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Bush Attacks Versus Al

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Jan Sonnenmair for The New York Times

campaign manager for Senator Al Gore, left, the message Mr. Gore delivers consistently of the head of the ticket.

Mass. had known Mr. Gearan since 1978 when he hired the then-22-year-old graduate to help handle communications for a Massachusetts tax referendum campaign.

"He was somebody, even at that early stage in his career, who had real skill in dealing with people," Mr. Sasso said in a telephone interview. "When difficult news had to be delivered, he could do it in a way that

these changes will lead us or what they mean in our daily lives."

"At a decisive moment in history comes your choice about who should lead the American economy: the government planner or the entrepreneur, the risk-taker," the President said. "This is the most fundamental disagreement between us: whether the driving engine of growth is government interventionism or entrepreneurial capitalism."

Risk-Taker Turned Politician

Mr. Bush, a full-time politician and Federal official since 1966, cast himself today as the risk-taker — a Texas oil man who for 18 early years "built a business from the ground up, created jobs and paid my taxes."

By contrast, he said, the role model for Mr. Clinton, who has spent almost his entire adult life in government and politics, "is not the entrepreneur but the government planner, the lawyer or policy professor who flatters himself that he understands the American economy better than the workers and the entrepreneurs who have their sleeves up."

Later, he added: "My opponent is drawn to these views. He and a number of his advisers studied them at Oxford in the 1960's."

The Clinton campaign quickly counterattacked by questioning Mr. Bush's talk of his experience running a small business. "When George Bush left Yale to work in the oil industry, he got the benefit of some 'family values,' Kennebunkport style," the campaign said in a press statement.

Quoting from published reports, it said Mr. Bush's uncle Herbert Walker had given Mr. Bush \$300,000 to start his oil business in the early 1950's, an amount that the Democrats said would be the equivalent of \$1.5 million in today's dollars. They said fewer than 5 percent of small businesses have a stake of more than \$30,000 at the outset.

"George Bush is saying that everybody would be better off if they had an

smaller government, the share of national income consumed by Federal spending has risen to near-record levels during his tenure, from 22 cents to 24 cents of each dollar.

In Georgia, Mr. Bush again handed out Federal benefits to prospective voters, announcing a cut in insurance premiums on 15-year Federal Housing Administration mortgages. The White House said that would reduce the up-front cost of buying a home with such a mortgage by \$650, and cut annual premium costs by \$165 to \$325 a year.

Authors of Study Cited By Bush Criticize Him

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 17 — The authors of a widely cited study that ranked Arkansas last in conservation policy and nearly last in environmental conditions criticized President Bush on Wednesday for misusing the data to attack Gov. Bill Clinton.

"It's the height of hypocrisy," said Bob Hall, a co-author of the study which was conducted by the Institute for Southern Studies in Durham, N.C. "George Bush has done a terrible job and has a dismal record on the environment. That is what is so cynical about his use of the report to slam Arkansas."

The study, called the Green Index, is the first comprehensive ranking of environmental conditions and the strength of environmental laws in the states. The 22-year-old institute has sold 5,000 copies of the Green Index since it was published more than a year ago.

Mr. Hall, the institute's research director and co-founder, and Mary Lee Kerr, co-author of the Green Index, measured 256 indicators that range from pipeline leaks to the effect of environmental laws in ranking conditions and policies in the states.

In Their Own Words

PRESIDENT BUSH

In a speech yesterday at a campaign rally in Enid, Okla.

"Look at the differences. My opponent and his advisers propose something quite different. Their writings refer to European models and industrial policy. And that's an academic term for letting the government pick economic winners and losers.

Their idea is not the entrepreneur but the government planner, the lawyer or the policy professor who flatters himself that he understands the American economy better than the workers and the entrepreneurs who have their sleeves up and really make it work.

And my opponent and his advisers can trace their intellectual roots to the social engineering ideas popular at the turn of the century. And those old social — some of you historians remember this — those old social

NYT
9/18

CAFE STANDARDS

BUSH-QUAYLE CHARGE: Al Gore favors tougher regulations for higher mileage standards for cars and trucks which would destroy hundres of thousands of jobs in the U.S. auto industry.

ANSWER: What U.S. auto workers and the industry they support need more than anything else is a vibrant economy that will give American car-buyers the confidence and the cash to buy cars. From Ronald Reagan and George Bush to George Bush and Dan Quayle, more than a quarter-million auto workers have lost their jobs and in directly related industries, the jobs of another 600,000 workers have been sacrificed. At the same time, skyrocketing health care costs have been driving up the cost of doing business and the cost of U.S.-made cars. Reagan-Bush-Quayle policies have been a disaster to America's working men and women in the auto industry and in other industries.

And, because the Bush-Quayle Administration consistently refuses to recognize the increasing demand for better fuel efficiency and the increasing opportunity here, foreign auto makers have an unnecessary advantage.

Bush and Quayle are more interested in protecting the polluting ways of the past, ignoring what the American people want, and pulling from thin air irresponsible statistics aimed to frighten the American people and convince them to stick with the status quo instead of choosing the change offered by Bill Clinton and Al Gore.

Al Gore wants to work with U.S. manufacturers to make sure that it's American workers who are building the cars the world wants to buy -- not the Japanese. He's led efforts to bring the resources and talents of the best and brightest in our federal labs to work with industry to develop the technologies of the future that will help the auto industry and its workers to compete.

Al Gore favors policies which will help us clean up our air and protect our environment, reduce our dependence on foreign oil, save us money, and help create jobs by meeting the challenge posed by our foreign competitors in areas like the auto industry. That's why Al Gore supports policies to require cleaner, more fuel efficient cars in a way that will allow U.S. automakers to regain the advantage and produce the safe, fuel-efficient cars Americans want to buy.

American auto workers already are producing first-class, competitive fuel-efficient cars, and they're selling. Al Gore knows American workers are the best in the world and they can continue to meet the challenge of producing fuel-efficient cars. Al Gore has tremendous faith in the genius of the American auto industry. He recognizes the great strides the industry has made in the past 15 years and he wants to push the industry, not make excuses for it like the Bush-Quayle Administration. Al Gore will be a partner with the U.S. auto industry and its workers to help develop technologies and materials to allow for continued progress in fuel efficiency.

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SPOTTED OWL

BUSH-QUAYLE CHARGE: Al Gore wants to block logging in the Northwest to save the spotted owl, a move which will throw tens of thousands of people out of work. This shows he cares more about an own than working Americans and their families.

ANSWER: The Bush-Quayle Administration has favored the short-term interests of big business over the real and long-term interests and concerns of the families and the communities in the Northwest. Al Gore favors a program to preserve the forest and create new economic opportunities for these communities and their workers.

Unlike the do-nothing approach of the Bush-Quayle Administration, Al Gore wants to take action now to open new opportunities for logging communities, exploring and implementing new forest management techniques that will support local economies and preserve the ancient forests. Al Gore understands the tragedy experienced by an Olympic Peninsula community where the last tree was cut down and with it, all of the community's hopes for the future.

The choice is not between owls and jobs, but between jobs now and jobs later, while a precious resource is destroyed forever. Increased automation already has reduced jobs in the logging industry and when the old growth forest is gone --less than five percent remains -- the remaining jobs will go with it. We need to manage our natural resources for the long-term so that communities that have grown around the timber industry will have resources next year and ten years after that.

The challenge now is to preserve those jobs and the old growth forest by focusing on new economic opportunities and job retraining, by bringing together all sides together to reach solutions based on sound science not politics or the profits of a few big companies. Al Gore also wants to reduce the export of raw logs so that more wood manufacturing jobs can remain in the United States while we explore ways to broaden and diversify the economies of Northwest communities.

The Bush-Quayle Administration has failed to meet this challenge and failed to provide the leadership needed to help the workers and the families in these communities. Instead, the Bush-Quayle Administration is focusing its energy on false and misleading statistics to exploit the fears and hardships of the people in these communities. As a result, whole communities have been thrown into crisis.

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CFACT

Committee For A Constructive Tomorrow

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
August 17, 1992

CONTACT: Robin C. Rucker
(202) 429-2737

CFACT EIGHT-STATE TOUR TO EXPOSE GORE'S RADICAL GREEN AGENDA

Declaring that "the American people must hear the truth about the environmental extremism of vice-presidential candidate Al Gore," CFACT President David Rothbard and Executive Director Craig Rucker today embarked on a two-week, eight state tour vowing to "let citizens know just what kind of havoc Senator Gore's radical environmental policies will wreak on our nation if he is allowed to pursue his ill-guided notion of a mythical Green utopia."

"Since the time Gore was first announced as Bill Clinton's running mate," Rucker stated, "the national media have carried on a love affair with this guy and portrayed him as some kind of sensitive and compassionate ecological genius." "Well, this trip is going to begin to change that," he added.

Rothbard and Rucker claim very few citizens realize what Gore's nice-sounding "Save the Earth" rhetoric would mean to American jobs and families when translated into policy. "Making protection of our environment the 'central organizing principle of the post-Cold War world,' as Gore put it, sounds wonderful," Rothbard explained, "but when you understand that this means destroying the U.S. economy, lowering the Western standard of living to Third World levels, and handing over much of our nation's political and economic sovereignty to a bunch of Green bureaucrats at the United Nations, it becomes much less appealing."

According to Rucker, most citizens are also woefully ignorant of the facts surrounding many of the environmental "crises" Gore plans to tackle. "Al Gore may claim ozone depletion 'threatens all life on earth' and that global warming is the 'most dangerous of all' environmental threats, but the science just doesn't back him up," Rucker asserted. "In fact," he continued, "there is enough overwhelming scientific evidence about these issues to suggest Gore is either purposely deceiving the American people or has been deceived himself."

