage recycling efforts. For example, I have worked hard on an initiative in Congress that would reward manufacturers who use recycled materials by requiring federal agencies to purchase their products in preference to products made completely from raw materials. Third, we should resort to incineration only where the materials are non-recyclable and only then when we are certain that the emissions from the facility do not threaten the health of those living near the facility. Moreover, wherever possible, we should try to harness the energy produced by incineration and thereby reduce other energy needs. Finally, we need to begin to explore ways to get the economic rules of the road right. For example, right now, because of the huge amounts of taxpayer dollars that go to subsidizing logging operations in our national forests -- we are selling our ancient trees for less than the price of a cheeseburger -- it often is cheaper for a paper manufacturer to use freshly cut trees as a feedstock rather than recycled pulp and paper. I believe we need to begin to change that situation -- we should investigate the idea, for example, of setting up a system where

manufacturers who want to invest in recycling equipment would be given tax credits for doing so, while those who do not want to recycle would pay a fee based on the amount of raw, virgin materials they use. We are learning that this kind of market-based, rather than the traditional command-and-control approach, may be the most efficient way to achieve environmental goals.

With this kind of strategy, I believe we can successfully and efficiently take on our garbage problems; improve our economy; and preserve our natural resources.

o CAFE

o The sound bite:

Q: Will increased fuel efficiency requirements harm the US auto industry?

A: "There is no reason to assume that increased efficiency requirements will harm US auto makers. In fact, if you look at cars on a size/class basis, you will see that US companies produce cars in every category that are just as efficient as those produced by any of our competitors. Japanese manufacturers have higher fleet averages -- but that is because they make more small cars than US manufacturers. And while US manufacturers have been improving their efficiency over the last several years, Japanese fleet averages have been decreasing. In supporting changes in our CAFE laws, I have fought for changes that would be fair to US manufacturers who produce a full range of cars -- unlike the current standards that work to the disadvantage of full range manufacturers.

If we really want to see why Detroit is suffering, let's look at soaring health care costs that are increasingly borne by manufacturers; let's look at the education and retraining expenses they have to shoulder because the Reagan/Bush team have turned their backs on the states; let's look at the fat salaries some CEO's have taken while their companies are struggling; and let's look at the unfair barriers that block US cars and auto parts from competing in other markets.

o While I emphasize the need to level the playing field, I do believe that we need to -- and can -- improve fuel efficiency. CAFE reform must be one part -- but just one part -- of what must be a truly global, comprehensive, and strategic approach to the dangerous situation we have placed ourselves in with regard to oil use. We currently import more than half of our oil needs. This jeopardizes our national security and imperils our economy -- oil imports account for the lion's share of our trade imbalance, and our foreign competitors use less than half the amount of energy than we do to produce the same amount of products. We also know that, because we

burn so much oil, we put more CO2 into the atmosphere than any other nation.

o President Bush apparently does not think this is a problem -- the energy plan he submitted to Congress had virtually no conservation measures in it and -- as determined by his own experts -- would have resulted in a further increase in our dependence on foreign sources of oil. In addition, President Bush was the only leader of the industrial world to oppose a Climate treaty with binding commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

o I believe that increased CAFE requirements should be part of our strategy, and I am a cosponsor of a measure that would raise standards (to 40 mpg by 2001). It is estimated that this initiative will save 2.5 million barrels of oil per day by 2005 and reduce projected CO2 emissions by 440 million tons. In addition, because it will reduce our fuel needs, the bill is expected to save consumers as much as \$74 billion.

o Will increased CAFE reduce auto safety? The evidence is to the contrary. Between 1974 and 1990, when US fleet fuel efficiency increased from 14 mpg to 27.8 mpg, US traffic fatalities decreased per 100 million vehicle miles travelled to 2.1 deaths in 1990 from 3.5 deaths in 1974. This is because fuel efficiency increases have not happened in a vacuum -- we have also made important strides in improving auto safety -- and we will continue that trend as fuel efficiency improves further. The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration predicts, for example, that by 1995, 95% of all cars will use airbags. Further advances are also being made in materials science, vehicle design, and anti-lock brakes systems that will further improve vehicle safety. And it is not the case that improvements in fuel efficiency can only be achieved through vehicle downsizing. The Office of Technology Assessment and other experts have testified before Congress that significant improvements could be achieved while the size and performance mix of the fleet is maintained. A study by the Bush administration reaches the same conclusion. The EPA 1990 "Trends Report" showed that, with no changes in size mix, a 45% gain in CAFE was possible with a fleet that included "Thunderbirds, Buick station wagons, and Rolls Royces."

o Are further improvements in fuel efficiency technically feasible? The best evidence that significant gains are possible is the Honda Civic VX. In just one product cycle, the fuel economy of this car was improved by 44%, and even the California version of this car -- which meets the toughest emissions standards -- is rated at 55 mpg. In addition, the car seats 5 passengers rather than the 4 passenger-capacity of earlier models.

Moreover, there is a wealth of technology on the shelf that can be used to further enhance fuel efficiency. Transmission control, variable valve timing, engine friction reduction, improved aerodynamics, lean-burn engines, and two-stroke engines are just some

of the technologies that will improve fleet efficiency if used more extensively by auto manufacturers.

[Finally, it should be noted that the Bryan bill offers credits for flexibly and alternatively fueled vehicles that offset the mileage requirements and gives the Secretary of Transportation to roll back the requirements if it is found that they are infeasible.]

- o Are improved fuel efficiency requirements to the competitive disadvantage of domestic auto makers? During the 1981-1991 period -- when the Reagan/Bush team repeatedly rolled back CAFE standards -- the Big three share of the US auto market fell from 71 to 60%. At the same time, imports of fuel efficient cars rose by 300%. Clearly there is a strong market for fuel efficient automobiles and Detroit would be wise to move aggressively to capture it.

I suppose it could be argued that President Bush -- who opposes increased CAFE standards -- really has served the best interests of the US auto industry. Just look at how he even took the heads of the Big three with him to Tokyo....

- o CO2 TAX

It makes sense to tax pollution -- rather than productivity and hard-earned savings as we now do. I believe that a political consensus is building that would support the imposition of a carbon tax -- if it were revenue neutral -- that is, if the revenues raised were given back to consumers through payroll deductions or to offset the added cost of purchasing the most efficient appliances, for example. It would also be important that our competitors adopted similar measures -- and indeed, leaders in Japan and the European Community have already signaled their interest in doing so. We need to investigate this issue thoroughly. Recent studies by the EPA and others have shown that, if designed along the lines described, this type of tax could strengthen and stimulate our economy.

- o THE GLOBAL MARSHALL PLAN

- o First and most importantly -- this is not proposed as an initiative that would be undertaken solely by the United States. Rather it is described "within a framework of global agreements that obligate all nations to act in concert." (EITB, p. 301).

- o Funding is to come from all developed nations -- and the oil rich Arab nations -- not from the US alone.

- o This would not be a give-away of the proprietary rights of US companies. To the contrary, "better protection for patents and copyrights" and "significant improvements in the current patchwork of laws, especially in those countries that fail to safeguard the rights

of inventors and developers of new technology" (EITB, p. 320) are express elements of the Strategic environment initiative proposed as part of the Global Marshall Plan.

ANCIENT FORESTS

- o We must act now to protect our ancient forests. Less than 5% of our original forest cover remains.
- o If we act now, we can PRESERVE jobs and logging communities. It is because of the Bush administration's failure to deal with this problem -- the Administration's repeated efforts to undermine legislation that is carefully crafted to preserve our forest resources; to fire those Forest Service employees who have tried to manage the forests in a way that properly balances commodity uses with other uses of the forests; and to ignore the changes that are happening in the forest industry such as increased automation and mechanization -- that we have reached this critical stage.
- o I have seen the tragedy experienced by a community in the Olympic Peninsula when the last tree was cut down there. With that tree went all hopes for the future of that community. Nothing was left.
- o This need not happen. But it will happen unless we realize that cannot continue business as usual.
- o We have known for almost 30 years that we can't keep harvesting as much timber from the northwest as we had been. There have been at least 5 forest service studies predicting a major contraction in timber supply in the northwest between 1990 and 2005 -- simply because the trees were being cut faster than they can grow back. In addition, technological developments in the logging industry continue to reduce job opportunities -- in the past 15 years, the Northwest lost 30,000 jobs in the wood products industry before any action was taken on the spotted owl, largely because of increased mechanization of wood work and processing.
- o The Bush administration would prefer to ignore all of this -- their strategy at best has been to shoot the messenger while staging phoney photo ops. Indeed, just as the president was in California last week for a staged signing of a proclamation to protect ancient trees in Sequoia national forest, a member of his own cabinet -- Secretary Madigan who has responsibility for the Forest service -- said that there is nothing the government can do to save the spotted owl and that a plank of the republican platform will include a call to "string all the environmentalists up."
- o Its time to take our head out of the sand. It is time to stop favoring the short term interests of big business over the real interests and concerns of families and communities in the northwest.
- o Unlike the do-nothing approach of the Bush administration, we need to take action now to open opportunities for logging communities. I

am a cosponsor of the Adams bill -- a piece of legislation that will take important steps toward preserving our ancient forests -- and thereby preserving logging communities. We need to reduce the export of raw logs and retain important and skilled jobs here in the United States. We need to offer job retraining opportunities to those who will lose their jobs as we reduce harvests to sustainable levels -- as we must -- and as logging becomes more mechanized. We need to stop wasting taxpayer monies by subsidizing timber companies and selling off our national forests for the price of a cheeseburger.

