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Senate

TUESDAY, JUNE 5, 1990

(Legislative day of Wednesday, April 18, 1990)

The Senate met at 11 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the Honorable CHARLES S. ROBB, a Senator from the State of Virginia.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Richard C. Halverson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

... *Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.*—Deuteronomy 8:3, Matthew 4:4.

Eternal God, all wise, all powerful, everywhere present, Moses and Jesus remind us that life is infinitely more than meat and drink. We survive not only with food for the body but by Thy Word which nourishes the mind and spirit. Forgive us, Lord, for our preoccupation with the flesh while we neglect our souls—while we devote ourselves to the physical and lose our way spiritually. Help us to remember that transcending all of the issues of life is spiritual warfare, and we lose when we reduce issues to the material only. Make us wise in the wisdom of Moses and Jesus that Thou hast spoken, and Thy Word provides health and strength without which we perish.

In Jesus' name who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore [Mr. BYRD].

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, June 5, 1990.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, section 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable CHARLES S. ROBB, a Senator from the State of Virginia, to perform the duties of the Chair.

ROBERT C. BYRD,
President pro tempore.

Mr. ROBB thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the standing order, the majority leader is recognized.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of proceedings be approved to date.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SCHEDULE

Mr. MITCHELL. Following the time for the two leaders this morning there will be a period for morning business not to extend beyond 12:30 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 5 minutes each.

Any second-degree amendments to the crime bill must be filed by 12:30 p.m. today. At 12:30 the Senate will recess until 2:15 p.m. to accommodate the party conference luncheons. Upon reconvening at 2:15 today the Senate will vote on the motion to invoke cloture on the crime bill, S. 1970, with the required live quorum having been waived.

Accordingly, Senators should be aware that there will be a rollcall vote on the motion to invoke cloture on the crime bill at 2:15 p.m. today, and there will very likely be further rollcall votes throughout the day and into the evening.

ANNIVERSARY OF ELECTION OF SPEAKER FOLEY

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I want to bring to my colleagues' attention an anniversary which occurs tomorrow—that is, tomorrow will mark the first anniversary of the election of Speaker FOLEY to lead the House of Representatives.

Speaker FOLEY's leadership has given the Democratic majority in the House the voice and substance to deal creatively and positively with the pressing issues on the legislative agenda.

Speaker FOLEY has also helped recreate a better spirit of comity with the Republican minority in the House, so that good legislative ideas and spirited debate can again play a role in the refining of legislation and programs.

Speaker FOLEY's thoughtfulness and cooperative spirit have been rightly hailed by his colleagues in the House of Representatives. But speaking for the Senate majority, his thoughtful and cooperative working style has

been of immense help to this body and, therefore, to the entire legislative branch of Government since his election.

It has often been said in jest that the process of making laws and savings are processes best not observed too closely.

That is emphatically not true in the case of Speaker FOLEY. His sense of fairness, his willingness to work with members from both parties and his total commitment to the legislative process and its product all combine to make him a leader under whose guidance the process of making law becomes the elevated and important national task it should be.

I have thoroughly enjoyed the first year of my work with Speaker FOLEY and look forward to our continuing association in the future.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my leader time and I reserve all of the leader time of the distinguished Republican leader.

MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business for not to extend beyond the hour of 12:30 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein for not to exceed 5 minutes each.

Mr. GORE addressed the Chair.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE].

THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, ever since President Bush took office 16 months ago he has been urged time and again by those in the Congress, leaders of other nations, and concerned citizens here and in other countries to live up to his campaign pledge to protect the global environment. Nations and people around the world realize that U.S. leadership is essential to protecting the global environment, but time and again this administration has shown all too clearly that it has no intention of fulfilling the promises made by President Bush in his campaign rhetoric.

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

During the recess just completed, several events occurred, the most prominent of which was, of course, the summit meeting. I find it unremarkable that the summit meeting focused on arms control, regional issues, and the other points of contention between the two superpowers that long dominated the debate. I find it somewhat remarkable that in the year 1990 the leader of the United States and the leader of the Soviet Union can sit down for several days of close consultations and discussions without, according to the public statements at least, even mentioning the unprecedented threat to the global environment.

There had been some speculation prior to the summit that this subject might be one of those that was included in the joint communication of the two leaders after their discussions. There had been speculation that they might actually discuss ways in which the United States and the Soviet Union could cooperate to address the problems of the global environment. But at least, according to the reports of the news media and the informal reports of staff members from the various agencies that helped to prepare the President for these discussions, it was not a topic of serious discussion at the summit.

There were two other events related to the global environment that occurred during this recess period. First of all, the panel set up under the auspices of the United Nations, headed by Great Britain, charged with the responsibility of assessing the seriousness of global warming and the threats to the global environment, issued a report.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, or IPCC, is the official forum in which nations from around the world, in the three working groups of the IPCC, are drafting three important reports on climate change. One of them is on the science of climate change. How certain are we that the problem is real and is occurring? That working group is headed by Great Britain. A second report will assess the impacts to expect from climate change, and is being drafted by a working group headed by the Soviet Union. A third report is on the response strategies to figure out what to do to address this problem. That is the working group headed by the United States.

The working group headed by Great Britain, and including a number of nations, has been studying the issue of how certain this question is for quite some time. They just released their final report.

Margaret Thatcher made a lengthy speech at Hadley Centre in Berkshire on Friday, May 25, 1990, the day that we left for recess. The scientific experts of the IPCC have concluded in the IPCC scientific assessment of climate change that they are "certain" that the warming is taking place, "cer-

tain." They calculate with confidence that immediate reductions in emissions of over 60 percent would be necessary to stabilize the concentrations of artificially added greenhouse gases at today's levels. They predict a rise in temperature and a rise in sea level, with all that entails.

Prime Minister Thatcher, in her speech on this report, which has taken so long to prepare, broke with the official policy of the U.S. administration, President Bush's administration, and said the time to act is now. The time for delay is over.

Well, there is another draft report besides this one, which relates to the work of the working group headed by the United States. This working group is the one charged with figuring out how the world should respond to this certain threat. We do not have the final document because the participants in that working group are meeting right now in Geneva, even as we assemble here. It is headed by Mr. Fred Bernthal, of the United States. But we have news reports about the draft prepared by the Bush administration, the working paper from which this report will come. Unfortunately, it appears that President Bush and John Sununu and others directing policy in this administration are at it again.

According to news reports, the President has used the influence of the United States to water down the recommendations for response strategies. Rather than calling for the actions favored by the other nations involved in this study group, the draft report, because of heavy-handed influence from the White House, instead proposes to do nothing, proposes no specific goals, proposes no timetables for action, no strategic plan for addressing this problem.

So, Mr. President, here is the situation. We have the two groups, one to study whether climate change is real or not, how serious it is, headed by Great Britain; and another group charged with studying whether or not we should do anything about it and if so, what to do about it, that group headed by the United States of America. Great Britain discharges its responsibilities. Other nations under the leadership of Great Britain complete this report, saying they are certain of the problem. Time for delay is over. The time to act is now.

Then comes the turn of the Bush administration to discharge its responsibilities, and what does it do? It says: Let us not do anything. Let us pretend the problem will go away. We have been told it is real, but it might be uncomfortable to actually do something about it, so let us just talk about what we might do if we really wanted to do something. That is basically what the draft report accomplishes.

Mr. President, that is not leadership. It is not what the world requires of the United States of America and of President Bush and his administration

at this unusual moment in human history. It follows a pattern with which we have become quite familiar in the Bush administration. In mid-April, the White House held a much ballyhooed conference on global warming where President Bush outraged the participants from all of the other nations by appearing before them to play down the problem and to call not for action but for more research instead of action.

Delegates from other countries at that conference called for concrete and prompt action, but they were completely ignored. Many of those delegates, it was reported in the press, were tremendously offended by the fact that the entire meeting was arranged in a way that prevented the participation of those who disagreed with the President's suggestion that we just delay and study the problem and not do anything about it.

At the end of that conference, it was painfully clear that President Bush does not intend to follow up on his campaign pledge to confront the greenhouse effect with the White House effect, or to be an environmental President. He wants to sound like one, but he does not want to actually do anything. So he decided to go ahead and have the conference and try to word his speeches artfully enough to give the appearance of concern without opening the door to any concrete action. But people are seeing through this now. This game cannot continue. President Bush has to face up to the responsibilities of leadership on this question.

Two weeks ago the pattern continued. I spoke in this Chamber, along with several of my colleagues, about the same kind of response to the problem of the depletion of the stratospheric ozone layer. As the distinguished occupant of the chair will recall, this body affirmed and ratified the Montreal protocol, and we undertook an obligation to reduce the emissions of these very harmful chemicals that destroy the protective stratospheric ozone layer. In that same document we acknowledged an obligation to, along with our allies, render some minimal assistance to Third World nations attempting to make a transition to new technologies that will allow them to stop using these harmful chemicals.

It came time to put flesh on the bones, to make that commitment real, and the international community gathered. Every other nation in the world said OK, we are ready to act. The Environmental Protection Agency advised the President, "Yes, Mr. President, it is time to act." The State Department advised the President, "Yes, Mr. President, it is time to act." President Bush said, "No, we will do nothing instead."

