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OA/ID Number: 2610
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Folder Title:
Religious Leaders Initiative on Environment

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Sermon at St. John's Divine Church 5/20/90

[First few sentences not recorded]...and honored all the more because I know how much this cathedral, Dean Morton, and all who work with him have done to explore the need for addressing the global environmental crisis. So thank you for the invitation.

When I went to divinity school, after leaving the Army, I learned, I heard a story about a young preacher who had just graduated from seminary, and had prepared his very first sermon. And tried to put into that first sermon, all of the wisdom he thought he had acquired during his education. And he began by promising the congregation, "I'm going to make known, the unknown. I'm going to make clear, the unclear. I'm going to unscrew, the inscrutable." (laughter from the audience)

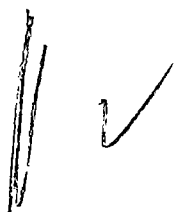
I've decided not to try to do that this morning, but I do have some thoughts to share as part of this series you have organized on the environment which comes at a time when the world is manifestly new. Nelson Mandela is free, the Berlin Wall has been torn down, communism is collapsing, the Cold War is over, people of all nations suddenly feel themselves to be part of an emerging global civilization. One now confronted with an unprecedented challenge, as the world's environment is under siege.

Religious leaders have called our attention to the overemphasis we have placed in the past on the chapter of Genesis which gives us dominion over the earth, without balancing it with the proper regard for the mandate to exercise stewardship over the earth. And indeed a closer scrutiny of those verses reveals that there is no conflict between dominion and stewardship.

Clergy men like Richard Cartwright Austin, in Appalachia, teach us that people of good will and faithfulness, who exercise dominion over the land, sometimes serve as the only safeguards against the exploitation and despoilation of the earth. I was taught in Sunday School, that the purpose of life is to glorify God. If we heap contempt on God's creation, what does that say about our attitude toward the Creator? In psalm 24 we're taught the earth is the lord's and the fullness there of. It is not our's, but His, and we are required to be good stewards of it.



In the gospels of Luke, Mark, and Matthew, we are given the parable of the unfaithful servant. And are taught that when the master leaves the servant in charge of the house, and the vandal comes to ransack the house, if the servant has fallen asleep, this is not an acceptable excuse. This home, the Earth, is being ransacked today. Thomas Berry writes, "...that people are simply not aware of the magnitude of the changes now underway." The philosopher Ivan Illidge writes, "What has changed is that our common sense is searching for a language to describe the shadow our future throws." The air in this cathedral, like the



air outside this cathedral, like the air in the most pristine place on earth, now has six times as many chlorine atoms as it did forty years ago or three billion years ago, because the magnitude of the changes we are now causing is that large. Only one family of chemicals first used in 1950, results in that change which in turn is responsible for burning the hole in the ozone layer above Antarctica. We are filling the air and the sea and the land with pollution and closing our eyes pretending to be asleep, and hoping that will be an excuse when we say we just didn't realize what was going on.

At Dean Morton's suggestion, I brought a chart this morning. It describes the relationship between carbon dioxide and temperature. Soviet scientists and French scientists in the middle of Antarctica, have dug down through fifteen thousand feet of ice, to the land beneath. And they have discovered that each year's worth of ice can be read the way a forester reads tree rings. And by carefully analyzing the tiny air bubbles in the ice, they have painstakingly measured carbon dioxide concentrations over the last one hundred and sixty thousand years. And they have correlated it with temperature. Here's what it looks like. (we hear unrolling of chart)

I don't know if you can see in back, but the top line is carbon dioxide, and the bottom line is temperature. This is the last ice age. That's the ice age before it, and that's the period of great warming in between. And for all that one hundred and

sixty thousand years, carbon dioxide has fluctuated between two hundred and three hundred parts per million.

The bottom line is temperature. That's the last ice age, that's the ice age before it, and that's the period of great warming in between. And I'm not a scientist, but it certainly seems to me as if those lines bear some relationship to each other. In fact they go up and down in exact lock step. Within thirty-five years we are doubling the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere to six hundred parts per million. That's not controversial, that's agreed by all participants in this debate. And here's what that looks like.

It goes up to the top of that chart. And we are now assuming, we are now assuming that it is probably alright after these lines have moved in lock step for a hundred and sixty thousand years to take carbon dioxide up to the top of that chart. Ladies and gentlemen it is probably not alright to do that. I use that illustration in order to make the point about how **dramatically** different the changes underway right now are compared to anything which has gone before. The issue is not just the greenhouse effect, or global warming, the issue is not just the loss of living species, and indeed they tell us that as many as half of all living species may be lost in the lifetimes of people in this cathedral. The issue is not the destruction of the ozone layer or the poisoning of the land and air and water. There is a deeper issue, of which all these other



problems are manifestations. The relationship between the human species and the ecological system of the earth has undergone a dramatic transformation.

Industrial civilization as it is currently organized is on a collision course with the environment which supports life as we know it. There are three causes. The first is the population explosion. It took one million years from the first emergence of human beings on earth until 1945 to reach a population of two billion people. In the last forty years, that population has gone from two billion to five billion, and in the next forty years it will go to at least ten billion. There are ways to stabilize population that have nothing to do with abortion, and everything to do with education and the survival of children.

The second cause after population, is technology. For thousands of years we have had wars. But when nuclear weapons were invented, the consequences of war changed, and we had to change our relationship to the institution of war. Similarly for thousand of years, we have gathered sustenance from the earth, but hundreds of new technologies, while none of them are as dramatic as nuclear weapons, have collectively changed the consequences of exploiting the earth as we have for so long. And, so now we must change our relationship to science and technology. Religion has sometimes helped us define our relationship to the new discoveries of science, but at other times, religion has been a part of the problem. Science for the

last several hundred years has issued a series of challenges to anthropocentrism, the placement of people at the center of the universe. When Galileo first wrote that the earth was not the center of the solar system, organized religion resisted. When Darwin first wrote that the human species is part of the larger fabric of life itself, organized religion resisted. But science itself is anthropocentric.