August 10, 1992

M E M O R A N D U M

FROM: KENNETH BERLIN

TO: GORE BOOK TEAM

Re: The Book

In order to help organize the meeting scheduled for August 11, 1992 to discuss Senator Gore's book, I have prepared the attached memorandum that sets forth quotes from the book that the Bush team might seek to exploit. As you will see, I do not believe that the Bush team will attack the substance of the book. Instead, I believe that they will try to put quotes together to establish themes like Senator Gore: (i) supports massive new taxes; (ii) proposes massive new expenditures; (iii) seeks to stop or retard economic growth; (iv) is an extremist in his view of the environment; (v) will hurt many interest groups and (vi) sounds like Jerry Brown. The memorandum also lists miscellaneous other issues as well as positive themes from the book that we might want to emphasize. Under some quotes, I include a short statement of issues relating to that quote.

Book Issues

I. Supports Massive New Taxes

- A. Supports a tax on emissions of carbon dioxide (p. 349)

Issues

1. Clinton has not supported nor publicly opposed a carbon tax.
2. Senator Gore favors using the revenue from the tax to support an Environmental Security Trust Fund to subsidize the purchase by consumers of environmentally benign technologies. At the same time, he states that the tax should be completely offset by decreases in other taxes. This, however, cannot be done if a trust fund is established unless the deficit increases sharply.
3. Can voters be convinced that the \$100 billion plus in revenues that the tax would raise would be offset by reducing other taxes. A basic problem is that it will be hard to explain how this tax will work if the campaign does not support a carbon tax without talking about it so much that it appears the campaign supports the tax.
4. If campaign does not support a carbon tax, Senator Gore's position can be explained by noting that Senator Gore had advocated such a tax, but that such a tax is not necessary to reach the goal of stabilizing emissions by year 2000 (see attached global warming paper) and that it will be reconsidered at a later date.

- B. Supports pollution charges (p. 348)

Issue - no details in book, many possibilities.

- C. Supports a "Virgin Materials Fee." (p. 349).

Issue - Book states that in return for paying fee, payors would then qualify for tax credits to subsidize purchase of equipment for recycling, but no other details.

- D. Appears to support a gasoline tax "the proposal [to raise taxes on fossil fuels] is one of the logical first steps in changing our policies in a manner consistent with a more responsible approach to the environment. (p. 273).

Issue - Clinton opposes a gasoline tax.

II. Supports High New Expenditures and Costs

- A. What is needed "now is a plan that combines large scale, long-term carefully targeted financial aid to developing nations, massive efforts to design and then transfer to poor nations the new technologies needed for substantial economic progress." (p. 297).

Issue - Quayle has already stated that Senator Gore wants to spend \$100 billion on other nations. Senator Gore responded by stating that Quayle made up the number. (Note Quayle might have found this number on Pg. 304, where it states that if we put the same percentage of GNP into Gore's plan as went into the original Marshall plan, we would spend \$100 billion). What is the number? Can we convince voters that other nations will share in the cost.

- B. Recommends forgiving debt repayment ("third world countries pay high sums of interest on old debts even when the sacrifices necessary to pay them increase the pressure on their suffering populations so much that revolutionary tensions build uncontrollably"). (p. 297).

Issue - Determining the amount of debt forgiveness and explaining it will not adversely affect our financial system.

- C. "U.S. should restore full funding of its share of the international population stabilization programs and increase the effort to make birth control available throughout the world. (p. 317).

Issue - cost

- D. Supports:

1. "Tax incentives for 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 technologies."

(All p. 320)

Issue - Cost: The Strategic Environmental Initiative is proposed to be funded at levels similar to the SDI.

- E. Principal author and advocate of proposal to build a national network of "information superhighways." (p. 327).

Issue - cost.

- F. Supports a global network to accelerate the development of cost effective photovoltaic cells. (p. 327).

Issue - cost.

- G. Supports "Retraining on a massive scale, financial assistance during the transition to new employment; and a continued search for technologies that use the older sources of energy in an environmentally benign way." (p. 331).

Issue - cost.

- H. Supports "Mission to Planet Earth" program. (p. 355).

Issue - cost.

- I. Supports environmental training centers and technology assessment centers" throughout the third world. (p. 360).

Issue - cost.

III. Wants to Stop or Retard Economic Growth

- A. We need "binding commitments by the industrial nations to accelerate their own transition to an environmentally responsible pattern of life." (p. 297).

Issues - What are those commitments and how will they affect economic growth?

- B. There is a "requirement that the advanced economies undergo a profound transformation themselves. (p. 300).
- C. "Wealthy nations will be required to make a transition themselves that will be in some ways more wrenching than that of the third world, simply because powerful established patterns will be disrupted."

Issue - which patterns?

- D. Asks "Who will proclaim that any wealthy nation will accept serious compromises in comfort levels for the sake of environmental balance" (p. 279).
- E. May have to cut emissions of greenhouse gases by more than half. (p. 310).
- F. Should be a categorical change in the economic rules of the road by which our civilizations determines the value of our choices. (p. 337).
- G. Supports green labels. (p. 341).
- H. Supports full information about who is responsible for environmental damage. (p. 34).
- I. Supports "Valdez Principles." (p. 342).
- J. Recommends environmental "antitrust laws." (p. 342).
- K. Favors a CO₂ treaty (p. 345).
- L. Opposes incineration (p. 156) and also shows great sympathy for "not in my backyard" (NIMBY) arguments. (p. 291).

Issue - Are recycling and wastes reduction enough. If not, what type of disposal does Senator Gore support? Is evidence of dangers of incineration accurate?

IV. Is an Extremist in His View of the Environmental Crisis

- A. There is a "global environmental crisis . . . if we cannot embrace the preservation of the earth as our new organizing principle, the very survival of our civilization will be in doubt." (p. 265 and 295).

Issue - As pointed out throughout the book, the evidence supporting this is diffuse and hard for voters to grasp.

- B. "I believe that our civilization is, in effect, addicted to the consumption of the earth itself." (p. 220).
- C. Evidence that environmental racism is the most significant variable in location of commercial hazardous waste facilities.

Issue - Facts support, but this probably results from siting in areas of least resistance - perhaps key is effect on poor and minorities, not intent of companies.

V. Effect on Interest Groups

- A. Supports CAFE standards (p. 325) and "a global program to accomplish the strategic goal of completely eliminating the internal combustion engine over, say, a 25 year period." (See also p. 35.)
- B. "Natural gas can replace coal and oil for energy uses." (p. 328)
- C. The "forces of supply and demand are distorted by agricultural subsidies that encourage the repeated plowing of marginal land until it becomes highly vulnerable to unsustainable losses from soil erosion." (p. 340)
- D. "Cutting down of ancient forests might never take place without the massive subsidies that allow the construction of logging roads." (p. 340)
- E. Opposes price support for sugarcane." (p. 340)
- F. Recommends stopping flow of advanced weaponry to third world. (p. 345)
- G. Supports efficiency standards "throughout the economy." (p. 350)
- H. Pesticides are over used. (p. 52)
- I. Supports spotted owls. The "enormous taxpayer subsidy for the deforestation of public lands contributes to both the budget deficit and an ecological tragedy." "The only issue was whether they would shift to new employment before or after the last remnant forest was gone." (p. 121)
- J. Opposes to at least some extent antibiotics being fed to livestock. (p. 142)

VI. Gore Sounds Like Jerry Brown

- A. "The idea that new technology is the solution to all our problems is a central part of the faulty way of thinking that created the crisis in the first place." (p. 317)

*we don't
solve problem
of advanced
technology by
giving the
a new
crisis.*

- B. "I have come to believe in the value of a kind of inner ecology that relies on the same principles of balance and holism that characterize a healthy environment." (p. 36)
- C. "If we have come to see the things we use as disposable, have we similarly transformed the way we think about our fellow human beings?" (p. 161)
- D. "Technological hubris tempts us to lose sight of our place in the natural order and believe that we can achieve whatever we want." (p. 207)
- E. "Ultimately, part of the solution for the environmental crisis may well be 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)
- F. "We seem increasingly eager to lose ourselves in the forms of culture, society, technology, media and the rituals of production and consumption, but the price we pay is the loss of our spiritual lives." (p. 221)
- G. "The engines of distraction are gradually destroying the inner ecology of the human experience." (p. 242)

VII. Other Issues

- A. Population Growth: Need a worldwide program to stabilize world population (p. 297, 305); supports making birth control devices "ubiquitously" available. (p. 314)
- B. Ceding American Power to International Organizations: "Will have to act within a framework of global agreements that obligate all nations to act in concert." (p. 301)

Issue - Opposes a supranational authority, but global institutions will evolve as they did out of Rio.
- C. Interference with Education: Supports the "establishment of a cooperative plan for educating the world's citizens about our global environment."
- D. Industrial Policy: Supports (p. 336).