Of course, the entire international community was outraged. The meeting broke up in, I will not say a shouting

match, although voices were raised in anger. It was a discordant meeting. Nothing was accomplished, because the United States stood in the way of progress, not because the Environmental Protection Agency or the State Department or the Congress or the American people wanted to see that kind of policy but because President Bush listened to John Sununu and a few economists who have decided to reject the advice of those who have been working on this problem in the scientific community.

So now we are on the verge of seeing it happen again, but this time, Mr. President, the stakes are even higher. President Bush has long said that the best course of action is to wait until this international process, the IPCC, reaches its conclusions, and only then will it be time for him to actually consider doing something.

They have now reached their conclusions. The jury is in. The problem is real. A consensus has been built. It is time for the President to step up to the plate. Unfortunately, according to these reports, he has instructed his officials in Geneva to stonewall the process and to slow-walk the delegates from other countries who say it is time to act.

Mr. President, I am concerned about this, and I would like to quote from Margaret Thatcher's speech of May 25. She said, "Greenhouse gases are increasing substantially as a result of man's activities; that this will warm the Earth's surface, with serious consequences for us all and that these consequences are capable of prediction." In her summary of the report's conclusions. She went on to state:

If the panel's predictions are broadly right, then the world could become hotter than at any time in the last 100,000 years and just to get our time perspectives right, can I remind you that Abraham was around only 3,000 years ago.

Mr. President, I remember when this process began. In January 1989, Secretary of State Baker made his very first public statement after being confirmed as Secretary of State at an earlier meeting of the Response Strategies Working Group, meeting again this week in Geneva. At that time, it was meeting in Washington. Secretary Baker stated in that first official speech:

We can probably not afford to wait until all of the uncertainties have been resolved before we do act. Time will not make the problem go away.

Mr. President, I believe Secretary Baker knows this problem is real. I wish President Bush would take his advice. I know that Bill Reilly understands the problem is real. I wish President Bush would take the advice of the head of his Environmental Protection Agency. I believe his science adviser, Dr. Allan Bromley, knows the problem is real. I wish President Bush would take the advice of his science adviser. But now, as the reports are completed and the administration has

to face up to where it will lead, it is again reportedly using its influence to keep any recommendation of action out of the report.

This kind of foot-dragging is becoming a serious embarrassment for our country. It is shortsighted, and in my view it is extremely harmful to our future prospects. In country after country, policymakers and scientists and governmental leaders are recognizing that we need to take action now. In our country, the administration says we will worry about it tomorrow.

Mr. President, if we do not act today, it will be much more difficult to deal with the problems which we will face tomorrow.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the report by the IPCC scientific assessment panel, dated May 25 be printed in the Record, along with the complete text of the speech by Prime Minister Thatcher, also dated May 25, 1990, along with two news reports in the New York Times, one on the assessment of the seriousness of the problem by that panel, and another on the draft report by the U.S.-led panel which, according to this report, "ignores the urgency of problem."

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

LONG-TERM CLIMATE PREDICTIONS: PM's Speech

(Following is a transcript of a speech given by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, at the opening of the Hadley Centre, Bracknell, Berkshire, on Friday, May 25, 1990.)

Many of us have been worried for some time now about the accumulating evidence of damage to the global environment and the consequences for life on Earth and for future generations. I spoke about this to the Royal Society in 1983 and to the United Nations General Assembly in November last year. Today, with the publication of the Report of the Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change, we have an authoritative early warning system: an agreed assessment from some 200 of the world's leading scientists on what is happening to the world's climate—all this under the distinguished chairmanship of Dr. Houghton.

Your Report confirms that greenhouse gases are increasing substantially as a result of man's activities; that this will warm the Earth's surface, with serious consequences for us all, and that these consequences are capable of prediction. We want to predict them more accurately. That is why we are opening this Centre today.

We have therefore a Report of historic significance. It is not something arcane or remote from everyday concerns: what it predicts will affect our daily lives. Governments and international organisations in every part of the world are going to have to sit up and take notice and respond.

Of course there is a lot more that we still need to find out. But if the Panel's predictions are broadly right, then the world could become hotter than at any time in the last 100,000 years and just to get our time perspectives right, can I remind you that Abraham was around only 3,000 years ago! We know that there have been major changes in the world's climate and environ-

ment in the past. For instance, in this country you could grow vines as far north as Edinburgh in Roman times, and fossils of serpents have been found from even more ancient times. But the changes which we are talking about now will occur at a faster rate than anything our natural world has known in the past. One of the effects could be a great migration of animal and plant life, and possibly the loss of some of them altogether. The calculation has been made that a one-degree rise in temperature would over time lead forests to move 100 kilometres further north and some ordinary farming crops may move as much as 200-300 kilometres. Just imagine the effects on farming, on the Common Agricultural Policy, on the sort of crops you can grow in particular areas and on nature reserves. They might find themselves in the wrong places if the flora and fauna which they are meant to protect migrate.

Changes in the sea level as the sea expands could also affect our lives considerably. At a Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting a year or two ago, in Vancouver, the President of the Maldives reminded us that none of his country was more than 6 feet above sea level and the consequences of a significant overall rise in sea level could be one less member of the Commonwealth. He told us he did not know what we could do about it at that time, but he wanted us to know that they were very concerned about it. Other low-lying countries like Bangladesh will be badly affected and there would surely be a great migration of population away from areas of the world liable to flooding and from areas of declining rainfall and therefore of spreading deserts. These people would be crying out not for oil wells but for water.

Of course every detail of the forecasts may not be quite right. It rarely is when you are trying to predict the future. There is still a great deal of work for the scientists to do, particularly in trying to estimate the detailed distribution of the effects of global climate change which I have described. We want to know what is happening in the regions; more than that, we want to know what is going to happen in each country.

As the Panel's Report itself makes clear, we should have a better understanding of many of these things in 10-15 years time, say, by about the year 2005. By then we shall have benefited from new measurements from satellites, from new and more powerful computers and the results of work now being done on ocean circulation, in which this country is playing a considerable part.

But we can already draw some broad conclusions from the work which has been done. First, the climate changes which we have witnessed in the past have been mainly the result of natural factors: changes in the Earth's orbit or in the amount of radiation given off by the sun. For instance, Man's activities had only a small part to play. In the future, this can no longer be assumed. Man's activities are already adding greenhouse gases to the earth at an unprecedented rate, with inevitable consequences for our future climate. The annual accumulation of carbon dioxide reaching the atmosphere is of the order of 3 billion tonnes and half of all the carbon dioxide emitted since the Industrial Revolution is still in the atmosphere—and all this while we are at the same time destroying tropical forests, which are a vital way of taking carbon dioxide out of the air and storing it. It stands to common sense that these figures are going to go up as the world's population increases, with greater consequent intensity of agriculture, more destruction of forests and wood-

lands, and more use of fossil fuels. At the time when I was born, the world's population was some 2 billion people. My grandson is going to grow up in a world of more than 6 billion people, and the predictions are that we shall have 10 billion people by the middle of the next century. Whichever way you look at it, problems are bound to arise as a result of going from 2 billion to 10 billion in such a short time. The world has never known anything like it. Putting the problems right will be all the harder until we succeed in curbing that rate of population growth.

The second conclusion that can already be drawn is that more than ever we are one world. The fact is that you cannot divide the atmosphere into segments and say: "All right! We will look after our bit and you look after yours!" We shall only be able to deal with the problems by a giant international effort in which we all cooperate.

And that leads on the third conclusion: We would be taking a great risk with future generations if, having received this early warning, we did nothing about it or just took the attitude: "Well! It will see me out!" I remember saying in my Royal Society speech that we had a full repairing lease on this Earth. With the work done by the Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change, we can now say that we have the Surveyor's Report and it shows that there are faults and that the repair work needs to start without delay. The problems do not lie in the future, they are here and now; and it is our children and grandchildren, who are already growing up, who will be affected.

In some areas, as you know, we have already started. Britain was among the first to call for an International Convention on Climate we are giving generous help for forestry in developing countries. We have undertaken to phase out CFCs and other ozone-depleting substances by the end of the century. But that will only be effective if it extends to developing countries too and they will need help. We shall have to address this issue urgently at the London Ozone Conference next month.

We must also take action on carbon dioxide emissions and that will mean significant adjustments to our economies: more efficient power stations, cars which use less fuel, better-insulated houses and better management of energy in general. All this is bound to take time. It is no good setting political targets for action which are just not realistic in practice. Any target would have to be part of a wide international effort with a fair distribution of the burden. There would be no point in improving our performance if others just go on as before, for we are only responsible for about 3 percent of the world's emissions, but provided others are ready to take their full share, Britain is prepared to set itself the very demanding target of a reduction of up to 30 percent in presently-projected levels of carbon dioxide emissions by the year 2005. This would mean returning emissions to their 1990 levels by that date. All of this will be spelled out in our White Paper on the Environment which will be published in the autumn.

May I say that the private sector is constantly showing the way with its ingenuity and inventiveness. For instance, a few weeks ago I gave an award to ICI for what they had done in this respect. They have developed a new way of producing ammonia which reduces nitrogen oxide emissions by 87 percent, sulphur dioxide by 95 percent and carbon dioxide by 60 percent—and it uses less resources. The net result is significantly lower production costs and very substantial environmental benefits. Indeed, if that particular process of producing ammo-

nia were to be adopted worldwide, the saving in terms of pollution would be equivalent to taking 5 million cars off the road! It shows what can be done by people struggling to remain competitive and by doing all the necessary research for that and having an excellent by-product in environmental benefits.

