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Environmentalists assail Bush

1st term gets low grade; new proposals called election ploy

By Ross Gelbspan
and Dianne Dumanoski
GLOBE STAFF

George Bush's promised environmental presidency began in November 1990 when he signed the long-fought Clean Air Act.

That's also when it ended, according to members of Congress and leading environmentalists.

Despite Bush's appointment of two highly respected environmentalists - William Reilly and Michael De-

land - to head the Environmental Protection Agency and the Council on Environmental Quality, most environmentalists say the president's record is marked by inaction masked by political doublespeak.

Last week, Bush proposed a 6 percent increase in the EPA's budget and an additional federal grant of \$100 million for the Boston Harbor cleanup. Critics dismissed both moves as symbolic election year gestures to environmentalists who could provide key votes in a close election,

despite the near-eclipse of environmental issues by the persistent recession.

Paul Levy, director of the Massachusetts Water Resources Authority, called Bush's announcement "a cynical election year" ploy, noting that even with the new money, the \$260 million federal contribution to the harbor cleanup amounts to less than 5 percent of the \$6 billion cost.

Levy said Bush's utilization of the harbor issue during his last cam-

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Environmentalists

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paign led him to expect that the federal government's share of the cleanup cost would be between 20 and 50 percent.

The League of Conservation Voters, taking a broad look at Bush's environmental record, gave the president's policies a D rating and cited "the failure of President Bush to deliver on the promises of candidate Bush."

Sen. Tim Wirth, Democrat of Colorado, echoed other critics in saying Bush's "business as usual posture" is particularly disturbing in the face of signs of potentially catastrophic global climate change. Reilly, the EPA's administrator, strongly defended the president's environmental record in a telephone interview last week.

"You must judge the president's record by his budget, his enforcement record and his new initiatives," Reilly said, noting that increases in environmental enforcement actions and budget allocations dwarf those under the Reagan administration.

US isolated on emissions

He said that the EPA has collected more money in fines and penalties from polluters in the past three years than it did in the previous 17 years of the agency's existence. And he said Bush's request to Congress last week for the increase in the EPA's budget during a national recession "proves the President's environmental concerns."

But critics on and off Capital Hill point to key policies as evidence that the Bush administration's environmental record is weak:

- Bush's refusal to commit the United States to an international treaty to reduce carbon dioxide emissions, regarded as a key factor in global climate change – a position that pits the United States against virtually every other developed country.

- The president's use of the Council on Competitiveness, headed by Vice President Dan Quayle, to override the EPA and weaken or gut rules that industrial leaders oppose.

- Bush's proposed national ener-

gy bill, which calls for 600 new oil, coal and nuclear plants over the next 40 years while neglecting conservation and renewable technologies that are seen as critical to safeguarding the environment and keeping the US economy competitive.

- The administration's initiative to open about 50 percent of the country's previously protected wetlands to development, despite a campaign promise of no net loss of wetlands.

- The administration's refusal to support a recycling law to deal with the country's solid waste crisis – a refusal critics say threatens to discourage citizens who see recycling as one way they can directly help the environment.

Both Reilly and Deland strongly hinted in telephone interviews last week that the president may reverse himself and commit the United States to signing a carbon dioxide reduction treaty at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro next June. "I think you'll find when we get to Brazil, the US won't obstruct the signing of a successful treaty on climate change," Reilly said.

He added that, because of widespread opposition to efforts by Quayle's council, Bush may also bring more wetlands under federal protection.

But critics voice skepticism of such pronouncements.

Sen. Albert Gore Jr., Democrat of Tennessee, one of the leading environmental voices in Congress, called Bush "simply a phony" when it comes to environmental protection. "The president's environmental policy, especially in the area of global environmental protection, is one of artifice, sham and bad faith," Gore said in a recent telephone interview.

Other critics offered a more generous interpretation, saying that, unlike Reagan, Bush is genuinely sympathetic to environmental issues.

"The president is driven by his desire to demonstrate his environmental credentials, and his need to maintain close ties to the business community," said professor Marjorie Hershey, who has followed the Bush record as part of her research at In-

give Bush low gra

Rhetoric versus reality

As a candidate in 1988 President Bush billed himself as a protector of the environment. As president he has often followed a different course.

CANDIDATE BUSH:

"Those who worry about the greenhouse effect are forgetting the White House effect."

PRESIDENT BUSH:

Refuses to commit the US to an international treaty to limit emissions of carbon dioxide scientists say are a major contributor to global climate change.

CANDIDATE BUSH:

"All existing wetlands, no matter how small, should be preserved."

PRESIDENT BUSH:

Backs new wetlands definition developed by Council on Competitiveness that could open up to 50 percent of the nation's wetlands to residential, commercial or agricultural development.

CANDIDATE BUSH:

"As president, I would pursue a national recycling and source-reduction strategy."

PRESIDENT BUSH:

Backs the elimination of rules requiring incinerator operators to recycle 25 percent of the trash they receive. His EPA administrator opposes legislation that would force manufacturers to use recycled materials in their products.

diana University into environmental policy. That conflict, she added, has produced a Bush record of "fits and starts."

Bush gets high marks for his support of the clean air legislation, which aims to halve the amount of acid rain over the next decade, and for his 10-year moratorium on off-shore oil drilling off the Massachusetts, Florida and Pacific coasts.

But critics say the credit Bush gained by appointing Reilly, former president of both the Conservation Foundation and the World Wildlife Fund, and Deland, former head of the Boston EPA office, have been canceled out by his use of the Quayle council to weaken enforcement of the Clean Air Act, wetlands protection, recycling and other regulations.

They also cite the emphatic refusal of former White House chief of staff John Sununu to acknowledge the perils of global climate change.

"It's clear Reilly has been squeezed. He has no power on policy front," said David Gardin, legislative director of the Sierra Club.

At White House meetings, Reilly is said to be pitted against anti-environmental officials from the Office of Management and Budget, the Council of Economic Advisers, the departments of Commerce and Energy and the Quayle council.

Reilly disagreed, saying: "We've more than held our own in seeing that environmental needs are understood and final rules promulgated. The council are defensible." Deland called accounts of Reilly's isolation "grossly exaggerated."

Many critics are angered by what they say is the Quayle council's usurpation of the EPA's regulatory authority. Last year, two EPA scientists resigned from a wetlands panel in apparent protest of political pressure.

for 1st term record

sure from the administration to weaken wetlands protection.

The Quayle council has, among other things:

- Overturned an EPA requirement that incinerator operators recycle 25 percent of their waste.

- Overridden established definitions of wetlands to allow the development of up to 50 percent of the delicate ecosystems, which protect water quality and provide homes and breeding areas to thousands of wildlife species. The rule is still under review by the administration.

- Altered a Clean Air Act rule in a manner that could lead to 30 percent more sulfur dioxide emissions than the law specifies.

Quayle has strongly defended the work of the council. Last November he told the *Globe*: "Our special interests are the people. We do everything by the rules. . . . We are going to review all regulations to make sure that it doesn't have a detrimental impact on the private sector and yet attains some goals like preserving the environment."

But the harshest attacks on the Bush record center on his past refusal to commit the United States to cap emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases.

British Prime Minister John Major, as well as leaders of Japan and other industrialized nations, have criticized Bush's position. Even Sen. John Chafee of Rhode Island, the ranking Republican on the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works, called for a dramatic cutback of the country's use of fossil fuels. "There will always be scientific uncertainties and scientific naysayers," Chafee said on Friday, adding that the United States must "develop a plan that avoids making the problem any worse while we resolve those uncertainties."

Bush has been severely criticized for his energy policy as well. In November, Senate Democrats killed the administration's energy bill by mobilizing opposition to a provision that would have opened the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling.

At the time, Sen. Paul Wellstone, Democrat of Minnesota, echoed oth-

er critics by saying: "The administration's energy bill is basically a giant Christmas tree of goodies for big energy corporations."

Opponents of the Bush energy plan call for a drastic increase in energy conservation.

The environmental vote

"Even the Energy Department said the central message it heard from the public was the desire for more aggressive energy efficiency in every sector of the economy," said Alden Meyer, director of Climate Change and Energy Programs for the Union of Concerned Scientists.

Bush has also been criticized for opposing federal action to spur the recycling of paper, glass and plastic products that threaten to overwhelm the country's landfills.

Last fall, at congressional hearings, Reilly strongly opposed a bill, sponsored by Sen. Max Baucus, Democrat of Montana, that would require industries to recycle those materials at various rates by the end of the decade. Baucus said the law is needed to jump-start a market for recycled products.

"What really happened was that the White House prevented Reilly from saying one positive thing about this approach. The poor guy was obviously emasculated by ideologues at the White House," said a congressional source who asked not to be named.

Ironically, some observers believe that, despite the swamping of environmental concerns by economic worries this year, Bush's environmental record could prove key to his reelection effort.

"There are strong environmental constituencies in states like California, Florida, Illinois and New York," Meyer said. "While their votes are currently marginal, they make the difference - could provide the swing vote - in the case of a close election. In an unexpected way, the economic downturn could well give more leverage to the environmental vote by making for a much closer-than-expected presidential election."

Michael Kranish of the Globe staff contributed to this story.

1/28/92

Dear Mrs McGinty —

After my interview of Sen.
Gore last week, he asked me to
send you the enclosed material —

I hope to do a piece on his
book in the next week —

I'll forward it as soon as
it runs —

Sincerely,

Ross Gelbspan



League of Conservation Voters
1707 L Street NW, Suite 550
Washington DC 20036

phone: 202/785-8683 fax: 202/835-0491

To: Katie McGinty At: 8/25
Fax #: 228-2611 Date: 8/25
From: Uli # of pages (incl. cover): 10

Description:

Goes to PUNTER Thursday Morning, Please make
Changes.

This message is intended only for the individual or entity to which it is addressed and may contain information that is privileged, confidential and exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, distribution or copying of this communication is strictly prohibited.

The Gore Record

Senator Al Gore is well known for his longstanding commitment to environmental protection in the areas of global warming, toxic waste and environmental justice. Earlier this year he published his first book, Earth in the Balance, outlining the Global Marshall Plan which presents visionary solutions to environmental problems. In a speech given at the Earth Summit and again when accepting the Vice Presidential nomination, Al Gore stated he "believes the central organizing principle in the post-Cold War world must become the task of saving the Earth's environment." Gore has earned a lifetime LCV score of 71%, with a 1989 high of 100%. Gore's 1991 score of 73% puts him well above the regional and national averages.