- E. Trade and Environment: "Weak and ineffectual enforcement of pollution control measures should also be included in the definition of unfair trade practices." (p. 343)

Issue - This is one of few positions in book with which I disagree because (i) it would be very disruptive of the type of global cooperation that the book recommends; (ii) it is inconsistent with our own approach to environmental laws which recognizes the difference between old inefficient plants and new plants; (iii) it would be disruptive in the sense that the nation with the strictest law in an industry (or newest plants) could place duties on all other nations (Japan vs. U.S. in one industry, vice versa in another); and (iv) under traditional trade laws principles, environmental subsidies are more likely to be considered unfair than a failure to enforce strict laws.

- F. Global vs. Local: Cares more about the global environment than U.S. problems. (p. 29 and 30)
- G. News Media: Blames news media for dispute over global warming. (p. 38)
- H. Genetic Engineering: Disturbed by "research that reflects an assumption that we are clever enough to direct the evolutionary path of important plants and achieve large short-term benefits without paying a steep long-term price." (p. 141)

Issue - the examples don't seem to support the concern (since he gives beneficial examples only). (p. 140)

Themes in Response

1. The "fundamental purpose of the SEI is to enable us to make dramatic progress in the effort to heal the global environment; in my opinion, this goal will eventually become so compelling that America will demand the kind of determined effort that made the Apollo Program so productive and inspiring. The new program could reinvigorate our ability to excel at applied as well as basic research, spur gains in productivity, lead to innovations, breakthroughs and spinoffs in other fields of inquiry, and reestablish the U.S. as the world's leader in applied technology." (p.337)

Key Theme: The environmental program is an investment in America's future as are other aspects of the Clinton investment program.

2. Some companies "have found that in the process of addressing their problems they have been able to improve productivity and profitability at the same time. For example, 3M, in its Pollution Prevention Pays program, has reported significant profit improvements as a direct result of its increased attention to shutting off all the causes of pollution it could find."

Key Theme: Environmental protection and economic growth are compatible. Investment in pollution control will lead to more efficient, more modern industrial plants.

3. Will make decisions with an eye on their long-term effects. (p. 351)

Key Theme: Should also be tied into general economic program.

4. "By failing to provide world leadership in the aftermath of the victory over Communism and in the face of the assault by civilization on the global environment, the United States is once again inviting a descent toward chaos." (p. 172)

Key Theme: Could be tied effectively into broader foreign policy theme.

5. "Today we enthusiastically participate in what is in essence a massive and unprecedented experiment with the natural systems of the global environment, with little regard for the overall consequences" or impact on us and our children in the future. (p. 257)

Key Theme: Use as part of global warming argument. In general, a pro-environment position is a conservative response to uncertainty about how our actions today affect our future.

Statement on Global Warming

There is perhaps no better example of George Bush's failed leadership than his defensive and backward-looking stance on global warming at the recent Earth Summit in Brazil. George Bush has ignored warnings of scientists around the world that emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases threaten dramatic changes in the earth's climate that could result in ecological and human catastrophe. In negotiations leading up to the Rio Earth Summit, leaders of virtually every other nation in the world sought a treaty that would have set specific limits on emissions of carbon dioxide. George Bush's opposition to a climate treaty containing meaningful emission limits has set back global progress toward solving the global warming problem.

As President and Vice-President Governor Clinton and Senator Gore will reassert, United States leadership in solving global warming and other global environmental problems. They are committed to setting and meeting the target of stabilizing emissions of carbon dioxide in the year 2000 at 1990 levels. They believe that as in other areas, protecting the environment by preventing global warming is compatible with strong economic growth. They believe that the year 2000 target can be met through energy efficiency and other steps that will make the United States more, not less competitive. They are concerned that Japan is taking the lead in developing pollution control and energy efficiency technology and they will take steps to reverse this trend.

GLOBAL WARMING

I. Topic/Problem

There are strong grounds to fear that continued excess emissions of greenhouse gases, particularly carbon dioxide, could lead to a dramatic change in the earth's climate, a change that could result in ecological and human catastrophe. As Al Gore wrote "the concentration of carbon dioxide and other heat absorbing molecules has increased almost 25 percent since World War II, posing a threat to the earth's ability to regulate the amount of heat from the sun retained in the atmosphere. This increase in heat seriously threatens the global climate equilibrium that determines the pattern of winds, rainfall, surface temperatures, ocean currents, and sea level. These in turn determine the distribution of vegetative and animal life on land and sea and have a great effect on the location and pattern of human societies."

At the recent Rio conference, President Bush stood apart from all other leaders of the industrial countries in opposing a strong global climate treaty and in taking the position that environmental protection, including stopping global warming, is or may be incompatible with economic growth. Bush thinks further study is necessary. But as pointed out by Al Gore, "a choice to do nothing in response to the mounting evidence is actually a choice to continue and even accelerate the reckless environmental destruction that is creating the catastrophe at hand."

II. History of Problem

Climate changes have long had a profound effect on human history. For example, the ice ages, periods of drought, and long cycles of hot and cold weather have caused vast human migrations, alternating famine and abundance and shifting patterns in the distribution of fertile agricultural lands. The possibility of climate change due to carbon dioxide emitted by fossil fuel combustion has been recognized for a century, but only during the last decade has mounting scientific evidence made the threat of global warming a serious policy issue. In the summer of 1988, severe drought and heat combined with maturing science to put global warming on the front page of newspapers around the country. Candidate George Bush pledged to combat the greenhouse effect with the "White House effect," but spent the next four years resisting meaningful action to reduce emissions. U.S. opposition to a treaty with a binding commitment to stabilize carbon dioxide emissions at 1990 levels by the year 2000

eventually forced other governments to accept a weak convention that lacks specific emission limits.

Al Gore has held numerous congressional hearings on global warming and sponsored several pieces of legislation to address the problem. Gore (along with Senator Tim Wirth and Representative Henry Waxman) is recognized as the leading congressional spokesman on global warming. He lead the congressional observer team to the Earth Summit, where he gave a keynote speech.

III. Current Status/Recent Developments

The Framework Convention on Climate Changes was signed by President Bush and the leaders of over 150 other nations at the Earth Summit in Rio De Janeiro this June. As signed, the Convention obligates the United States to take measures to limit anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases, including carbon dioxide fails to state a clear goal or timetable for emissions reductions. In particular, and largely because of the recalcitrance of the Bush Administration, the Convention does not obligate industrialized countries to "stabilize" greenhouse gas emissions (at 1990 levels by the year 2000), as was urged by the EC in preparatory negotiations.

Legislative measures that will help reduce greenhouse gas emissions are contained in the enacted Surface Transportation Act and in the National Energy Policy legislation now moving through Congress. Many of the measures in the latter bill, such as energy efficiency standards for various appliances and equipment, which the Bush Administration has now credited to its international account, were not in the President's original legislation but were imposed over White House objections by congressional Democrats.

IV. Major Predictable Events in Next Few Week/Months

The Framework Convention on Climate Change will be presented to the Senate for ratification, probably as soon as the official papers are ready. This could happen as early as August. The Administration will support ratification, as will the environmental community, though environmentalists will continue to point out that treaty is much weaker than it should be.

The Administration will also continue working on the list of measures proposed in "U.S. Views," and will likely incorporate them in its official National Report to the Conference of Parties of the Convention, as required. Environmentalists will advocate preparation of a National

Report which commits the U.S. to stabilization of greenhouse gas emissions at 1990 levels by the year 2000.

V. Key Issues and Analysis

The two big issues are: (1) how serious is the global warming problem?; and (2) what is needed to address the problem, and how much will this cost?

(1) The United Nations Scientific Assessment Panel and the National Academy of Sciences, among others, agree that "business as usual" emissions of greenhouse gases would most likely lead during the next few decades to a dramatic change in the earth's climate unprecedented in the history of human civilization. There is uncertainty over exactly how much and how fast the earth would warm. The coal industry and its allies and a handful of skeptical scientists argue that carbon dioxide could be beneficial because it stimulates plant growth in laboratory experiments and that the relatively modest and uneven warming that has been recorded to date (about 1 degree Fahrenheit) shows that future warming will be negligible. The overwhelming weight of scientific evidence, however, indicates that the earth will warm by 3-8 degrees Fahrenheit if carbon dioxide concentrations in the atmosphere are allowed to reach twice their preindustrial levels. The result would be an ecological and probable human catastrophe. Sea levels would rise flooding coastal areas in Florida, Louisiana, and other low-lying areas; severe drought would become much more frequent in the Midwest grain belt; fresh water would be more scarce in California; tropical diseases would become epidemic throughout the Southern United States; and many species would be pushed over the edge to extinction.