In discussing the trip which will bring them before citizens groups, civic associations, churches, and various media outlets, Rothbard said their goal is "to make sure citizens understand the truth about Al Gore and the environment." "Then they can make up their own minds," he affirmed.

The two CFACT spokesmen co-founded the organization in 1985 and have appeared in newspapers and on radio and television stations from coast to coast discussing and debating various environmental issues. CFACT is a non-profit group based in Washington, D.C. that counters the false claims of the Green movement and promotes free-market and safe technological solutions to the real public-interest challenges facing our nation.

Rothbard and Rucker are available for interview and/or debates upon request.
P.O. Box 65722 • Washington, D.C. 20035 • Telephone (202) 429-2737

in the rain forests, much less discovering their possible uses in medicine, agriculture, and the like. So as we destroy huge tracts of rain forests each year, we are also destroying thousands of species that may have just as much value as the endangered yew.

There is no way of estimating the value to future generations of a resource as rich and complex as the rain forest. But José Lutzenberger, Brazil's minister of the environment, puts it this way when speaking of cutting down the rain forest and selling it for the present value of its wood — which is often used for disposable chopsticks and cheap furniture. It is, he says, "like auctioning the Mona Lisa to a roomful of shoeshine boys: many would-be bidders, like those in future generations, are not able to bid."

After the tropical rain forests are gone, the thin soils from which they rose like giant living cathedrals are suddenly bare and astonishingly vulnerable to the rain and wind. According to a study by the Wadebridge Ecological Center in the United Kingdom, scientists working in the sub-Saharan African nation of the Ivory Coast have carefully recorded incredible differences between rates of erosion before and after deforestation. Even on steep slopes, the rate of soil erosion in forested land was found to be as low as .03 tons per hectare per year. But once the land was cleared, the rate rose to an extraordinary 90 tons per hectare. India, for example, now loses an estimated 6 billion tons of topsoil each year, much of it as a direct result of deforestation. Deforestation also wreaks havoc on the hydrological cycle, eventually causing a sharp decline in the amount of rainfall in the areas where the forest once grew, and in adjacent areas downwind. It typically results first in flooding and soil erosion, then a sharp drop in rainfall.

In some countries, deforestation is also followed by the emigration of its people, first to any adjacent remaining area, where the cycle of destruction is repeated, and then sometimes across national borders. This forced migration may help send an urgent message to the northern industrial nations. In the Western Hemisphere, for example, it was the deforestation of Haiti, perhaps as much as the repression of the Duvalier regime, that led to the sudden arrival of 1 million Haitians in the southeastern United States.

The developed nations, however, have massive deforestation problems of their own. Airborne pollution has devastated Euro-

pean forests such as Germany's beloved Black Forest. *Waldsterben* is the name Germans have coined for the widespread phenomenon, which is even worse in heavily polluted Eastern Europe. And in the United States, particularly in heavily logged regions like the Pacific Northwest and Alaska, there is a renewed assault on the great stretches of temperate forest that are so important to us. The statistics about forests can be deceptive too: although the United States, like several other developed nations, actually has more forested land now than it did a hundred years ago, many of the huge tracts that have been "harvested" and replanted have been converted from diverse hardwoods to a monoculture of softwood conifer forests that no longer support the species that once thrived in the woods. In national forests throughout the country, logging roads are being built in order to facilitate the more rapid logging, even clear-cutting, of public lands under contracts that require the sale of the trees at rates far below market prices. This enormous taxpayer subsidy for the deforestation of public land contributes to both the budget deficit and an ecological tragedy.

~~It was partly for this reason that many people drew the line at protecting an endangered species — the spotted owl — in Oregon and Washington.~~ I helped lead the successful fight to prevent the overturning of protections for the spotted owl. In the spirited Senate debate, it became clear that the issue was not just the spotted owl but the "old growth" forest itself. The spotted owl is a so-called keystone species, whose disappearance would mark the loss of an entire ecosystem and the many other species dependent upon it. Ironically, if those wishing to continue the logging had won, their jobs would have been lost anyway as soon as the remaining 10 percent of the forest was cut. The only issue was whether they would shift to new employment before or after the last remnant of forest was gone.

Whether in the tropics or the temperate zones, forests represent the single most important stabilizing feature of the earth's land surface, and they cushion us from the worst effects — particularly those associated with global warming — of the environmental crisis. But local and regional problems contribute to the strategic threats brought on by our destruction of the environment. For instance, many forests now absorb huge quantities of CO₂, but

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paper mills, for example, facing a round of investment in new capacity, must decide whether the current interest in recycled paper is here to stay. If so, then large investments in recycling plants will be profitable; if not, they may face serious risks in making such investments. Such prophecies often tend to be self-fulfilling, of course. But here is where the government can play an important role — and too often has failed to do so. The Bush administration talks loudly about the tendency of a free marketplace to solve all problems. But many of our markets are highly regulated, often in hidden ways. In the case of the paper industry, for instance, taxpayers currently subsidize the manufacture of paper products made from virgin timber, both as the largest single purchaser and by further subsidizing the construction of logging roads into national forests. In addition, the federal government pays the entire cost of managing the forest system, including many activities that exclusively benefit the timber industry. All of these policies encourage further destruction of a critical natural resource.

The Bush administration and the entire U.S. government ought to understand the economic significance of a healthy environment as a kind of infrastructure supporting future productivity. If it is destroyed, many jobs now at risk will be lost. A case in point is the heated dispute between the timber industry in the Pacific Northwest and conservationists eager to protect the endangered spotted owl. This issue has been billed as a conflict between jobs and the environment. But if the remaining 10 percent of old-growth forest is logged out, as the timber industry prefers, the jobs will be lost anyway. The only question is whether the effort to create new jobs will begin now or later, after the forest is completely gone.

The current administration also ought to do a much better job of encouraging appropriate technologies, since they can be an important benefit to set against all the costs of environmental degradation. Japan, for example, is already implementing an ambitious plan to cultivate what it believes will be a massive global market for new technologies for renewable energy and environmentally benign processes. Tragically, however, after having developed the first products using wind and solar energy, the United States is now a net importer of both technologies.

There is an Alice-in-Wonderland quality to much of our current

approach to economic analysis. Even as we have ignored the consequences for the environment of our present economic decisions, attention has been focused on increasingly frenetic speculation, merger mania, asset shuffling, and a range of other activities largely unrelated to the creation of competitive goods and services. The result is not only a diminished competitive position for the United States in the world economy, but also an acceleration of the trend toward the kind of short-term thinking that will make it harder to formulate a creative and effective response to the environmental crisis.

But it is not yet too late to avert the worst effects of this crisis, and the United States ought to lead the way. Victory in our epic struggle with communism, whose features were infinitely worse — for individuals and for the environment — than anything our economic system has produced, should give us confidence, as well as a sense of obligation, to address the challenges now before us. We must correct the shortcomings in the rules and procedures that guide the millions of daily decisions that are the nerves and sinews of Adam Smith's invisible hand: we must address the deficiencies of our current methods for defining what is progress and what is absurdity.

Some of the changes needed will be relatively simple to implement. Others will be more difficult. But all will require the courage to see things as they are, to avoid deceiving ourselves, to train ourselves to recognize when sophisticated imbecilities are substituted for serious analysis. In 1989, for example, the president's Council of Economic Advisers concluded in its annual report that "there is no justification for imposing major costs on the economy in order to slow the growth of greenhouse gas emissions." Part of the reasoning used to support this conclusion was that "the average temperature differential between New York City and Atlanta is as large as the most extreme predictions of warming yet there is no evidence that Atlanta's warmer climate produces a greater health risk than New York's." But if New York will be as hot as Atlanta, what will Atlanta be like? What will southern California be like? What will the midwestern droughts be like? What changes will occur in the global climate pattern? These questions and others were of course ignored as the political equivalent of externalities.

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Campaign '92

BUSH CAMPAIGN TO FORM ENVIRONMENTAL COALITION NEXT WEEK, OFFICIAL SAYS

HOUSTON—The Bush/Quayle Campaign organization will announce an "environmental coalition" next week, according to Don Clay, one of several top Environmental Protection Agency officials in Houston for the Republican convention.

The new organization will be headed by James Stock, formerly at the EPA, but now secretary of California's Environmental Protection Agency.

A committee of Republicans with environmental credentials will be named next week, and is expected to include such persons as former EPA administrators William Ruckelshaus and Lee Thomas, as well as the head of the Illinois EPA, Mary A. Gade.

The administration has a good story to tell, Clay said, and the coalitions will organize speakers and provide information throughout the campaign. Formed under the umbrella of the Bush/Quayle campaign, the coalition would be permitted to spend money directly on behalf of President Bush, as opposed to the more than a dozen coalitions run by the Republican National Committee, which may spend only for RNC activities.

Clay said the organization has been slow to mobilize largely because the environment has not been much of an issue yet.

The Democratic National Committee and the Clinton/Gore Campaign have no parallel environmental organization, according to spokesmen. □

Campaign '92

TWO ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS SAY NAFTA WILL BOOST JOBS, U.S. ECONOMY

HOUSTON—Two Bush administration officials told a Hispanic Coalition during the Republican National Convention Aug. 20 that the North American Free Trade Agreement will create tens of thousands of new jobs, help bolster the sagging domestic economy, and facilitate cross-border trading.