This is where the work of this Centre which we are opening today comes in. With its advanced computing facilities and the superb skills of its scientists, it will help us look into the future and to predict more precisely the changes in our climate. This is the Centre which, in November 1989, I promised the United Nations would be set up in the United Kingdom. Its task is not to predict the weather for a few weeks ahead, but to predict it for a century ahead. Previously, we could get some idea of future climates by observing and analysing the patterns of the past. But the changes we can expect in the future will be so much greater than anything we have hitherto experienced, that these methods will not be adequate and we shall need to rely much more on computer models which take in the full complexity of the climate system.

It will be on the basis of this work that we shall be able to establish a realistic international programme of action and an equally realistic time-table. Discharges of carbon dioxide and CFCs, if unabated, will go on accumulating in the atmosphere and could not easily be reversed. Even the most urgent measures now cannot fully repair the damage of the past. But action now will prevent the problem from becoming acute and give us time to improve our predictions and enlarge our understanding. The Panel's Report will present us with a very full agenda for the next fifteen years up to 2005 and we should start on that without delay.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY, IPCC SCIENTIFIC ASSESSMENT OF CLIMATE CHANGE, MAY 25, 1990

We are certain of the following:

There is a natural greenhouse effect which already keeps the Earth warmer than it would otherwise be.

Emissions resulting from human activities are substantially increasing the atmospheric concentrations of the greenhouse gases: carbon dioxide, methane, the chlorofluorocarbons and nitrous oxide. These increases will enhance the greenhouse effect, resulting on average in an additional warming of the Earth's surface. The greenhouse gas, water vapor, will increase in response to global warming and further enhance it.

We calculate with confidence that:

Some gases are potentially more effective than others at changing climate, and their relative effectiveness can be estimated. Carbon dioxide has been responsible for over half the enhanced greenhouse effect in the past and is likely to remain so in the future.

Atmospheric concentrations of the long-lived gases (carbon dioxide, nitrous oxide and the CFCs) adjust only slowly to changes in emissions. Continued emissions of these gases at present rates would commit us to increased concentrations for decades to centuries. The longer emissions continue to increase at present day rates, the greater reductions would have to be for concentrations to stabilize at a given level.

The long-lived gases would require immediate reductions in emissions from human activities of over 60% to stabilise their concentrations at today's levels; methane would require a 15-20% reduction.

Based on current models, we predict:

Under the IPCC Business-as-Usual (scenario A) emissions of greenhouse gases, a

rate of increase of global mean temperature during the next century of about 0.3 degrees C per decade (with an uncertainty range of 0.2 to 0.5 degrees C per decade); this is greater than that seen over the past 10,000 years. This will result in a likely increase in global mean temperatures of about 1 degree C above the present value by 2025 and 3 degrees C before the end of the next century. The rise will not be steady because of the influence of other factors.

Under the other IPCC emission scenarios which assume progressively increasing levels of controls, rates of increase in global mean temperature of about 0.2 degrees C per decade (scenario B), just above 0.1 degree C per decade (scenario C) and about 0.1 degree per decade (scenario D).

That land surfaces warm more rapidly than the ocean, and high northern latitudes warm more than the global mean in winter.

Regional climate changes different from the global mean, although our confidence in the prediction of the detail of regional changes is low. For example, temperature increases in Southern Europe and central North America are predicted to be higher than the global mean, accompanied on average by reduced summer precipitation and soil moisture. There are less consistent predictions for the tropics and southern hemisphere.

Under the IPCC Business-as-Usual emissions scenario, an average rate of global mean sea level rise of about 6 cm per decade over the next century (with an uncertainty range of 3-10 cm per decade), mainly due to thermal expansion of the oceans and the melting of some land ice. This amounts to a rise of about 20 cm in global mean sea level by 2030 and 65 cm by the end of the next century. There will be significant regional variations.

There are many uncertainties in our predictions, particularly with regard to the timing, magnitude, and regional patterns of climate change:

Sources and sinks of greenhouse gases, which affect predictions of future concentrations.

Clouds, which strongly influence the magnitude of climatic change.

Oceans, which influence the timing and patterns of climate change, and

Polar ice sheets, which affect predictions of sea level rise.

These processes are already partially understood, and we are confident that the uncertainties can be reduced by further research. However, the complexity of the system means that we cannot rule out surprises.

Our judgment is that:

Global-mean surface air temperature has increased by 0.3 to 0.6 degrees C over the last 100 years, with five global-average warmest years being in the 1980s. Over the same period, global sea level has increased by 10-20 cm. These increases have not been smooth with time, nor uniform over the globe.

The size of this warming is broadly consistent with predictions of climate models, but it is also of the same magnitude as natural climate variability. Thus, the observed increase could be largely due to this natural variability; alternately, this variability and other human factors could have offset a still larger human-induced greenhouse warming. The unequivocal detection of the enhanced greenhouse effect from observations is not likely for a decade or more.

There is no firm evidence that climate has become more variable over the last few decades. However, with an increase in the mean temperature, episodes of high temperatures

will most likely become more frequent in the future and cold episodes less frequent.

Ecosystems effect climate and will be affected by a changing climate and by increasing carbon dioxide concentrations. Rapid changes in climate will change the composition of ecosystems; some systems will benefit, while others will be unable to migrate or adapt fast enough and may become extinct. Enhanced levels of carbon dioxide may increase productivity and efficiency of water use of vegetation. The effect of warming on biological processes, although poorly understood, may increase the atmospheric concentrations of natural greenhouse gases.

To improve our predictive capability, we need:

To understand better the various climate-related processes, particularly those associated with clouds, oceans and the carbon cycle.

To improve the systematic observations of climate-related variables on a global basis, and further investigate changes which took place in the past.

To develop improved models of the Earth's climate system.

To increase support for national and international research activities, especially in developing countries.

To facilitate international exchange of climate data.

(From the New York Times, Apr. 16, 1990)

TEAM OF SCIENTISTS SEES SUBSTANTIAL WARMING OF EARTH

(By Philip Shabecoff)

WASHINGTON, April 15.—Assembled by the United Nations in an attempt to arrive at a global consensus on the effects of growing concentrations of industrial gases in the atmosphere, an international team of scientists says it is a "virtual certainty" that the earth's surface will warm substantially in the next century.

The scientists generally agree with the theory that has been largely accepted by other national and international panels: that energy trapped in a greenhouse effect by the gases will warm the earth by 3 to 8 degrees Fahrenheit within the next 80 years.

A number of scientists, though, have raised doubts about the theory and about models of climatic change on which it is based. Skeptics call the model inaccurate or incomplete.

The stakes are huge: backers of the greenhouse theory say it will lead to worldwide flooding, climatic change and social disruption.

3 GROUPS EXAMINE THEORY

Three United Nations teams are examining the theory and its policy implications. A team led by Britain is assessing the state of scientific knowledge about climate change. The conclusions that support the greenhouse theory are in this team's draft report. A group headed by the Soviet Union is looking into how such changes would affect social and economic systems. The third group, led by the United States, is preparing suggested policy responses to such changes. Final reports from all three groups are to be issued this year.

Although still in draft form, the report generally supporting the greenhouse theory is likely to play a role in a White House conference on the changes in global climate. President Bush, who will open the meeting Tuesday, has invited 17 nations plus the European Community and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to participate.

Michael R. Deland, the chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Qual-

ity, said that the conference was intended to "integrate the scientific and economic research challenges posed by the climate change issue."

Mr. Deland, who is co-chairman of the conference, said in an interview that the White House called the conference to accelerate United Nations efforts to collect information needed for policy decisions about the greenhouse effect. He denied the contention of some Democrats and environmentalists that the Bush Administration had organized the forum to justify delaying national and international efforts to cope with global warming.

MANY UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

In February, the President spoke to the international group assembled by the United Nations to study the greenhouse theory and emphasized the many unanswered questions about the evidence supporting the theory and the uncertainty about the economic consequences of reducing the use of fossil fuels and taking other steps to lower emissions of industrial gases.

Mr. Bush's remarks appeared to reflect the skepticism of those scientists who questioned whether the available evidence was sufficient to predict that the earth will warm substantially in the next century.

As Mr. Deland noted, however, the President has offered to serve as host of a conference to begin work on international climate change treaty. Mr. Bush has also proposed that \$1 billion be budgeted for research into global warming issues.

Senator Al Core, a Tennessee Democrat who is an advocate of a strong international response to the threat of global warming, has questioned the motives of the Administration in calling the conference on climate change.

He said in a telephone interview that it was ironic that the findings of the international panel supporting the greenhouse theory would be made public on the eve "of a conference that was designed to highlight scientific uncertainty," and added, "The report confounds the skeptics."

SUBSTANTIAL MODIFICATIONS LIKELY

D. Allan Bromley, Assistant to the President for Science and Technology said he had had only a " cursory look " at the draft report. But he said scientists on the panel had told him the draft was likely to be modified substantially before it is issued in final form.

Asked about the predictions of global warming in the report, Dr. Bromley, also a co-chairman of the upcoming conference, said: "There are still large uncertainties with any of the models. There is a consensus that if we continue to put greenhouse gases into the atmosphere at the rate of this century, we eventually will get global warming. But we don't know the exact time and magnitude, and some gaping uncertainties that underlie these models have not yet been resolved."