(2) In the long run global emissions of greenhouse gases must be reduced by more than half in order to halt their further concentration in the atmosphere. In the near term, industrialized countries should stabilize their carbon dioxide emissions at 1990 levels by the year 2000 and then make significant reductions. Germany has set a target of reducing its carbon dioxide emissions 25% by 2005. Emissions can easily be limited to no more than 1990 levels through profitable measures to increase energy efficiency and to increase reliance on renewable energy sources and natural gas. Specific policies include: higher efficiency standards for automobiles, appliances, and buildings; incentives for utilities to invest in energy efficiency (demand-side management) rather than new generating capacity; and "feebates" that reward purchasers of efficient equipment with rebates that are paid for with fees on inefficient equipment. Additional incentives, such

as a tax on carbon dioxide emissions, will probably be required to obtain the large emission reductions needed in the long-run. Most economists find that this could also benefit the economy if the carbon tax revenues are recycled by reducing a combination of existing taxes on capital and labor. Overall, the investments in energy efficiency and renewable energy technology needed to combat global warming are also essential to make America more competitive and create jobs.

VI. Administration Policy

President Bush is responsible for negotiating a Climate Treaty that is far weaker than is needed to protect the atmosphere. All other industrialized countries favored a treaty that would have established a firm requirement to stabilize emissions at 1990 levels by 2000. At U.S. insistence, the final treaty merely sets a vague goal of returning to 1990 levels, but with so many loopholes as to be legally toothless.

In place of such a commitment to stabilize, the Bush Administration has proposed a series of measures, some administrative and some legislative, in the paper known as "U.S. Views on Global Climate Change," which, taken together, were estimated to reduce projected U.S. net greenhouse gas emissions by 125 - 200 million tons, or 7 - 11% of the total projected emissions for the year 2000. While this reduction of projected levels is not insignificant, it does not commit to, nor guarantee, stabilization of emissions at any specific level or specific time.

VII. Likely Questions and Draft Answers

(1) Question: Do you support a carbon tax?

Answer: I would firmly commit the United States to stabilizing its carbon dioxide emissions at 1990 levels by the year 2000. That can be achieved by applying American know-how through standards and incentives to increase energy efficiency and the use of renewable energy sources. It would not require any new taxes. If larger emission reductions are needed in the long run, and the science suggest that they will be, then we must consider all the available options based on their costs and effectiveness.

(2) Questions: Didn't Al Gore support a carbon tax in his book?

Answer: As indicated above, I do not believe a carbon tax is necessary to achieve our commitment of stabilizing the emissions of carbon dioxide at 1990 levels. Thus I do not believe we need to consider a carbon tax at this time. If, however, a carbon tax is considered, carbon tax revenues would be recycled into the economy through offsetting reduction in other taxes. It would thus be implemented in a manner that will not harm taxpayers and would improve overall competitiveness as a result of increased investment in energy efficiency. In addition, all other major industrialized countries have already committed to stabilize or reduce their carbon dioxide emissions and to implement a carbon tax if necessary.

(3) Question: If you are not proposing a carbon tax, how does your plan differ from President Bush's?

Answer: I am committed to limiting greenhouse gas emissions in the year 2000 to 1990 levels. George Bush is not. I strongly support and will encourage mandatory energy efficiency levels. George Bush has opposed such measures in the past. I will provide investment incentives for new pollution technologies. George Bush will not.

(4) Question: Isn't the cost of controlling greenhouse gas emissions incompatible with economic growth.

Answer: No. Japan now produces each unit of output with on the average half the energy input of American plants. In the long run we cannot compete unless we approach Japan's efficiency in energy usage and the measures necessary to do this are the same measures necessary to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. Requiring such efficiency will also provide a market for one of the key industries of the future, pollution control technology, an area in which we are beginning to fall behind our international competitors.

For further information, call:

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KATIE - As promised
The Heidelberg Appeal

Beware of False Gods in Rio

Forty-six prominent scientists and intellectuals in the U.S., including 27 Nobel Prize winners, have joined 218 scientists in other countries in an appeal to the heads of state attending the Earth Summit in Rio this week. They call their petition the Heidelberg Appeal, after a conference held in Heidelberg, Germany, in April on hazardous substance use.

The full text is below, followed by the names of the U.S. signers.

The undersigned members of the international scientific and intellectual community share the objectives of the "Earth Summit," to be held at Rio de Janeiro under the auspices of the United Nations, and support the principles of the following declaration.

We want to make our full contribution to the preservation of our common heritage, the Earth.

We are however worried, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, at the emergence of an irrational ideology which is opposed to scientific and industrial progress and impedes economic and social development.

We contend that a Natural State, sometimes idealized by movements with a tendency to look toward the past, does not exist and has probably never existed since man's first appearance in the biosphere, insofar as humanity has always progressed by increasingly harnessing Nature to its needs and not the reverse.

We fully subscribe to the objectives of a scientific ecology for a universe whose resources must be taken stock of, monitored and preserved.

But we herewith demand that this stock-taking, monitoring and preservation be founded on scientific criteria and not on irrational preconceptions.

We stress that many essential human activities are carried out either by manipulating hazardous substances or in their proximity, and that progress and development have always involved increasing control over hostile forces, to the benefit of mankind.

We therefore consider that scientific ecology is no more than an extension of this continual progress toward the improved life of future generations.

We intend to assert science's responsibility and duties toward society as a whole.

We do however forewarn the authorities in charge of our planet's destiny against decisions which are supported by pseudo-scientific arguments or false and

non-relevant data.

We draw everybody's attention to the absolute necessity of helping poor countries attain a level of sustainable development which matches that of the rest of the planet, protecting them from troubles and dangers stemming from developed nations, and avoiding their entanglement in a web of unrealistic obligations which would compromise both their independence and their dignity.

The greatest evils which stalk our Earth are ignorance and oppression, and not Science, Technology and Industry whose instruments, when adequately managed, are indispensable tools of a future shaped by Humanity, by itself and for itself, overcoming major problems like overpopulation, starvation and worldwide diseases.

BRUCE N. AMES, director, National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences Center, Berkeley;

PHILIP W. ANDERSON, Nobel (Physics), department of physics, Princeton;

CHRISTIAN B. ANFINSEN, Nobel (Chemistry), biologist, Johns Hopkins;

JULIUS AXELROD, Nobel (Medicine), Laboratory of Cell Biology, National Institute of Mental Health;

SAMUEL H. BARONDES, Langley Porter Psychiatric Institute;

BARUJ BENACERRAF, Nobel (Medicine), National Medal of Science, Dana-Farber Inc.;

HANS ALBRECHT BETHE, Nobel (Physics), Newman Laboratory of Nuclear Studies, Cornell;

NICOLAAS BLOEMBERGEN, Nobel (Physics), Harvard;

THOMAS R. CECH, Nobel (Chemistry), University of Colorado;

STANLEY COHEN, Nobel (Medicine), professor of biochemistry, Vanderbilt;

MORTON CORN, director of Environmental Health Engineering, Johns Hopkins;

ERMINIO COSTA, director, Fidia-Georgetown Institute for Neurosciences, Georgetown Medical School;

GERARD DEBREU, Nobel (Economics), professor emeritus of economics, University of California;

CARL DJERRASSI, professor of chemistry, Stanford, U.S. Academy of Sciences;

LEON EISENBERG, professor of social medicine, Harvard;

IVAR GIAEVER, Nobel (Physics), professor of physics, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute;

DONALD A. GLASER, Nobel (Physics), physicist, University of California;

ROGER GUILLEMIN, Nobel (Medicine), Whittier Institute;

DUDLEY R. HERSCHBACH, Nobel (Chemistry), professor of science, Harvard;

ROALD HOFFMANN, Nobel (Chemistry), professor of chemistry, Cornell;

JEROME KARLE, Nobel (Chemistry), chief scientist, U.S. Naval Research Laboratory;

WEN HSIUNG KUO, Department of Sociology, University of Utah;

ABEL LAJTHA, director, Center for Neurochemistry, The N.S. Kline Institute for Psychiatric Research;

M. DANIEL LANE, director, Department of Biochemistry, Johns Hopkins;

ARTHUR M. LANGER, director, Environmental Science Laboratory, Institute of Applied Science, Brooklyn College;

YUAN T. LEE, Nobel (Chemistry), Department of Chemistry, University of California, Berkeley;

WASSILY LEONTIEF, Department of Economics, NYU;

RICHARD S. LINDZEN, U.S. National Academy of Sciences, MIT;

HAROLD LINSTONE, professor emeritus of systems science, Portland State University;

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LINUS PAULING, Nobel (Chemistry, Peace), Linus Pauling Institute of Science and Medicine;

ARNO A. PENZIAS, Nobel (Physics), Bell Laboratories;