Biodiversity and Natural Resources

Concern for the loss of our natural resources has sent Sen. Gore around the globe, from the Aral Sea to the Amazon and from the North Pole to Antarctica looking for solutions to mounting environmental degradation. In early 1989, Gore visited the Amazon rainforests to study the causes and effects of deforestation. In August of 1990, he visited the Aral Sea which is now an empty dust bowl as a result of mismanagement and poor irrigation practices.¹

Although Sen. Gore has been criticized for supporting the Tennessee's Tellico Dam in the 1970s² he has since worked strongly for the preservation of species and habitat. Gore actively opposed the Cherokee National Forest management plan in Tennessee, successfully preventing extensive clearcutting and below market cost timber sales.³ He also co-sponsored the Tongass Timber Reform Act in 1988 and 1989.⁴ This Act protects the last extensive stands of uncut temperate rain forest in North America by allowing for responsible multiple-use management of this National Forest in southeast Alaska. He authored Public Law 101-620, a resolution calling for the protection of Antarctica from mining and development and declaring the area a global ecological commons. He also co-sponsored the 1991 Senate ban on Antarctica mining.⁵

Global Warming

Sen. Gore has been a leader in the fight against global warming. In fact, much of Earth in the Balance is devoted to the resolution of the global warming crisis. In the fall of 1988 Gore traveled to the Trans-Antarctic Mountains to talk with scientists taking core samples to discover the history of the Earth's atmospheric changes. In the Spring of 1991, Sen. Gore joined scientists on a Soviet nuclear sub in the North Pole to study the thinning of the polar ice cap, which many believe is the result of global warming. In the Senate, as Chairman of the Investigations and Oversight Subcommittee of the House Science and Technology Committee, Al Gore chaired the first Congressional hearing on Global Warming. Later, he served as chairman of the official Senate Climate Change Treaty Observer Group.⁶

As chairman of the Space Subcommittee in the Senate, Gore strongly urged the establishment of the new NASA program called Mission to Planet Earth to use NASA's technology for a more complete study of the Earth's surface, climate, and atmosphere.⁷

Sen. Gore has also authored legislation to preserve the ozone layer and prevent global warming from increasing. In 1989, he authored the Ozone Layer Conservation Act (S. 871) establishing an excise tax on ozone depleting chemicals, provisions of which are now part of the 1990 Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act. Sen. Gore also authored a

resolution that was passed as part of the Senate Energy bill that accelerates the phase out of ozone-destroying chemicals.⁸

Environmental Protection Agency

William K. Reilly, Executive Director of the EPA, says he admires Gores's intelligence and dedication: "he cares a lot and knows a lot about the issues." See Ali for stronger quote

Asserting that the EPA should maintain a strong regulatory role, Sen. Gore criticized the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) for interfering with EPA's duties by requiring time-consuming and costly economic cost-benefit analysis of all new environmental regulations.

As part of a growing concern that government agencies themselves should be held accountable to EPA's environmental standards, Sen. Gore co-authored the Strategic Environmental Research and Development Program which brings the capabilities of the Department of Defense to bear on global environmental problems. The bill was adopted in 1990 as part of the Department of Defense Authorization for FY '91.⁹ Sen. Gore co-sponsored the original version of the Federal Facilities Compliance Act which would allow EPA to impose administrative orders and monetary penalties on those federal agencies which fail to comply with all federal, state, interstate, and local solid and hazardous waste management and disposal requirements.¹⁰

Clean Air and Water

Sen. Gore proposed four amendments to the Clean Air Act which were adopted by the Senate and enacted into law, thus achieving greater protection for the ozone layer against destructive chemicals by developing safer substitutes, requiring more stringent pollution controls and eliminating the so-called "dead-zone" provision that would have allowed pollution industries to buy up land surrounding the polluting source instead of improving their cleaning methods.¹¹

Sen. Gore was a principle supporter of Sen. Stafford's acid rain bill which puts most of the burden of clean up on the major pollution producing states.¹² In 1988 Gore supported Sen. George Mitchell's acid rain bill, which mandated a 12 million ton reduction in sulfur dioxide emissions by the year 2000 and a 4 million ton reduction in nitrogen oxide emissions by 1996.¹³ On Clean Water Sen. Gore voted to kill a bill which would have put a year long delay on the funding for EPA enforcement of leaking underground storage tanks (LUST) financial regulations.¹⁴

Toxic Waste

As a freshman Congressman, Al Gore was assigned to the Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee of the House Commerce Committee and convinced its Chairman, John Moss, to allow Gore to begin an investigation of hazardous chemical waste dumping. Sen. Gore organized the first Congressional hearing on toxic waste in response to a Toone, TN citizens' complaint in 1978 of pesticide waste dumping which was polluting the area's groundwater supply. The hearing focused on Toone as well as Love Canal, NY and brought the problem of toxic waste to the forefront of public awareness. Gore helped write the original Superfund Law, which was a direct result of these hearings that passed during the lame duck session of December 1980.¹⁵

Recently, on the campaign trail, Sen. Gore promised "an investigation into local concerns about the environmental effects of a toxic waste incinerator. There are different kinds of (waste incineration) processes and everybody knows that you can't just have a blanket indictment of incinerators generally. But (advocates of burning wastes) don't take into account the methyl mercury, they don't take in to account a lot of the public health consequences."¹⁶

Sen. Gore's voting tends to vary on the use of nuclear energy, but he consistently supports nuclear safety and clean up. In 1991, Sen. Gore voted to restore \$118 million of federal funding for nuclear weapons clean up by taking the funding back from nuclear weapons production programs.¹⁷

Public Health

Many of the worst environmental disasters in terms of toxic and hazardous waste are located in some of the poorest communities of America. To address this situation, Sen. Gore authored the Environmental Justice Act, being discussed this fall in Congressional Committees, which is designed to assist communities that are "high environmental impact areas" suffering a disproportionate amount of exposure to toxic chemicals. If passed, the Act would identify, study and assess areas subject to public health threats that are caused by toxic waste pollution. Thus, individuals and communities living in those areas of highest impact would have an equal opportunity to receive resources and attention of appropriate federal agencies to which they currently have limited access.¹⁸

Sen. Gore also sponsored legislation prohibiting "backhauling," a practice in which trucks carrying hazardous material in one direction are loaded with food products for return trip, often with inadequate cleanup.¹⁹

Population Stabilization and International Issues

Sen. Gore's leadership in the environment has gone beyond America's borders. In conjunction with other Congressional leaders, Sen. Gore organized the first Interparliamentary Conference on Global Environment which took place in the spring of 1990 and included participants from 42 nations.²⁰ As Chairman of the U.S. Senate delegation to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Gore called for America lead the world by moving "towards greater energy efficiency, toward greater use of renewable energy sources, toward real preservation and protection of forests, toward a meaningful effort not only to clean up the pollution in our environment but to stop the pollution at its source."²¹

Recognizing that overpopulation is the root of many of the world's environmental problems, Sen. Gore voted to earmark \$15 million to restore federal support of the United Nations Population Fund in 1989. The funding had been previously cut off under the Reagan Administration.²² In 1991, Sen. Gore voted to authorize \$20 million for use by the United Nations Family Population Fund (UNFPA) for contraceptive supplies for 140 developing countries which do not accept funding from the United States directly.²³

Energy

Sen. Gore cites energy and resource conservation as one of the necessary steps the United States must take for future security. In 1991, Sen. Gore co-sponsored the Motor Vehicle Fuel Efficiency Act (S. 279) which mandates improved auto fuel efficiency through a 45 miles per gallon average for all cars sold in the U.S. Enactment of the bill would save

America nearly one million barrels of oil per day. Increased Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards would help eliminate many health problems, such as respiratory ailments and disease, as well as decrease emission of ozone depleting chemicals. 24

Sen. Gore also voted to override President Reagan's veto of the Appliance Energy Standards Act (S. 83) in 1987. The bill set federal energy efficiency standards for thirteen categories of major household appliances which was estimated to save consumers up to \$28 billion on their utility bills, and yield energy savings of up to 22,000 megawatts. 25

Sen. Gore has authored two bills currently pending in the Senate which encourage recycling: the National Recyclable Commodities Financing Act of 1989, which provides tax incentives for remanufacturing equipment, and the National Recyclable Commodities Act of 1989, which promotes the use of materials derived from municipal refuse. 26

Sen. Gore proposed amendments to the 1992 Senate Energy Bill which called for phasing out ozone destroying chemicals, establishing energy diagnostic centers, enabling engineering students and professors to work with small businesses to improve their energy efficiency, and providing subsidies for energy efficient products. 27

Twenty-first Century Economy

"Protecting our environment means new business and increased profits. It means strengthening our economy. It means meeting the challenge from our competitors, some of whom are already moving to secure their place and their profits from these growing markets. If we fail to act, we lose. We lose jobs, we lose opportunities, we lose our natural resources and the brighter future every parent hopes for their child," said Gore. 28

Sen. Gore proposes market incentives to promote environmental initiative and efficiency in business. To create an Environmental Security Trust Fund, companies would be required to make payments based on the amount of CO₂ they release into the atmosphere. To promote use of recycled materials, a virgin material fee would be levied on products at the point of manufacture or importation relative to the quantity of nonrenewable, virgin materials built into the product. Sen. Gore also encourages a government policy of purchasing environmentally appropriate substitutes wherever they are competitive, taking into account full life-cycle costs of the products. 29

Sen. Gore calls for efficiency standards throughout the economy such as utility rate reform to encourage conservation and efficiency, tree planting programs in communities where work requirements are attached to welfare payments, and an accelerated phaseout of all ozone-destroying chemicals. 30

Conservation Assessment

Al Gore has made the protection and conservation of the environment a cornerstone of his career. His voting record and authorship of pro-environment legislation demonstrate that his proposals for addressing looming environmental crises are not simply empty rhetoric. Sen. Gore has a clear understanding of the mounting environmental degradation facing Americans and the world community. He understands that a sound economy and a healthy environment are interdependent, in the present and especially the future.

Endnotes

1. Earth in the Balance p. 20
2. 1988 LCV Presidential Report
3. 1988 LCV Presidential Report
4. 1989 LCV Scorecard
5. Gore's Environmental Achievements; from the office of Sen. Gore
6. Earth in the Balance Intro.
7. Earth in the Balance pp. 357-358
8. Gore's Environmental Achievements; from the office of Sen. Gore
9. Gore's Environmental Achievements; from the office of Sen. Gore
10. Gore's Environmental Press Secretary; Katie McGinty
11. Gore's Environmental Achievements; from the office of Sen. Gore
12. LCV national scorecard
13. LCV national scorecard 1987-88
14. LCV national scorecard 1989
15. Earth in the Balance Notes p. 375
16. Greenwire Speech at Weirton, WV 7/21 written in Washington Times Ronald Taylor
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18. S. 2806 & Gore's Environmental. Achievements; from the office of Sen. Gore
19. Gore's Environmental Achievements; from the office of Sen. Gore
20. Earth in the Balance p. 10
21. Speech June 5, 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil for the Earth Summit
22. LCV national scorecard 1991
23. LCV national scorecard 1991
24. LCV national scorecard 1991
25. LCV national scorecard 1987-88
26. Gore's Environmental Achievements; from the office of Sen. Gore
27. Gore's Environmental Achievements; from the office of Sen. Gore
28. Address to Plenary Session as Chair of Sen. delegation to UNCED June 8, 1992
29. Earth in the Balance; The Global Marshal Plan
30. Earth in the Balance; The Global Marshal Plan

George Bush

At the Republican Convention Houston on August 19, 1992, President Bush made no direct reference to the environment. Unlike 1988, when he made specific promises on ocean dumping and other topics, at the podium in the Astrodome in 1992, President Bush did bring up energy, noting that he had introduced "a new domestic energy strategy which would cut our dependence on foreign oil by seven million barrels of oil a day." He went on the blame Congress for not passing a national energy strategy. The energy plan that the President mentioned contained virtually no energy conservation initiatives, in fact, the Administration deleted the serious conservation component that had been proposed by Energy Secretary Watson. The President's energy plan was heavily dependent on the construction of new nuclear power plants and by their own analysis, would have increased our reliance on foreign oil.

Earth Summit

In May of 1989, under pressure from other industrial countries to negotiate a plan to reduce carbon dioxide emissions, a leading "greenhouse" gas, President Bush agreed to support negotiations of a "research only" climate treaty. This year, in the international negotiations on a Climate Change treaty, the United States was the only industrial country to refuse to agree to specific requirements to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to stem the threat of global warming. All other industrial nations agreed to limit emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000.