The draft report found that emissions of carbon dioxide, methane, chlorofluorocarbons and nitrous oxides, gases that retain radiation from sunlight and thus contribute to a warming of the earth, are continuing to build up in the atmosphere.

To stabilize concentrations of carbon dioxide at present levels, it said, "an immediate reduction in global man-made emissions by 60 to 80 percent would be necessary."

The authors of the report said they had a high degree of confidence that the earth's surface and the lower atmosphere would warm by 2.7 to 8 degrees Fahrenheit. While the models show there is likely to be increased drought at mid-latitudes in the Northern Hemisphere, the available data

permit only relatively low confidence in this finding, the report said.

In the last 100 years, the temperature of globe has gone up by three-tenths of a degree to 1.1 degrees Fahrenheit, a range consistent with the climate models, the report said. But it also said it cannot be determined at this point how much of that increase can be attributed to greenhouse gases.

The report noted, however, that an analysis of the geologic records of prehistoric epochs shows that the correlation of increases of carbon dioxide in the air with temperature changes is similar to the predictions of the computer models.

Richard S. Lindzen, a scientist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology who has been one of the most vocal critics of the conclusions of the climate models, said he had not seen the draft report. But when told of its findings, he said, "The conclusions sound off the wall to me."

Mr. Lindzen said there are still so many uncertainties in the models, including the role of increased cloud formation and water vapor as a result of warmer temperature, that they cannot accurately forecast what will happen in the next century.

(From the New York Times, June 2, 1990)

CRITICS SAY DRAFT REPORT ON CLIMATE SHIFT IGNORES URGENCY OF PROBLEM

(By Philip Shabecoff)

WASHINGTON, June 1.—A draft report by an American-led policy group of the United Nations has proposed international measures to cope with global warming caused by pollution, but it calls for no specific goals or timetables for action.

Environmentalists and some European diplomats who have seen a summary of the report, which was prepared by American officials, complained that its recommendations did not reflect the urgency evident in a report on scientific knowledge about global warming.

That report, prepared by a British-led panel and released last week by another United Nations panel, found that unless the emissions of carbon dioxide and other gases that are trapping heat from the sun are immediately cut by more than 60 percent, global temperatures would rise sharply in the next century with unforeseeable consequences for humans.

The draft policy report by the American-led panel calls for a general international treaty to address global warming, but none of the signers would be obligated to take specific action. Other recommendations are to use energy more efficiently, to strengthen existing institutions that could address the climate change issue, and to accumulate more information on scientific, technical and economic implications of the problem.

THREE PANELS EXAMINE PROBLEM

Three United Nations-sponsored working groups are gathering information to help nations decide what to do about global warming. The British-led panel completed its report last week. A Soviet-led group studying the potential effects of global warming is still working on its report. The American-led group was assigned to examine strategies for dealing with the problem.

The information provided by the three groups is intended to form the basis of further international action to deal with the problem. An international conference will be held in Geneva this November to plan the next steps.

The policy group's recommendations generally parallel the Bush Administration approach to the problem. The Administration wants to delay specific international action,

like mandatory reduction of carbon dioxide and other pollutants, and to focus on more study of the scientific and economic implications of the shift in climate.

European governments are expected to press for a stronger report when the members of the American-led working group meet in Geneva next week to prepare its final report, said an official in the Netherlands Embassy here.

The official said Western European governments were concerned that the policy summary prepared by the United States put more emphasis on uncertainties than was warranted by the findings of subcommittees that did the research for the report. But he said that his government could not comment officially on the report because it was still in draft form.

Daniel Lashof, a global warming expert for the Natural Resources Defense Council, an environmental group, said "there is a real disconnect" between the recommendations of the science panel and the draft report by the working group on policy responses. He said the science panel "made a strong statement about the science and the need for at least a 60 percent reduction in carbon dioxide, while the policy group did not even analyze the policy measures needed to reach that reduction."

Frederick M. Bernthal, deputy director of the National Science Foundation and chairman of the policy working group, did not respond to several telephone calls over the last two days.

The draft report on policy options was prepared by the Response Strategies Working Group, one of three working groups that make up the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, which was created in 1988 by the United Nations Environmental Program and the World Meteorological Organization, another United Nations organization.

The response strategies working group identified a number of measures that it said would be "particularly important and feasible in the short term."

It suggested the development of a "framework convention," or general treaty on climate change, without specifying any particular obligations or deadlines for reducing the pollution that is accumulating in the atmosphere and trapping radiation from the sun in a phenomenon known as the greenhouse effect.

It proposed carrying out measures that "are already economically and socially justifiable in their own right and which also provide benefits from a climate change standpoint." Such measures would include increased energy efficiency and improved use of forests and other natural resources.

It urged increased research into scientific, technical and economic uncertainties about the magnitude, time and regional effects of global warming; potential policies to lessen its impact, and measures to adjust to a warmer earth when and if that happens.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak on an other subject during morning business.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ROBERT NOYCE

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I rise today to celebrate the life and accomplishments of an authentic American hero. The sudden death of Robert Noyce on Sunday shocked and saddened those of us who knew him. But one cannot think of Robert Noyce

without remembering both his outgoing personality and the remarkable contributions he made to his country and the world.

Consider, first, Robert Noyce the inventor. In the 1950's, Noyce moved to California to work in the new electronics industry. The transistor had just been invented, and for a while Noyce worked with one of its inventors, William Shockley. In January 1959, Noyce, who always had a remarkable curiosity, had an idea that literally changed history. At that time, transistors were linked together on large circuit boards. Those boards were bulky, expensive, and processed information slowly.

Noyce wondered why transistors could not be combined into smaller packages. He had the idea of putting large numbers of transistors together on a single small piece of silicon. What he created in 1959 was the semiconductor chip, the integrated circuit. Along with Jack Kilby of Texas Instruments, who independently invented the integrated circuit during this same era, Noyce made possible the electronics revolution. Every computer, every home appliance with an electronic chip, every military system we use to defend our country relies on that invention.

For this work, Bob won every award and honor an American engineer can receive—the National Medal of Science, the National Medal of Technology, and the National Academy of Engineering's first Draper Prize, the last shared with Jack Kilby.

Consider, second, Robert Noyce the entrepreneur. In 1957, even before his invention, Noyce and seven colleagues left Shockley's company to form Fairchild Semiconductor, the pioneering semiconductor firm of Silicon Valley. In 1968, he cofounded Intel and helped develop the modern memory chip. Intel also went onto become a world leader in microprocessors, the logic chips that form the heart of any computer. If you use an IBM personal computer or an IBM-compatible machine, you are using an Intel microprocessor. Intel is now a multibillion-dollar company, and to this day not even the Japanese have been able to catch up to it.

Consider, next, Robert Noyce the citizen and policy innovator. Noyce helped start the Semiconductor Industry Association and quickly became a major leader in efforts to develop an American response to the Japanese practice of targeting key technologies and industries. Noyce did not ask for protectionism or less competition. He was a man who relished competition and innovation, but he wanted fairness. He asked that U.S. antidumping laws be enforced, that the Japanese open their markets, and that the American industry be allowed to pool research dollars to develop new semiconductor manufacturing equipment.

That last effort led, of course, to Sematech, the Semiconductor Manufac-

turing Technology Institute, a pioneering research partnership of 14 companies and the Federal Government. Noyce initially sought to avoid being made head of Sematech, but he was the inevitable choice. He took the job in 1988 and served with great distinction until his tragic death on Sunday.

I last met with Bob Noyce in May. We talked about America's future, about the need for a U.S. vision and strategy for competing in this new era of high technology and foreign targeting. What struck me then, and what I remember today, are the man's intelligence, enthusiasm, and quiet patriotism. Bob Noyce was a man who wanted to see this country become competitive again. He was never a man to throw up his hands and walk away from a challenge.

Mr. President, in earlier times Congress and the country celebrated our great inventors and technological pioneers. On the first floor of the Senate side of the Capitol, outside the room that now belongs to Foreign Relations but which once served the Committee on Patents, are portraits of some of America's greatest inventors and scientists. Benjamin Franklin is there, as are Fulton and Fitch, the two Americans who invented the steam boat. In a nearby corridor, near S-119 and S-120, are portraits of first an astronaut on the moon and then the seven crew members of *Challenger*. Further, toward the center of the Capitol, still on first floor, outside of what is now the law library, is a large plaque. It states that on May 24, 1844, from that chamber Samuel F.B. Morse sent the world's first telegraph message. In a little over a century, American inventors have moved from the telegraph to the semiconductor chip. In the process, they created whole new industries and forever changed our world.

Mr. President, perhaps we need a new portrait in the Capitol, a portrait of Bob Noyce and Jack Kilby in one of the blank spaces near Franklin and Fulton. It would be fitting. In an era when junk bond dealers get more attention than our great inventors, we should not forget the Americans whose ideas and imagination have powered economic growth, raised our standard of living, and made possible products and activities we never dreamed possible.

I am saddened by Bob Noyce's death, and my sympathies go out to his family and colleagues. But in Bob's accomplishments and contributions, I find much to celebrate. He gave us a great deal, and his legacy surrounds us everywhere we go.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, I am in unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The remarks of Mr. BOSCHWITZ pertaining to the submission of Senate Concurrent Resolution 137 are located in today's RECORD under "Submission of Concurrent and Senate Resolutions."