MALCOLM ROSS, Research Mineralogist, U.S. Geological Survey;

JONAS SALK, professor in International Health Sciences, The Salk Institute for Biological Studies;

JOSEPH F. SAYEGH, research scientist, N.S. Kline Institute for Psychiatric Research;

ELIE SHNEOUR, director of Biosystems Institutes Inc.;

CHARLES TOWNES, Nobel (Physics), physicist, University of California;

HAROLD E. VARMUS, Nobel (Medicine), microbiologist, University of California;

THOMAS HUCKLE WELLER, Nobel (Medicine), professor emeritus, Harvard;

ELIE WIESEL, Nobel (Peace), Boston University;

TORSTEN N. WIESEL, Nobel (Medicine), President, Rockefeller University;

ROBERT W. WILSON, Nobel (Physics), head, physics research department, AT&T Bell Laboratories

tured is unmanageably headed for collapse, and change the structure by shifting perceived costs and benefits, increasing the time horizon, and seeing the social whole. Thirteen scenarios are sketched, including that of a sustainable society of 7.7 billion people in the early 21st century, with enough food, consumer products, and services to support everyone in comfort—provided that appropriate policies are begun in 1995. Similar to the Agricultural Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, the Sustainability Revolution could lead to enormous gains and some losses. Everyone can contribute to this necessary revolution, "already well underway." Five tools to facilitate the transition: visioning what is really wanted, networking to inform and sustain us, truth-telling to overcome verbal traps in public discourse, learning, and loving.

(NOTE: A more urgent message than the 1972 Limits, with a more sophisticated vision of "sustainable society" replacing the easily misunderstood 1972 call for "the equilibrium state." The authors do not favor zero growth, but "forms of growth that are equitable, affordable, and sustainable." To support this important analysis, 70 figures are employed. But every attempt is made to keep the argument non-technical. Incidentally, the 1972 book was not the first to highlight the limits. **Resources and the American Dream: Including a Theory of the Limit of Growth**, by Samuel H. Ordway Jr (Ronald Press, 1953), criticized the "Cornucopian Faith" and advocated a "Balanced Civilization." In the same year, Fairfield Osborn published **The Limits of the Earth** (Little, Brown, 1953). Five years earlier, in **Road to Survival** (William Sloane Associates, 1948), William Vogt warned of a falling carrying capacity over most of the earth. The earliest intimations of these problems are widely attributed to George Perkins Marsh's **Man and Nature** (1864). Will enough of us ever learn?) (overshoot of earth's limits)

*92-104

Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit. Senator Al Gore (D-Tenn). Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Jan 1992/407p/\$22.95.

"Our ecological system is crumbling as it suffers a powerful collision with the hard surfaces of a civilization speeding toward it out of control." The damage is remarkably sudden and extensive, but most of us act as if we don't perceive a collision at all (partly because the crunching and shattering take place over a longer time span that we associate with a violent collision, say of automobiles). "The potential for true catastrophe lies in the future." The downslope that pulls us toward it is becoming steeper, and sooner or later our momentum will take us beyond the point of no return. We need a positive feedback loop to accelerate the pace of changes now so urgently needed.



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study of alternative futures. The Society is a non-profit educational partial clearinghouse for a variety of different views and does not take

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mailing offices.

110 Woodmont Avenue, Suite 450, Bethesda, MD 20814-6089.

Chapters discuss the history of climate and civilization, the political struggle to control atmospheric pollution at the global level, threats to the earth's water system, deforestation, the threat of genetic erosion to the global food system, the floodtide of garbage, the deep crisis of our political system that dumps huge mountains of debt and pollution on future generations, forces working against stewardship, the blindness of classical economics, the crisis in education coinciding with the flood of information, our dysfunctional civilization (we seem increasingly eager to lose ourselves in technology, media, and consumption rituals; the price we pay is the loss of our spiritual lives), and the common environmental threads of world religions.

Concludes that "we must make the rescue of the environment the central organizing principle for civilization." This means securing widespread agreement that it should be the organizing principle, and embarking on an all-out effort to use every policy and program to preserve and nurture our ecological system. Toward this end, a Global Marshall Plan is proposed, which, like the post-WWII plan for European recovery, focuses on strategic goals and emphasizes actions likely to remove bottlenecks. The five strategic goals that must inform our efforts: 1) **Stabilizing World Population**: ensure that birth control devices are ubiquitously available, fund carefully targeted functional literacy programs for sustainable agriculture; 2) **Developing and Sharing Appropriate Technologies**: a worldwide Strategic Environment Initiative is needed (similar to SDI) to develop a series of breakthroughs for environmentally appropriate technologies in agriculture, forestry, energy, building technology, waste reduction, and recycling; 3) **A New Global Eco-Nomics**: redefine definitions of GNP and productivity, eliminate government use of inappropriate discount rates and subsidies, full disclosure of corporate responsibility for environmental damage, more and better information on environmental impacts, an Environmental Security Trust Fund with payments based on the amount of CO₂ put into the atmosphere, a Virgin Materials Fee imposed on products at the point of manufacture or importation based on the quantity of nonrenewable virgin materials, tree planting programs as part of community workfare programs; 4) **A New Generation of Treaties and Agreements**: the US must take a leadership role, with the Montreal Protocol on phasing out CFCs as a prototype; 5) **A Cooperative Plan for Educating the World's Citizens**: a comprehensive program for monitoring changes now under way, a massive effort to disseminate information on local and regional threats, establishing environmental training centers throughout the world. It is also urged that the Plan should have as a general and integrating goal the establishment of social and political conditions most conducive to emergence of sustainable societies: social justice, human rights, adequate nutrition and health care, high literacy rates, political freedom and participation. (NOTE: Remarkably sophisticated and well-informed thinking by a world-class political leader for the 21st century. ALSO SEE: **World on Fire: Saving an Endangered Earth** by Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell of Maine (Scribner's, Jan 1991; FS 13:2, #91-058; FS Annual 1992 #11106), which has similar ideas, but no focus on technology and education; and **Global Environmental Politics** by Gareth Porter and Janet Welsh Brown (Westview, Dec 1991/208p/\$43.50; \$10.95pb).] (Global Marshall Plan for environment)

92-105

State of the World 1992: A Worldwatch Institute Report on Progress Toward a Sustainable Society. Lester R. Brown et al. NY: W. W. Norton, Feb 1992/256p/\$19.95/\$10.95pb.

Great Summer
From Jim Global Tomorrow

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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HEADLINE: '92 POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE;

GORE'S ENVIRONMENT BOOK BECOMES A WEAPON FOR BOTH SIDES;
ECOLOGY: THE DEMOCRATS POINT TO THE BEST-SELLER AS A CLEAR, COURAGEOUS PLAN. THE
GOP CHARACTERIZES IT AS THE WORK OF AN EXTREMIST.

BYLINE: By DAVE LESHER, TIMES STAFF WRITER

BODY:

One of the main reasons Al Gore said he decided to run for President in 1988 was to make people aware that the global environment is dangerously close to disaster.

Like his campaign, the message failed to connect with voters. But if anything, Gore said he became even more convinced after the election that his environmental fears were well founded and that the issue should become a mission for his life.

Earlier this year, Gore wrote a book called "Earth in the Balance -- Ecology and the Human Spirit" as another attempt to alert America to what he calls its destructive habits. He contends that the problems stem from a crisis in the relationship between humans and their environment.

"The more deeply I search for the roots of the global environmental crisis, the more I am convinced that it is an outer manifestation of an inner crisis that is, for lack of a better word, spiritual," Gore wrote. "... We have assumed that our lives need have no real connection to the natural world, that our minds are separate from our bodies, and that as disembodied intellects we can manipulate the world in any way we choose."

As Gore returns to the presidential campaign as Bill Clinton's running mate, "Earth in the Balance" provides a blueprint of one of the sharpest contrasts between the two White House tickets.

Gore's supporters say the book will be embraced as courageous and visionary because it contains the kind of crystal-clear statements so rare from politicians.

But Republicans are convinced that the book's bold language will help them define some of their fundamental differences with the Democratic ticket -- and that voters will side with the GOP. The Administration hopes to cast Gore and Clinton as "environmental extremists," and use sections from the book to back up their characterization. Ultimately, the GOP hopes to undermine the Democratic ticket's moderate image.

In that context, Vice President Dan Quayle recently traveled to Michigan, the heartland of America's automotive industry, to highlight Gore's proposal to

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eliminate the internal combustion engine within 25 years.

"America has the world's best environmental record, but that doesn't matter to Gore and other hard-core environmentalists," Quayle said.

Gore responded in a television appearance Sunday by charging that jobs in the auto industry are already being lost to the economic problems of the Republican Administration.