President Bush also refused to sign the Biodiversity protection treaty agreed to by over 100 of the 178 nations attending the Earth Summit. The purpose of the treaty is to preserve hundreds of millions of acres of forests and other wildlife habitat around the world.

Pollution and Human Health

Among his accomplishments, President Bush broke a ten-year stalemate and got Congress moving towards passage of the Clean Air Act in 1990. Unfortunately in his State of the Union Address last January, President Bush called for a 90-day moratorium on all pollution control regulations for air and water pollution, toxic wastes, and garbage, including many important regulations concerning clean air.

Moreover, the Vice-President's Council on Competitiveness continues to freeze implementation of emission control legislation on polluting industries. For example, the Clean Air Act rules were revised after passage to allow industrial polluters to increase harmful emissions beyond the levels allowed in their clean air permits without public notification. While George Bush can take credit for passage of the Clean Air Act, his Administration's Council on Competitiveness continues to stall its implementation and weaken its substance.

Endangered Species

The most controversial endangered species decision of the past two years concerned the Northern Spotted Owl, a denizen of the rapidly vanishing, magnificent ancient forests of the Pacific Northwest. The Administration initially rejected the conclusions of its own Inter-Agency Scientific Committee, which recommended putting many areas of the owl's habitat off-limits to further federal logging. In response to continuing pressure from

environmentalists, the Fish and Wildlife Service listed the owl as a threatened species.

The Bush Administration declined to support the Eighth Circuit Court's ruling that the Endangered Species Act requires agencies to consult with the Federal Wildlife Service regarding federal actions abroad. Instead, the Administration has sought to overturn that decision in the Supreme Court and to drastically cut back the standing of environmentalists to bring lawsuits enforcing environmental laws.

Wetlands

Despite George Bush's campaign promise of "no net loss" of the nation's wetlands, in 1991, the Bush Administration revised its Federal Manual for the Identifying and Delineating Jurisdictional Wetlands which, if implemented, would result in severe loss of wetlands. The revised manual is a radical departure from the existing 1989 procedures for determining what constitutes wetlands.

The proposed changes are likely to affect areas in important ecosystems, like the Southeast's saturated forests and the Midwest's prairie potholes, which support half of America's ducks. Government scientists in Florida indicate that almost half of the Everglades may not fit the new definition. In practical terms, these changes would drop from protection at least 20 to 40 million acres of the estimated 100 million acres of remaining wetlands in the lower 48 states.

As EPA Secretary William Reilly said in a recent interview with the San Jose Mercury News, "We had an agreement that at first, had four agencies' agreement. The Competitiveness Council took that proposal and redid it and came up with the current draft manual. I don't think anyone thinks it works. I think that anyone who thinks it works should go down and have a press conference in Miami and explain how it doesn't include the Everglades."

Conservation Commitment

To date, President Bush has not responded to the League of Conservation Voters' request for a completed Presidential questionnaire. Following is an assessment of his record by researchers at the leading national environmental organizations.

1. Reducing CO₂ emission by 20-30%: The Bush Administration is the single biggest obstacle to an international climate treaty that curbs CO₂ emissions. The President did not support negotiations of an international treaty with binding limits, including targets and timetables, on CO₂ and other greenhouse gases. Domestically, the Administration's policies would actually increase emissions; the Administration's National Energy Strategy calls for greater use of fossil fuels which will result in steady increases in emissions of greenhouse gases.
2. Saving wetlands: President Bush reneged on his 1988 campaign promise to ensure "no net loss" of wetlands, especially through the Administration's proposed changes to the Federal Manual for Identifying and Delineating Jurisdictional Wetlands. The changes would affect areas in important ecosystems, like the Southeast's saturated forests and the Midwest's prairie potholes, which support half of America's ducks. Scientists in Florida indicate that almost half of the Everglades may not fit the new definition.
3. Strengthening the Endangered Species Act: The Bush Administration has repeatedly advocated injecting economic considerations into the listing process of species and has been

extremely recalcitrant in implementing and enforcing the Act, particularly in the case of the northern spotted owl.

4. Designating the Arctic coastal plain as wilderness: The Administration's National Energy Strategy (NES) centers around opening the Arctic Refuge to oil and gas development. Pushing more oil exploration into a premier wildlife refuge only perpetuates our gluttonous thirst for oil. The NES would do virtually nothing to reduce our reliance on oil.
5. Protection ancient forests while protecting workers: The Bush Administration continues to implement destructive policies regarding federal forests by requesting logging levels far too high to sustain and protect wildlife, recreation, and scenic beauty. The Administration has consistently supported the industry position against the use of science in the protection of Ancient Forests.
6. Encourage tax incentives for new, renewable energy sources: The Administration does not support tax investment or production incentives for renewable energy sources. The Administration has opposed extension of the solar tax credit and opposes efforts to expand that credit to wind, geothermal and biomass energy development. In addition, Bush does not support increased funding for the Department of Energy's renewables Research and Development program.
7. Making recycling mandatory: The Environmental Protection Agency opposed a national recycling bill which the environmental community considered very modest. Moreover, the Council on Competitiveness stalled mandatory recycling requirements for communities that build incinerators.
8. Increasing auto fuel efficiency: President Bush has publicly stated that he opposes an increase in Corporate Average Fuel Economy standards which would car manufacturere to build more fuel efficient cars..
9. Providing the full U.S. portion of international population assistance necessary: President Bush continues to oppose restoring support for the United Nations Population Fund. Legislation was passed by Congress which would have restored \$15 million in funding for UNFPA. In 1991, President Bush vetoed the entire foreign aid bill in order to prevent this restoration.
10. Discourage CO₂ emissions through the tax system: While some staff at the Environmental Protection Agency are working on Global Warming and there is some examination of environmental taxes taking place within the Administration, top officials have denied that global warming is a problem. In addition, the Administration squelched innovative energy tax proposals made by the Department of Energy when the National Energy Strategy was proposed.

Conservation Assessment

George Bush was elected President of the United States in 1988. While a candidate, he vowed to become the "Environmental President"; however, when the League of Conservation Voters assessed his record at the end of 1989, we graded his environmental work with a check minus, needs improvement. When we assessed the first two years of his term, that grade had slipped to a D.

Since that midterm grade in 1990, the President's record has shown no substantial improvement. In 1992, the most disheartening signal of interest in the environment was the President's lack of leadership at the first United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development in June of 1992. The President continues to support Vice-President Quayle's Council on Competitiveness, which has attempted to gut the Clean Air Act and other public health and pollution control legislation, often overruling the advice of other environmental voices inside the Administration.

In his most recent environmental photo opportunity using Sequoia National Park as the backdrop, the President said that Congress -- not his Administration -- was to blame for not doing more.

When describing the highlights of the Bush environmental record, the President points to the Clean Air Act but doesn't mention what Vice President Quayle has done to stall and weaken the Act. White House officials often point increased funding for the Environmental Protection Agency saying that EPA budget is up 44 percent. Unfortunately, during the Reagan/Bush years, severe and damaging budget cuts were made in the EPA's budget. In the past four years, President Bush has restored most of the dollars cut. But the operating budget for 1993 is only 16 percent higher in real dollars than EPA's operating budget in 1979.

George Bush's pledge to be "the Environmental President" seems to have gone the way of "Read My Lips, No New Taxes." Frequently, when the President talks about environmentalists he links it with the word "extremist." Bush-appointed Agriculture Secretary Edward Madigan joking said to a gathering of the American Farm Bureau that the Republican platform would include an agriculture plank calling for "more money, higher income, more markets. String all the environmentalists up," according to the Houston Chronicle. Although those sentiments are Secretary Madigan's, his comment does reflect at least one side of the split nature of the Bush environmental record.

1992 Republican Platform on the Environment

Cleaning up America is a labor of love for family, neighborhood and the nation. In the Republican tradition of conserving the past to enrich the future, we have made the United States the world's leader in environmental progress.

We spend more than any other country on environmental protection. Over the last twenty years, our country has spent \$1 trillion dollars to clean its air, water, and land. We increased GNP by 70 percent while cutting lead in the air by 97 percent. Over rivers run cleaner than ever in memory. We've preserved parks, wilderness and wildlife. The price of progress is now about \$115 billion a year, almost 2 percent of GNP; and that will grow to 3 percent by 2000.

Clearly we have led the world in environmental protection. We have taught the world three vital lessons. First, environmental progress is integrally related to economic gains. Second, economic growth generates the capital to pay for environmental gains. Third, private ownership and economic freedom are the best security against environmental degradation. The ghastly truth about state socialism is now exposed in what used to be the Soviet Union: dead rivers and seas, poisoned land, dying people.

"Liberal Democrats think people are the problem. We know people are the solution. Respecting the people's rights and views, we applied market-based solutions to environmental problems."

"Adverse changes in climate must be the common concern of mankind. At the same time, we applaud our president for personally confronting the international bureaucrats at the Rio Conference. He refused to accept their anti-American demands for income redistribution and won instead a global climate treaty that relies on real action plans rather than arbitrary targets hostile to U.S. growth and workers. Following his example, a Republican Senate will not ratify any treaty that moves environmental decisions beyond our Democratic process or transfers beyond our shores authority over U.S. property. The Democrats' national candidates, on the other hand, insist that the United States must do what our foreign competitors refuse to do: abolish 300,000 to 1,000,000 jobs to get a modest reduction in 'greenhouse gases.'"

Environmental progress must continue in tandem with economic growth. Crippling an industry is no solution at all. Bankrupt facilities only worsen environmental situations. Unemployment is a form of pollution too, poisoning families and contaminating whole communities. Some in our own country still refuse to face those facts. They try to hijack environmentalism, making it anti-growth and anti-jobs. Although Democrats want to tighten the squeeze. They use junk science to foster the hysteria instead of reason, demanding rigid controls, more taxes and less resource production.

However, with billions of dollars at stake in national production and jobs, not to mention our quality of life, our decisions to spend on environmental protection must not be determined by the politics of the moment. We will use scientifically respectable risk-benefit assessments to settle environmental controversies.

It is time to replace knee-jerk reaction with the kind of scientific analysis that helps businesses, individuals and communities contribute to economic and environmental progress through flexible applications of laws. We must base our environmental policies on real risks to human health, determined by sound, peer-reviewed science, including procedures for what is an acceptable risk.

We will require federal agencies to promptly compensate, from their own budgets, for any taking of private property, including the denial of use. We will legislatively overhaul the 'superfund' program to speed the cleanup of hazardous waste and more efficiently use superfund dollars. We will develop greenways of parks and open space in urban areas to further improve the quality of life in our cities. We will work with U.S. industry and labor to identify promising markets abroad where America's environmental know-how can carry our success story to the rest of Planet Earth.

Private Property Rights. We reaffirm our commitment to the fifth amendment to the Constitution: "No person shall be...deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation. We support strong

enforcement of this Takings Clause to keep citizens secure in the use and development of their property.

The right to own, use and dispose of property inheres in mankind by nature and is a fundamental political tenet of all free nations. We applaud the wisdom of the First Congress for incorporating this guarantee of individual liberty in the Bill of Rights. We remind all government officials that property rights are not granted by governments; rather, government is directed by the governed to protect the rights of private property owners.

The vigilant protection of private property rights safeguards for citizens everything of value, including their right of contract to produce and sell the fruits of their labor. The historic collapse of communism, and other command-and-control economies is absolute evidence of the failure of economic systems that lack a recognition of the natural rights of property owners.

We also seek to reduce the amount of land owned or controlled by the government, especially in the Western states. We insist upon prompt payment for private lands certified as critical for preserving essential parks and preserves."