"The trade agreement will not only help U.S. businesses become more competitive and sell within North America but help businesses sell in other parts of the world," said Ambassador Ronald J. Sorini, chief textile negotiator with the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. "Our gains are not confined to North America as we want to expand throughout the hemisphere. We want to get these barriers down and get economic activity going."

Sorini said NAFTA critics who claim the accord will result in the loss of U.S. jobs are not looking at the facts. He said if Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton is elected Nov. 3, the treaty could be delayed, but if President Bush is re-elected, he expected final

CONGRESSIONAL AND PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

approval by this time next year. Sorini said the document is under review by lawyers, a process that should be completed by mid-September.

"NAFTA is a commitment to growth," Sorini said, and "some studies have shown that 600,000 jobs may be added by 1995 as a direct result of the agreement. NAFTA will have a short-term impact and benefits will not be deferred."

He said some apparel exports to the United States from the areas like Taiwan, South Korea, and Hong Kong, where costs are skyrocketing, will shift to Mexico and be constructed of U.S.-made fibers and fabric.

"I see this as a win-win situation," Sorini said. "I know it's going to be a tough fight to win approval for NAFTA, but we are optimistic."

He claimed a great deal of misinformation is being dispersed by groups opposing NAFTA and the administration's job is to get the correct facts to the public.

Sorini said U.S. manufacturing strongly impacted by NAFTA will include exporters of drilling equipment, machinery, and petrochemicals to the Mexican marketplace.

But Olin Worthington, assistant treasury secretary for international affairs, said that Mexico's oil and gas business will not be open to U.S. investment because it is prohibited by the country's constitution.

Impact Seen For All States

Worthington also said NAFTA would have an impact on Rust Belt states as well as those along the U.S. border. "I have seen information that the reduction of Mexico's tariffs will positively affect every single state without exception," he asserted. He said NAFTA will place the United States in a more competitive position overseas.

NAFTA was the first international trade accord to address environmental issues, according to Worthington. He told the Hispanic Coalition that the Environmental Protection Agency is negotiating on a parallel track on environmental issues with Mexico, which has pledged \$460 million to clean up its border areas over the next three years. He said Bush is requesting \$241 million for border cleanup in its fiscal 1993 budget.

Additionally, Sorini said Chile is on the top of the list of countries with which the United States would like to commence trade negotiations. □

Campaign '92

TOBACCO FIRM TOPS LIST OF BUSH DONORS; CLINTON GETS BIG DONATIONS FROM LAWYERS

Law firms and securities firms provided generous monetary support to both the Bush and Clinton campaigns; though Clinton received the lion's share, while Bush, according to a study released Aug. 19, enjoyed sizable contributions from retired persons and from tobacco companies.

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Quayle Claims Clinton Policy Will Put Americans Out of Work<
By CHRISTOPHER CONNELL=
Associated Press Writer=

COLUMBUS, Ohio (AP) Vice President Dan Quayle charged Friday that Democratic candidate Bill Clinton's economic, tax and regulatory policies would put up to two million Americans out of work.

Quayle, on the second and final day of a campaign swing through Ohio, was using the same cudgel that President Bush employed Thursday that the Clinton campaign was quick to counter.

Faced with GOP attacks on his economic policy, Clinton said during his campaign's stop in Iowa Thursday that his plan would result in one million new jobs for each of the next four years.

Quayle also boasted that "during the '12 long years' our opponents talk about, median family income increased by 8.4 percent." But his aides later admitted that income has been flat during Bush's 3 1/2 years in the White House.

Quayle, addressing a conservative business group, put a negative spin on Clinton's health care, budget and tax proposals as well as environmental ideas suggested by running mate Al Gore in a recent, best-selling book, "Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit."

"When you add up their entire package their proposed cuts in the defense budget, their federal government-mandated programs, their family leave mandates, their training tax and all the rest they're talking about a loss of almost two million jobs in a year," Quayle claimed.

His staff produced figures from the Republican staff of the Joint Economic Committee as well as some think tanks to buttress the attack.

The Clinton camp sought to blunt Quayle's criticisms, which followed by a day Bush's charge that Clinton would impose "the largest tax increase in American history."

Clinton adviser George Stephanopoulos said Thursday that the Republicans were misrepresenting the Democratic plan, and noted that the private economy has lost 82,000 jobs in Bush's term while Arkansas, under Clinton's leadership, has created over 85,000.

Bush himself, in his 1990 deficit reduction deal with Congress, raised taxes by \$165 billion over five years.

Quayle said Clinton's advocacy of a 1.5 percent payroll tax to worker training would cost \$50 billion a year and 175,000 to 350,000 jobs over five years. A 7 percent health insurance tax "will cost some 710,000 Americans their jobs."

Clinton calls for higher taxes on those making more than \$200,000 a year, including a surtax on millionaires. He would also tax U.S. profits made by foreign companies.

The Clinton campaign said Thursday that middle-class tax cuts plus tax credits envisioned by the plan would cut the burden on taxpayers to about \$5.5 billion a year.

Later, the former Indiana senator helped Gov. George Voinovich

open the Ohio State Fair, billed as the world's largest, before flying to Mansfield, Ohio, to visit a hog farm and campaign for Rep. Mike Oxley, R-Ohio.

He watched a logrolling expedition and invited reporters to try out the fair's new bungee jump.

Earlier, at a news conference, Quayle tried to smile away former Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater's warning that a rigid anti-abortion plank could cost the Republicans the White House.

"Reasonable men and women disagree on this issue ...," said Quayle, but "not that many people in America vote for the president of the United States on one issue."

Boyd

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* Quayle sold out the
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Bush Calls Gore 'Mr. Sellout America'<
Eds: Combines pvs with new material and editing throughout<
By HARRY F. ROSENTHAL=
Associated Press Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) President Bush's spokesman today labeled Democratic vice presidential candidate Al Gore as 'Mr. Sellout America' for 'telling the world how crummy America is' at the environmental conference in Rio de Janeiro in June.

Presidential spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said Republicans are sharpening their attacks on Gore and Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton because the Democrats 'have to go negative to cover up their miserable record.'

'Gore here is Mr. Sellout America. He goes to Rio, spends a week telling the world how crummy America is, how we don't care about the environment, we don't care about anything,' Fitzwater said.

'Now he wants to be vice president. Now he tries to talk about economic growth when he spent a week in Rio saying 'the heck with the economy, sell it out to the environment,'' he said.

Gore led the U.S. Senate delegation to the Rio summit and was
PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER A REQUEST.

critical of Bush's performance there. He has called the president's environmental record 'a joke' and said Bush 'prevented the world from reaching some meaningful commitments' at the conference.

The United States was alone among 154 nations attending the meeting by refusing to sign a legally binding treaty committing the governments to protecting endangered plant and animal species. Bush objected to funding and other clauses that he said might harm U.S. business and jobs.

Meanwhile, Secretary of State James A. Baker III, at a news conference in Cairo during a Mideast tour aimed at reviving Arab-Israeli peace talks, denied reports that he had decided to leave his Cabinet post to take charge of the Bush re-election campaign. Bush has been lagging in the polls.

'There has been no decision made with respect to this,' Baker said.

'You see me actively involved here now in the peace process,' he said. 'And I hope and believe that I will be actively involved

The New York Times reported in today's editions that Baker will move over in mid-August to run Bush's campaign. Administrative officials and Republican political strategists that the newspaper did not identify told the Times that Baker will resign shortly

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER A REQUEST.

after a scheduled visit to the United States by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

On another matter, Fitzwater denied recurrent rumors that the president would dump Vice President Dan Quayle from the ticket.

"The vice president is on the ticket. He's doing an excellent job," Fitzwater said.

He said that it was "baloney" that the campaign was in trouble. "We've got a good campaign under way. A good event yesterday. A good issue, large enthusiastic crowds."

In those appearances on Tuesday, Bush went on the offensive against "advocates of the liberal agenda" and spoke confidently about what he will do in his second term.

Painting the Democratic ticket as "liberal" has rapidly become a set piece in Republican speeches and Bush is picking up those threads.

The president is spending today and Thursday in the White House, then has out-of-town appearances scheduled Friday and Monday with a weekend at his home in Kennebunkport, Maine, in between.

He was handing out medals of the arts at a ceremony and luncheon in the White House today and speaking to his Drug Policy Council.

"Ask anyone with teen-agers or grandchildren: Drugs are no longer cool ... a lot of America is clearly giving up drugs," the

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER A REQUEST.

president told the council, assembled in the White House Rose Garden.

Bush said there are still 12 million users of illegal drugs in the United States.

The president apparently has dropped his stated goal of staying above the political fray until after the Republican National Convention next month. He is not yet mentioning Clinton by name, but he clearly is drawing the line between himself and the Democrat.

"The family is under siege and the choices in this election are clear," he told a receptive church audience in Garfield, N.J., on Tuesday. "On one side, the advocates of the liberal agenda; on the other side are you and I and those values of family that we share.

"They want to tighten the monopoly on our kids' education, and I am fighting on your side ... for the parents' rights to choose their children's schools, public, private, or religious."

The president did not identify the "they" he was blasting.

"They want public schools to hand out birth control pills and devices to teen-aged kids, and they believe it's no business of the parents and that it's strictly a matter between our children and the government," he said.

"They even encourage kids to hire lawyers and haul their

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER A REQUEST.

parents into court. And I believe kids need mothers and fathers, not 'big brother' bureaucracy, and the bond between parent and the child is sacred and it is fundamental."

President Bush's re-election campaign. "I wouldn't make book on it" until it came from the president, Baker said.