About eliminating the internal combustion engine, Gore said: "I used that as an example of the scale of changes we ought to contemplate over the next quarter-century. . . . I'm sure there were some in the aircraft industry who said: 'Get rid of the propeller? Those jet engines will never fly.' "

The GOP strategy has been complicated by William K. Reilly, the man Bush appointed to run the Environmental Protection Agency. "I don't think he (Gore) is an environmental extremist," Reilly said after other members of the Administration had made the charge, adding that he has "a lot of respect" for Gore's book.

Another assignment for Bush strategists is to dispel the impression that Clinton and Gore are the best ticket for change. As a result, Republicans have tried to portray Gore's world view as one in which American society and individual freedoms are the sources of the Earth's destruction.

As evidence, Republican attacks have focused on a section of "Earth in the Balance" in which Gore compares American society to the life of a drug addict and to the distorted behavior of a dysfunctional family.

Gore wrote that society's lack of a relationship with the natural world has left a void that it has filled, like a drug addict, with an insatiable and destructive urge to consume environmental resources. At the same time, he said, society has developed a false world -- evidenced by plastic flowers, air conditioning and frozen food -- "to replace the experience of communion with the world that has been taken from us."

Gore referred to Nazi Germany as another example of a dysfunctional society, providing fodder for the sharpest GOP attacks.

"When the vice presidential candidate of a major party thinks that every time you walk through the frozen-food section of a grocery store that it's like Gestapoism in Nazi Germany, that is absolutely weird," Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) said in a recent speech.

Quayle also referred to the book, saying: "Theirs is a sad and strange outlook on the world."

In an interview with The Times, Gore said that he is happy the book makes a strong case for increasing environmental diligence and that he is comfortable in defending it. But he added that he's not sure he would have written the book if he had known he would be running for vice president.

"I might have felt a little more reluctant to do that if I felt (the book) was going to be in a national campaign," Gore said aboard his campaign plane recently. "I might well have been more vulnerable to timidity in some of the

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frank self-description in the book and some of the efforts to really bare my soul."

"Earth in the Balance" was on the national best-seller list before Gore was nominated, and sales have picked up.

Here are some of the main topics:

GLOBAL WARMING: In a chapter called "Climate and Civilization, a Brief History," Gore contends that some of the world's most traumatic times have been caused, or at least influenced, by environmental changes.

He traces examples back thousands of years, from a temperature shift shortly before the disappearance of the Minoan culture from Homer's epics in 1200 B.C. to the 1930s migration of Oklahoma migrant workers from the Depression-era Dust Bowl. The message is that a slight shift in the environment can have profound effects on civilization.

"All of these changes took place during temperature variations of 1 to 2 degrees centigrade," Gore wrote. "Yet today, at the close of the 20th Century, we are in the process of altering global temperatures by up to three or four times that amount."

Gore predicts that global warming could cause seas to rise, forcing the dislocation of 10 million people from Bangladesh in the next few decades and, possibly, 60% of the population of Florida.

He suggests a variety of solutions to reduce the production of so-called greenhouse gases, which trap solar radiation and warm the planet. On an international level, he said, treaties should limit production of pollutants, and developed countries might retire some Third World debt in return for more environmentally benign practices.

POPULATION BOOM: The rapid depletion of food sources and destruction of such natural resources as the rain forests are largely caused by a booming population, Gore says. As a result, a primary focus for ecologists should be to slow population growth.

"From the beginning of humanity's appearance on Earth to 1945, it took more than 10,000 generations to reach a world population of 2 billion people," Gore wrote. "Now, in the course of one human lifetime -- mine -- the world population will increase from 2 (billion) to more than 9 billion -- and it is already more than halfway there."

Gore calls for an extensive program to stabilize global population that involves adequate nutrition, health care, an increase in literacy and education rates and lower infant mortality.

OZONE DEPLETION: One of the most dangerous global threats, Gore says, is the depletion of ozone in the atmosphere and the resulting increase in ultraviolet radiation reaching the Earth. The problem has been caused, Gore says, largely by the release of chlorofluorocarbons during the last 60 years. CFCs come from such things as air conditioners, refrigerators and propellants for aerosol cans -- although in recent years they have been replaced in aerosol cans with possibly more benign ingredients.

Los Angeles Times, September 1, 1992

The radiation inhibits the ability of plants to photosynthesize -- that is, to convert sunlight to fuel -- the book says. It has also increased the incidence of skin cancer and cataracts and threatens humans' immunity systems.

In the Australian state of Queensland, Gore said, three-quarters of residents over age 65 have skin cancer, and children are required by law to wear hats and scarves for protection from the sun.

"What does it mean to redefine one's relationship to the sky?" he wrote. "What will it do to our children's outlook on life if we have to teach them to be afraid to look up?"

Gore suggests that the United States accelerate its schedule for phasing out the use of CFCs.

GOVERNMENT: Gore sees an active role for government in changing American behavior to become more environmentally benign. He argues that changes can be made with minimal impact on lifestyles.

If cities charged for garbage pickup by the pound, for example, Gore suggests that residents would have greater incentive to recycle, reduce waste and avoid bulky packaging. He also proposes a government standard for "green labels" to steer consumers toward products with the least environmental impact.

Gore proposes a variety of tax mechanisms to influence behavior. He proposes two taxes -- one on petroleum or coal fuels and another on "virgin materials" -- such as trees used to make paper. The taxes could be offset by reductions in other taxes that would encourage more environmentally sensitive practices.

SITUATION IS GRAVE: Gore acknowledges that conclusive scientific evidence has not confirmed all the dire scenarios he predicts. Researchers are uncertain, for example, precisely what will happen if the carbon dioxide level in the atmosphere doubles in the next few decades.

But he chastises those who suggest that further evidence is needed before taking drastic steps to significantly reduce the production of greenhouse gases.

"The insistence on complete certainty about the full details of global warming -- the most serious threat that we have ever faced -- is actually an effort to avoid facing the awful, uncomfortable truth: that we must act boldly, decisively, comprehensively and quickly, even before we know every last detail about the crisis," he wrote.

The most significant change needed, Gore said, is in public attitudes, "for most people do not yet accept the fact that this crisis is extremely grave." He compares the magnitude of the necessary shift in perception to the dawn of the nuclear age, when warfare was changed forever by the realization that humans were capable of destroying the planet.

GRAPHIC: Photo, Sen. Al Gore says that he might have been more "reluctant" to write "Earth in the Balance" had he known that he would be running for the vice presidency. BERNIE BOSTON / Los Angeles Times

Los Angeles Times, September 1, 1992

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS -- 1992; GORE, ALBERT JR; ENVIRONMENT;
BOOKS; POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

Theodore Roszak

790 Cragmont Avenue, Berkeley California 94708, (510) 525-4220

September 4, 1992

Katy McGinty
Office of Senator Al Gore
393 Russell Office Bldg
Washington, DC, 20510.

Dear Katy McGinty:

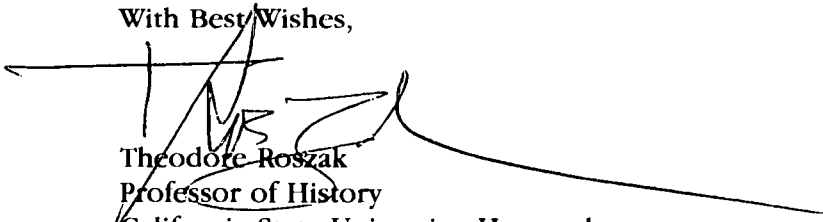
I thought you might be interested in this letter I recently filed with the *San Francisco Chronicle* addressing the attack Vice President Quayle has made upon Senator Gore's environmental record.

By a coincidence, my letter appeared on the same day the *Chronicle* ran George Will's astonishingly sub-intellectual assault on *Earth in the Balance*. While I rarely agree with Will, I have come to expect a higher standard of literacy from the man. Talk about "extremism", I have filed his column as an *extreme* example of do-nothing environmental complacency. Apparently, Will does not believe there is any sort of an environmental crisis at all! His argument that the earth is "resilient", may be true -- but our species and many others we endanger are not blessed with the same resiliency. The balance of nature can always come out *against* us. He seems unaware of that possibility.

Since the *Chronicle* edited my letter, I am enclosing the full original, which includes a key quotation from Senator Gore. The letter also went to the *New York Times*, but the *Times* can take weeks to get through its backlog.

I wonder if you received a copy of the enclosed review I did of Senator Gore's book. I realize how busy all of you must be with the campaign, but I wanted to file the review with you in any case.

With Best Wishes,



Theodore Roszak
Professor of History
California State University, Hayward

Reply at letterhead address

San Francisco Chronicle

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

'Earth in the Balance'

Editor — It is a new low in anti-intellectualism that Senator Al Gore should have to defend his fine book, "Earth in the Balance," against the sound-biting badgering of an opponent (Vice President Quayle) who may not even have read a book since he entered public life.

Gore has made a commendable effort to inform himself as widely as possible about environmental thought and policy. But precisely because the book draws comprehensively on many scholarly sources, it is easily quoted out of context for purposes of deliberate distortion.