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KERRY). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, do I understand correctly that the Senate is in morning business now?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

TERRORISTS

Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, last week terrorists associated with the Palestine Liberation Organization attempted a massive attack against civilians, civilian targets in Israel, perhaps even targets associated with America's Embassy in Tel Aviv, and they chose a religious holiday for their attempted raid.

In response to this extremely aggressive and outrageous act, which was thwarted by the Israeli defense network, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat has said only that it was not his fault. That is not enough. No words of condemnation for the attack crossed his lips, no acts of reprisal against Abu Abbas, the leader of the PLO faction, who sits on the executive committee of the PLO, and has actually claimed responsibility for planning and executing this attempted terrorist raid on civilian targets.

By his failure to react to the terrorist attack against Israel, PLO Chairman Arafat has quite simply broken the promise he made in Geneva in December 1988, in which he renounced terrorism and said he would continue to renounce terrorism. That broken promise, in my opinion, must now lead our Government to suspend the dialog we began with the PLO based on that promise of Arafat and other promises he made in Geneva in December 1988.

Mr. President, I was pleased to join with my colleague, Senator CONNIE MACK of Florida, in offering the PLO Commitments Compliance Act last year, which requires the State Department to issue periodic reports on the PLO's adherence to the commitments made in Geneva in December 1988.

The first such report, which was issued by the State Department a couple months ago, in my opinion came close to being a whitewash of

evidence that existed at that time that the PLO was involved in terrorist acts. In fact, I fear that the logic that was adopted by the State Department in its early report opened the door to exactly what happened in Israel last week and Arafat's response to it, because we acknowledged that evidence existed that showed that nine terrorist raids had been carried out against civilian targets in Israel by elements of the PLO. But we excused Arafat from responsibility for those raids, saying either that he did not know about them, or he did not encourage them.

Mr. President, that is not enough, and that kind of logic which accepts leadership without responsibility, which acknowledges that Arafat is the leader of the PLO, and then enables him to say, "I hear no evil, I see no evil, and I certainly do no evil," leads to exactly the kind of behavior that occurred last week both by Abu Abbas and his faction that attempted to strike at civilian targets, and by Arafat in his response to this latest act. It simply cannot be brushed aside by those who would apologize for the PLO.

The terrorist attack on Israel was the last straw in a continuing pattern of unacceptable behavior by elements of the PLO. In recent testimony before Congress, the State Department said that it would suspend its dialog with the PLO if that organization was involved in even a single terrorist act. The terrorist act has now come to pass, not by accusation of Israelis or the Americans or anyone else, but by admission, proud admission by a critical element of the PLO itself.

The time has now come for this administration to live up to its word and to suspend, unhappily the dialog. I supported the dialog with the PLO as a possible road to peace in the Middle East, but they no longer merit the confidence that is involved in that dialog. Today the PLO's executive is meeting. If Abu Abbas' faction, the Palestinian Liberation Front, is not ejected from the executive committee as a result of that meeting, the President must immediately suspend all continuing dialog with the PLO. We cannot be doing business with an organization that condones terrorism.

Until Arafat acts against Abbas, I see no point in continuing any discussions with the PLO. We must not forget that what is involved here is not simply the security or safety of the State of Israel or Israeli citizens. But what we are talking about here when we stand up against terrorism is the security and safety of people everywhere in the world. And let us be a bit more appropriately parochial about it; what I am worried about is the security and safety of American citizens.

History teaches us that when we turn aside from acts of violence, when we do not act against them, ultimately we suffer for that timidity. We have said over and over again, in the after-

math of changes in Eastern Europe and a reduction in the military threat from the Soviet Union, that the greatest threats to the security of American people in the years ahead will probably come from unstable Third World countries and from terrorists.

Americans have died at the hands of terrorists. One American, Leon Klinghoffer, died at the hands of Abu Abbas, the man who masterminded the raid against Israel last week. Obviously, terrorists were involved in the explosion on Pan Am 103 that killed so many Americans, and more than 200 American soldiers died as a result of a terrorist attack on our base in Lebanon some years ago. So our interests are at stake here as well.

Some will say that Arafat should not be blamed for the actions of other Palestinians. Either Arafat is in charge or he is not. If he is, he can and must condemn the terrorist acts and remove Abbas from the executive committee, and the dialog can go on. If he is not, then we have no business dealing with him.

If Arafat wants to be a leader, let him demonstrate leadership, and let us in our administration demonstrate leadership by keeping our commitment to peace and standing firm in our renunciation of terrorism.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

GOOD BYE, COLD WARRIORS

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, we are truly living in remarkable times. The changes sweeping across the globe are difficult to comprehend for their velocity, as well as their enormity.

Just before the recess in the New York Times, Charles William Maynes, the former distinguished Carter administration foreign policy official who is the current editor of Foreign Policy magazine provided a compelling vision of what U.S. foreign policy may look like as we near the 21st century.

For those of us who have looked to Foreign Policy for guidance over the years, such cutting edge analyses are no surprise. Under the stewardship of Bill Maynes, Foreign Policy has become an essential analytical tool in dealing with a world our President has said is increasingly uncertain, unstable, and complex. There is certainly nothing uncertain or unstable in the eminently readable policy journal which he ably directs.

The article in the Times, "For a New Foreign Policy . . ." provides a similarly cogent antidote to the often stale policy nostrums which have dominated cold war political thinking. We are entering an era when we can—and will—make meaningful cuts in defense spending and shift the emphasis of our foreign policy away from the traditional strategic conundrums which have hamstrung a more humane foreign and domestic policy. This article gives a needed conceptual framework

5/16

Remarks of
SENATOR AL GORE
on the Introduction of the Ozone Protection Funding Act of 1990
U.S. Senate -- May 17, 1990

Mr. President, I am introducing today the Ozone Protection Funding Act of 1990. I am proud to be joined in this effort by my good friend and colleague from Rhode Island, Senator PELL, my good friend from Colorado and colleague on so many efforts to protect our environment, Senator WIRTH, and _____. This legislation authorizes funding for the U.S. contribution to an international account to assist developing nations in complying with the provisions of the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer. *efforts to*

Last week, along with many of my colleagues, I was outraged by reports that President Bush had made the U.S. an environmental outcast in the world community. President Bush, under the advice of John Sununu and Richard Darman, overrode the advice of his own EPA and State Department, and instructed our negotiators in Geneva to oppose the attempts of the rest of the world to protect the stratospheric ozone layer.

The negotiators were putting final touches on a new agreement to strengthen the original international treaty, the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer.

**PHOTOCOPY
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The new agreement calls for faster phaseouts of some ozone-destroying chemicals, and may add new chemicals to the list of chemicals to be controlled. The agreement also calls for the industrialized nations to collectively provide some critical assistance to developing nations that will allow them to comply with the treaty. It is on this last issue that President Bush refused to cooperate with the world community, and in so doing, he threatens to undermine the single most important international agreement that we have to protect the world's environment.

This legislation provides the U.S. contribution ^{for} ~~to~~ that assistance, and therefore corrects what many Americans feel was a grave mistake on the part of President Bush.

The reports from Geneva last week were that the U.S. had isolated itself on this issue from all other nations. If this situation is not reversed before negotiations resume in London ~~this~~ June, the U.S. will not be able to sign on to the new amendments to the Montreal Protocol, ^{the} ~~the~~ very amendments that have been negotiated to give further protection to the ozone layer, in light of the evidence that it will not be protected by the original treaty. Under the President's direction, we are standing out as environmentally irresponsible global citizens.

PHOTOCOPY
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This is a diplomatic debacle, brought to us by the "hats and sunglasses" gang in the Administration. While the rest of the world is acting responsibly, the U.S. has been placed in the extraordinarily embarrassing position of being left behind. While we refuse to cooperate, other nations around the world are working to protect the ozone layer, and helping the developing nations to acquire technologies that will allow them to leapfrog the current generation of ozone-destroying chemicals, to new, non-ozone-destroying substitutes.

The international negotiations which, as I said, will resume next month in London, are crucial to the massive international effort underway to reduce emissions of chemicals that destroy the ozone layer. This effort is in response to over a decade of scientific findings, highlighted by the sudden appearance of a continent-sized hole in the ozone layer over Antarctica, findings of a similar destruction over the Arctic, and a Spring 1988 finding that depletion over the entire Northern Hemisphere is already much more serious than ever predicted.

PHOTOCOPY
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Our "don't worry, be happy" President thinks that if he hides from this challenge, it will just go away. It will not go away. It demands action. ^{B.A.} By ~~his~~ actions thus far, President Bush has ^{only acted to} ~~threatened~~ the future of people, and especially children all over the world by his neglect and refusal to ~~act~~ ^{behave} as a responsible world citizen.

And it is not as though there are not solutions, if President Bush would just provide the leadership. Already, many in the private sector have found alternatives to ozone-depleting chemicals, and reduced their emissions of these substances. Almost weekly now, we read the news of yet another company pledging to phase out its use of ozone-destroying chemicals in the near future.