In this century, physicists have given us among other things the Heisenberg Principal, which teaches that the act of observing, changes what is observed. We are now in the midst of an Heisenberg Principal writ large. The scientific endeavors of humankind, the technological manipulations of the natural environment have now reached a scale that affects the object of science, the earth itself. So as we address the problem of population, we should also address a relationship to science and technology, and accelerate the development of new processes and techniques to provide sustenance without destroying the environment.

The third cause of the problem is our way of thinking about our relationship to the earth. We are not as we have long been taught, separate from the earth, but rather part of the web of life. The percentage of salt in our blood is precisely the same as the percentage of salt in the world's oceans. What we do to the earth we do to ourselves. Again, many have turned to

religion for help in understanding this old pattern of thought and in creating a new one.

Conservative theologians have resisted the placement of other species within God's covenant with humankind. But in the Book of Genesis, God makes his covenant with Noah, and then with all living things, in seed time and harvest, in cold and warm, in summer and in winter. God gives Noah and Noah's seed a symbol of his covenant, the rainbow. But it is a symbol not only of the covenant with Noah, but of the covenant between God and the entire earth. Liberal theologians, have in times past, resisted the placement of environmental concerns at the center of our social agenda for fear that it might displace the historic commitment of the Church to social justice. But the links between social justice and environmental protection are cited in verse after verse within the bible.

In Jeremiah, the prophet writes, "How long will the land mourn and the grass of every field wither for the wickedness of those who dwell in it, the beasts and the birds are swept away?" He writes, "I looked on the earth and lo, it was waste and void and to the heavens and they had no life. I looked and there was no man, and all the birds of the air had fled. The fruitful land was a desert, and all its cities were laid in ruins." A judgement levied because of unfaithfulness by the people in their relationship to God. Indeed the first pollution cited in the bible is when Cain slew Able, and Able's blood fell on the

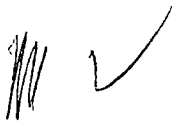
earth and God said that as a result, "When thou tillest the ground it shall not hencefore yield unto thee her strength. A fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth."

We see in poor communities and minority communities throughout our country, a location of waste dumps and the dumping of pollution. We must create a new way of thinking about our relationship to the earth and about the possibilities of healing the earth. There is one obstacle which stands in our path, more resistant than all the others. It is an absence of hope on the part of many that we will be successful. ^{Teilhard} Teilhard de Charden wrote that the, "...whole future of the earth as of religion, seems to me to depend upon the awakening of our faith in the future."



Recently at a scientific symposium on the global environment, I listed a series of what I believe are solutions to the crisis, and a scientist who has long worked in this field, said, "Senator, I agree with everything you have proposed, but I know enough about politics to say that these solutions are unlikely to occur." And I said, "Wait one moment. What if I had asked you six months ago how likely is it that in the next ninety days every single country in Eastern Europe will abandon communism, tear down the statues of Lenin, all the people will gather in the city square and sing "We Shall Overcome," and their nations shall embrace ^{Democracy} and individual freedom? Would you have said that was unlikely?" And he replied, "Yes, I would have." And indeed, I would have too.

What made the unlikely possible was a change in thinking. Boshloc Hovel, the new president of Czechoslovakia, delivered a philosophical ~~rebutte~~ not only to Marxism but to all materialism when he said, "Consciousness precedes being, not the other way around." Environmental consciousness is preceding a renewed commitment to save the earth's environment. We will say with John in Revelation, "We will praise the lamb triumphant with all creatures." And as we begin this task of healing the earth's environment, let us take comfort from the certain knowledge that we shall overcome.



Draft Speech for Senator Al Gore from Paul Gorman October 7, 1992

I am making a speech tonight that no candidate in a national election should have to deliver. The Republicans want to make us believe that Almighty God now heads their political party and that He has anointed George Bush to be President of the United States. And not only President. If we take Pat Buchanan and Pat Robertson seriously, George Bush will lead a religious crusade against demon possession in our culture. When Pat Robertson spoke at the Republican Convention, he made it clear that he and George Bush and God were all in partnership and that the rest of us had better join up or be beaten in November and damned in eternity.

If Pat Buchanan and Pat Robertson were speaking for themselves, I'd say, "Let them rant on." Free speech in America means we all have the right to make fools of ourselves. And a foolish spectacle they made. They would wage religious war, they told us. "Values", they dared to call them, would be their battleground. In what fantasy --- what movie, what myth --- had they cast themselves? To the aid of a wounded King would ride these two Knights of the Round Table: Sir Pat of Buchanan and Sir the Other Pat of Robertson. ~~And though~~ Their request to address the faithful on the field of Houston while mounted on horseback was rejected in a close vote by the Barons of the Republican National Committee, they did a fair job of reminding us why crusades have been such low points of human civilization.

Since my noble adversary, the Duke of Quayle, has recently banished culture from the land, this may never reach its potential as the ultimate bizarre Buddy movie, Pat and Pat's Excellent Adventure --- embarrassing their colleagues, horrifying the nation, and riding off to some future epic of their besieged imagination. A cultural elite of two. But we will likely hear from them again. They aim to capture the Republican party, what little of it they don't already own.

It would be funny if they hadn't been so deadly serious. This was not Saturday Night Live. These two men were speaking at the national convention of one of our great political parties. We might expect a President of the United States to repudiate such talk in two minutes. It is UnAmerican talk. Pat Buchanan and Pat Robertson are taking a chainsaw to the tree of religious freedom in America.