This is especially the case when it comes to Gore's centerpiece, his Global Marshall Plan, with which Quayle has been playing fast and loose in attempting to portray the senator as a "spendthrift."

Just to set the record straight: the closest Gore comes to estimating the cost of his proposal is to use the original Marshall Plan as a baseline. In 1992 dollars, he believes this would total \$100 billion annually — about one-third of the \$280 billion the Bush administration plans to spend on the military next year. But as Gore makes clear at the outset, his plan is meant to be undertaken as a joint venture by all the industrial nations, not by the United States alone.

Moreover, the first point in Gore's plan has less to do with money than with education. It deals with population control and calls for a simple change of American policy with respect to facilitating access to contraceptive information and abortion in Third World nations.

Similarly, Gore's description of the automobile as a "mortal threat" to the environment (a point Quayle cites as evidence of Gore's "extremism") appears in his plan as part of a complex "Strategic Energy Initiative" for phasing out the internal combustion engine worldwide over a 25-year-period in favor of new transportation technologies, which Gore warns are already being developed by other nations.

Gore has done his homework on environmental policy; Quayle's scripted assault on the senator only displays his dismal lack of basic ecoliteracy. The real difference between Gore and his Republican critics is the difference between intelligently crafted policy and the short-sighted defense of selfish special interest.

THEODORE ROSZAK
Berkeley

'Earth in the Balance'? Toss It in the Circular File

SOMEONE retrieved Kipling's poem "Recessional" (the one about "dominion over palm and pine" and "lesser breeds without the Law") from the wastebasket where Kipling had tossed it. Whether that someone did literature a favor is debatable. Clearly Al Gore's book "Earth in the Balance" is wastebasket-worthy.

The senator says our civilization is a "dysfunctional family." He favors "wrenching transformation of society," altering "the very foundation of our civilization."

His environmentalism is a caricature of contemporary liberalism, a compound of unfocused compassion (for the whole planet) and green guilt about "consumptionism." His call to "make the rescue of the environment the central organizing principle for civilization" is embarrassing. Who wants politicians who are unaware of the comical figure they cut when announcing new "central organizing principles" for civilization?

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

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

Gore complains that the media, by focusing on controversy, threatens the planet by creating skepticism about the agen-

He has mastered the Washington art of arguing that his agenda won't really cost anything. You know: This or that program or regulation will make us healthier or smarter or better behaved, and therefore will make us more productive, so economic growth will increase and so will revenues, and thus everything will "pay for itself." Gore's new wrinkle on this is environmentalism-as-business-opportunity. We shall prosper by making environmentally "necessary" products. Perhaps.

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

The hoariest cliché in modern American politics is "Marshall Plan" for this or that. It is being given another trot around the track by Gore's call for a "Global Marshall Plan." He is vociferous against the "hubris" of our technological civilization but he partakes of the hubris of the government class which, having failed at its banal but useful business down the street (schools, bridges, medical care) has an itch to go global.

Gore's particular ideas (lots of new taxes; treating the automobile as a "mortal threat" to civilization, etc.) have no constituency. But what is dismaying is the way he trades in ideas, uncritically embracing extremisms that seem to justify vast expansions of his righteousness and of the power of the government he seeks to lead.

ing skepticism about the agenda for which he insists there is scientific consensus. Actually, too often skepticism is vindicated long after being portrayed in the media as a moral failing, rather than an intellectually debatable position.

Gore, who has spent most of his life in Washington's governing circle, overflows with the certitude characteristic of that circle. He knows the future and knows exactly what it requires, which turns out to be an unprecedented expansion of government — spending, regulating, evaluating technologies and transferring wealth abroad.

ment he seeks to read.

His unsmiling sense of lonely evangelism in a sinning world lacks the sense of proportion that is produced by a sense of history — and of humor. The planet is more resilient, the evidence about its stresses more mixed and the facts of environmental progress more heartening than he admits. His book, a jumble of dubious 1990s science and worse 1960s philosophy is a powerful reason not to elect its author to high office in the executive branch, where impressionable people will be bombarded by bad ideas in search of big budgets.

Washington Post Writers Group

REVIEW

Environmental running mate

Earth in the Balance: Forging a New Common Purpose

by Al Gore, *Earthscan*, pp 408, £14.95

Theodore Roszak

BOOKS by prominent public figures usually get slotted into a special, condescending category. Reviewers expect to find little more in them than inside dope about the political process or tidbits of gossip gleaned from the corridors of power. In short, they are not taken seriously. Senator Al Gore's *Earth in the Balance* ranks as an exception.

The senator offers plenty of the insights and anecdotes available only to seasoned players on the Washington scene; he traces the deceptive twists and turns of the Bush administration's environmental policies, naming names and assigning blame. But his book is also a solid intellectual achievement, a work many scholars and environmental specialists might be proud to write.

Gore has embedded years of reading, thought and legislative savvy in this volume. Above all, he has put his heart into it, defending a cause that he obviously holds dear. In 1988 he made a run for the presidency. At the time he gambled on the hope that a strong environmental position might win him the White House. He is frank to say he misjudged the popular appeal of issues such as the greenhouse effect and the ozone layer. But his political disappointment has not led him to abandon his environmental concerns. On the contrary: from his failed campaign, he salvaged a noble purpose in whose service he now offers one of the few books that manages to treat the environmental crisis with the complexity it deserves and on the scale it demands.

Moreover, with Gore now the unexpected vice-presidential nominee of the Democratic Party, *Earth in the Balance* offers an unintended preview of the policies he now must champion as he makes his second bid for national office. By his very presence on the Democratic ticket, he has intruded environmentalism into the American political agenda as a major issue.

The book is bound to be used against him in the current campaign by George Bush, who cast himself as the pariah of the recent Earth Summit in Rio. Gore's Republican opposition, freighted with a dismal environmental record, is already calling him a "tree-hugger" whose programmes mark him out as a liberal spendthrift. Much to his own surprise, Gore is being offered another opportunity to talk ecological sense to the American public. If anyone can handle the challenge, it is the man who now qualifies as the country's most respected environmental spokesman.

Gore's range is remarkable. If it offered nothing more, *Earth in the Balance* would

make a handy, nearly encyclopedic compendium of environmental problems. It is loaded with authoritative analyses of biospheric damage, some of them compiled from the senator's own junkets to inspect the devastation of the rainforests, the game parks of Africa and the ozone hole above Antarctica. But *Earth in the Balance* reaches well beyond mere reportage and exposition.

The intellectual meat of the book lies in the ethical issues and philosophical conundrums it explores. These Gore handles with admirable sophistication; he has read up on his sprawling subject and sought out the best minds.

The breadth of approach prevents him from settling for what other politicians might take to be adequate: purely economic adjustments and technological solutions. Though economic policy and technology (especially appropriate technology) come in for extensive discussion, Gore recognises that many environmental issues also have to be treated holistically on the level of conscience and consciousness. For example, his recommendations for population policy—the highest priority in his global programme—acknowledge that the education and liberation of women are just as important as the distribution of contraceptives.

The big finish toward which he builds is the call for a "global Marshall Plan" to be undertaken, in the post-Cold War era, with even greater urgency and financial resources than the original. In hands other than those of a practical politician, an appeal like this might become a "wish list" of painful improbabilities. But Gore means to be effective, bringing his special experience as a law maker to bear for all it is worth. And, as senator of Tennessee, he has known what it is like to face intractable political choices.

For example, he relates how, as a member of the Southern farm bloc in Congress, he has had to struggle over sugar subsidies with corn-syrup lobbyists in his state. This seemingly minor issue relates directly to the devastation of the Everglades in Florida. Those of us who are used to thinking and writing about environmental affairs at a loftier level might learn a few valuable lessons from Gore about the nitty-gritty of real-life decision making.

The final chapters of the book brim with bright ideas that seek to translate Gore's high-level analysis into a comprehensive



Al Gore: a Democrat talking ecological sense

programme. There is almost too much here to take in: tax incentives, export controls, forestry policy, waste reduction and recycling proposals, CO₂ taxes, electrical co-generation, virgin materials fees... There is even a discussion of energy-saving light bulbs and how to market them more efficiently.

Among the bigger ideas is a new global accounting system that includes such factors as sustainability and environmental restoration in the calculation of GNP. Gore presents it all with the zest and conviction of a professional politician out to make things happen—and get them done. It is a dazzlingly meticulous array of schemes and solutions; reading through it makes for a welcome antidote to the steady diet of gloom and doom we usually expect from environmental studies.

The senator displays a commendable awareness of First World/Third World

NEW SCIENTIST

REVIEW

asymmetries in development. He does not flinch from raising the tough question of international fairness. "The promotion of justice and the protection of the environmental must go hand in hand in any society, whether in the context of a nation's domestic policies or in the design of 'North-South' agreements between the industrial nations and the Third World."

One may disagree with this or that about Gore's approach, but taken as a whole, his book serves as a model for the politically relevant, comprehensive discussion of environmental policy. The man has mapped the terrain, drawing in philosophy as well as science, religion and ethics as well as economics.