And these new technologies, in turn, will benefit not only the environment, but the U.S. trade balance as well. Obsolete, chlorofluorocarbon-based refrigerators are being purchased by Third World consumers as we speak. In the capital-poor developing world, this equipment will not be replaced for decades, ~~and will continue to require chlorofluorocarbons.~~ Some of these countries, like China, are not Parties to the Montreal Protocol. The problem that President Bush has created in Geneva will just make this situation worse, because it threatens to cause the introduction of these CFC-based technologies to yet

PHOTOCOPY
MISC. HANDWRITING

other areas of the world. The U.S. is in a position to develop alternatives, and to lead the world to post-CFC technologies. If our own President would just find the ability to rise to the challenge, our economy would benefit enormously.

Here in the Senate, we included provisions on ozone-destroying chemicals in the Clean Air Act. We called for faster phaseouts of ozone-destroying chemicals, we called on the federal government to develop a plan to promote the safest alternatives to these chemicals, and we called for the immediate prohibition of the transfer or investment in technologies to produce ozone-depleting substances.

It's time for this Administration to lose its "What, me worry?" attitude toward the environment. It's time to take off the sunglasses and the floppy hats, come out from under the umbrella and stop hiding from an environmental problem we can do something about.

The Administration's footdragging is becoming an embarrassment. It is shortsighted and just plain ridiculous. In country after country, policymakers and scientists, and government leaders recognize that we need to take action now. In our country, the Administration says, "We'll worry about it tomorrow." If we don't act today, the problems we face tomorrow will be insurmountable.

Remarks of
SENATOR AL GORE
on the Introduction of the Ozone Protection Funding Act of 1990
U.S. Senate -- May 17, 1990

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The negotiators were putting final touches on a new agreement to strengthen the original international treaty, the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer. The new agreement calls for faster phaseouts of some ozone-destroying chemicals, and may add new chemicals to the list of chemicals to be controlled. The agreement also calls for the industrialized nations to collectively provide some critical assistance to developing nations that will allow them to comply with the treaty. It is on this last issue that President Bush refused to cooperate with the world community, and in so doing, he threatens to undermine the single most important international agreement that we have to protect the world's environment.

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in June, the U.S. will not be able to sign on to the new amendments to the Montreal Protocol -- the very amendments that have been negotiated to give further protection to the ozone layer, in light of the evidence that it will not be protected by the original treaty. Under the President's direction, we are standing out as environmentally irresponsible global citizens.

This is a diplomatic debacle, brought to us by the "hats and sunglasses" gang in the Administration. While the rest of the world is acting responsibly, the U.S. has been placed in the extraordinarily embarrassing position of being left behind. While we refuse to cooperate, other nations around the world are working to protect the ozone layer, and helping the developing nations to acquire technologies that will allow them to leapfrog the current generation of ozone-destroying chemicals, to new, non-ozone-destroying substitutes.

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scientific findings, highlighted by the sudden appearance of a continent-sized hole in the ozone layer over Antarctica, findings of similar destruction over the Arctic, and a Spring 1988 finding that depletion over the entire Northern Hemisphere is already much more serious than ever predicted.

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P.1

REPORT LANGUAGE ON FUNDING FOR MONTREAL PROTOCOL ON OZONE PROTECTION

The conferees note that the United States led the world in negotiating and ratifying the 1987 Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer. In Article 5 of the Protocol, the parties undertake to facilitate bilaterally or multilaterally the provision of financial assistance to developing countries to help them use alternative technologies and substitute products that protect the ozone layer. The conferees understand that global efforts to protect the ozone layer will fail without full participation by developing countries. The conferees declare that it is their intention to provide funds in fiscal year 1991 to enable the United States to honor its obligation under Article 5 in support this vital Protocol. Therefore, the conferees urge the Administration to actively pursue negotiations in June at the Second Meeting of the Parties to the Montreal Protocol in London leading to agreement on establishing at the earliest opportunity an appropriate funding mechanism to carry out Article 5 of the Protocol.

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To Rick Adcock	From 42 Look	
Co. Sen. Gore	Co. FOE	
Dept.	Phone #	
Fax # 224 0580	Fax #	

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Remarks of
SENATOR AL GORE
on the Introduction of the Ozone Protection Funding Act of 1990
U.S. Senate -- May 22, 1990

Yesterday, along with 13 of our colleagues, I
introduced ~~Mr. President, I am introducing today~~ the Ozone Protection

Funding Act of 1990. This legislation authorizes funds for the purpose of assisting developing nations in their efforts to comply with the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, including bilateral assistance and the U.S. contribution to an international account established by the Parties to the Protocol.

I am proud to be joined in this effort by my good friend and colleague from Rhode Island, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator PELL, my good friend, the majority leader, Senator MITCHELL, my friend and the Chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee, Senator LEAHY, my friend from Colorado and colleague on so many efforts to protect our environment, Senator WIRTH, my friend from Massachusetts who has also been an ally on efforts to protect our environment, Senator KERRY, my friend from Montana, Senator BAUCUS, my friend from Delaware, Senator BIDEN, my friend from Washington, Senator ADAMS, my friend

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from California, Senator CRANSTON, and my friend from Arkansas, Senator BUMPERS.

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The negotiators were putting final touches on a new agreement to strengthen the original international treaty, the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer. The new agreement calls for faster phaseouts of some ozone-destroying chemicals, and may add new chemicals to the list of chemicals to be controlled. The agreement also calls for the industrialized nations to collectively provide some critical assistance to developing nations that will allow them to comply with the treaty. It is on this last issue that President Bush refused to cooperate with the world community, and in so doing,

he threatens to undermine the single most important international agreement that we have to protect the world's environment.

This legislation provides the U.S. contribution for that assistance, and therefore corrects what many Americans feel was a grave mistake on the part of President Bush. In addition to providing the U.S. contribution to the account established by the Parties to the Montreal Protocol, some of the funds may, in the the early years, be passed through to the EPA for the purpose of providing direct bilateral assistance to developing nations, in order to help them acquire ozone-safe chemicals and technologies.

The reports from Geneva earlier this month were that the U.S. had isolated itself on this issue from all other nations. If this situation is not reversed before negotiations resume in London in June, the U.S. will not be able to sign on to the new amendments to the Montreal Protocol -- the very amendments that have been negotiated to give further protection to the ozone layer, in light of the evidence that it will not be protected by the original treaty. Under the President's direction, we are standing out as environmentally irresponsible global citizens.

This is a diplomatic debacle, brought to us by the "hats and sunglasses" gang in the Administration. While the rest of the world is acting responsibly, the U.S. has been placed in the extraordinarily embarrassing position of being left behind. While we refuse to cooperate, other nations around the world are working to protect the ozone layer, and helping the developing nations to acquire technologies that will allow them to leapfrog the current generation of ozone-destroying chemicals, to new, non-ozone-destroying substitutes.

The international negotiations which, as I said, will resume next month in London, are crucial to the massive international effort underway to reduce emissions of chemicals that destroy the ozone layer. This effort is in response to over a decade of scientific findings, highlighted by the sudden appearance of a continent-sized hole in the ozone layer over Antarctica, findings of similar destruction over the Arctic, and a Spring 1988 finding that depletion over the entire Northern Hemisphere is already much more serious than ever predicted.

Our "don't worry; be happy" President thinks that if he hides from this challenge, it will just go away. It will not go away. It demands action. But thus far, President Bush has only acted to threaten the future of people, and especially children all over the world by his neglect and refusal to behave as a responsible world citizen.

And it is not as though there are not solutions, if President Bush would just provide the leadership. Already, many in the private sector have found alternatives to ozone-depleting chemicals, and reduced their emissions of these substances. Almost weekly now, we read the news of yet another company pledging to phase out its use of ozone-destroying chemicals in the near future.

And these new technologies, in turn, will benefit not only the environment, but the U.S. trade balance as well. Obsolete, chlorofluorocarbon-based refrigerators are being purchased by Third World consumers as we speak. In the capital-poor developing world, this equipment will not be replaced for decades. Some of these countries, like China, are not Parties to the

Montreal Protocol. The problem that President Bush has created in Geneva will just make this situation worse, because it threatens to cause the introduction of these CFC-based technologies to yet other areas of the world. The U.S. is in a position to develop alternatives, and to lead the world to post- CFC technologies. If our own President would just find the ability to rise to the challenge, our economy would benefit enormously.

Here in the Senate, we included provisions on ozone-destroying chemicals in the Clean Air Act. We called for faster phaseouts of ozone-destroying chemicals, we called on the federal government to develop a plan to promote the safest alternatives to these chemicals, and we called for the immediate prohibition of the transfer or investment in technologies to produce ozone-depleting substances.

It's time for this Administration to lose its "What, me worry?" attitude toward the environment. It's time to take off the sunglasses and the floppy hats, come out from under the umbrella and stop hiding from an environmental problem we can do something about.

The Administration's footdragging is becoming an embarrassment. It is shortsighted and just plain ridiculous. In country after country, policymakers and scientists, and government leaders recognize that we need to take action now. In our country, the Administration says, "We'll worry about it tomorrow." If we don't act today, the problems we face tomorrow will be insurmountable.

**Remarks of
SENATOR AL GORE**

**In Reaction to the President's Opposition to an
International Plan to Protect the Stratospheric Ozone Layer
Senate Floor -- May 9, 1990**

Mr. President, I rise today to express my outrage at reports that the President has made the U.S. an environmental outcast in the world community. President Bush, under the advice of John Sununu and Richard Darman, has overridden the advice of his own EPA and State Department, and instructed our negotiators to oppose the attempts of the rest of the world to protect the stratospheric ozone layer.