A courageous President should be outraged at such stuff. Do we have any doubt what George Bush's role model Harry Truman would have done if Pat and Pat had spoken that way at his convention. By the time he was through

with them, they would have had firsthand proof that yes, there is a hell, for Mr. Truman would have given it to them.

But what did King George do? Two days after his Convention, he addressed a right-wing religious rally in Dallas and came simpering along behind his two fanatic Knights. They spoke with a bang, he echoed with a whimper or even a whine. No matter. He said essentially the same thing: God-fearing religious people will vote for him; everybody else will vote for Bill Clinton.

By turning this electoral campaign into a religious crusade, George Bush is trying to make us forget that more Americans are out of work than at any time since the Great Depression; that our cities are in decay; that factory gates are slamming shut all over our rusting industrial heartland; that millions of Americans are falling out of the middle class and living in dread of the future; that trickle-down economics has left hard-working parents with just that: a trickle of hope that is dwindling and draining; and that children are growing up faster and more dangerously than ever in our lifetimes. Did you know that the second greatest cause of death for people under 18 is now gunshot?

George Bush and his friends are silent about the things of this world, this life in this here and now, because he has failed and failed and failed again in every test of leadership that might give us a better society. Instead, he tries to make the Republicans the party of God and all the rest of us the allies of Satan. It is a kind of hell of its own, if hell is where ultimate violence is done to truth. For it does violence to our common history, our common law, our common practice and our common sense.

Americans are a religious people. But we are profoundly tolerant --- as a kind of civic article of faith --- of diversity in religion. We have to be, because there are so many faiths among our people. And this diversity is not static, even up to this moment. Do you know that that there are now as many Moslems among us as there are Episcopalians or Jews? The river flows on.

Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Orthodox Greeks, Russians, Armenians, Moslems, and, first among them, Native Americans all have left their names and their heritage stamped on our geography and on our history and spread against the skylines of our cities and above the hills and valleys of our landscapes. We may worship in different ways or not at all. Each of us seeks our own most intimate communion with the mystery of the universe. And we are all Americans with the natural rights to conscience that Thomas Jefferson made the foundation of our republic.

No one in America has the right to force any religion on anyone else. And we have no religious tests for public officials. George Washington was an Episcopalian, Harry Truman was a Baptist, John Kennedy was a Roman Catholic and Abraham Lincoln never joined any denomination at all. And all understood and supported, as I do, the separation of church and state in which diversity is most free to flourish.

We must have religious liberty or else our streets would run with blood shed in religious war. Every night, when we watch the television news, we see what happens when religious tolerance dies. From Beirut to Belfast to Bosnia-Herzegovina, people die. Throughout much of the world, religious strife comes and goes like a volcano that may lie silent for decades and then erupt in fire and death. We have been spared such lethal eruptions, but we must guard against them nonetheless. For even in America we are not immune to some of the worst impulses of the human heart. The New England Puritans used to hang Quakers on a great elm tree on the Boston Common. Quakers believed in individual conscience; the Puritans believed all consciences had to be alike, and those who disagreed were worthy of being hanged, and so they were.

I happen to be a Southern Baptist. I go to church with my wife and children. I sing "Amazing Grace." In Carthage, Tennessee, when I was a boy, you could wake upon Sunday morning and hear church bells ringing all through town --- the Methodists, and Presbyterians, the Church of Christ, the Baptists. All the bells were different. But the sum of the sound was a song. And in Carthage, we were free to get up to follow any of the bells to the individuals churches where they were rung. Or we could turn over and go back to sleep and not go to church at all. That's freedom in America.

But religious diversity is not only to be tolerated or protected. We should welcome it. Because it instructs us ... and renews us ... and guides us. And it confirms us as well. For when a great people can freely arrive at shared goals from different starting-points, we can be that much more sure of having reached an authentic consensus and a trustworthy resolve, forged genuinely in the name of the Common Good. Religious diversity is a resource. Without requiring any of us to embrace a particular faith, it nevertheless goes on to fertilize the fields of public thought and scan the horizon of human possibility.

I have been reminded of this most vividly recently by what the American religious community has increasingly been offering to a cause close to my heart: the effort to cherish and preserve the Earth.

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What is so revealing to me about our opponents' efforts to paint us as extremists here is their failure, once again, to recognize what the American people have already decided for themselves.

About the environmental agenda, I believe --- and George Bush, Dan Quayle and their allies should mark soberly the sources of the evidence I will cite --- that we are rapidly approaching that critical moment when what has heretofore been a cause now becomes a consensus ... among whole sectors of society ... fueled by powerful moral authority ... from within respected institutions ... which speak from and for the American Heartland.

4 That is surely what it means when major faith communities of this nation --- from the largest denominations to the smallest congregations --- have embraced a distinctly religious response to the crisis of the environment. In June of last year, a group of the most senior American religious leaders --- Catholic Bishops, evangelical Christians, orthodox rabbis, heads of Protestant denominations --- concluded a consultation saying, "We believe a consensus now exists, at the highest level of leadership across a significant spectrum of religious traditions, that the cause of environmental integrity and justice must occupy a position of utmost priority for people of faith."

Most significantly, they spoke these words not from any impulse to be partisan but from an understanding of what it means to be religious. And to recognize and claim here a profound opportunity for spiritual renewal--- as when the love of creation and the life of faith replenish one another.

When diverse American faith groups have taken up a cause in order to be true to themselves ... then the landscape has changed. This is the main-stream, not the ex-treme. And, in turn, not only is a consensus confirmed but also deepened in content. For, as the psalmist sings, there is a river. And the separate tributaries of diverse faiths can lift a tide of common wisdom.