Congressional Record

Dan Quayle served in the U. S. House of Representatives from 1976 to 1980 where he earned an average LCV score of 30%. In 1980 he was elected to the U.S. Senate where he served until 1988. While a Senator, his average LCV rating was 39%. Some of his votes as a Senator include:

- voting against an amendment to allow the Department of Energy to sue contractors for the cost of cleanup of nuclear accidents caused by negligence¹,
- to ease pesticide testing regulations², and;
- voting against a "Superfund" program to pay for medical expenses of victims of hazardous-substances releases³.

He consistently voted against efforts to strengthen the Endangered Species Act, family planning measures and clean water initiatives. Quayle also voted against almost all energy conservation initiatives, including mass transportation, the use of alternative fuels and efforts to raise automobile fuel standards.⁴

Vice-Presidential Record

As Vice-President of the United States, Dan Quayle has used his Chairmanship of the Council on Competitiveness as his vehicle to shape environmental policy. The Council was created in 1990 to relieve American businesses from undo regulations thought to hamper international competitiveness. However, the main activity of the "Quayle Council" seems to be gutting or at least stalling pro-environment regulations.

Clean Air

One of the favorite targets of the Council has been the Clean Air Act. It has delayed rules that would put the Clean Air Act of 1990 into effect and has asked the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) for more than 100 changes to proposed regulations⁵. Perhaps the Council's most

¹"Quayle's Key Vote's: Consistently Conservative," Congressional Quarterly, 8/20/88.

² IBID

³ IBID

⁴ League of Conservation Voters Congressional Scorecard, 1977-1988.

⁵ The American Journal, National Resources Defense Council Publication September 1991.

egregious action was its change in the EPA's permitting proposal. The Council altered the proposal to allow polluters to increase their emissions if there is no response within seven days from the state in which the companies are operating. The Quayle Council also deleted an accompanying requirement that permit changes be open to public review.⁶ Both of these changes were made despite opposition from EPA Administrator William Reilly, who recommended the inclusion of a public review option and a 45 day review period.⁷

Under the guise of "operational flexibility", the Council has proposed alterations to similar permit provisions of the Clean Air Act to allow polluters to buy "allowances" to release extra pollution and to help businesses avoid recycling harmful substances, compliance with monitoring requirements and inspection of valves and tanks.⁸

The Council has also worked on behalf of electric utilities to slow the changeover to cleaner power plants. Known as the 'WEPCO' rule, (after a case involving the Wisconsin Electric Power Company) the Quayle Council intervened to allow major changes at electric utilities to be called "modifications" so that new plants could bypass strict anti-pollution standards.⁹ The Council also weakened a proposal to cut sulfur dioxide emissions around the Grand Canyon, which is blamed for the smog often obscuring the view of the national landmark. In fact, the Council's proposal went even further than the affected power plant had requested.¹⁰ The Council also intervened to ease Clean Air Act regulations governing utilities' emissions monitoring requirements of sulfur dioxide, the main ingredient of acid rain.¹¹

Wetlands

The Council has been an active player in the Bush Administration's fight to roll back protection of the nation's wetlands. The Council is working to narrow the definition of what constitutes a wetland, a move that could open up nearly half of the wetlands currently under protection to development, agri-businesses and other uses²¹. When asked to define wetlands, Quayle responded: "How about if we say when it's wet, it's wet."¹²

The Council has also endorsed legislation stretching the "takings" clause of the Fifth Amendment, whereby a citizen receives compensation for property seized by the government, to include businesses affected by wetlands regulations.¹³ Under the proposal, the Quayle Council would perform a "takings implications assessment" before any environmental regulation could be issued. The Council would also be required to review the regulation a second time before it is put in effect, in essence granting the Council unchecked licence to stall or block environmental protection. The Council has also expressed support for legislation which would require an agency, such as the

⁶ "All the Vice-President's Men: How the Quayle Council on Competitiveness Secretly Undermines Health, Safety, and Environmental Programs," Christline Triano, Nancy Watzman; OMB Watch/Public Citizen's Congress Watch, September 1991.

⁷ Washington Post, 5/17/92.

⁸ OMB/Public Citizen, September 1991.

⁹ IBID.

¹⁰ IBID

¹¹ The Washington Post, 12/6/92

²¹ New York Times, 11/23/91.

¹² The Quayle Quarterly, PO Box 8593 Brewster Station, Bridgeport, Cn.

¹³ OMB/Public Citizen, September, 1991.

EPA, to reimburse the Treasury when a court awards a takings case, forcing programs to adopt budget cuts to reimburse the Treasury, if necessary¹⁴.

Resource Conservation

The Council rejected an EPA recommendation that requires municipal waste incinerators to recycle 25 percent of their garbage because "it violated the principle of federalism" by mandating recycling rather than leaving local governments to regulate themselves¹⁵. The Council also stated that the measure was not cost efficient, despite an EPA study included in a House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment report, which concluded that current recycling programs showed a net savings¹⁶. The Quayle Council also threw out a ban on lead-acid battery incineration, although batteries are thought to be the source of over 60% of lead in garbage.¹⁷

Quayle has actively fought an increase in Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards. In particular, the Council has openly criticized the Motor Vehicle Fuel Efficiency Act, which would raise fuel efficiency standards 20% by 1991 and another 20% by the year 2000.¹⁸ The Council claims that the bill would force carmakers to produce smaller and lighter cars, which will increase traffic fatalities. However, an EPA report found that "CAFE can be greatly improved without changing the size mix of vehicles."¹⁹ On the topic of the Endangered Species Act, Quayle had this to say: "[The Democrats] talk about putting people first. Well they talked about putting people first unless you happen to be a spotted owl or a giant garter snake or some other endangered species and then that seems to have priority. Obviously, you take the bald eagle and things of that sort and of course you're going to make sure that they're saved and that they can live and you're going to take every precaution you can."²¹

Clean Water

The Council has also pushed for weakened laws protecting groundwater from contamination. In February, 1992 the Council announced its opposition to an EPA plan to require liners to prevent leaks into groundwater and leachate collection systems at all new solid-waste landfills. The Council argued that the requirements were too costly, despite the fact that in the last five years no city has permitted the construction of a new facility without such technology.²⁰

Conservation Assessment

Throughout Dan Quayle's career as a Congressman, Senator and now as Vice-President, he has consistently sided with anti-conservationist forces. As Vice-President, Quayle has used the Council on Competitiveness to overrule the EPA and other environmental forces in the Administration. The Quayle Council continues to take strong bites out of environmental legislation.

¹⁴ IBID

¹⁵ Americus Journal/Wall Street Journal, 7/15/92.

¹⁶ Americus Journal.

¹⁷ IBID.

¹⁸ OMB Watch/Public Citizen, September 1991.

¹⁹ IBID.

²¹ N.Y. Times, 8/12/92.

²⁰ TIME magazine, 11/4/91, Congressional Quarterly 2/22/92.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BRYAN). The Senator from Tennessee is recognized.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 10 minutes as in morning business on the same subject.

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

FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE CLEAN AIR ACT
AMENDMENTS OF 1990

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I pay tribute to the leadership of my colleague, the Senator from Montana [Mr. BAUCUS] who has just spoken, and who led the Senate to pass the Clean Air Act amendments and has been a stalwart on all of the related issues.

I enjoyed the opportunity to work with him, as I did on the matter that was on the floor 2 weeks ago. I wanted to say that before he left for the Environment Committee. I wish to join him, also, in acknowledging the leadership of the majority leader, Senator MITCHELL, who for a period of many years has pushed the Clean Air Act amendments forward and, of course, prior to becoming majority leader was chairman of the subcommittee which handled all of that legislation, and has been the single most important reason why the Senate was able to pass a Clean Air Act amendment. I want to associate myself with the remarks of Senator BAUCUS to that effect.

And, as did Senator BAUCUS, I want to comment on the upcoming anniversary, tomorrow, of the Clean Air Act amendments and the original law, because tomorrow the Bush administration will attempt to show the country that, contrary to popular opinion, the President does in fact have a domestic agenda. The crown jewel of that agenda, the law the Senate passed here, the Clean Air Act amendments, was signed into law just 1 year ago. But before we break out champagne down there at the White House to celebrate, let us stop to look at what the administration's real agenda is with regard to clean air.

Having signed the Clean Air Act amendments into law, it seems apparent to me that President Bush is now intent on stonewalling them into irrelevance in many important areas. The environmental President is all talk and no action, all photo op and no policy, all promises, all broken. Of course, President Bush is not going to do the dirty work himself. But he does not have to when Vice President QUAYLE is eager to perform that task.

There are many directives under the Clean Air Act amendments that the administration has simply ignored—ignoring the law that Congress passed and that the President signed with much fanfare. I want to discuss those in just a moment. But for those regulations EPA has tried to complete—and I want to agree with Senator BAUCUS, that the Administrator of the EPA, Bill Reilly, has been devoted to this task. He has a talented staff, and

they have really pushed hard to try to implement the law well. But where the EPA has proposed regulations, the Vice President and his Council on Competitiveness, speaking for the White House, have stalled progress and in some instances have completely undermined the law and reversed the intent of the law.

Let us consider the permitting requirements under the act, one of the more blatant examples of the administration's policy of undercutting the law. These regulations spell out how industry will meet the pollution reduction requirements of the act and are the most important proposed rules that have been issued up until now.

But Vice President QUAYLE, in his campaign to protect the polluters and ignore the law, took the rules that EPA Administrator Reilly sent to the White House and carved out enormous loopholes, opening the door for the polluters to raise their pollution levels, while at the same time closing the door to citizens and courts seeking to review the industry's actions.

Vice President QUAYLE's efforts reflect the policies of an administration committed to undermining the important provisions of the Clean Air Act.

Again let me point out, as we all know, that Vice President QUAYLE is not the boss in this administration. President George Bush is the one whose preference for stonewalling sets the course and determines the policy. And it is not only Vice President QUAYLE carrying out the President's obstructionist campaign. The Department of Energy has also been working to undermine the EPA's efforts.

Most recently, DOE pushed for revisions to EPA's proposed plan on powerplant emissions that will allow the plants to pump an extra 3 million to 4 million tons of pollution into the air.

What about the provisions of the Clean Air Act designed to protect the stratospheric ozone layer? I spoke here on the floor of the Senate not many days ago about this, but here on the eve of the anniversary of the Clean Air Act I want to underscore the importance of section 606 of the Clean Air Act.

I hope that those who listen to the President tomorrow celebrating the anniversary of the Clean Air Act will ask him: What about section 606? Section 606 of the Clean Air Act says this, Mr. President: It says when new evidence is made available showing that the threat to the stratospheric ozone layer is even worse than was known when the act was passed, the administration is required under law to accelerate the phaseout of the dangerous chemicals that are destroying the stratospheric ozone layer.

Well, on not one but on two occasions since the act was passed we have had just that kind of information. In April we learned that the ozone layer is disappearing, according to the new evidence, some 200 percent faster than ever measured before or predicted.

Then, just last month, an international team of scientists reported that depletion is occurring at nearly all latitudes and during all seasons of the year, including the spring and summer when we are most exposed to the Sun's ultraviolet rays, and when growing crops are at a critical time in the growing season.

Administrator Reilly appreciates the significance of these new findings. In fact, when the first new report came out in April he said the results were startling, and the implications of the policy were clear. And he said, I heard him correctly, that the phaseout of these dangerous chemicals ought to be accelerated. But he has not complied with the law because the White House has prevented him from doing so.

I am not quoting him there on that. He has not said that publicly or to me privately, or anyone else privately, far as I know.