"You see me actively involved here now in the peace process," Baker said. "And I hope and believe that I will be actively involved in the peace process in the days and weeks ahead."

Baker said: "There has been no decision made with respect" to his leaving office and "until you hear it from the president of the United States and the secretary of state of the United States, I wouldn't make book on it... and I wouldn't bank on it."

"Until there is a decision I wouldn't jump to a lot of

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER A REQUEST.

Wirth defends Fitzwater's attack on Gore regarding what happened in Rio. Fitzwater's claim that Gore was "Mr. Sell-Out America" was wrong. The Senate delegation did the best they could defending the U.S.'s environmental reputation. In fact, at one point Wirth had to lay out the environmental record of the US at a press conference because the administration could not explain the positive environmental moves we had made. The Administration was the wrong making the false choice between jobs and the environment. Additionally, we were the only country not to sign the biodiversity treaty. Yes, there were missed opportunities in Rio, but NOT by this delegation. It was the Democrats who told the world what steps the US was making in environmental leadership.

Senate =
Chafee's attack
on Gore
(concerning enviro)

7/22/92

Mr. President, apparently the Senior Senator from CO wasn't on the floor yesterday when his elected leader deplored the fact that the floor of the Senate is being used for campaign speeches that ought to be given out on the campaign trail by the candidates. I find it rather amusing that those on the other side who deplore the fact that some on this side have given campaign speeches in the Capitol in favor of their candidate suddenly find the same thing taking place here out of nowhere appears the Senator from Colorado delivering a scorching speech against the Administration. The senator from Colorado fully recognizing that the achievements of this administration are what count. What's going to count in the long run is what we do, not what we promise or what agreements we enter into, or what statements we issue, what's going to count is how we deal with the nation. And the facts are that this nation, under this administration in the environment are making very, very great, significant achievements. Well, let's tick them off. The Clean Air Act. The Clean Air Act Amendments were passed two years ago were possible because the president of the United States got behind that measure and enacted it and therefore we had these very, very significant achievements under the Clean Air Act particularly in the area of CFC's and in the area of chlorofluorocarbon restraint scenario that I've been deeply involved with myself. And so you can't take that away. That was a George Bush achievement. And we're proud of it. And we're proud of what we've done in the Endangered Species Act.

I was interested in the presentation by the Senator from CO that in the course of talking about deploring what this administration is doing, he never did mention that the vice-presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket, a man who is proud of his environmental statement was also one of the votes to undermine the Endangered Species Act. I wonder if the Senator from CO was aware of that when we came to the snail darter vote which dealt with, I was here- I don't know whether the Sen. from CO was here at the time- I suspect he was, and obviously that vote has come up in the past 8 years because the senator from TN, the jr. Senator from TN who is now running for Vice-president, whose proud of his environmental record hasn't bothered to tell the world at large that it was his vote, when push came to shove. It was his vote to undermine the Endangered Species Act. Now the defense I suppose is, well, it dealt with something in TN. Well, you can't be for all of the protecting the endangered species except when you're dealing with endangered species in my home territory- TN. And there was involved with a dam in TN - Delico Dam. And the problem was that the ESA would prohibit them from going forward with that dam. Dam, they had nearly completely constructed. And so the Amendment was presented to set aside the ESA because the snail darter was there in the path of the opening of the dam. I voted against it, spoke against it- unsuccessfully, but the Senator from TN, Senator Gore, now running for V-P, whose proud of his environmental record, he voted to set aside the ESA because, I suppose, others can give the rational, I don't know if he can give his rational, but I think we can all agree that it was because it was in TN, where he

was from. Now I know the Sen. from CO would deplore such actions. But it's worthwhile bringing that up since the Sen. from CO started this off today. We had Sen. Dole rule that as of 6:00 last night, we see how long that lasted, didn't last 12 hours. So Dole that we wouldn't have speeches dealing with the campaign, but that apparently has been set aside. The distinguished majority leader came to the floor and said let's leave that to the candidates out there on the trail. They are barnstorming the country." Let them talk about their programs. We in this Senate will concentrate on trying to do good things for the people of the United States, perform our duty, which doesn't involve making speeches for candidates. While I suspect we'll see a lot more campaign speeches, we'll see the administration trashed, as the Sen. from Co has just done vigorously, as is his warrant, and I suppose we'll see the Democratic standard bearers trashed, and I suppose I might join in that at some point when the opportunity arises. But meanwhile I hope we can get on with the measure before us which has nothing to do with the candidates, but does have to do with trash. And that is an environmental measure in a way that we're trying to get passed. I would hope that those who have amendments would be coming to the floor, this is the time to present them. So we can get on with this bill and hopefully conclude it this evening because as the majority announced last night that he's not going to spend much more time on this measure.

11:29 Mr. President, I made one mistake. I suggested, just more than suggested, stated that the junior Senator from TN was in the Senate when he voted to overrule the ESA in connection with the snaildarter. That was incorrect; he was in the House. He took that vote in the House. He took the vote, but I suggested he was in the Senate. That was inaccurate. and in making that statement, I suggested that was in the past eight years, but I thing that in fact it was prior to that because I remember Senator Baker was here at the time, and of course the Senator Baker preceded Sen. Gore coming to the Senate. In other words, Sen. Gore took Sen. Baker's seat and so that must have been prior to the past 8 years. The snail darter and the Delico Dam must have been some 10 years ago, I'm not too sure about that period. The junior senator from TN was in the House of Representatives. But indeed he did take the vote that I said he did.

Timothy E. Wirth

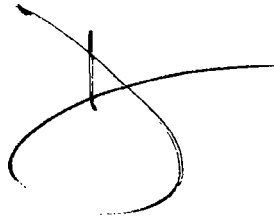
Memo

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

KATIE -

FY 1

A handwritten signature, possibly reading "J. S.", written in dark ink.

—



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

HARD-GORE ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

other big issue, global warming.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

be shown to the schoolhouse door. Teachers unions must stop setting up obstacles to excellence. Union opposition to merit pay and rigorous teacher testing, and union insistence on tenure for the inept and inefficient, inevitably doom our children.

But if teachers are part of the solution, parents are part of the problem. When discipline is absent from the home, it's absent from the classroom, too.

An inability to maintain order and discipline is frequently cited as a teacher weakness. It's not always the teacher's fault.

Teachers in classrooms all over the country, for example, worry that the use of profanity is on the increase, even in kindergarten, according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

Using dirty words may sound like small potatoes compared with children carrying weapons to school or the high rates of teenage pregnancies. But obscenities are a symptom we should treat seriously.

A director of a child-care center in Lynchburg, Va., reports hearing a 2-year-old call a teacher a "g----- m-----." Imagine what that child will say (or do) when he gets to kindergarten.

A principal in a Denver elementary school says children from all types of backgrounds use four-letter words that most young children never even knew about a few decades ago. While kids learn some of these words from the streets and movies (even with PG and PG-13 ratings), a child's language development starts at home.

Profanity not only exhibits a disrespect for authority, a lapse in moral development and a contempt for the feelings of others, it also inhibits a child from finding a better way to articulate thoughts and feelings. Even though young children who use obscenities may not know what they mean, they know such words are spoken in anger and frustration.

A child who uses four- and five-letter gutter words instead of finding fresh words to express thought suffers from an emotional and intellectual deficit.

We may have more serious problems than competing with the Asians in calculus. ●

Suzanne Fields is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Gore Doesn't Let a Little Thing Like Reality Stand in His Way



Gore stages show trials to further his own environmentalist agenda.

By Patrick Michaels

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

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

Rather, what raises my worry

threshold is when a person that effectively creates a new combination of science, religion and the state, and then stages show trials of eminent scientists to prove his point.

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

Never mind that the book states that

Fair Comment

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

If saving something is required, then the object of salvation must be in danger. But there is a plethora of evidence in the scientific literature that says while there are ecological problems, the Earth is by no means "threatened" in any serious sense by whatever man might do. In fact, in his powerful positions of oversight of the National Science Foundation and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Gore has been accused by some of distorting science for the purposes of his campaign to save a world that may not need it. Richard Lindzen, a member of the National Academy of Sciences and a distinguished climatologist from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has said these show trials of scientists are assaults against free expression and inquiry that are analogous to the Army-McCarthy hearings.

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

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

An examination of the publication record of those holding science and engineering Ph.D.s reveals that their most common trait is to write one to three papers in peer-refereed scientific journals during their careers. There's a good reason: Scientific peers are a notoriously cranky lot, and new and good ideas are hard to come by. Idso has about 300 publications in that literature.

A number of those papers describe experiments concerning the "carbon dioxide fertilization effect," which sim-

ply translates into the idea that given adequate nutrition, raising the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere makes plants grow better.

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

Gore consequently developed the scientific show trial as a means of destroying the reputations of those evil folks who don't believe what he believes. It's a very easy thing to do; the rules of evidence and fairness are built along the model of the Clarence Thomas hearings, and the majority Democrats can call as many witnesses as they choose, while the minority Republicans can use only as many as they are permitted, usually one or none.

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

After softening him up on that one, Gore bore in with the haymaker: Wasn't it true that Idso's wife owned a corporation that had accepted money from the coal industry as a consultant

on a film about the growth enhancement caused by carbon dioxide? (Like asking, "Has your wife ever associated with known communists?") After having Idso admit that critical experiments on plant growth had yet to be performed, Gore's tack was then to show that whatever Idso did was no good because his wife hung out with known capitalists.

If science were a black and white affair, such persecution would be difficult. But especially when trying to explain the real world, large numbers of variables often interact in ways that require considerable experimentation and are subject to multiple interpretations.