When, for instance, the U.S. Catholic Conference, as it did in a pastoral letter last November, contributes the voice of its century of social teaching to a new national environmental consensus, it does so by affirming a doctrine of solidarity which stresses the linkage of ecology and equity, between environmental protection and social justice. This nation, this administration, all of us really, have long needed to see this connection affirmed. How valuable, coming not in any partisan voice but from the nation's largest religious communion.

When the Jewish community, as it did last March, adds its weight to this consensus, it reaches back into a rich body of teaching and tale. It instructs us,

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just as one example, to see the Sabbath not merely as a day of rest but a chance to cultivate modesty, self-discipline, humility, restraint, frugality --- the very virtues we need for sustainability. And we will need, from this tradition and the rest, the counsel and courage to weave these values into our personal and communal lives.

When the great Protestant denominations seal their particular covenant in a mainstream American environmental consensus, they do so with with a comprehensive global perspective and analysis they have called Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation. Intimately related and symbiotic. And many of us, hearing the sweep of that vision, are confirmed in our intuition that the evolving environmental idea can indeed be a new and central organizing principle for world order.

When orthodox or evangelical Christian theologians --- as I have increasingly heard their different voices in this choral consensus --- remind us that Christ redeems all Creation, not just humankind, we are that much freer from vanity and that much closer to a stewardship which will protect the whole created order, not just a single species.

Very Important
to us

The commitment of people of faith to the environmental agenda is helping --- by the very power of its diversity --- to transform a partisan cause into a national consensus (These faith groups, I understand, have now resolved to work together in a formal ^{Partnership} consortium for the environment. If Governor Clinton and I are called to office, we are resolved to work closely with the religious community --- to draw upon its wisdom and its witness --- in a common effort for environmental sustainability and justice.)

Note:
Show Katie

212 - 316 - 7440 - Paul Gorman

So I stress again just how much we have at stake in affirming and protecting religious diversity. Not only does it foster liberty. Not only does it keep the peace. But it cultivates the soil for harvests of national purpose. And it irrigates that purpose with a steady flow of insight and inspiration.

When Bill Clinton accepted the call of the Democratic party to run for the Presidency, he told us he wanted a New Covenant for America. The idea of covenant, of course, goes back to the Bible. And it reflects one supreme idea: that despite all our differences, all our shapes and sizes, our different origins, our many colors, we are one people. We have a common destiny.

America's job in history is to prove that individuals can be free, that they can have equal rights, that they can pursue the best possible lives for themselves within the restraints of respect for others, and that American society can still flourish, the nation strong and peaceful with itself and all other nations.

5

It has never been easy. When our country rose out of the turmoil and struggle of our American Revolution over two centuries ago, scarcely anyone in the old world believed we could create an enduring republic. Here we were, a scattered people, most of us not very well educated, living along the fringes of the vast wilderness of a continent not fully explored, joined together by bad roads, if roads at all, and turbulent rivers, bound by stormy seas.

We had no established religion, no king or queen, no great army, and almost no industry. Our people were mostly English, but we had Scots and Irish and Germans and Poles and Jews escaping oppression from all over Europe. We had blacks brought forcibly from Africa and living under the miseries of a slave system that Thomas Jefferson said resounded over our land like a fire ball in the night. And these fires, as we know, smoulder still. We had problems that seemed crushing to outsiders.

What could possibly hold a country like this together. Few people in the Old World believed that any adhesive could keep America from breaking apart. But they were wrong. We stuck together. We survived a horrible civil war. Millions of immigrants came to our shores and made us even more diverse. But we did not break into warring pieces. We absorbed the new Americans with their old languages, their customs, their religions ... and we grew stronger. Why? Because we stood together in mutual respect and built a nation.

It has not been an easy journey. We have been swept by waves of prejudice and fear, Know-Nothingism, slavery, McCarthyism after World War II, and now the Brothers Pat, instructing us in righteousness while calling us to war against one another. But we have kept doggedly on, enlarging freedom for all Americans.

And now we face another great challenge to our future. And it would not be wrong to call upon our very best impulses, our quietest and most tolerant and most discriminating judgment, as we move toward a milestone moment on November 3rd.

I would like to think that my nation's need would call from me the same respect for other viewpoints that I have sought to affirm today. It is hard for me as a partisan campaigner to look dispassionately at the message of my opponents. I believe they love America. Not for a second do I underestimate the burdens of national office. Nor would I hold George Bush and Dan Quayle responsible for every one of our nation's problems. If we do not all of us own them then we will not all of us solve them and benefit thereby.

But I have watched carefully these past years and listened hard these past these months to the message our opponents have offered our nation. Try as I may to find vision there, what I hear seems small and dry. But if I'm not the best judge, let me instead put the question to you: When you hear them, does it give you hope ... does it sound like things will really change?

That their ultimate strategy --- not just the natural give and take of a campaign but an ultimate strategy --- is to attack us more than talk thoughtfully to you offers me little faith that they have the spirit to address problems for which they must bear a good measure of responsibility. I don't see how it will be different with them still there. Maybe I'm missing something, but I don't see how it will change.

Can I apply the same standards to our own message? We've fought hard as well, and we will down to the wire. If we have fallen short and failed to convince, then we must try harder and we will. The plans we have carefully forged will have to be put to the test. And we will have to be put to the test. But I do believe we are invested in hope. I do believe we delight in diversity. I do believe we can bring people together. And I do believe that with us things will change and for the better.

Finally and rightly, that's for you to decide. You've listened to us all, over and over, in speech after speech, now debate after debate. We will spend these last days offering our vision and views to those who have still to choose. But I would encourage them and all of to begin to look now not only to our words but to your own hearts. You know your lives. You know your families. You know your needs. You know what worries you and what will give you hope and how it might be a little better and little easier to get up in the morning and to do what needs to be done.