The negotiators are putting final touches on a new agreement to strengthen the original international treaty to protect the ozone layer. The agreement calls for faster phaseouts of some ozone-destroying chemicals, and may add new chemicals to the list of chemicals to controlled. The agreement also calls for the industrialized nations to collectively provide some critical assistance to developing nations that will allow them to comply with the treaty. It is on this last issue that President Bush has reportedly refused to cooperate with the world community, and in so doing, he threatens to undermine the single most important international agreement that we have to protect the world's environment.

What is the President doing? Of all the global environmental challenges that we face, this is the one which we must all agree requires the most urgent, serious action.

The reports from Geneva, where negotiations are underway, are that the U.S. has isolated itself on this issue from all the other nations. It is critical that President Bush turn this position around today. If this scenario is played to its conclusion, the U.S. will not be able to sign on to the new amendments to the Montreal Protocol -- the very amendments that have been negotiated to give further protection to the ozone layer, in light of the evidence that it will not be protected by the original treaty. President Bush must turn this around today.

This is a diplomatic debacle, brought to us by the "hats and sunglasses" gang in the Administration. While the rest of the world is acting responsibly, the U.S. is put in the extraordinarily embarrassing position of being left behind. While we refuse to cooperate, other nations around the world will be working to protect the ozone layer, and helping the developing nations acquire technologies that will allow them to leapfrog the current generation of ozone-destroying chemicals and technologies, to new, non-ozone destroying substitutes.

It is absolutely urgent that this be turned around today. Many who have examined the global environmental crisis know that one of the first actions we must take is to deal effectively with those manmade chemicals -- chlorofluorocarbons and halons -- which are known to not only destroy the ozone layer, but also to cause over 20% of the greenhouse effect.

The negotiations underway in Geneva are crucial to the massive international effort underway to reduce emissions of these chemicals -- an effort that is in response to over a decade of scientific findings regarding their damaging effect on the world's environment. In the last decade, those findings have been highlighted by the sudden appearance of a continent-sized hole in the ozone layer over Antarctica, the discovery of similar destruction over the Arctic, and a Spring 1988 finding that depletion over the entire Northern Hemisphere is already much more serious than ever predicted.

Mr. President, the warning signals of the global environmental crisis -- and stratospheric ozone depletion is a key warning -- all of the warning signals are compelling and clear. They are warnings of severe economic and environmental dislocation in the coming decade, in the 1990s, unless we move now to reverse the deterioration of the environment.

If someone was poisoning your children, you wouldn't take the slow, one-small-step-at-a-time approach that President Bush is taking. Our "don't worry, be happy" President thinks that if he hides from this challenge, it will just go away. It will not go away. It demands action. President Bush is directly threatening the future of people, and especially the children all over the world by his neglect and refusal to act as a responsible world citizen.

And it is not as though there are not solutions, if President Bush would just provide the leadership. Already, many in the private sector have found alternatives to ozone-depleting chemicals, and reduced their emissions of these substances. Almost weekly now, we read the news of yet another company pledging to phaseout its use of ozone-destroying chemicals in the near future.

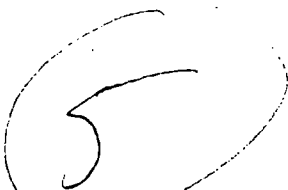
And these new technologies, in turn, will benefit not only the environment, but the U.S. trade balance as well. Obsolete, chlorofluorocarbon-based refrigerators are being purchased by Third World consumers at this very moment. In the capital-poor developing world, this equipment will not be replaced for decades, and will continue to require chlorofluorocarbons. Some of these countries, like China, are not parties to the Montreal Protocol. The problem that President Bush has created in Geneva

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will just make this situation worse, because it threatens to cause the introduction of these CFC-based technologies to yet other areas of the world. The U.S. is in a position to develop alternatives, and to lead the world to post-CFC technologies. If our own President would just find the ability to rise to the challenge, our economy would benefit enormously.

Here in the Senate, we included provisions on ozone-destroying chemicals in the Clean Air Act. We called for faster phaseouts of ozone-destroying chemicals, we called on the federal government to develop a plan to promote the safest alternatives to these chemicals, and we called for the immediate prohibition of the export of technologies to produce ozone-depleting substances.

I call again for President Bush to reverse the debacle that he has created in the Geneva negotiations. It is crucial, and will impact nothing less than the future of life on this planet.



Remarks of
SENATOR AL GORE

on the
Administration's Decision to Reverse Its Previously Stated Policy
Regarding an International Fund to Assist Developing Nations
in their Efforts to Comply with the Montreal Protocol
on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer

U.S. Senate -- June 19, 1990

Mr. President, I rise today to commend the Administration's decision to reverse its previously stated policy regarding an international fund to assist developing nations in their attempts to comply with the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer. It was announced last Friday in a White House press release, that the Administration has now accepted the fact that its earlier refusal to support this fund was unwise. The appeals and protests of many members of this body, of members of the international community, including Prime Minister Thatcher, of scientists and business leaders and concerned citizens, have overruled the narrow-minded, often environmentally hostile policy advice of the President's Chief of Staff. The U.S. negotiators, according to the White House press release, have now been told to nullify instructions given to them prior to last month's meeting in Geneva, and to instead support the creation of this international fund.

Press accounts of this action have appeared in many news outlets in the last several days. I ask unanimous consent that news articles from the Washington Post, New York Times, and TIME magazine be printed in the Record.

Mr. President, this hopefully brings to a close the battle of wills that has been waged for the last month, in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, in the press, and in international forums around the world, which was ignited when the President suddenly backed out of previous promises made by this country, and refused to fully support the negotiated adjustments and amendments to the Montreal Protocol. At issue was a provision for financial assistance to help developing countries meet the incremental costs of complying with the terms of the treaty.

On May 22, after the Administration's initial refusal to provide this assistance, I introduced legislation to authorize funding for the U.S. contribution to an international account to assist developing nations in their efforts to comply with the provisions of the Montreal Protocol. I was joined by many of my colleagues in that effort, including Senators Pell, Mitchell, Leahy, Wirth, Kerry,

Baucus, Biden, Adams, Cranston, Bumpers, Lieberman, Mikulski, and Lautenberg. At that time, it was widely reported that in refusing to cooperate with the rest of the world by contributing to this fund, President Bush had overridden the advice of his own EPA and State Department.

Indeed, the reports during May from the Geneva negotiations were that the U.S. had isolated itself on this issue from all other nations. This situation, as I have stated, was reversed in the eleventh hour, just before the negotiations resumed in London this week. It came in the form of a Friday afternoon press release, cynically timed so as to attract the minimum amount of attention from the press.

This was an issue that should never have arisen. The negotiations in question were, after all, the very adjustments and amendments that have been negotiated to give further protection to the ozone layer, in light of the scientific evidence that it will not be protected by the original treaty. Much of the scientific work was carried out by some of the best scientists in this country. The link between chlorofluorocarbons and stratospheric ozone

depletion was itself discovered by Dr. Sherwood Rowland of the University of California. But under President Bush's direction, we were ignoring the warnings of our best scientists, and standing out as environmentally irresponsible global citizens.

By all accounts, this was a diplomatic debacle, brought to us by the Chief of Staff, and the remnants of "hats and sunglasses" gang of the previous Administration. I entered numerous articles from the press into the Record at the time, all condemning the Administration's actions. While the rest of the world was acting responsibly, the U.S. had been placed in the extraordinarily embarrassing position of being left behind. While we refused to cooperate, other nations around the world were working to protect the ozone layer, and helping the developing nations to acquire technologies that will allow them to leapfrog the current generation of ozone-destroying chemicals, to new, non-ozone-destroying substitutes.

Mr. President, ozone depletion is a serious problem, and finding a solution will require serious international cooperation. Depletion of the ozone shield will lead directly to increased cancer

and cataracts among the peoples of all nations, a suppression of the human immune system, crop damage, as well as damage to the creatures that are a vital component of the base of the ocean food chain.

The whole range of environmental challenges that we face, from global warming, to deforestation, to the loss of vast numbers of species, will require unprecedented levels of international cooperation. The world cannot afford for a White House official with an ideological axe to grind, to barge into sensitive negotiations like a bull in a china shop and threaten to destroy the most successful treaty for protecting the world's environment that has been negotiated to date. Leading the world in the fight to liberate our environment from the destruction that current trends guarantee demands attention, genuine commitment, and care. Our President thinks that if he hides from this challenge, it will just go away. It will not go away. It demands action.

The world, and most especially, the people of this nation, are watching President Bush's half-hearted approach to the challenge of protecting the world's environment. The debacle of the last

month in the negotiations to protect the ozone layer is just another example of the sorry state of affairs that really exists as a result of the lack of commitment from our so-called environmental President. In country after country, policymakers and scientists, and government leaders recognize that we need to take action now. In our country, the Administration says, "We'll worry about it tomorrow." If we don't act today, the problems we face tomorrow will be insurmountable.