But when the administrator says the evidence is startling, we need to speed up the phaseout, and then nothing happens, I think the conclusion is obvious that the White House is stalling in his way. There are fingerprints which are unmistakable.

When I brought a resolution to the floor of this body last April calling for the expedited phaseout of these dangerous chemicals, it was the White House that insisted a hold be put on that measure.

Perhaps our environmental President, prepared to celebrate the anniversary of the Clean Air Act tomorrow, decided that the stratospheric ozone layer does not get much publicity and is not that important anyway so it does not matter. Maybe he decided that since most of the American children who will get skin cancer and those who will die as a result will not suffer the tragedy until long after he has left the White House, maybe it does not matter, it does not affect next year's election, so forget about it.

That would be in keeping, Mr. President, with President Bush's approach to that particular issue. After all, this is the President whose Interior Secretary once went out to view pollution from mill tailings in a scenic area, and actually suggested that it could be dealt with by spray painting the mill tailing pile the color of the surrounding landscape.

You think I am making that up? That is true. That is true. Paint it over. It is kind of the Roger Rabbit approach to environmental protection. Just paint the landscape the color of the beautiful natural surroundings and hide the pollution.

Mr. President, it is true that section 606 of the Clean Air Act, the anniversary of which is tomorrow, does not get a lot of public attention. But when the President comes out to celebrate the anniversary, I just wish somebody would ask him why he is ignoring the legal requirement of the law that

these dangerous chemicals be phased out.

There was an article in the Financial Times last week, Mr. President, and I would like at the conclusion of my remarks to ask unanimous consent to put it in the RECORD. But let me again tell my colleagues what the Financial Times found in the populated area of Patagonia, which has ozone depletion much worse than we do here because it has happened first in the southern latitudes. It is proceeding here. I hope it never gets as bad here as it is there. But let me tell you what the Financial Times found when they went down there to look.

Hunters now report being able to go out and pick up rabbits instead of having to hunt them because a lot of them are blind, and others have bulging eyes and do not run away from the hunters. Fishermen report getting blind salmon out of the streams. Farmers report this spring—and it is springtime down there—you know, of course, the seasons are reversed and this is their springtime—that buds on the trees are deformed.

One of the comedians on "Saturday Night Live," A. Whitney Brown, had a line a couple of years ago about some of these global environmental issues. He said it sounds like you are taking a nature hike through the Book of Revelations. Well, when you talk about blind rabbits and blind salmon and deformed buds on the trees, it can sound pretty outrageous and scary.

But, Mr. President, our civilization has changed the relationship between the human species and the ecological system of this planet. And one of the changes that is begging for our attention first of all is our introduction of these extremely dangerous chemicals into the atmosphere of the Earth which destroy the stratospheric ozone layer and let a lot more dangerous ultraviolet radiation hit the surface. Why is it happening first above Antarctica? The chemistry of the atmosphere is different there.

It is colder there because of 10,000, 12,000 feet of ice on a continent the size of the United States and Mexico, 90 percent of all the ice in the world. The atmosphere is cloudier there. The so-called polar stratospheric clouds go higher in the atmosphere, and ice crystal made up of water and nitrogen form way high in the sky, and these dangerous chemicals come into contact there with the stratospheric ozone and the depletion process takes place much faster there as a result.

But the Sun does not come up in Antarctica until the middle of September, and before the Sun comes up, it is coldest of all. And the winds which whip around Antarctica hold the air in a kind of a bowl, and that chemical brew is waiting there until the Sun comes up. And when the Sun comes up in the middle of September, the Sun's rays slice into this chemical brew and touch off the reaction which burns up the ozone layer.

Then, 2½ or 3 months later, the air has been heated by continual sunlight enough so that the winds slow down and the bowl in effect breaks up and the air escapes into the rest of the atmosphere. And the ozone-thin air then mixes with the ozone-rich air of the rest of the world and dilutes it. Bubbles of this ozone hole break off and float northward, almost like lenses through which the ultraviolet rays continue to strike the surface unimpeded.

In Queensland in northeastern Australia, 75 percent of all the men and women who reach the age of 65 have skin cancer today; 75 percent there, and in other parts of Australia, in the Southern Hemisphere, it is common to require children to wear hats and neck scarves and cover up to hide from the Sun on the way to and from school.

Well, it has happened first there in Antarctica, and the ozone hole there is now 3 times the size of the United States of America. But it is happening here, too, and the environmental President is doing nothing about it. So tomorrow, on the anniversary of this act, I just wish somebody would say: Mr. President, last April, we heard new evidence that this process is taking place 200 percent faster than we thought before. And in October we heard that it is now happening here in the United States in summertime, when the Sun's rays are much more dangerous, and you have done nothing about it, even though the law you are celebrating tomorrow requires you to.

There will be a photo op, and he will say: See, I have a domestic agenda. I canceled my trip to Japan, and I came back here to have a photo opportunity here in the United States.

The air in this Chamber, Mr. President, as I have said on prior occasions, has 600 percent more chlorine atoms in each breath we are taking than it did when this Chamber was built, than it did when I was born, because of these same chemicals that we are putting into the atmosphere that the President does not want to phase out faster because there is opposition; it will cut into corporate profits. The adjustment may be painful.

But the air we are breathing, the air in the White House tomorrow, every breath he takes during his photo op will have 600 percent more chlorine atoms than it did when he was a Member of the House of Representatives.

So, Mr. President, I really think that this celebration tomorrow needs to be put into context. The Clean Air Act was an achievement by this body, but the President is failing to comply with important provisions of the act and he is undermining many other important provisions.

The Clean Air Act, to take another example, requires the administration to issue regulations so that new automobiles be built with canisters to trap the toxic chemicals released every time a car is refueled. The Administra-

tion has thus far refused to act on it. And to implement the provisions of the act that are designed to reduce industrial emissions of toxic gases, the administration has put forth a proposal that allows industries to qualify for a 6-year extension by simply reducing moderately toxic chemicals, rather than the highly toxic chemicals that are identified in the law.

So, Mr. President, for all the hoopla we no doubt will hear tomorrow, the truth is that rather than implementing the act, the White House is busy eroding the act, and jeopardizing the environment and the health of the citizens of this country in the process.

On the international environmental front as well, the President's record is simply deplorable. The Clean Air Act specifically requires this phaseout of the dangerous chemicals destroying the ozone layer, which I mentioned a moment ago. But there is also the much larger and more serious problem of global warming, and there the United States is, of course, the leading contributor to the problem. We alone are responsible for some 25 percent of global emissions of carbon dioxide, the principal greenhouse gas. The air in this Chamber, again, has between 20 and 25 percent more greenhouse gases, including not only carbon dioxide, but ethane and other molecules which trap heat—20 to 25 percent more greenhouse gases everywhere in the atmosphere in the world than existed 40 to 50 years ago.

We alone, however, even though we are responsible for a quarter of that additional increase, we alone among all the industrial countries in the world refuse to address the problem, refuse to reduce our consumption. The President said he is moving on that because the phaseout of the chemicals that destroy the ozone layer, by the year 2000, not on the accelerated schedule, will reduce the global warming problem.

New scientific studies that came out last week by the President's own science adviser, cited publicly, said: "No, that is not right. That does not reduce the greenhouse effect." So, the President is doing nothing. When is he going to do something on this to live up to this ludicrous and now laughable label of the environmental President?

All of our major trading partners, all of the other major industrialized countries of the world have recognized the seriousness of the continued dumping of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere, and all of them have committed to action.

The American people have a right to expect that George Bush might be among the leaders in this campaign. Who can forget his campaign pledge to confront the greenhouse effect with the White House effect? What a great line in that speech in the fall of 1988. Anybody who believed that was a sucker.

You know how Charlie Brown tries to kick the football and Lucy pulls the football away. Every time the President of the United States, George Bush, comes out and says, "I am the environmental President," as he will do tomorrow in this photo op, anybody who believes it is just like Charlie Brown trying to kick that football, because he does not mean it. Or at least he sure has not demonstrated it yet.

The President has dragged his feet on whatever he has done. He has been forced, kicking and screaming, to even consider the issue. And on the greenhouse effect, he has done nothing, absolutely nothing. His representatives have launched an endless campaign to subvert the efforts and leadership of other nations.

The White House issued a memo on Earth Day 1990, when a lot of people were talking about global warming, saying the best approach is to emphasize the many uncertainties and cast doubt about whether this problem is real or not.

He has not received any praise from other countries, as you might expect on this issue. But rather, has been condemned by many of them. Britain's Prime Minister, John Major, otherwise an ally of the President, wrote a very tough letter, made a very tough speech, saying that the world expects the United States of America to offer some leadership on this issue, and the United States of America has not done it because the environmental President wants to do nothing on this. Dutch Minister Hans Alders—the list goes on. Even some of these little island nations whose very existence is jeopardized by global warming have urged the President of the United States to stop obstructing the world's ability to act on this.

So, Mr. President, when we look closely at the record, it is clear the White House has very little to celebrate tomorrow on this anniversary of the Clean Air Act. Rather, tomorrow is a day for the people of this country to express outrage at Mr. Bush's cavalier indifference to the many threats to our health and environment that his policies allow.

The environmental President cannot keep counting on photo ops and postcard backgrounds. It is time to get past the promises and the PR and get down to work.

Mr. President, the majority leader will later address this same subject, as will my distinguished friend and colleague, the Senator from Connecticut.

I ask unanimous consent at this time to have printed in the RECORD the article from the Financial Times to which I referred.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Financial Times, Nov. 6, 1991]

RABBITS BLINDED BY OZONE HOLE

Last month satellites from NASA measured the biggest ozone hole ever recorded

over the Antarctic. It now extends more than 21m square kilometers, which is more than four times the size of the US, and is affecting parts of southern Australia, New Zealand, Argentina and almost half of Chile.

Antarctica loses about 70 per cent of its ozone cover as a result of a photochemical reaction—involving chlorofluorocarbons—which is triggered by the first rays of the spring sun. The ozone hole allows increasing levels of cancer-causing ultraviolet rays to reach the earth.

Although Antarctica's ozone levels recover in summer, scientists note that the spring-time hole is getting bigger, appearing earlier and lasting longer.

Moreover, strange things have begun to happen in southern Chile. Fishermen are catching salmon that are blind. Peasants report that wild rabbits have developed bulging eyes and must be suffering from impaired vision because they are so easily caught. Rodolfo Mancilla, a sheep farmer in Tierra del Fuego, says his animals are also going blind.

Some tree buds this spring are showing deformed growth, while certain types of marine algae are secreting a red pigment never seen before.

In Punta Arenas, there is fear and concern over the invisible bombardment of ultraviolet-B radiation. Nobody leaves home without protective hats or sunglasses. Doctors are being besieged by patients with allergies, eye irritations and skin complaints.

"These bizarre occurrences have no clear explanation," says Bedrich Magas, a researcher at the University of Magallanes in Punta Arenas, "but they coincide with the thinning of the ozone layer which allows 20 times more ultraviolet radiation to reach the earth."

With a manned radiometer, Magas has recorded the same intensity of radiation that is found in the Caribbean in summer. "Southern Chile does not have a tropical habitat, it cannot take this kind of punishment," he says.

Magas believes there is an urgent need for a serious scientific study on the impact of UV-B radiation in southern Chile. "This region would be an excellent laboratory to study the effects of ozone depletion," he explains.

In Santiago, Sergio Cabrera, associate professor of molecular biology at the University of Chile, is trying to raise funds for a three-year study on the effects of UV-B radiation on humans and its consequences for fishing, forestry and agriculture. He is still \$11,000 (\$6,000) short of being able to afford a US-made spectroradiometer that measures ultraviolet radiation.