For all the hoopla and the twists and turns and the ceaseless reporting and endless polls ... this election belongs to you and your heart and your own best judgment. Find some quiet moments, with those you love and trust, and think of our nation and what it needs. From the millions of such intimate and diverse discussions will come the best decision for our future. For my part, I am at peace and confident and humbled to let it rest there.

Thank you.

The
Cathedral
Church
of St. John
the Divine

Cathedral Heights
1047 Amsterdam Avenue
at 112th Street
New York, New York 10025

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING TO:

Name Senator Gore *Attn. Katie*

Firm _____

Fax Number _____ Time/Date Sent July 19, 1991

Message:

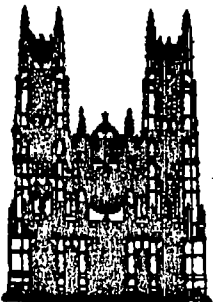
This transcription
hasn't been proofed yet.
But it sounds like you
wanted it 1.5.1.1. so I'm
sending it in draft form

From Shannon Vary

Dept Joint Appeal

Phone _____

Total Number of pages including cover letter 7



The
Cathedral
Church
of St. John
the Divine

Cathedral Heights
1047 Amsterdam Avenue
at 113th Street
New York, New York 10025

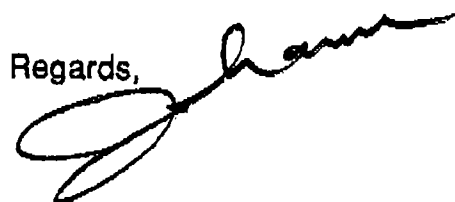
July 19, 1991

Dear Katie,

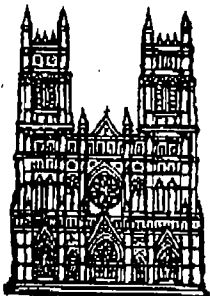
We're terribly sorry there isn't more of Senator Gore's opening speech. The technicians at the Museum simply forgot to start the tape, but here's what we do have (unedited).

We do have tapes from Monday's program. These have not been transcribed yet.

Regards,



Johanna Young
Joint Appeal



GORE- REMARKS - Joint Appeal Conference, June 2, 1991
Unedited transcription

...to see and hearts to feel on the evening of Krystalnacht. Many did not see, many were asleep, did not hear. Many engaged in the psychological process of denial. Well, there is an ecological Krystalnacht under way now. We owe it to ourselves and to a higher duty to hear it., to feel it, to see it, and to understand it.

In the Christian tradition, and in the Jewish tradition, and if I was qualified to speak about even to that extent about other Religious traditions I bet I could probably find it there too.. But in the Judeo-Christian tradition at least, the purpose of life is said to be to glorify God. If we are participating in a civilization which is destroying the creation, what does it say about our willingness to glorify God? What are we doing to the Creator, when we are degrading, devastating, and destroying the Creation?

Part of the problem again is that we don't see it yet. I brought this picture to illustrate a point. I know that it's small and you're far away from it, but all you need to see is the outline. Incidentally, we will have for each of the delegates a copy of this picture. It is the first complete photograph of the Earth's surface, with 3000 separate digital images selected to give a cloud-free image of each square inch of the earth, with both hemispheres in summer simultaneously. When you get yours, you will be able to see the fresh water of the Amazon coming out into the Atlantic, and perhaps you can see even from there that Africa is dying with the rainforest being destroyed and the deserts advancing south at the rate of about 5 km per year on average.

But I brought this picture to make another point. I want to tell you a story about something that happened to me when I was in elementary school. I was in the sixth grade. And we had a map of the world that looked a little like this picture at the front of the classroom. And one of my classmates raised his hand and asked a question. He pointed to the outline of South America, and then he pointed to the outline of Africa, on the other side of the South Atlantic. And he said

did they ever fit together? And the teacher said "Of course not! That's the most ridiculous thing I've ever heard in my life." That child went on to become a drug addict and a ne'er-do-well. His creativity in life stifled.... But scientists found out, came to agree not long after that, that indeed South American and Africa did fit together. Continental drift, though, was not accepted generally in the geological community until the late 1960s. Rather remarkable, I think.

Why is it that generations of sixth graders knew that African and South America fit together, when the scientific community didn't know, and actually ridiculed the idea of Continental Drift. They had an assumption in their minds that went something like this ... Continents are so big, they obviously do not move. Yogi Berra once said that what gets us into trouble is not what we don't know. It's what we know for sure that just ain't so.

There is another assumption now, which is an obstacle to understanding. The assumption is that the earth is so big and nature is so powerful, we human beings obviously can't do any irreparable damage to it. We cannot interfere to any substantial degree with the operations of nature.

That used to be so. But it ain't so any longer. The air in this room as Sherwood Rolland will describe tomorrow - the air everywhere on earth now has 600% more chlorine atoms in each lungful than it did forty years ago. The sky is not a big place. From here to the top of the sky is not as far as it is from here to La Guardia., depending on how you measure that term sky. But the most of it is in a very small and narrow distance and we are filling it up --- all those oil fires in Kuwait - what a horrible tragedy! The sky is blackened. All of them together represent less than 1% of the total amount that we put into the atmosphere every 24 hours. So, yes it's a tragedy, but the other 99% is also tragic and it is having an effect. I want to show you one other chart. This is a graph and it looks complicated, but it's really not. Bear with me just for a moment. This comes from Antarctica. It only has two lines on it. The top line is carbon dioxide and the bottom line is temperature and it goes back over