As a result, if Albert Einstein were standing in his way, Gore could have put together a panel to discredit him. "Imagine," he might say, "this man actually believes that time isn't constant and depends upon how fast you are

going. Everyone, from our eminent panel of testifying scientists to the man on the street, knows that my watch doesn't change depending upon how fast I drive. . . . And isn't it true, Einstein, that you took money from the enemy in World War I?"

What are the limits to Gore? I don't know, but I am really worried. Other worriers

should include anyone who, however innocently, does work indicating that global warming in fact might not be the end of the world. Those who work in industries that contribute to the putative apocalypse (agriculture, coal, natural gas and automobiles, to name a few) should be climbing the walls.

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

Patrick Michaels, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute, teaches at the University of Virginia. He is author of Sound and Fury: The Science and Politics of Global Warming, to be published in October.

What are the limits to Gore? I don't know, but I am really worried. Other worriers should include anyone who, however innocently, does work indicating that global warming in fact might not be the end of the world.

Kurt & Katie M.
See attached from today's Wash
Times (Fringe literature).

9-2-92

Results below suggest that
sea level may rise less than
expected in a greenhouse
warmed climate. They are
not evidence against greenhouse
warming.

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Jay Z

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mm/year). In contrast, recent total flux estimates (8) of annual snow accumulation, iceberg discharge, and peripheral melting of the Antarctic ice sheet indicate that the net ice loss has been $750 \text{ km}^3/\text{year}$, which is 35% of the mass input and equivalent to 1.9 mm/year of sea-level rise.

Satellite radar altimetry measurements show that the surface elevation of the Greenland ice sheet south of 72°N (Fig. 1) increased from 1978 to 1986 (9). The measured elevation change varies with latitude (Fig. 2), and the errors are larger at lower latitudes and lower ice-sheet elevations mainly because of the smaller number of crossovers (10). The largest elevation increases were over the southern dome around 63.5°N and in the central region near 72°N during 1985 to 1986.

The spatially averaged elevation changes, obtained by analyzing the crossover differences in ice-sheet elevation bands (Fig. 3) and weighting those values by the fractional area in each band (0.12, 0.14, 0.20, 0.31, and 0.23 for lower to higher elevations), are $0.233 \pm 0.041 \text{ m/year}$ for 1978–1985 Geosat-Seasat measurements and $0.239 \pm 0.030 \text{ m/year}$ for 1985–1986 Geosat-Geosat measurements. In southern Greenland, the equilibrium line (boundary between net ablation and net accumulation) is at ~ 1200 to 1500

Growth of Greenland Ice Sheet: Interpretation

H. JAY ZWALLY

An observed 0.23 m/year thickening of the Greenland ice sheet indicates a 25% to 45% excess ice accumulation over the amount required to balance the outward ice flow. The implied global sea-level depletion is 0.2 to 0.4 mm/year, depending on whether the thickening is only recent (5 to 10 years) or longer term (<100 years). If there is a similar imbalance in the northern 60% of the ice-sheet area, the depletion is 0.35 to 0.7 mm/year. Increasing ice thickness suggests that the precipitation is higher than the long-term average; higher precipitation may be a characteristic of warmer climates in polar regions.

THE MASS BALANCE OF THE GREENLAND and Antarctic ice sheets is of current interest, largely because of its direct relation to global sea level, which appears to be rising by $2.4 \pm 0.9 \text{ mm/year}$ (1). Although both thermal expansion of the ocean (2) and melting of small glaciers (3) contribute to sea-level rise, the major source of water is undetermined. Also, the possibility of enhanced ice-sheet melting in a warmer climate (4) is of concern. Glaciers respond to both precipitation and temperature in

such a manner, however, that enhanced precipitation may offset increases in surface melting (5).

Each year, approximately 3000 km^3 of water is exchanged between the ocean and the ice sheets of Greenland and Antarctica, a volume equivalent to 8 mm of water from the entire surface of the world's oceans. The uncertainty in ice-sheet mass balance has been at least $\pm 30\%$ of the annual mass exchange (6); this uncertainty is equivalent to $\pm 2.4 \text{ mm/year}$ of sea-level change. Recently, Meier *et al.* (7) estimated that there has been a small positive balance for both Greenland ($-0.1 \pm 0.4 \text{ mm/year}$ of sea-level change) and Antarctica (-0.6 ± 0.6

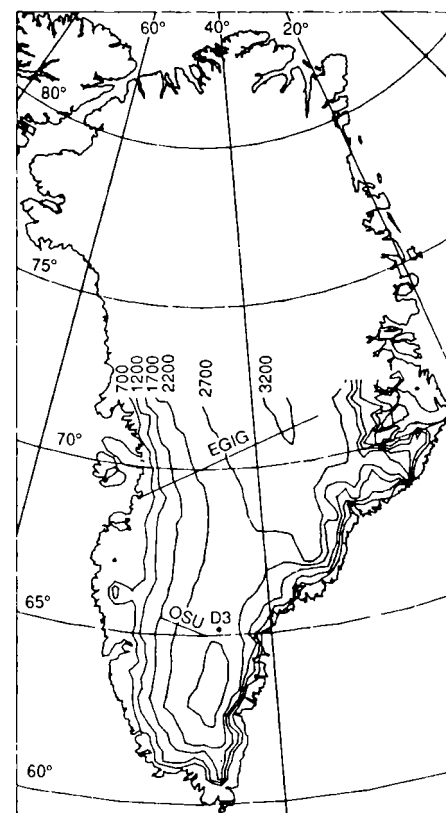


Fig. 1. Map of Greenland showing surface elevations in region covered by satellite radar altimetry and locations of surface measurements (EGIG, D3, and OSU) of elevation change.

Oceans and Ice Branch, Code 671, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Goddard Space Flight Center, Greenbelt, MD 20771.

MONA CHAREN

Wash Times 9-2-92

Sen. Al Gore is a scary guy. Though today, as a candidate for vice president, he smiles and aw-shucks his retreat from some of the proposals in his book, "Earth in the Balance," the work itself reveals him to be a glazed-eyed, environmental ideologue.

The tone of the tome is urgent earnestness. Like all converts, Mr. Gore is impatient with those who continue to doubt. Doubts never cloud his new vision — nor does he trouble much about factual accuracy. The book, for all its fine organization and skilled (if pedantic) writing, contains one scientific whopper after another.

On Page 9, Mr. Gore refers to "the day the scientific community confirmed that the dangerous hole in the sky above Antarctica was caused by CFCs." There was no such day. The "scientific community" never speaks with one voice, far less would it do so on one particular day.

In truth, there is no consensus

Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Gore's eco-whoppers galore

about what is causing the so-called "ozone hole." Some scientists note that the ozone layer thickened during the 1960s and then thinned during the period of 1979 to 1986. The magazine Science said in 1989, "The recent losses may be natural and may result from long-term fluctuations of the general circulation of the atmosphere." Other scientists believe sun-spot activity may be a contributing cause.

Mr. Gore states throughout the book that "we are heating up the atmosphere." But this is by no means scientifically established. It's a theory, and it may be correct. But many scientists have doubts that human civilization is causing the Earth to warm. They note that, over time, the Earth experiences vast climate shifts for reasons only imperfectly understood. The late 17th century saw a "little ice age," which was preceded by 800 years of relative warmth.

At the root of the "global warming" theory is the idea that man-made chemicals released into the atmosphere are permanently changing the environment. And yet, as Dixy Lee Ray argues in her book, "Trashing the Planet," "all of the air-polluting materials produced by man since the beginning of the industrial revolution do not begin to equal the quantities of toxic materials, aerosols and particulates spewed into the air from just three volcanoes: Krakatoa in 1883, Mount Katmai in 1912 and Hekla in 1947."

There is dubious science on almost every page of the senator's



book. He wrings his hands over world population growth and cites as his authority Paul Ehrlich, the discredited former geneticist who once predicted that by the 1970s "hundreds of millions of people are going to starve to death. . . . Population control is the only answer."

Mr. Gore ignores evidence he finds inconvenient, such as the fact that the ice sheet on Greenland is getting thicker, or that the amount of ultraviolet radiation actually reaching the Earth's surface is decreasing, not increasing. He doesn't shrink from blaming the recent drought in California on global warming but fails to explain why far worse droughts occurred during the 1930s.

Still, "Greenhouse" Gore would be a good nickname for the senator, for whatever may be happening to the Earth's atmosphere, his rhetoric is certainly overheated. He refers several times to an "environmental holocaust" and compares those who

disagree with him to racists and anti-Semites.

Mr. Gore really tips his hand in the chapter titled "Dysfunctional Civilization." Here, his full-blown disgust with modern society and its comforts is on display. Comparing us with addicts, hooked on despoiling the Earth, Mr. Gore condemns not just pollution but "products for which we spend billions on advertising to convince ourselves we want, massive surpluses of products that depress prices while the products themselves go to waste, and diversions and distractions of every kind." We have become disconnected from the Earth, he argues, and this has led to "an epidemic of mental illness . . . drug and alcohol abuse, and homicide."

Really? The "surpluses" Mr. Gore condemns are what allow ordinary Americans, not fortunate enough to be wealthy senators, to afford the good things of life. If Mr. Gore is truly advocating a simpler, pre-industrial, non-capitalist (he says he's for a "modified free market") society, he should say so in his debate with Vice President Dan Quayle — who, incidentally, should memorize this book.