He says Chile has no information on the amount of radiation it receives. Yet these data are crucial for a country that works on a model of economic development heavily dependent on the export of fruit, fishmeal and cellulose.

Research conducted in Australia and the US has shown that UV-B radiation stunts growth in plants. It is lethal in the early stages of life because it can destroy the genetic information contained in reproductive cells.

It is a cruel irony that southern Chile receives the highest levels of UV-B radiation during spring, when plant and animal life are at their most vulnerable.

Ultraviolet rays can also penetrate depths of 20-48 metres into the ocean. Again, scientists in the Antarctic have observed that UV-B rays affect the growth and reproduction of phytoplanktons, the back of the marine food chain. The red pigment noted in some marine algae is believed to act as a

protective screen against excessive radiation.

Humans have no such natural defenses, and exposure to UV-B radiation can cause skin cancer, cataracts and immuno deficiencies. The blindness of sheep and rabbits in southern Chile may be caused by the high levels of radiation.

Scientists believe that Chilean agriculture will soon have to start selecting UV-resistant seeds for its crops, as not all plants appear to have the ability to create pigment shields against harmful radiation.

This kind of genetic engineering is expensive, and it raises the ethical question of why Chile, a developing country with limited resources, should pay for the consequences of crop destruction caused by the industrialized world.

The potential damage is enormous, as the effects of UV-B radiation are cumulative and the ozone hole will continue to grow for decades after all CTC production stops.

CLEAN AIR ACT AMENDMENTS

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, I rise today with a number of my colleagues to acknowledge the first anniversary of the enactment of the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990. The Committee on Environment and Public Works played a major role in shaping this monumental series of amendments. The committee continues to play a vital role in making certain the 1990 amendments are implemented properly.

The Environmental Protection Agency has done a commendable job in the past year setting in motion the regulatory process which will implement the Nation's clean air policy well into the 21st century. EPA has confronted, in my opinion, an unprecedented amount of bureaucratic infighting with the White House Council on Competitiveness, the Office of Management and Budget, and other agencies, particularly the Department of Energy.

Unlike many recent statutes, the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990 were subject to lengthy debate and explicit compromise. The legislative history is clear regarding congressional intent. I did not fully agree with some of the compromises we reached, but there is little doubt about our intent. Now many of the same agencies who participated in those historic negotiations and who were part of the agreement want to rewrite history. Not in the open. Not under the glare of public disclosure of the Administrative Procedures Act. This is very unsettling, and I look forward to the oversight hearings the committee will conduct in the new year.

Mr. President, we will not meet our clean air goals by issuing press releases or sound bites. I have often commended the President for his leadership in breaking the clean air logjam in 1989. Because of his support, the first comprehensive rewrite of the Clean Air Act in over a decade became a reality. I for one give the President his due. But I will not stand by and see clear congressional intent undermined by executive branch infighting.

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ABORTION**Johnson Preaches 'Pro-Choice, Pro-Bush'**

Rep. Nancy Johnson, R-Conn., this morning gave what many expect to be the strongest abortion rights speech delivered on the floor of this week's Republican convention, although her comments on the subject were brief. "As one who has heard clergy of all faiths testify on each side of the tough issue of abortion, I believe government in a democracy must preserve the right of each of us to live in harmony with our most deeply held beliefs," she said. Johnson contended Americans are "overwhelmingly in favor of government and political parties staying out of this issue," and urged abortion rights supporters to "join the organizations in our party that are pro-choice so your voice will be heard." Her speech came a day after abortion rights backers failed in their effort to force a floor fight over the GOP platform.

Notwithstanding her abortion stance, Johnson called on Republicans to support President Bush this fall -- even though he has stood firmly behind the party's tough anti-abortion plank. "I'm proud to be both pro-choice and pro-Bush," Johnson said. Another reason to support Bush, she contended, is that he has "appointed more women to positions of real policy power than any other CEO in America. His record on economic opportunities for women is outstanding."

ENVIRONMENT**Reilly Sets Environmental Plan For 4 More Years**

Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William Reilly, who will be one of several top administration officials addressing the convention tonight, said the next four years under President Bush would include a concentrated push to rewrite the federal Superfund law — designed to clean up hazardous waste dumps — in an effort to balance environmental risks and benefits. In an interview after appearing at a California delegation meeting, Reilly — the first EPA head ever asked to address a political convention — also promised to improve federal food safety laws. Among other changes being considered is one that would eliminate a Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act provision that bans cancer-causing substances in processed foods. In addition, Reilly said the administration would promote legislation to elevate the agency to Cabinet-level status, a measure he contended congressional Democrats are blocking.

Reilly, former head of the Conservation Foundation, said some Republicans working on the party platform initially considered shying away from environmental issues. But he argued that the EPA should emphasize its achievements, particularly passage of the 1990 Clean Air Act and increased environmental enforcement. "Our environmental record is very positive, and the public doesn't know it," he said. A Sierra Club representative, however, took issue with Reilly's positive assessments. "They're using Reilly to cover up Bush's horrible environmental record," said spokesperson Roni Lieberman.

CLINTON-GORE WATCH

Bill Clinton today laughed at President Bush's promise to focus on domestic issues, saying it was essentially a plan to "discover America." Arriving at the statehouse in Little Rock, Ark., to work on the state budget, Clinton said the Republican message at the convention is, "We want four terms, three are not enough, and now we will discover America in our fourth term — sort of a Columbus theory of politics." Clinton fired back at GOP attacks made against him Monday at the convention. He also scoffed at Bush's claim that he will make a political comeback similar to then-incumbent President Harry Truman's in 1948, saying: "Truman had a

National
Journal

EPA HEAD TO HIGHLIGHT STRONG ENVIRONMENTAL RECORD AT CONVENTION
WASHINGTON, Reuter - Environmental Protection Agency head William Reilly said Monday he would praise the United States' strong environmental record at next week's Republican convention.

He said he would encourage President Bush's re-election campaign to highlight the administration's successes in creating new jobs in environmental protection technology.

He noted the United States was already spending 2 percent of annual Gross National Product on environmental protection and this would rise to around 3 percent by the end of the decade.

This had resulted in creation of new markets for industry -- and jobs --- in areas including alternative fuels, clean automotive technologies and waste management.

"We must keep things in perspective," he said.

Democratic challenger Bill Clinton has criticized Bush for doing too little to protect the environment and narrowing the green to a "jobs vs the environment" choice.

Bush has insisted environmental policies should not be carried out at the cost of the nation's jobs. In Rio, he refused to agree global timetables for reducing carbon dioxide emissions because he said it would jeopardize competitiveness.

Reilly, who recently criticized the White House's handling of the June Earth Summit, said the United States was "second to none" in implementing tough environmental regulations, reducing pollution and increasing public information. }

But its good record had been obscured at the summit by "sterile" debates, he told a news conference. "Basically we have a great success in getting the experience of the United States blessed by the summit. But no one focused on that."

Agenda 21, for instance, outlined procedures to raise public information on toxic releases, he said, noting this was modeled on the U.S. Toxic Release Inventory, a complete list of toxic emissions from U.S. facilities begun in 1986.

Reilly noted EPA had collected more civil penalties in the past three and a half years than in its entire previous history. It had also accelerated programs to reduce toxic emissions and cut ozone-depleting substances.

"I'm going to make a fairly strong statement on the degree to which the president has fulfilled his promises," he said.

Reilly noted Bush had been supportive of his outspoken views on environmental issues. "It's been a real strength of the president that he has been comfortable with my occasional dissenting views," Reilly said.

"But the main thing is that we have made considerable achievements on environmental protection. It has been a period of unprecedented environmental change," he said.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY ADMINISTRATOR WILLIAM REILLY
ADDRESS AT THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES 27TH INTERNATIONAL
GEOGRAPHICAL CONGRESS

Location: Grand Hyatt, 1000 H St. NW

Time: 12:35 p.m.

August 10, 1992

WILLIAM REILLY (administrator, Environmental Protection Agency): Thank you for that very nice introduction.

I remember when I learned just off the Senate floor that I had been the recipient of a unanimous vote for confirmation, a senator said to me, "Look at the scoreboard up there. You see that? No negatives, a unanimous vote. Savor it. It's the only one you'll ever get." And it was.

As the single non-scientist on this panel, I want to speak, without claiming scientific expertise or technical authority or background, about the role of science in what we do and about the priority that we give it. Many of you are familiar with the experience that the world underwent in Rio just a little more than a month ago. In fact, having some 88 countries represented here, thousands of people, put me in mind of that.

It, I think, is going to be a transforming experience, both for the things that you know about that were reported--the very specific agreements on climate and biological diversity and the declaration of principles for forestry which we hope and expect will lead to a worldwide convention on forest management--but also, and perhaps in a more lasting way, as the world deals with the very substantial commitments that were made there in an Agenda 21 document of some 900 pages, including subjects of atmosphere, population, freedom of information, community right to know about toxic releases, environmental impact assessment, coastal zone management, along with substantial commitments to monitoring the condition of the atmosphere and the condition of the seas.

Not all of these commitments, obviously, will be taken seriously by all governments. But as a whole, I would expect that they will have the effect, together with the huge outpouring of interest in that conference and the elevation of public understanding of what occurred there, of providing a new, higher standard against which the performance of governments on the environment will henceforth be measured.

Some of you may recall the reaction of the human rights community back in the 1970s when the human rights commitments of were achieved. Some lamented the absence of specific enforcement measures in those agreements. But Vaclev Havel and Lech Walesea and many others used those commitments as a stick to beat recalcitrant with. And they used them in conjunction with press, popular support, oftentimes non-

governmental organizations, very effectively.

The issues that we will henceforth address will begin then, I think, with a much higher degree of public understanding and support than we've ever had before. And virtually all polls that I have seen conducted in the United States and western Europe and Japan indicate a level of support for the environment that is quite simply astonishing. Irrespective of political distractions and economic difficulties in each of these areas, more than 80 percent of the public polled indicates that they are environmentalist.

The issues that we will then have to address will be fundamentally issues of sorting out and of priority setting. It is extraordinary to watch a policy come on that has substantial scientific support versus one on which science is divided and has not yet reached a consensus, particularly if the demands of the policy with respect to new resources and reorganization of government are significant.

In the environment, many of the commitments that we made in Rio will require significant transformations of government policies--in many cases, the shedding of subsidies and of time-honored protection for certain interest. How we approach these issues, the degree to which we politicize them, the way to which we invest the resources necessary to get the answers that we will need to make a case--not just for this year or that, not just because public concern happens to momentarily focused on this or that problem, but over the long haul--I think will be the crucial determinant of how successfully we deal with the environment of the future.

Just before taking office at EPA, I asked the science advisory board of agency to assess the principal problems and threats to the public health and to the environment of the United States and the world. They produced a report that has had a profound effect on me and on the thinking of the Environmental Protection Agency. They looked at the various concerns that we have and they ranked in categories of significance a number of problems that we addressed. They then went further and asked the question: To what extent do the programs, priorities and budget resources of EPA conform to this sense of priority?

But I think one of the most important conclusions they drew for this audience is the significance of natural systems and the degree of threat to them. They placed in the top category of concern destruction of habitat, stratospheric ozone depletion and climate change--three issues on which historically we have not spent a great deal of money although we have been a driving force, certainly, in the ozone depletion issue and with respect to the Montreal protocol. They placed in a much lesser category of concern problems related to hazardous waste management, which, you may know, account for probably 40 percent of the agency's budget.