160,000 years - back through two ice ages. This is the last ice age, this is the next to the last ice age, this is the period of great warming in between the two ice ages. The way they made this graph is interesting. The Russians and the French went to the middle of Antarctica and dug a hole down through the ice, nearly to the bottom and they found that each annual layer of ice can be read for information much the way a forester, having cut down a tree can read the tree rings and tell you when there was a drought or when there was a lot of rain. When they measure they look at the little tiny bubbles of air trapped in each year's worth of ice and they measure the carbon dioxide and they can also measure the temperature by looking at different isotopes of oxygen. Well, as I say this is the temperature line, next to the last ice age, warming, last ice age and the present time and this is carbon dioxide. Now for points of reference this is the current temperature in New York City on an average compared to what it was like when New York City had one mile of ice right above where this museum is. That much difference. On the carbon dioxide part of it, it has fluctuated between 200 parts per million and three hundred parts per million from the ice age to the period of great warming between the ice ages. Now there are two points that I want to make with this graph, number one it looks to me as if these two lines go together. The scientific community generally has not yet agreed that one or the other causes the other one, but it looks to me as if they go together and I'll tell you if my 6th grade classmate, the one who discovered continental drift, was here looking at this graph, he would say these lines fit together. But the second point is - - the scientists -- as will come out in the discussion tomorrow, say among other things that carbon dioxide is increasing so rapidly it will double within approximately forty years when you take into account carbon dioxide and the artificial manmade chemicals that have the same effect. And when you double carbon dioxide in thirty-five to forty years here's what it looks like on this graph. The carbon dioxide goes up to the top of the line. Now the point I want to make here is not a scientific point. It is a moral point. The scientists will say there is no way for anyone to tell you that when carbon dioxide goes up to the top of that line, and incidentally it's already here at four hundred, there's no way for anyone to tell you that as carbon dioxide goes up

that high -- temperature will automatically follow. They don't know that. Maybe it's a coincidence that this was the hottest May in history. Maybe it's a coincidence that last year was the hottest year in history or that the hottest seven years were within the last decade. Maybe that's all a coincidence. Or maybe it does have to do with carbon dioxide going through the roof so to speak. But that's not the point. The point of this is an ethical point. Given the fact that these lines, carbon dioxide and temperature, have gone up and done together for as far back as we can measure, 160,000 years - is it ethical for our civilization to assume that it's perfectly all right for us to push the line through the roof with 100 Kuwaiti oil fires equivalent every day? Is it reasonable for us to tell future generations that we were asleep and we didn't know what we were doing. We thought it was okay to do this and after all there were some people who said it's probably not a problem and it would have been uncomfortable to make the changes necessary to stop pushing carbon dioxide this high. Ladies and gentlemen I believe that it's probably not okay to do this. It's probably crazy and I have no doubt whatsoever that it is unethical for us to do this, but we don't want to make people uncomfortable. We politicians don't want to make voters uncomfortable. Some religious leaders are uncomfortable with something that's technical. This really isn't technical it's ethical. I believe it is. We are given dominion over the earth, but that does not mean domination and dominion, means stewardship and you know all that better than I do. But I make this point because during the discussions that we have you will hear scientific facts, but underneath are ethical and moral and religious questions about God's creation and many are asking how could this have happened when there are so many people of faith? How could this have been allowed to occur? I think there are three causes. One is the tremendous explosion in population and the solution has nothing to do with abortion and everything to do with social justice. That's the first cause of the problem. The second cause is the scientific and technological revolution and in a sense science itself which has posed a challenge to religion as the means by which people form their values. On November 10, 1619 Rene Descartes had a startlingly vision of an inanimate universe of dead matter moving according to mathematical formula and the scientific revolution sprang forth 352

years ago and has been gathering force and gaining momentum. Descartes was the one who said: "Cogito Ergo Sum" - I think therefore I am and he reawakened a tradition which had been a part of the debate in early Christendom between Plato and Aristotle. Are we connected to the earth or are we disembodied intellectual beings observing the earth, measuring the earth, understanding it and then manipulating it. And the scientific revolution gave us such intoxicating power that we were tempted to choose the Platonic definition of what human beings are all about and without even thinking about it what God is all about. Is God out there separate from the earth, a king who doesn't live in his kingdom or is God in the world? If God is in the world then the palpable responsibility to care for the earth is easier to feel and understand. But if God and we are simply creatures of spirit defined as disembodied thinking processes then perhaps it really doesn't matter much what we do to the earth. It's just physical reality after all, not in the realm of God as that definition would have us believe it. How did this happen? I believe that religion as we know it, especially the Judeo-Christian religion was so vigorous in fighting against paganism and against animism and snuffing out the vestiges of a belief system which gained revelation directly from the earth and made what I regard as the mistake of seeing a discreet animating spirit in each part of the world that we created this remote, intellectual spirit. It is not what the Judeo-Christian religion is really all about. It's the way too many have presented it. And now because of the temptations of science and the presentations of religion and the inaction and cowardice on the part of politicians - we have come to this impasse. It is time for us to change all of that and it can be changed, but if it is to change - it must come from each of us and those of you here are in a position to do a lot more about it than most people. Conservatives in the church, I say the church, forgive me, synagogues and churches and temples, have I think been reluctant to press this issue in part because they insist on putting man in the center of all things as against institutional encroachments from states or secular powers and I respect that. When Noah was given a covenant by God in the next verse God gave a covenant to all living creatures and we have no right to claim a unique covenant relationship which allows us to violate the covenant

that God made with the rest of creation. Liberals, on the other hand, have been reluctant to press this issue because the social gospel has strained resources of compassion and concern, commitment and money and time to a point where a new issue added to that agenda threatens to overwhelm what can be done and yet as those of you who work so hard on this issue know very well social justice and environmental protection go hand and hand and we cannot save the global environment without addressing the issues of social justice. There is one final point that I would like to make and that is that those of us who are believers worship a God of hope, a God of miracles, a God who makes it possible for the future to be entirely different from anything we can imagine and the principal obstacle to doing what needs to be done is that secular power we gain from our intellect and from our technology and from our science is as hope (?) only in as far as we can invest more intellect and more manipulation and more discovery and more change than we create, but the change which has to come is a change in the heart and a change in what we feel and how we understand and the values to which we refer to guide our behavior. I believe that we have an opportunity then to come out of this discussion for the next day and a half. With a profound new reason for hope that we can change the problem that we're discussing and heal God's global environment. Thank you very much.