CLARENCE PAGE

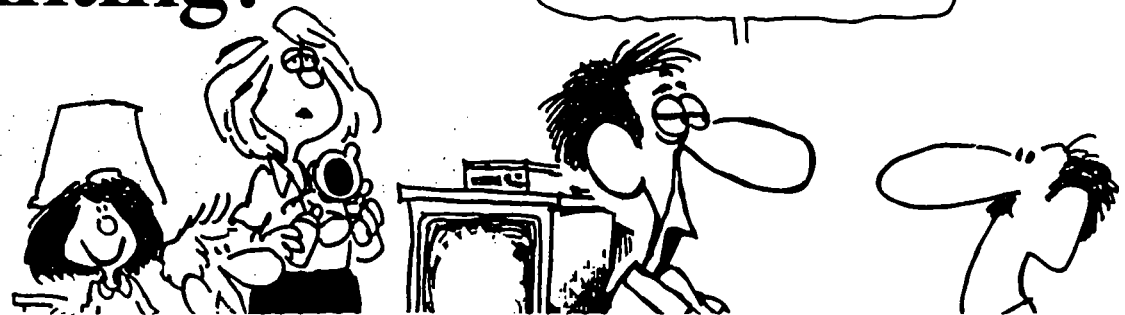
Rapt with finger pointing?

My waning faith in the intelligence of the American voter has been restored somewhat by the news that the Bush-Quayle campaign has been forced by sagging poll numbers to reassess its "family values" pitch.

Campaign officials are not giving it up, but a week after the GOP's Houston convention, they

The shift is healthy and welcome. Everyone knows American families are in trouble, but the Bush-Quayle campaign has offered more finger-wagging than true commitment to government's role in solving it.

The public apparently knows it has been conned, according to post-convention polls. They indicate that President Bush's bounce upward from a pre-Houston deficit of 60



PAT BUCHANAN ADDRESS AT THE 1992 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL
CONVENTION (AS-DELIVERED)

Location: Astrodome, Houston, Texas

Time: 9:19 p.m. CDT

August 17, 1992

PATRICK BUCHANAN: What a terrific crowd this is. What a terrific crowd. This may even be larger than the crowd I had in Eligay (phonetic), Georgia. Don't laugh. We carried Eligay. Listen my friends, we may have taken the long way home, but we finally got here.

The first thing I want to do is to congratulate President Bush, and remove any doubt about where we stand: The primaries are over, the heart is strong again, and the Buchanan brigades are enlisted--all the way to a great comeback victory in November.

(Applause.)

My friends, like many of you last month, I watched that giant masquerade ball up at Madison Square Garden--where 20,000 radicals and liberals came dressed up as moderates and centrists--in the greatest single exhibition of cross-dressing in American political history.

(Applause.)

One by one, the prophets of doom appeared at the podium. The Reagan decade, they moaned, was a terrible time in America; and they said the only way to prevent even worse times is to entrust our nation's fate and future to the party that gave us McGovern, Mondale, Carter and Michael Dukakis.

(Audience: boos.)

Where do they find these leaders? No way, my friends. The American people are not going to go back to the discredited liberalism of the 1960s and the failed liberalism of the 1970s--no matter how slick the package in 1992.

(Applause.)

No, the malcontents of Madison Square Garden notwithstanding, the 1980s were not terrible years in America. They were great years. You know it. And I know it. And everyone knows it except for the carping critics who sat on the sidelines of history, jeering at one of the great statesmen of modern time, Ronald Reagan.

(Applause.)

Remember the time of Jimmy Carter's days of malaise? Ronald Reagan crafted the greatest peacetime recovery in U.S. history--3 million new businesses created, and 20 million new jobs.

Under the Reagan Doctrine, one by one, it was the communist dominos that began to fall. First, Grenada was liberated by U.S. airborne troops and the U.S. Marine Corps.

(Applause.)

Then, the mighty Red Army was driven out of Afghanistan with American weapons. In the in Nicaragua, that squalid Marxist regime was forced to hold free elections--by Ronald Reagan's contra army--and the communists were thrown out of power.

Fellow Americans, we ought to remember, it was under our party that the Berlin Wall came down, and Europe was reunited. It was under our party that the Soviet Empire collapsed, and the captive nations broke free.

You know, it is said that every president will be remembered in history with but a single sentence. George Washington was the father of our country. Abraham Lincoln preserved the Union. And Ronald Reagan won the Cold War. And it is just about time that my old colleagues, the columnists and commentators, looking down on us tonight from their sky boxes and anchor booths and sky boxes, gave Ronald Reagan the full credit he deserves--for leading America to victory in the Cold War.

(Applause.)

Most of all, my friends, Ronald Reagan made us proud to be Americans again. We never felt better about our country; and we never stood taller in the eyes of the world than when the Gipper was at the helm.

(Applause.)

But we are here tonight, my friends, not only to celebrate, but to nominate. And an American president has many, many roles.

He is our first diplomat, the architect of American foreign policy. And which of these two men is more qualified for that role? George Bush has been U.N. ambassador, director of the CIA, envoy to China. As vice president, George Bush co-authored and co-signed the policies that won the Cold War. As president, George Bush presided over the liberation of Eastern Europe and the termination of the Warsaw Pact.

And what about Mr. Clinton? Well, Bill Clinton couldn't find 150 words to discuss foreign policy in an acceptance speech that lasted almost an hour. You know, as was said of another Democratic candidate, Bill Clinton's foreign policy experience is pretty much confined to having had breakfast once at the International House of Pancakes.

(Applause.)

You know, let's recall what happened. Let us look at the record and recall what happened. Under President George Bush, more human beings escaped from the prison house of tyranny to freedom than in any other four-year period in history.

(Applause.)

And for any man, let me tell you for any man to call this the record of failure is the cheap political rhetoric of politicians who only know how to build themselves up by tearing America down, and we don't want that kind of leadership in the United States.

(Applause.)

The presidency, my friends, the presidency is also an office that Theodore Roosevelt called America's bully pulpit.

Harry Truman said it was preeminently a place of moral leadership. George Bush is a defender of right-to-life, and a champion of the Judeo-Christian values and beliefs upon which this America was founded.

(Applause.)

Mr. Clinton, however, has a different agenda.

At its top is unrestricted, unrestricted abortion on demand. When the Irish-Catholic governor of Pennsylvania, Robert Casey, asked to say a few words on behalf of the 25 million unborn children destroyed since Roe v. Wade, Bob Casey was told there was no room for him at the podium at Bill Clinton's convention and no room at the inn.

(Audience: boos.)

Yet a militant leader of the homosexual rights movement could rise at that convention and say: ``Bill Clinton and Al Gore represent the most pro-lesbian and pro-gay ticket in history.'' And so they do.

(Audience: boos.)

Bill Clinton says he supports school choice--but only for state-run schools. Parents who send their children to Christian schools, or private schools or Jewish schools or Catholic schools need not apply.

(Audience: boos.)

Elect me, and you get two for the price of one, Mr. Clinton says of his lawyer-spouse.

(Audience: boos.)

And what does Hillary believe? Well, Hillary believes that 12-year-olds should have the right to sue their parents.

(Audience: boos)

And Hillary has compared marriage and the family as institutions to slavery and life on an Indian reservation.

Well, speak for yourself, Hillary.

(Applause.)

Friends, my friends, this is radical feminism. The agenda that Clinton and Clinton would impose on America--abortion on demand, a litmus test for the Supreme Court, homosexual rights, discrimination against religious schools, women in combat units--that's change, all right. That's not the kind of change America needs. It's not the kind of change America wants. And it is not the kind of change we can abide in a nation that we still call God's country.

(Applause.)

A president of the United States is also America's commander-in-chief. He's the man we authorize to send fathers and sons and brothers and friends into battle.

George Bush was 17 years old when they bombed Pearl Harbor. He left his high school graduation, he walked down to the recruiting office, and signed up to become the youngest fighter pilot in the Pacific war.

(Applause.)

And Mr. Clinton? And Bill Clinton?

(Audience: where was Clinton?)

I'll tell you where he was. I'll tell you where he was.

(Audience: where was Clinton?)

I'll tell you where he was. When Bill Clinton's time came in Vietnam, he sat up in a dormitory in Oxford, England, and figured out how to dodge the draft.

Let me ask the question of this convention. Which of these two men has won the moral authority to send young Americans into battle? I suggest, respectfully, it is the American patriot and war hero, Navy Lieutenant J.G. George Herbert Walker Bush.

(Applause.)

My fellow Americans, my fellow Americans, this campaign is about philosophy, and it is about character; and George Bush wins on both counts.

(Applause.)

And it is time all of us came home and stood beside him.

As his running mate, Mr. Clinton chose Albert Gore. But just how moderate is Prince Albert? Well, according to the Taxpayers Union, Al Gore beat out Teddy Kennedy, two straight years, for the title of biggest spender in the U.S. Senate, and Teddy Kennedy isn't moderate about anything.

(Applause.)

I'm not kidding. I'm not kidding about Teddy. How many other 60-year-olds do you know who still go to Florida for spring break?

(Applause.)

You know, at that great big costume party they held up in New York, Mr. Gore made a startling declaration. Henceforth, Albert Gore said, the central organizing principle of governments everywhere must be the environment.

Wrong, Albert!

The central organizing principle of this republic is freedom.

(Applause.)

And from the ancient forests of Oregon and Washington, to the Inland Empire of California, America's great middle class has got to start standing up to these environmental extremists who put birds and rats and insects ahead of families, workers and jobs.

(Applause.)

(Audience: we want Pat.)

BUCHANAN (continues): One year ago, my friends, I could not have dreamt I would be here tonight. I was just one of many panelists on what President Bush calls ``those crazy Sunday talk shows.''