Now the interesting fact about this selection of priorities is that the way we spend our money and the laws that we administer to a very large degree reflect the concerns of the people of the United States. It is they who have decided that Times Beach, Valley of the Drums,

Love Canal are worthy of this significance; and the Congress has responded to their concerns.

The conclusion that ecology should get a much higher priority, however, in the agency is one to which I am very much attached. I think it represents, to some degree, a correction of an imbalance in the concerns and direction that the agency has developed over the years; and one that we have moved on our watch to correct.

We have taken this report and begun to reflect in our budget for science, for example, a significant increase for ecology. We have, over the last three years, seen a 35 percent increase to I think something in the excess of \$525 million now annually in our support for research and development and science at EPA. We have also now completed guidelines for ecological risk assessment that are intended to direct attention to the problems with ecology and with the way that we should structure for decision in regulation those matters that affect ecology.

We have also given a priority to ecological mapping in a new program--EMAP--designed to provide basic indicator information on a whole variety of ecosystems that, frankly, it strikes me as difficult to understand why we have never done it before. We are, however, giving a very high priority to it at this time, and we'll hope to be able to answer the kinds of questions that were raised throughout the 1980s, for example, with respect to the acid rain debate, questions about fundamental characteristics of ecosystems and their changes over time and the impact of human activity on those ecosystems.

We are also emphasizing the GIS system for classification, both of U.S. characteristics and conditions, but also encouraging a world-wide consensus on means of classifying, for ecological purposes, basic data that we have.

We have moved also to deal with a problem that I think has afflicted environmental regulation and environmental policy for some time, and is a necessary consequence of the need for specific and detailed and authoritative information. And that is a subject well-known to many of you. It is the disaggregation of systems in order to pinpoint precise problems and circumstances. I would say, in fact, that we have gone a bit far in that direction at EPA and have had difficulty historically communicating to the people and to the country the significance of many of the parameters that we measure--parts per million or other characteristics of emissions and effluents and the rest that is familiar to the specialist.

We have tried, however, to back up from some of these approaches and to look at whole ecosystems and approach them much the way people do, intending to answer the questions, well, are they healthy or not? Are we relating to these areas in a way that will cause them to endure, their species to thrive, their fish to be free of toxics, bird life to come back and so forth? And we have, in fact, taken a budget allocation for geographic initiatives that was at the level of \$40 million in 1988 and proposed \$710 million in the currently pending FY '93 budget for such systems as the Great Lakes, the Chesapeake Bay, and now moving toward the Gulf of Mexico, and also into our 17

national estuaries--probably the most popular single program we have--looking at Long Island Sound and Puget Sound and so many others--to look at the overall health, the measures of health and the most likely successful targets for bringing these ecosystems back.

We have spent some \$7 billion on waste water management from cities, from human waste in the Great Lakes over the past 20 years. And the success, as a consequence of that investment, I think is indisputable. We see fecal coliform down, nutrients down, algae down. The lake, the tributary of which caught fire back in '68, produced last year the largest commercial fish catch of any of the lakes and of all of recent history. By many, many measures, these systems are coming back.

We do note, however, the persistence of toxics, the substantial impact of contaminated sediments in parts of all of the lakes, continuing PCB concentrations and concentrations of pesticides like chlordane and DDT that have long since been banned, but that continue to pose problems and to be encountered in fish tissue--the message of which is that, though we have come a long way, though we are bringing these systems back, we cannot genuinely say at this time that we have reached a situation of sustainable development with respect to the largest, most magnificent fresh-water ecosystem that we have. We are attempting to address those problems.

We ultimately are going to have a new approach to science at the agency--one that will give a significantly higher priority. --I see the light's just gone from green to red; I didn't get a yellow here. That's the way it is in government, actually.

(General laughter)

I think, with that, I will not venture into another area that would have taken a few minutes to explain, but merely to conclude my remarks, I would say that the kind of information that is being researched and then presented to an audience like this is, in my view, absolutely vital--not just to informing us about what we should do--and science certainly plays a tremendously important role in doing that--perhaps just as important, laying the groundwork for a new consensus about difficult choices. Science does that, as well. And I have said that, at EPA, we cannot be eco-cowboys--as much fun as that sometimes is, riding to the rescue of a resource that is threatened and in the news. We must, to have lasting effect, establish an enduring foundation or platform, and be seen to do so--be seen to call it as we see it--this way or that, depending upon the availability of the best science we have, recognizing that science, too, can change, and that we, hopefully, will be mature and confident enough to change with it.

Thank you.

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HOUSTON OUT<
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HOUSTON (AP) Republican officials have approved an oil industry proposal to set up a drilling rig at the Astrodome during next week's GOP convention, but some industry members say they oppose the plan.

Larry Strahan, owner of Diversified Oilfield Services International, said he is worried that the rig may imply the industry's approval of the energy policies of George Bush and Ronald Reagan, blamed by some in the business for a decade of hard times in the oil patch.

Strahan said the rig ``cannot depict the degradation of the oil industry or the lives that have been destroyed. But if you had on the Astrodome parking lot some of the almost 500,000 people who have lost jobs in this industry, they (delegates) might get some idea of our situation.''

Lee Hunt, president of the International Association of Drilling Contractors, said members of his organization have ``no problem'' with the proposal to erect a rig outside the Astroarena entrance.

The proposed project is sponsored primarily by the IADC and the Independent Petroleum Association of America, which represents independent oilmen.

The rig proposal is not a protest but is aimed at educating the public about the oil industry, Hunt said. ``We hope to make this more than a photo opportunity,'' he said.

Industry officials and legislators from oil-producing states plan a press conference at the rig site when the convention opens Monday.

MEMORANDUM

1 December 1988

TO: Richard English

FROM: Lew Crampton LC

SUBJECT: Review of Bush positions

You asked me to prepare a summary of Bush positions on environmental issues to guide the new leadership of the Environmental Protection Agency and assist the transition team in evaluating the information it will be receiving from the agency and from various other interested parties. Further, you asked that these issues be presented in some logical grouping distinguished by whether what George Bush or the campaign said about them constitutes a commitment, pledge, goal or position.

The format presented below names the issue and then lists underneath the important statements that were made about it by George Bush during the course of the campaign. The strongest and most specific of these are commitments, which represent promises. Pledges are undertakings that George Bush intends to carry out on his part, but getting them accomplished also depends on the actions of others outside of his Administration. Goals are less specific than pledges, representing broad objectives and desiderata that agency administrators will work toward over time. Positions are positions.

PERSONAL CONCERN FOR THE ENVIRONMENT

Commitments:

- O "I am an environmentalist: always have been and always will be" (Belmar Beach, New Jersey, 2 September 1988).
- O "In George Bush, you will have a President who is committed to conservation" (San Diego, California, 14 October 1988).

THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY AS AN INSTITUTION OF GOVERNMENT

Commitments:

- O Appoint the finest, most qualified people to run the agency and give them "my support, my ear, my confidence, and my mandate to go after the polluters" (Erie Metropark, Michigan, 31 August 1988).
- O EPA will be an agency that is "unequivocally committed to environmental protection" (Seattle, Washington, 16 May 1988).

Pledge:

Support the development of innovative biotechnology products that will replace some pesticides and reduce groundwater contaminations.

FEDERAL FACILITIES POLLUTION

Commitment:

Insist that federal facilities, including military bases, meet all environmental standards. "The government should live within the laws it imposes on others." (Seattle, Washington, 16 May 1988)

WETLANDS PRESERVATION

Commitment:

Develop a coordinated wetlands policy for federal agencies.

Pledge:

Work with states to attain the goal of no net loss of wetlands.

INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP ON THE ENVIRONMENT

Commitment:

Convene a global conference on the environment at the White House to address global warming, acid rain, reforestation, stratospheric ozone depletion, and a broad range of other issues.

Goal:

The United States should be a leader in addressing international environmental problems and promoting cooperative solutions that keep us competitive in the world marketplace.

OFFSHORE OIL DRILLING

Position:

Development of our most promising oil and gas reserves is called for, but drilling should not take place in those environmentally sensitive areas where the risk of damage is too great.

RADON PROTECTION

Pledge:

Initiate a national survey of schools in 1990 to detect and mitigate radon.

Goal:

Vigorously address the problem of radon, lead and asbestos at home and at school.

GENERAL POLICY

Commitment:

Look to the marketplace for better solutions to environmental problems as regulation becomes more costly and disruptive.

Pledge:

Work with the private sector and university researchers to identify breakthrough technological solutions that will bring about faster and better hazard abatement and pollution control. The challenge for government is to encourage, not stifle these new approaches to our problems.

Positions:

"We want environmental regulation based on good research and sound data, developed with a clear eye and an open mind, and vigorously and uniformly enforced" (Seattle, Washington, 16 May 1988).

"We should work just as hard at anticipating and preventing problems as we do in reacting to them" (Seattle, Washington, 16 May 1988)

Environmental action has too often been marked by bitter and often nonproductive confrontation between competing interests. A hallmark of the Bush Administration will be an effort to establish the required credibility for a process of cooperation and consultation among all involved parties to produce the most protection in the fastest time and in the most effective ways.

Ultimately, the goal of a clean and healthy environment is not in conflict with the need to create jobs in a growing economy. The American people want both - and it will be a principal mission of this Administration to provide them.

CLEAN AIR

Commitments:

- 0 Work with Congress to enact an effective reauthorization of the Clean Air Act with realistic timetables and tools to get the job done.
- 0 Work with states and localities to help them achieve tough but realistic targets on air quality without sacrificing growth and prosperity.
- 0 Make steady progress to reduce ambient ozone levels which help to create smog.
- 0 Promote the use of cleaner alternative fuels such as ethanol and methanol.

ACID RAIN

Commitments:

- 0 Support a program to cut millions of tons of sulfur dioxide by the year 2000, and to reduce significantly nitrogen oxide emissions.
- 0 Work with Congress on specific amounts and timetables - "We must have a clear commitment to emissions reductions, on a clear timetable" ("Leadership on the Issues," November 1988)
- 0 Lead international negotiations to limit emissions worldwide.

Pledges:

- 0 Encourage energy conservation.
- 0 Encourage the development of "clean coal" technologies and the use of alternative fuels. Support federal research in this area.

Goal:

- 0 Time any new mandates to industry so they are coordinated with the availability of improved coal-burning technologies and allow sufficient time to plan for necessary capital improvements.

Positions:

- 0 Share the burden of achieving emissions reductions equitably; no one region or group should be forced to bear the entire cost of a problem that affects the whole nation.
- 0 "We know enough now to begin taking steps to limit future damage; action we take today - even as scientific inquiry

continues - is insurance against future disaster." ("Leadership on the Issues," November 1988)

STRATOSPHERIC OZONE DEPLETION

Commitments:

- O Work with other countries to ratify the Montreal Protocol to reduce the use of CFCs by 50% all around the world.
- O Implement the Protocol in the United States.
- O Continue to monitor the condition of the ozone layer and share this information with the rest of the world.

Pledge:

- O Encourage American industry to take a leadership role in finding safe and effective substitutes for CFCs

Goal:

- O Strive for the goal of phasing out all domestic production of CFCs.

GLOBAL WARMING AND THE "GREENHOUSE EFFECT"

Commitment:

- O Convene a global conference on the environment and invite high level leaders to Washington to develop a worldwide strategy for dealing with this difficult problem.

Pledge:

- O Support efforts to preserve tropical rain forests.