The Earth Summit was truly a turning point in history. Never before had so many Heads of State come together -- drawn by a common sense of concern about and a dedication to take action on -- problems that have now reached global proportions. Whether it is rapid deforestation and desertification, or depleted and poisoned ground water resources, or soils that will no longer bear crops, the problem is the same: we are failing to meet pressing human needs and at the same time we are destroying the very resources upon which our ability to meet those needs depends. The Earth Summit was about nations joining together in common resolve to do a better job in the future and to offer our children the hope for a brighter tomorrow.

In dedicating themselves to this effort, many industrialized countries came to realize that taking action to solve environmental problems is also good for the economy. Reducing emissions of greenhouse gases, for example, can most readily and effectively be achieved by improving the efficiency of every sector of the economy. And improved efficiency enhances productivity and competitiveness. Moreover the commitment to improved efficiency acts^{as} a strong incentive for the development of new environmentally sound technologies. These technologies are in demand and a \$200 billion market awaits those who will be aggressive in developing them.

Unfortunately, all of this -- both the peril and the promise of our environment and development challenges -- were lost on President Bush. Because of his determination to protect heavily polluting industries, he obstructed the efforts of almost every other nation on earth to work toward a healthier and more prosperous planet. Though the United States is responsible for more greenhouse gas emissions than any other nation on earth, we were the lone holdout in agreeing to reduce those emissions. Though we know that species are being driven to extinction at a faster rate than at any time since the age of the dinosaurs, we gave little attention to the negotiations on the biodiversity convention and in the end tried our best to undermine it. In addition, for all of his vaunted rhetoric about securing international commitment to protect forests, the President instructed our negotiators, at the outset of the discussions, to insist that only tropical forests -- and not the forests in the United States -- were in need of protection. Developing countries rightly reacted angrily to our tactics. To truly achieve sustainable development, every nation will have to more wisely use natural resources.

We have of course seen a similar performance by the President here at home. In 1988, candidate George Bush professed a strong commitment to taking action on the environment and even promised that he would be the "Environmental President." In fact however, over the last four years he has worked overtime to undermine our environmental laws and regulations. He promised to clean up the air our children breathe -- but instead he gave polluters the right to increase their

emissions of toxic chemicals. He promised to preserve America's remaining wetlands -- but instead he rewrote the definition of wetlands so that there was very little left to be concerned about. He said that he would make reduction of waste and recycling a priority -- but instead he blocked every effort both by Congress and by the Environmental Protection Agency to encourage recycling efforts and to create markets for recycled commodities.

Now that we are once again in the heat of an election campaign, we once again are hearing environmental rhetoric from the President. But the message he delivers us today is markedly different from that we heard four years ago. No longer is protection of the environment identified by the President as a common concern and priority for Americans in every state of the nation, rather it is the rallying cry of an extreme lot who would subvert the true and best interests of the country to the cause of preserving a few more trees.

Al Gore and I reject this message. Desperate to find a scapegoat for the economic crisis our country is suffering, President Bush is tarnishing even those values that Americans hold most dear. We know that our children's health and well-being depends on having clean air to breathe and pure water to drink. We know that the health and safety of our laborers depends on safe working conditions. And we know that the very best within each of us is touched and inspired by the majesty of nature. Care for the environment is a concern that unites us; President Bush is wrong to try to use it in an attempt to divide.

In his attempt to point the finger of blame for our economic problems at anything other than his own failures, President Bush says that excessive environmental regulations are a leading cause of our economic decline. He says that Americans will have to choose -- either we can have a healthy environment or a strong economy -- but we can not have both.

It's a false choice. If George Bush were right, Germany and Japan -- who enforce regulations that are as stringent or more stringent than U.S. environmental protections -- who be in dire economic straits. If George Bush were right, then the Eastern European nations, who made just the choice that he suggests, would be economic powerhouses. If George Bush were right, then the one sector of our economy that has shown impressive growth over the last four years -- the environmental products and services industries -- would have been dead in the water like most other important sectors of our economy.

The fact of the matter is that economic strength will increasingly depend on sound environmental performance. Our competitors understand that achieving a healthy economy and a healthy environment are complementary, not contradictory, objectives. One of the reasons German workers make 25 percent more than the average American worker is that their industries use half the energy to

produce the same amount of goods as U.S. firms. Japanese companies enjoy a 5 percent competitive price advantage in the global marketplace because of higher energy efficiency.

Developing countries are also an increasingly strong presence in the global marketplace. Last year, while the economies of many of the industrialized countries were stagnant, the economies of many of the developing countries grew at some 6 percent. Last year also, these countries purchased more than a third of all U.S. exports. What types of products and processes are these countries demanding? Now suffering the effects of economic growth policies that did not consider environmental impact, these countries are demanding technologies and services that will fuel economic growth without destroying the environment. Mexico, for example, is closing down factories not because their economic performance is poor, but because Mexican citizens are literally choking to death on the thick pollution. Mexico needs to get those factories up and running again; Mexico needs to purchase equipment that will enable those factories to run cleanly.

Will U.S. firms meet that need?