But I disagreed with the president; and so we challenged the president in the Republican primaries and we fought as best we could. From February to June, President Bush won 33 primaries. I can't recall exactly how many we won.

(Laughter.)

I'll get you the figure tomorrow.

But tonight I want to speak from the heart, to the 3 million Americans who voted for Pat Buchanan for president. I

will never forget you, nor the great honor you have done me. But I do believe, I do believe deep in my heart, that the right place for us to be now--in this presidential campaign--is right beside George Bush.

(Applause.)

This party is my home. This party is our home, and we've got to come home to it. And don't let anyone tell you any different.

Yes, we disagreed with President Bush, but we stand with him for the freedom of choice religious schools. And we stand with him against the amoral idea that gay and lesbian couples should have the same standing in law as married men and women.

We stand with President Bush for right-to-life, and for voluntary prayer in the public schools.

(Applause.)

And we stand against putting our wives and daughters and sisters into combat units of the United States Army. And we stand, my friends, we also stand with President Bush in favor of the right of small towns and communities to control the raw sewage of pornography that so terribly pollutes our popular culture.

We stand with President Bush in favor of federal judges who interpret the law as written, and against would-be Supreme Court justices like Mario Cuomo who think they have a mandate to re-write the Constitution.

(Applause.)

My friends, this election is about more than who gets what. It is about who we are. It is about what we believe and what we stand for as Americans. There is a religious war going on in this country for the soul of America. It is a cultural war as critical to the kind of nation we shall be as the Cold War itself, for this war is for the soul of America. And in that struggle for the soul of America, Clinton and Clinton are on the other side, and George Bush is on our side.

(Applause.)

And so, to the Buchanan brigades out there, we have to come home, and stand beside George Bush.

(Applause.)

In those six months campaigning from Concord, New Hampshire to California, I came to know our country better than I had known it ever before in my life, and I gathered up memories that will be with me the rest of my days.

There was that day-long ride through the great state of Georgia in a bus Vice President Bush himself had used in 1988 called Asphalt One. The ride ended in a 9:00 p.m. speech in a tiny town in southern Georgia called Fitzgerald.

There were those workers at the James River Paper Mill, in northern New Hampshire in a town called Groveton--tough, hardy men. None of them would say a word to me as I came down the line, shaking their hands one by one. They were under threat of losing their jobs at Christmas. As I moved down the line, one tough fellow about my age just looked up and said to me, "Save our jobs."

Then there was the legal secretary that I met at the Manchester airport on Christmas Day who came running up to me and said Mr. Buchanan, I'm going to vote for you. And then she broke down weeping and she said ``I've lost my job, I don't have any money, and they're going to take away my little girl. What am I going to do?''

My friends, these people are our people. They don't read Adam Smith or Edmund Burke, but they came from the same schoolyards and the same playgrounds and towns as we came from. They share our beliefs and convictions, our hopes and our dreams. These are the conservatives of the heart. They are our people. And we need to reconnect with them. We need to let them know we know how bad they're hurting. They don't expect miracles of us, but they need to know we care.

(Applause.)

There were the people, of Hayfork, a tiny town up in California's Trinity Alps, a town that is now under a sentence of death because a federal judge has set aside 9 million acres for the habitat of the spotted owl--forgetting about the habitat of the men and women who live and work in Hayfork.

And there were the brave people of Koreatown who took the worst of those L.A. riots, but still live the family values we treasure, and who still believe deeply in the American dream.

Friends, in those wonderful 25 weeks of our campaign, the saddest days were the days of that riot in L.A., the worst riot in American history. But out of that awful tragedy can come a message of hope.

Hours after that riot ended I went down to the Army compound in south Los Angeles where I met the troopers of the 18th Cavalry who had come to save the city of Los Angeles. An officer of the 18th Cav said Mr. Buchanan, I want you to talk to a couple of our troopers. And I went over and I met these young fellas. They couldn't have been 20 years old, and they recounted their story.

They had come into Los Angeles late in the evening of the second day, when the rioting was still going on, and two of them walked up a dark street, where the mob had burned and looted every building on the block but one, a convalescent home for the aged. And the mob was headed in to ransack and loot the apartments of the terrified old men and women inside. The troopers came up the street, M-16s at the ready, and the mob threatened and cursed, but the mob retreated because it had met the one thing that could stop it: force, rooted in justice, and backed by moral courage.

(Applause.)

Greater love than this hath no man than that he lay down his life for his friend. Here were 19-year-old boys ready to lay down their lives to stop a mob from molesting old people they did not even know. And as those boys took back the streets of Los Angeles, block by block, my friends, we must take back our cities, and take back our culture, and take back our country.

God bless you, and God bless America.

Los Angeles Times
29 August 1992

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Quayle: Rivals' Environmental View Is 'Bizarre'

By PAUL RICHTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich.—Vice President Dan Quayle used a swing through the auto industry's home state Friday to bash the Democratic ticket for "bizarre," and "hysterical" environmental views that he said threaten thousands of auto industry jobs.

In a speech to the Economic Club of Grand Rapids, Quayle zeroed in on Democratic vice presidential nominee Al Gore, describing the Tennessee senator as an environmental extremist who sees "Earth as the victim and mankind the enemy."

To back up that claim, he cited statements in a book Gore wrote, "Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit," that likened civilization to "a dysfunctional family" estranged from Mother Earth and referred to cars as a "mortal threat" that should be phased out.

"It's all pretty bizarre stuff," said Quayle. He also decried Gore and the Democratic presidential nominee, Bill Clinton, for having a "strange and sad outlook" about the world's future.

Turning to a subject of special interest to his audience, Quayle blasted the Democrats for supporting a move to raise automobile fuel efficiency standards to 40 miles per gallon by the turn of the century from the current 27.5 m.p.g. Citing an auto trade group's estimate—and echoing a claim President Bush made earlier in the week—Quayle warned that the proposal could cost as many as 300,000 jobs.

The Bush reelection campaign is hoping to gain mileage in Rust Belt states by attacking Clinton and Gore on the environmental issue, but it is also a tricky tactic because the Administration cannot afford to be seen as anti-environment, one aide acknowledged.

In an effort to walk that fine line, Quayle praised the Administration's environmental record as a "balanced, science-based approach." He also contended that the environment "is in better shape—not worse—than four years ago."

He cited Bush's advocacy of the Clean Air Act, which he described as "the most sweeping environmental law in history." He asserted that pollution is in decline, and that "Los Angeles has less smog today than 20 years ago." And he noted

Quayle Ventures Outside Loyal GOP Bastions

■ **Politics:** New itinerary takes him to less friendly areas. But the risk is protesters will overshadow positive news of his appearances.

By PAUL RICHTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Held on a short leash during his disastrous 1988 campaign, Vice President Dan Quayle this year is mapping a campaign itinerary that takes him outside loyal Republican bastions and into more stops in hotly contested electoral battlegrounds.

The last week has shown the pattern. In the days immediately following last week's Republican Convention, Quayle swung through Democrat-rich areas in north-central Florida and the "I-85 corridor" of piedmont North Carolina. Friday, he traveled to Grand Rapids, Mich., to blast the environmental positions of the Democratic presidential ticket and then campaigned in Macomb County, a suburban area northeast of Detroit that is synonymous with Ronald Reagan Democrats.

In contrast, Quayle was relegated four years ago to a circuit consisting largely of such low-risk stops as Bible Belt chambers of commerce and some of the more conservative college campuses.

"They really deep-sixed him last time," said Michael McCurry, a Democratic strategist who was press secretary to the party's 1988 vice presidential nominee, Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen. "This time, I think they can justly make the claim they're being more adventurous."

Jim Pitts, Quayle's political director, says the new itinerary reflects the vice president's greater self-confidence. "In 1988, the campaign was perceived more as George Bush," Pitts said. "This year, it's Bush-Quayle."

Because he is such a partisan lightning rod, the obvious risk for Quayle in venturing to less friendly areas is that the dissenters will crowd out more positive TV and press

coverage of his appearances.

That occurred on June 23, when Quayle visited the Pueblo del Rio housing project in South Los Angeles. A handful of protesters accused him of using the visit for a publicity stunt and, through his much publicized attack on husband-less TV mom "Murphy Brown," insulting single mothers.

"You don't want them to step on your message," said an aide.

Quayle's crowds so far have been dominated by the well-groomed Republican faithful, who cheer lustily at his perorations on family values and small government and boo as if on cue when he denounces the Clinton ticket, the Democratic "dictators" of Congress and the national media.

But his itinerary also has exposed him to a scattering of protesters, such as those who came to razz him Tuesday when a whistle-stop train tour chugged 100 miles through central North Carolina. At a stop in Salisbury, N.C., as Quayle declaimed on the need for tax cuts and traditional values, a man held up a sign that read: "It's about the economy, stupid."

Central North Carolina, with its large population of textile and furniture manufacturing workers and its growing group of younger, better-educated liberals, "is a place Democrats go to hold fund-raisers," said McCurry, the Democratic strategist. "That's riskier territory for him."

Quayle also Tuesday held a rally in a county in South Carolina that is 30% black. There, protesters unfurled a huge banner attacking him and carried on a shouting match with others in the crowd. The verbal battle climaxed when a protester called a Republican partisan a "brown shirt."

Quayle's first order of business still focuses on shoring up support for the GOP ticket in conservative areas, including regions that embraced Bush challenger Patrick J. Buchanan earlier in the year. He will travel next week to Albany, Macon and Columbia, Ga., cities populated with many of the white, male "Bubba" voters whose backing Bush needs to win reelection.