I expect to go back to this book for facts,

ideas, political insights, but above all to remind myself that there are still those working on environmental issues who believe there is cause to hope.

Theodore Roszak is professor of history at California State University, Hayward. His latest book is *The Voice of the Earth* (Simon and Schuster).

I wrote this before I phoned Tuesday...
I'll send it along anyway —

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, HAYWARD

HAYWARD, CALIFORNIA, 94542

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
(510) 881-3207

April 20, 1992

Dear Katy McGinty:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Paul Gorman of the Joint Appeal for Religion and Science at St John the Divine Cathedral. Paul has recently seen a copy of my book *The Voice of the Earth* and felt that it should be shown to Senator Gore.

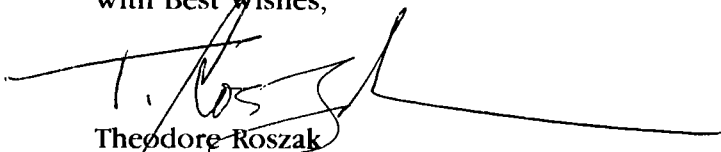
I mentioned to Paul that I had sent the manuscript and most recently the bound galleys to the senator, who is of course on a very busy schedule. But Paul thought it would be worthwhile to try again, especially since I understand (from Mr. Wosko on your staff) that Senator Gore has expressed some willingness to give the book his attention. After having recently reviewed *Earth in the Balance*, I would now regard him as one of the most important authorities on the subject of ecology and spirituality. I believe he would be peculiarly sympathetic to the thesis I am developing in *The Voice of the Earth*. A few good words from him would be a great honor and perhaps a service to the environmental cause.

As of this moment, I have asked my publisher Simon and Schuster to hold up the jacket design and some early publicity for *The Voice of the Earth* in the hope that Senator Gore will indeed find it possible to send along a comment. I understand it will be possible to wait another week or so before the publicity goes to press. My editor at Simon and Schuster is Mr. Robert Asahina; his fax number is 212 698-7511.

For your information, I am including some comments that indicate the early response to *The Voice of the Earth*. The recent rather flattering remarks by Father Thomas Berry may be of particular interest. I also include the review which it was my pleasure to file with the science journal *New Scientist*.
I believe the review has been picked up by some other journals already.

I realize how great a favor I am asking from a busy man and his staff. I would not make the request if I did not feel we shared a common cause of some importance. I will be deeply grateful for any help you can offer.

With Best Wishes,


Theodore Roszak
Professor of History
California State University, Hayward

The Voice of the Earth, by Theodore Roszak

The Voice of the Earth is a bold work, nothing less than a psychoanalysis of civilization, one that looks at the psychological underpinnings of our ecological crisis. Theodore Roszak is trying to do for our relationship with the Earth what Freud did for our relationships with each other.

(Lester R. Brown, President, The Worldwatch Institute)

Because it's thorough, because it's right, and because it speaks the ideals of a passionate heart, Theodore Roszak's book lays a groundwork for the theory and practice of psychotherapy for the coming century. We can never go back to the old ways of psychiatry, which, by omitting the actual world, generate more insanity than they cure.

(James Hillman, author of *The Dream and the Underworld*)

With uncommon creativity, Theodore Roszak makes the voice of the Earth and civilization's need for it brilliantly clear and visible.

(David R. Brower, Founder, Earth Island Institute and Friends of the Earth)

Theodore Roszak's vision of ecopsychology could heal soul and society in our time — if we will heed it. *The Voice of the Earth* points the only way toward sanity. A radical, fascinating and winsome book. Read it and hope.

(Sam Keen, author of *Fire in the Belly*)

The voice of Roszak carries a comprehensive understanding of the Earth-situation in this late 20th century. A sensitive voice, it carries a healing quality and a guidance that we so much need. He seems to have a unique capacity for understanding Earth language. His voice carries the resonance of the primordial voice of the planet itself.

(Thomas Berry, author of *The Dream of the Earth*)

Albert Gore, *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit*, New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992. 408 pp., \$22.95

Reviewed by Theodore Roszak
Professor of History, California State University, Hayward

Books by prominent public figures usually get slotted into a special, condescending category. Reviewers often expect to find little more in them than inside dope about the political process or tidbits of gossip gleaned from the corridors of power. In short, they are not taken seriously as *books*. Senator Al Gore's *Earth in the Balance* ranks as an exception. The senator offers plenty of the insights and anecdotes available only to seasoned players on the Washington scene; he traces the deceptive twists and turns of the Bush administration's environmental policies, naming names and assigning blame. But his book is also a solid intellectual achievement, a work many scholars and environmental specialists might be proud to author.

Gore has embedded years of reading, thought, and legislative savvy in this volume. Above all, he has put his heart into it, defending a cause that he obviously holds dear. In 1988 he made a run for the presidency. At the time, he gambled on the hope that a strong environmental position might win him the White House. He is frank to say he misjudged the popular appeal of issues like the greenhouse effect and thinning ozone. But his political disappointment has not led him to abandon his environmental concerns. On the contrary. From his failed campaign, he has salvaged a noble purpose in whose service he now offers one of the few books that manages to treat the environmental crisis with the complexity it deserves and on the scale it demands.

Gore's range is remarkable. If it offered nothing more, *Earth in the Balance* would make a handy, nearly encyclopedic compendium of environmental problems. It is freighted with authoritative analyses of biospheric damage, some of them compiled from the Senator's own junkets to inspect the devastation of the rainforests, the game parks of Africa, the expansion of the ozone hole above Antarctica. But *Earth in the Balance* reaches well beyond mere reportage and exposition. The intellectual meat of the book lies in the ethical issues and philosophical conundra it explores. These Gore handles with admirable complexity and sophistication; he has read up on his sprawling subject and sought out the best minds. There are not many American politicians who can refer knowledgeably to the writings of Merleau-Ponty, Hannah Arendt, Gregory Bateson.

The breadth of his approach prevents Gore from settling for what other politicians might take to be adequate: purely economic adjustments and technological fixes. Though economic policy and technology (especially appropriate technology) come in for extensive discussion in the book, Gore recognizes that many environmental issues have to be treated holistically on the level of conscience and consciousness as much as money and machinery. For example, his recommendations for population policy (the highest priority in his global program) acknowledges that the education and liberation of

women are fully as important as the distribution of contraceptives. The subtitle of his book (*Ecology and the Human Spirit*) is intended to emphasize the importance of such "spiritual" factors as the "values and assumptions that determine our basic understanding of how we fit into the universe."

This leads him into searching discussions of Judeo-Christian theology, Cartesian dualism, Newtonian science, planetary stewardship, the Social Gospel, the Gaia hypothesis, ecofeminism, deep ecology. He surveys these potentially unwieldy materials with skill and weaves them neatly into his argument. The big finish toward which he builds is the call for a "global Marshall Plan," undertaken in the post-Cold War era even greater urgency and financial resources than the original. In hands other than those of a practical politician an appeal like this might become a wishlist of painful improbabilities. But Gore means to be effective, bringing his special experience as a law-maker to bear for all it is worth. As a senator, he has known what it is like to face intractable political choices. He relates, for example, how, as a member of the Southern farm bloc in Congress, he has had to struggle with corn syrup lobbyists in his state over sugar subsidies, a seemingly minor issue that nevertheless relates directly to the devastation of the Everglades in Florida. Those of us who are used to thinking and writing about environmental affairs at a loftier level might learn a few valuable lessons from Gore about the nitty-gritty of real-life decision-making.

The final chapters of the book brim with bright ideas that seek to translate Gore's high-level analysis into a comprehensive program. There is almost too much here to take in: tax incentives, export controls, forestry policy, waste reduction and recycling proposals, CO₂ taxes, electrical cogeneration, virgin materials fees ... There is even a discussion of energy-saving light bulbs and how to market them more efficiently. Among the bigger ideas is a new global accounting system ("economics") that includes such factors as sustainability and environmental restoration in the calculation of GNP. Gore presents it all with the zest and conviction of a professional politician out to make things happen and get things done. It is a dazzlingly meticulous array of schemes and solutions; reading through it makes for a welcome antidote to the steady diet of gloom and doom we usually expect from environmental studies. It should be noted that throughout his presentation Gore displays a commendable awareness of First World-Third World asymmetries in development. He does not flinch from raising the tough question of international fairness. "The promotion of justice and the protection of the environmental must go hand in hand in any society, whether in the context of a nation's domestic policies or in the design of 'North-South' agreements between the industrial nations and the Third World." So, for example, he endorses "debt-for-nature" swaps.

One may disagree with this or that about Gore's approach, but taken as a whole, his book serves as a model for the politically relevant, comprehensive discussion of environmental policy. The man has mapped the terrain, drawing in philosophy as well as science, religion and ethics as well as economics. I expect to go back to this book for facts, ideas, political insights, but above all to remind myself that there are still those working on environmental issues who believe there is cause to hope.