Other developing and newly industrialized countries are making similar policy choices. Taiwan, for example, has experienced record industrial growth over the last two decades, but has failed to date to deal with the toxic byproducts of that growth. Millions of tons of hazardous wastes are simply dumped in unlined landfills, in rivers and streams every year and a very small fraction of industrial waste water is treated or purified. The air too has been poisoned as millions of cars spew sulfur dioxide and other particulates virtually without control. To tackle these problems, the Taiwanese government and industry leaders have committed to spending more than \$20 billion over the next eight years to clean up past problems and to build the infrastructure necessary to limit future problems.

Will U.S. firms meet this demand?

Over the next 15 years, experts estimate that developing nations will need to install a trillion dollars' worth of energy technology to meet growing energy needs. These countries want clean and efficient sources of energy.

Will U.S. firms meet this demand?

Not if our leadership at the White House keeps the United States on the sidelines of the environmental revolution that is underway. Not if our businesses are told that concern for the environment is a fad that will pass and that the old, polluting ways of the past will be acceptable in the future.

The evidence is unmistakable. As George Bush, and Ronald Reagan before him, have worked to weaken our environmental standards, we have

seen important markets slip away from us. In 1980, the United States had three quarters of the world sales in solar technology. By 1990, German and Japanese competition had cut our share to 30 percent. We also used to supply the world with air pollution control technologies. Today, we import more than 70 percent of those technologies. And the list goes on.

Al Gore and I believe that the time for posing false choices has passed. For our children's sake, for the sake of improving worker health and safety, for the sake of enhancing the living standard of every American, and for the sake of preserving our planet's precious natural resources, we cannot afford the deceptive, devious, disingenuous practices of George Bush any longer.

A Clinton Administration will build a New Covenant with the American people. That Covenant will be built on a genuine commitment to leave our children a better nation whose air, water, and land are unspoiled; whose natural beauty is undimmed; and whose leadership for sustainable global growth is unsurpassed. This New Covenant will challenge Americans and demand responsibility at every level from individuals, families, communities, corporations, and government agencies to do more to preserve the quality of our environment and our world.

An important part of the New Covenant for environmental progress must be for the U.S. to exert international leadership on issues threatening the health of the planet. The Cold War is over, and we have entered a new era in which threats to our security are less evident, but no less dangerous, than before. If we do not find the vision and leadership to defeat the unprecedented new threats of global climate change, ozone depletion, habitat destruction and desertification, then those threats may well defeat us.

But the message of Rio was powerful. Nations are ready to meet this challenge. They are eager to move ahead. They looked to the United States for leadership -- or at least for us to join them in the cause. George Bush refused to deliver that leadership. He disappointed the world community and in doing so he failed to represent the real concerns and aspirations of the American public on these issues. Al Gore and I are ready to move forward. We are ready to resume our progress to protect the land we cherish, the values we share, and the only earth we have.

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January 15, 1993

Dear Al,

You are very much in our thoughts these days. Am so encouraged with all you are doing and thinking.

The names that came to me for consideration about the matter we discussed are as follows -

Tony Hall, Member of Congress and Chairman of the Hunger Committee - he is a man who has a humble spirit, really has a private life which matches his words, and has a great compassion for the poor and needy. He is versed in the Scriptures and is a layman. He has been with President-elect Clinton on one or two occasions and they seem to click very well relationally. He would have a capacity to speak and make sense in a short time frame and to show from the Scriptures the "power" of a small group of people being personally committed together like "David and Jonathan".

Sam Hines, one of the outstanding and highly respected black pastors in the city and nation - he is a man who is most articulate, who has a real capacity to say a lot in just a few sentences, and is very committed. I have known him for many years as a man who both publicly and privately exudes the warmth of the Spirit, while at the same time facing the stark realities of life in our inner cities. He not only preaches outstanding messages but works privately with individuals and small groups of people. You will find in him a great and valued friend.

Adam Maida, Catholic Archbishop in Detroit, Michigan - he is a truly humble person, a real man's man, and is doing amazing things - giving leadership in caring for the poorest of the poor and providing new educational opportunities for the young people of Detroit in the inner city.

Armand Nicholi, Professor of Psychiatry at Harvard - he has gained international recognition for his research, is author of the leading textbook on psychiatry, and for the past 20 years has taught one of the most popular classes at Harvard College and Harvard Medical school. He is very humble and dedicated to the Lord, firm in his spiritual convictions but very sensitive to others and not overbearing. He understands very well what can be accomplished when a small group of people work together with one purpose and with one heart.

Susan Baker, a person I believe you know very well - she has the qualities, spiritual and otherwise, that make her an excellent person. I believe she transcends in her spirit any political divisions. There may be obvious reasons why she would not be appropriate at this time, but she is the kind of person who is highly respected for her spiritual sensitivity on both sides of the aisle and among people around the country.

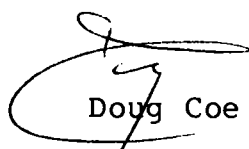
Grace Nelson - she is a person very much like Susan Baker in her commitment to people, to the poor and to the needy. She has a real knowledge of the Scriptures as well as a reconciling spirit. She is the wife of former Democratic Congressman Bill Nelson from Florida, who was the first Congressman to fly a shuttle mission.

Ruth Graham, wife of Billy Graham, whose credentials are well known.

Hope these ideas may be helpful. If there is anything I can do regarding any of these friends, please let me know.

In the meantime, a thought from the Proverbs: "Trust in the Lord with all your heart and lean not on your own understanding; in all your ways acknowledge Him and He will make your paths straight." Our hope and prayer is that you will be given the strength and wisdom for the coming days.

As always, your friend,


Doug Coe

The Hon. Albert Gore, Jr.
Vice President-Elect
The White House
Washington, DC

All the best