But later, aides say, the campaign will

spend more time in swing states in the Midwest and West, including Ohio, Illinois and California. Aides say they also expect to spend time in Louisiana, a state that, because of its proximity to Clinton's home state of Arkansas, may become a Democratic target.

In California, the vice president must try to restore the loyalty of Orange County Republicans, some of whom have strayed toward the Democratic ticket, according to polls. Quayle plans a swing through Orange County over the Labor Day weekend.

And as Election Day nears, preliminary plans call for him to campaign in the Central Valley, which often decides which way the state goes in presidential contests.

David P. Prospero, who was Quayle's press secretary in 1988, vividly remembers the insults and protests that the vice president faced during his few forays into unfriendly places.

At the beginning of that year's general election campaign, when scrutiny of his decision in the late 1960s to join the Indiana National Guard—and thus remove himself from the military draft—was at its most intense, Quayle was followed from appearance to appearance by a man in a chicken suit. He once shouted down demonstrators at a county fair.

It was such experiences that led to Quayle being put under wraps for much of the campaign.

But now, Prospero said, "he has had four years . . . to look vice presidential, so he is running a different kind of campaign."

Still, there are limits to Quayle's boldness. He has cut back, for example, on the visits to inner-city schools and housing projects that he was making earlier in the summer. And when he has met with factory workers, it has been in tightly controlled settings inside defense plants, where the Administration's views on maintaining a large Pentagon budget are viewed warmly.

Gore Attacks GOP Record on Environment

By EDWIN CHEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WACO, Tex.—Vice presidential candidate Al Gore launched a furious counterattack Friday against Republican criticisms of the Democratic ticket's environmental positions, charging that the Bush Administration's record on the issue "is little more than photo opportunities and empty promises."

Gore also said: "I'm not sure there's anyone left in America with the exception of [Vice President] Dan Quayle who can refer to George Bush as the 'environmental President' without laughing."

The Tennessee senator was referring to one of Bush's pledges during the 1988 campaign.

Gore's comments came in response to assertions by Quayle earlier in the day that the environmental views espoused by Democratic ticket were "bizarre" and "hysterical."

As Bush had done earlier in the week, Quayle criticized Gore and the Democratic presidential candidate, Bill Clinton, for supporting a proposal to raise automobile fuel efficiency standards from the current 27.5 miles per gallon to 40 m.p.g. by the turn of the century.

Gore, touring parts of Texas with Clinton on Friday as the pair completed their fourth joint bus trip of the campaign, said Bush and Quayle "pose a false choice between the environment and jobs."

He accused the Administration of failing to recognize that environmental cleanup can create "millions" of new jobs in what he said is a fast-growing field of technology, especially in Japan and Germany.

He also said that, under a Clinton-Gore Administration, the federal government would forge "a new partnership" with industry to develop technologies to meet the tougher fuel-efficiency standards.

"We are looking for more efficient products in all industries," he added.

Gore disputed Quayle's defense of the Administration's environmental record.

"George Bush and Dan Quayle taking credit for a clean environment is like a weatherman taking credit for a sunny day, then looking for another four-year contract. It's ludicrous," Gore said.

that the President had declared waters off California, Florida and New England closed to offshore oil drilling.

Again targeting Gore, Quayle said: "You can spend all day explaining to some people that America has the world's best environmental record. Yet they go to a foreign country like Brazil to bash America."

Quayle was referring to Gore's appearance at the global environmental conference held last June in Rio de Janeiro, at which the Tennessee senator joined in criticism of the Administration for not supporting some of the protection measures pushed by other countries.

The Administration's efforts to portray Gore as an environmental extremist have been complicated by a differing view expressed by William K. Reilly, the head of the Environmental Protection Agency.

In a recent interview on John McLaughlin's syndicated "One on One" television show, Reilly said: "No, I do not think that [Gore] is an environmental extremist."

Asked at a news conference about the seeming contradiction, Quayle said: "You can ask our EPA administrator about some of the quotes that are in [Gore's] book. He's capable of speaking for himself."

Although Gore blasted back at Quayle on the environmental issue

Friday, a statement he released did not make reference to his book. In a recent interview with The Times, Gore said he stood by its arguments that dramatic new commitments to environmental protection are needed. But he conceded he might have altered it had he known what lay ahead for his political future.

"I might well have been more vulnerable to timidity in some of the frank self-description in the book and some of the efforts to really bare my soul," he said.

As Quayle was focusing on the environmental issue Friday, Bush's reelection campaign announced it

is forming a national coalition to promote and defend the President's environmental record. The organization will be made up of Republicans who have been influential in environmental policy and will be headed by James Strock, secretary of California's Environmental Protection Agency.

Strock was appointed in March, 1991, by Gov. Pete Wilson to realign the state's many environmental agencies into a single "super-agency."

Times staff writers William Trombley in Sacramento and Dave Leshner in Los Angeles contributed to this story.

Flip-Flop

Al Gore Flounders on Pigeon River Issue

by Betty Bean

Bobby Seay got the first call about Al Gore the same day Tennessee's junior senator started running for vice president.

It was a Ross Perot staffer running down rumors that some of Gore's East Tennessee constituents didn't like his environmental record at home.

"She wanted to know about Sen. Gore's involvement with the Pigeon River issue," Seay says.

The planned meeting got scotched the next week when Perot pulled out of the presidential race, but Seay also heard from the Republicans and finally from the Democrats, who had gotten wind that trouble could be brewing.

Seay is a founding member of the Dead Pigeon River Council (DPRC), a one-issue environmental group dedicated to cleaning up the foul, stinking stream that has carried a load of dioxin-laden paper mill effluent through the middle of Newport since 1908.

While Seay and his colleagues are far from united in their opinions of Gore's record, most of them say that when the going got tough, Al Gore got gone.

Tennesseans have launched many cleanup efforts since Champion International opened the Canton mill in 1908. Champion has made many promises.

A 1912 copy of the *Newport Plain Talk* touted Champion improvements that meant "one half of the total waste of two years ago has already been stopped and improvements are planned to reduce it further." The same edition contained an account of the sinking of the Titanic.



NEWS FRONT

The paper maker's most serious setback came 73 years later, when the North Carolina Division of Environmental Management issued a draft permit without consulting Tennessee.

In 1985, the Environmental Protection Agency, which took over regulation of the Canton mill, issued a draft permit with stricter water color requirements than those to which Champion had been accustomed. Champion officials said they would have to close the mill if forced to comply.

Later in 1987, a federal judge stripped North Carolina regulators of their authority over the mill operations.

In 1988, Gov. Ned McWherter came under pressure from North Carolina to approve Champion's "compromise" permit, and the fight shaped up as a classic face-off between job-scared North Carolina millworkers and Tennesseans who were sick of accepting Champion promises.

McWherter refused to approve the variance. Gore, who is his first cousin, supported it.

During his early years in the Senate, Gore offered considerable assistance to DPRC members. But by early 1989, something changed, Pigeon River advocates say.

Here is how they see it:

Gore was running for president and needed a big win in the southern "Super Tuesday" primaries. North Carolina was a "must have" state.

The first signal that something was amiss came when Gore was spotted attending a fundraiser in Asheville for North Carolina's U.S.



Democratic Vice Presidential candidate Senator Al Gore

Rep. Jamie Clark. Even worse, Gore rode to the event in a Champion International limousine.

The worst blow was yet to come, however Gore finally sided with those who said that McWherter should accept the Champion variance on the EPA permit. Many people felt Gore had abandoned them.

During an 1989 EPA meeting in Newport, (which Gore did not attend) one angry resident stood up and said, "Sen. Gore where are you? He has time to go to the jungles of South America, but he doesn't have time for us."

Sevier County property owner who is an alternate delegate to the Republican National Convention and state co-ordinator of Common Cause, says he's been wondering when someone would "pick up on" Gore's Pigeon River "flip flop."

"He is a politician who sold out his own people," McCroskey says. "You don't need but

one look at that river to see it's a sit-down, crying shame. This issue goes to his character, and he doesn't show me much."

Dick Mullinix, founder of the Pigeon River Action Group in North Carolina, isn't inclined to be so hard on Gore.

"We still believe in him," Mullinix says. "I was disappointed when he attended that Jamie Clark fund raiser, but we certainly believe the river stands a better chance under an administration with Gore in it than the present administration."

DPRC founding member Gay Webb says his major objective is still to get the river clean. And while he is less than thrilled with Gore, he is appalled by the work of Vice President Quayle's Council on Competitiveness, which has dismantled health, safety and environmental regulations.

Webb remembers that in 1986, Bush went fishing in Lake Logan, Champion's private corporate resort. "He was up there in that glorified whorehouse," Webb growls. "They stock it with trout long as your arm. Wonder if Bush would like to do some fishing in the Pigeon?"

The people on the Pigeon, by and large, say they have little choice but to forgive what they see as Gore's 1988 treachery.

"The Republicans wanted to meet with us about going to the national convention to help dethrone the Little Environmentalist," says Bobby Seay. "But the last 12 years of Reagan and Bush have done more to damage the environment than could have been done in 50 years by other administrations..."

Lucie Mullinix tells a story about seeing Gore at a meeting in Newport in 1990. He stood on the banks of the Pigeon and skipped stones across the water. Later, he overheard a DPRC member criticizing him.

"He came up behind us and said 'I wish you'd let me explain,'" Lucie Mullinix says.

"But you know? I don't think he ever did."

Ed. Note - Gore's press office was not able to provide an official response by our deadline. Look for a follow-up in a future issue.

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