ECOLOGY

U-Turn on Ozone

White House chief of staff John Sununu infuriated environmentalists last month when he blocked creation of a special international fund to help developing countries reduce

their use of industrial gases that deplete the ozone layer. Charging that a U.S. failure to support the fund would undermine George Bush's vow to be the Environmental President, Democratic Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee called the policy "pighheaded and obstinate." He predicted that once the angry reaction set in, Su-

nunu would reverse himself.

Last week Sununu did just that. He announced that the U.S. would contribute \$25 million to a \$100 million World Bank fund that will help underwrite the cost of chlorofluorocarbon-abatement efforts in less developed nations. Sununu claimed that the Administration now found itself able

to endorse the fund because financial safeguards that the initial plan lacked have been put in place.

But a White House official pooh-poohed Sununu's explanation for the abrupt turnabout in policy as "a mere fig leaf." Said he: "It became clear to us that almost everybody was unhappy."

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 15, 1990

STATEMENT BY THE CHIEF OF STAFF

The Administration will propose a fund, operated and administered by the World Bank, to assist less developed countries (LDCs) in phasing out the production of CFCs by the year 2000. The President's proposal is intended to allow the parties to the Montreal Protocol to conclude an acceptable agreement on a package of amendments. The proposal includes specific requirements addressing: the uses of the fund; the precedential nature of the fund; the administration of the fund; assessments; control of the fund; and voting rights within the fund.

The President's proposal is structured to reflect the unique circumstances that create the need for a fund specifically designed to assist LDCs in phasing out CFCs in a non-precedential framework. This approach meets the President's essential criteria for any such funding mechanism:

- First, there is adequate scientific evidence of the causes and effects -- in this case, of ozone depletion.
- Second, there is strong evidence that the steps to be taken -- under the amended Protocol -- will successfully address the problem.
- Third, the resources needed to address the problem are reasonable and predictable.

The President expects the parties to the Montreal Protocol to successfully conclude negotiations on a package of amendments to the Protocol next week in London. The Administration's proposal will be offered at that time.

The President's proposal is designed to meet the financial needs of LDCs as they transition from the production of ozone-depleting substances to environmentally safe alternatives. At the same time, it addresses previously stated significant U.S. concerns about the use and management of the fund and the concern that there be no precedent-setting nature to such aid.

The United States has been a world leader in efforts to control emissions that adversely affect the ozone layer. The United States: outlawed the use of CFC aerosol propellants in 1978; strongly supported the initial negotiations that led to the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer in 1985; and was among the first to sign the Montreal Protocol in 1987.

Washington Post

6/16/90 A1

U.S. Drops Opposition To CFC Phaseout Fund

Business, Foreign Leaders Had Urged Reversal

WP 6/16/90 A1

By Michael Weisskopf
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Bush administration said yesterday it has dropped its opposition to the creation of a \$100 million international fund to help developing nations end their use of chemicals that erode the ozone layer shielding the Earth from withering ultraviolet rays.

The policy reversal follows a storm of criticism and personal appeals to the White House, including those by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and American corporate chiefs. It also extricates the United States from almost certain diplomatic isolation at a London conference next week on an accelerated timetable to curb use of the dangerous chemicals—chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs)—and eventually eliminate them.

It also marks a concession by White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu. Sununu led the fight against

the United Nations-proposed fund, which was supported by Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William K. Reilly. The policy shift announcement was made in a White House statement released under Sununu's name.

The U.S. position had raised fears by corporate giants who produce or use CFCs that Washington's resistance could have subjected American companies to trade barriers by nations participating in the fund. Chairmen of companies such as E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. and Motorola Inc. had appealed to the White House for a change in policy, according to administration sources.

First proposed at an international meeting last month in Geneva, the fund is considered essential to enlist the support of such modernizing giants as China and India for a 1987 treaty calling for reductions of the versatile CFCs. The gases are used

See CFCs, A8, Col. 4

World Fund for Phaseout Of CFCs Gains U.S. Support

WP 6/16/90 A8

CFCs, From A1

for refrigeration, cleaning of computer parts and production of polystyrene items.

The United States, whose contribution was to have been assessed at \$25 million, was the only nation to oppose the fund. Publicly, U.S. officials had said existing programs of the World Bank were adequate to assist developing nations phase out use of CFCs.

But privately, Sununu and Office of Management and Budget Director Richard G. Darman had argued the expenditures could set a dangerous precedent for far more costly future requests to help the Third World reduce its reliance on traditional energy sources, such as coal, which cause global warming.

In yesterday's statement, Sununu said the United States will submit its own fund proposal at next week's conference, with conditions underlining the "precedential nature" of the fund and the "unique circumstances" that make it necessary.

Sununu said the proposal will meet President Bush's "essential criteria." They are "adequate scientific evidence" of the causes and effects of ozone depletion, "strong evidence" that the fund would "successfully address" the problem and the "reasonable and predictable" nature of the expenditures needed.

Details of the proposal were not

made available. But an administration official said the U.S. plan is expected to call for \$100 million, with Washington assessed 20 to 25 percent of the costs in line with its overall contribution to international organizations. If China and India join the pact, the fund would grow to \$200 million.

The fund, to be administered by the World Bank, would be used to help Third World industries that use CFCs convert to alternative chemicals, cover the extra costs of alternatives and identify new ways to replace CFCs.

While 54 nations have signed the 1987 treaty and are expected at the London conference to vote for elimination of CFCs, scientists say efforts to preserve the stratospheric ozone layer 10 miles above the Earth will be frustrated if developing nations not now party to the pact fail to curb their growing use of the popular and cheap chemicals.

Washington reaction to the policy shift was favorable among those advocating CFC phaseout. Sen. John H. Chafee (R-R.I.) said that without a fund to enlist the cooperation of the Third World, "all that will be accomplished by the developed nations will be canceled."

Liz Cook, of Friends of the Earth, cautioned that if the administration proposal has too many strings attached, developing nations might not be satisfied.

U.S. TO BACK FUND TO PROTECT OZONE

In Switch, White House Plans
to Aid Ban on Chemicals

NYT B.1 6/16/90

By PHILIP SHABECOFF

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 15 — Reversing a policy decision, the White House said today that it would support a new international fund to help poorer countries phase out chemicals that are destroying the earth's ozone layer.

The new policy removes the last big hurdle to an international agreement for a ban on the chemicals, including chlorofluorocarbons. The accord is expected at a meeting in London next week.

Bush Administration officials said the United States expected to contribute \$20 million to \$25 million to the fund, which would total \$150 million to \$250 million. Today's announcement did not change the expected amount of the American contribution.

Scientific Findings

Although the amount of money involved is relatively small, White House officials led by the chief of staff, John H. Sununu, originally opposed setting up a new fund rather than providing the same amount of aid through existing institutions like the World Bank. The White House feared that a new fund would set a precedent for expensive new foreign aid programs on the environment.

Chlorofluorocarbons and certain other chlorine-containing chemicals produced by industry have been found

Continued on Page 5, Column 1

White House to Aid Fund to Protect Ozone Layer

Continued From Page 1

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6/16/90

by scientists to be severely depleting ozone molecules in the upper atmosphere. That ozone shields the earth's surface from excessive ultraviolet radiation from the sun, which can cause skin cancer and cataracts and suppress the immune system in humans; the radiation also damages crops and wildlife.

The White House has been under heavy domestic and international pressure to reverse its decision. Many other countries have warned that the American opposition to a fund to help the poorer countries could undermine the effort to bar future production of chlorofluorocarbons.

Last week, for example, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain wrote to President Bush urging him to reconsider. Administration officials say. On Tuesday, Mustafa K. Tolba, executive director of the United Nations Environmental Program, called on the United States to provide help to the developing countries. Environmental organizations and even the industries that make and use chlorofluorocarbons, called the original White House decision a mistake and asked for its reversal.

The House of Representatives has already authorized \$30 million to help the developing countries protect the ozone layer. A similar proposal has been introduced in the Senate.

Stephen Hart, a White House spokesman, said today that the change came as result of "internal Administration discussions." Mr. Sununu issued a statement today saying that at the London meeting the United States would propose a new fund, operated and administered by the World Bank, to help the poorer countries phase out chlorofluorocarbon production.

A U.S. Condition

But Mr. Sununu's statement said the United States would support the fund only if it was not considered a precedent for dealing with other international aid programs.

The United States proposal would also build in strict controls to assure that the financial aid is used for its intended purposes.

A treaty signed in Montreal in 1987 under the auspices of the United Nations Environment Program requires a 50 percent reduction in the production and use of chlorofluorocarbons by the year 2000. But subsequent scientific data on the seriousness of the problem have shown that such a reduction would not be adequate. The United States and most other countries now support a total phaseout by 2000 and sharp reductions in other ozone-depleting chemicals, including methyl chloroform.

Many developing countries have insisted that they would not be able to

phase in substitutes without additional assistance. India and China, two countries with development plans that call for substantially expanded use of the chemicals, have said they will not join a treaty to eliminate the use of the chemicals without substantial new economic and technical help.

The change of White House policy was praised today by members of Congress, environmentalists and industry representatives.

"Hurray for the President," said Senator John H. Chafee, Republican of Rhode Island, one of those who wrote to Mr. Bush urging him to reconsider. "This is a very wise political decision but more than that it is a very wise decision for the future of the world."

David D. Doniger, a lawyer and expert on chlorofluorocarbons for the Natural Resources Defense Council, a