PROTECTING THE OCEAN

Commitment:

- O End dumping of sewage sludge in the ocean by 1991.
- O Work with the states to set up a program to track the disposal of medical wastes based on the pilot effort underway in New York and New Jersey.
- O Direct EPA, Coast Guard, FBI and the states to work together to track down and prosecute illegal dumpers to the fullest extent of the law.
- O Instruct EPA to increase its work in developing land-based alternatives for sewage sludge disposal.

Pledge:

- 0 Support a National Estuary Program to work out plans for reducing pollution in bays.

CLEANING UP HAZARDOUS AND TOXIC WASTES

Commitments:

- 0 Speed up and expedite cleanups of abandoned hazardous waste dumps under the Superfund program.
- 0 Strengthen enforcement of toxic waste laws and streamline the bureaucratic processes that sometimes slow cleanups down. Use authority to sue for triple damages; polluter pays.
- 0 Protect appropriations for Superfund.

Pledge:

- 0 Take actions to remove barriers to the development and commercialization of effective new site remediation technologies.

Goal:

- 0 More voluntary cleanups through negotiations, dispute resolution and removal of agency internal barriers that impede rather than encourage the efforts of responsible parties to act on their own to remove contamination.

PREVENTING POLLUTION

Commitments:

- 0 A "national commitment" to develop programs to reduce waste and prevent pollution.
- 0 Target federal R&D funds for research into safer, more environmentally sound ways to dispose of wastes than cannot be recycled.
- 0 Work with industry to develop voluntary programs to reduce emissions and the generation of hazardous wastes at the source.
- 0 Renew our national commitment to recycling.

Pledge:

- 0 Call on industry and consumers to increase their use of biodegradable products.

GROUNDWATER POLLUTION

Commitment:

High priority to groundwater protection, with federal leadership and state implementation.

George Bush for President

LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE QUESTIONNAIRE

I - OVERVIEW OF WHY THE ENVIRONMENT WILL BE A CRUCIAL ISSUE FOR THE NEXT PRESIDENT

The environment will be a crucial issue for the next President because, as this long, hot summer bears witness, our country and our planet continue to face climatic and pollution problems of worldwide proportions. Furthermore, the economic health and development of our country are dependent upon a healthy environment. Sustainable economic development is an essential ingredient of economic progress worldwide.

In the past few years, we have not done enough to protect the environment. I will do more. I recognize that the condition of our bountiful resources - land, water, air and wildlife - affects the health and quality of life of everyone. I believe that we are all trustees of our natural heritage for future generations. I, personally, have a deep concern for environmental protection. I am an avid fisherman; I love the salt air of the sea coast and treasure my time outdoors in our forests and parks. I am personally committed to improving the state of our environment in this country and worldwide.

The Republican Party has historically been in the forefront of conservation and environmental protection. Teddy Roosevelt and his chief forester, Gifford Pinchot, established most of our National Forests. Roosevelt established the first National Wildlife Refuge at Pelican Island and many more refuges and parks. Richard Nixon secured the passage of the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts, the Endangered Species Act and the establishment of an independent EPA and CEQ. The Reagan-Bush Administration negotiated the Montreal Protocols to control ozone depletion, the North American Waterfowl Plan to preserve wetlands, implemented the far-reaching conservation provisions of the 1985 Farm Bill, and the beginnings of a program to protect biodiversity worldwide through foreign aid programs.

I have a long history of commitment to the environment, which in some respects predates the popularity of the movement. My early commitment was recognized by my appointment to chair the House Republican Task Force on Earth Resources and Population in my first term as a Congressman. As Vice President I have played a key role in the passage of the Wallop-Breaux Trust Fund, securing the Conservation provisions in the 1985 Farm Bill, in the amendment of EPA regulations to secure large reduction in the percentage of lead in the atmosphere and in the deregulation of natural gas -- a clean-burning fuel. My Administration will emphasize environmental protection in the proudest traditions of the Republican Party.

Domestically, reauthorization of the Clean Air Act, taking action on the acid rain problem, strong enforcement and adequate funding of toxic waste cleanup and addressing the contamination of our groundwater are all issues which are critical to public health and need to be aggressively addressed. The conservation and wise management of our natural resources - our parks, forests and wetlands - must have a high priority on our national agenda.

From a global perspective, the scientific evidence of the consequences of global warming, ozone depletion, tropical deforestation, loss of biotic diversity and the contamination of our oceans and shorelines will affect our future health and well being. I am committed to having the United States assert itself at home and abroad as the world's leader in environmental protection and conservation of natural resources. I am committed to appointing the best leaders available to manage our resources, to seeking firm statutory protection for environmental policies and to providing adequate funds to support aggressive environmental protection programs.

II. PUBLIC LAND USE

A. Arctic National Wildlife Refuge

This is a controversial issue in which our need for energy and the need to preserve wilderness areas must be weighed. While I strongly support the concept of wilderness areas and wildlife refuges, I believe that sufficient domestic oil supplies are vital to the national security of this country to reduce our dependence on foreign oil.

I support legislation that subjects any leasing to stringent environmental standards.

B. Land and Water Conservation Fund

The President's Commission for American Outdoors recommended an accelerated Federal land protection effort for Congressionally authorized areas and reauthorization of the Land and Water Conservation Fund. In general, I support the work of the Commission. Providing the American people with quality recreation opportunities and access to lands and waters for recreation should be a national priority. I shall make land protection of national parks, wild and scenic rivers, wildlife refuges, wetlands, and public recreation lands a priority for my Administration.

C. Old Growth Forests

Old growth forests hold many different values for the American people and are important for the health of our environment. Some of these values are best preserved by protecting our remaining old growth stands. Other values will be best served by managing these old growth stands for a combination of benefits, among which timber is a legitimate interest. We need to respect both and establish a policy which meets our need to preserve our natural resources and species, our need for forest protection, and our concerns about jobs and economic opportunity. At the present, there is considerable disagreement over the definition of old growth, the location of critical old growth forests, and the determination for old growth forest usage. Decisions about how to protect or manage old growth forests in any particular region of the country, whether in the Northwest, Alaska, Rocky Mountains, or Southeast, are most appropriately made so that they incorporate the different values and needs of our people at a local, regional, and national level. Decisions affecting our old growth forests must be made as close to the locale or region as possible in ways that allow full public input. I would support an expedited study of remaining ancient old growth stands found on federal public land - where they are, how much should be protected and how much is available for legitimate harvest.

I support the firm protection of old growth forests in our national parks and wilderness areas. The issue of old growth depletion on public and private lands must be addressed in an equitable fashion and with full public input that will be carefully considered by all affected state and federal agencies.

D. National Park and Wildlife Refuge Protection

I am an outdoorsman. I love to fish and camp in the wilderness. My family and I have enjoyed our national parks for many years. I am committed to the protection of our national parks and refuges and to improving their natural resource management, research and training programs.

The President's Commission on American Outdoors addressed the need for increased protection of our parks and refuges. As President, I would review the recommendations contained in the 1980 NPS study and would see that the federal public lands surrounding the parks and refuges are properly managed by federal agencies. Both private and public resources should be utilized to reduce the damage to these lands.

At the federal level I am firmly committed to the protection of our national parks and wildlife refuges. I support improving

park natural resource management, research and training programs. I also support many of the recommendations of the conservation community calling for the upgrading of federal recreation and fisheries and wildlife programs in Federal multiple use agencies such as the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management. I support increased coordination between park and refuge agencies and their Federal neighboring agencies to solve outstanding conflicts. I also believe that great progress has been made in recent years and can be made in the future by embracing public/private partnerships to work together to meet natural resource needs.

I also support the concept of the North American Waterfowl Management Plan which symbolizes the enormous potential of public/private sector partnerships to address outstanding resource needs such as wetlands protection and the expansion of our national wildlife refuges to preserve waterfowl and endangered species.

NPS partnerships with states, conservation groups and recreation interests have raised private funds to match federal appropriation by more than a 2 to 1 ratio. I would support the expansion of public/private partnerships. In 1984 I personally supported the passage of the Sports Fish Restoration and Boating Act which created the Wallop Breaux Trust Fund. I subsequently interceded with OMB to insure that these funds were not diverted to the US Treasury.

The Wallop Breaux Trust Fund provides a model to unite users of our natural resources to the government programs designed to protect and enhance those same resources. I support these public/private initiatives and remain committed to a strong federal role in leadership for wildlife and public land protection programs.

E. National Forest Planning and Sales Below Cost

The question is how best to balance the Act's directive to foster and protect community stability and jobs while providing environmental protection. In a year when market prices for timber are not sufficient to allow for full environmental protection, it would be unacceptable to either waive those requirements, or to shut down logging with the resulting impact on the communities, the businesses, and the workers who depend on the logging activities.

Clearly, the Forest Service should seek more effective ways to balance these goals, and a draconian limitation on below-cost

sales would ill-serve those interests. However, I would immediately require the Forest Service to perform a detailed analysis of its sales, to assure that we are not wasting our valuable public resources.

III. PRIVATE LAND USE

A. 1985 Farm Bill

I would like to commend environmentalists and farm groups for working together on this landmark legislation requiring the integration of conservation policy with federal commodity programs.

The conservation title of the bill represents the hallmark of conservation programs in the 1980's. I strongly support four key provisions in the Conservation Title; the Conservation Reserve Program, Sodbuster to preserve highly erodible lands, Swampbuster to preserve wetlands, and the Conservation Compliance Provisions.

As President, I shall stringently support full and aggressive implementation of the Conservation Compliance Law. We must minimize soil erosion and the loss of our valuable topsoil. With the passage of the Conservation Title, the Administration made a commitment that environmental concerns will no longer be an afterthought in farm policy.

I recognize that conserving soil is vital for the future of agriculture and that protecting wetlands is imperative to preserving waterfowl, endangered species, fish and shellfish and water quality.

B. Commodity Credit Corporation

The Conservation Reserve program is a significant and successful piece of legislation and I support its efforts to include lands which pose a threat to ground water quality.

C. Coastal Land Use

1. I support the Coastal Zone Management Program. I would review the current level of funding to determine the adequacy and adjust it accordingly, as budget priorities allow.
2. I would review the bill and analyze the state/federal legal implications in light of court decisions.

3. I would review the Department of Interior's 1987 report to determine if more or less expansion of the Coast Barrier Resource System is justified.

D. Wetlands

I agree that wetlands constitute one of the nation's most important natural resources. They serve as an essential habitat for migratory waterfowl and as the foundation of our commercial and sport fisheries. Both the President's Commission for American Outdoors and the North American Waterfowl Management Plan highlight the need for an aggressive and coordinated federal program to protect wetlands. The Emergency Wetlands Resource Act is a positive step in the right direction. The Conservation Title for the 1985 Farm Bill and the Clean Water Act Section 404 provisions offer more cost-effective and expeditious mechanisms for wetland protection. I am genuinely concerned with the laxity of our wetlands protection efforts in the past. We have lost 55% of our 215 million acres of wetlands nationwide and we continue to lose them at the rate of 450,000 acres per year. Where existing programs to protect wetlands have not been adequate we have worked to improve them as we did with the Swampbuster program.

As President, I shall initiate an inter-agency federal initiative, in cooperation with states and the Conservation Foundation which is currently coordinating the National Wetlands Policy Forum, to formulate a new comprehensible national wetlands policy. A major charge for this undertaking would be to review federal agency activities and programs to determine the feasibility of the application of a "no net loss" policy nationwide.

IV. ENERGY

A. Oil Conservation

1. I have strongly supported the use of alternate fuels - methanol and ethanol - and I also support the deregulation of natural gas. Greater use of cleaner fuels will help reduce pollution that causes acid rain, improve our energy security, and open new markets for agricultural products.

2. I would carefully review incentives to raise the level of fuel efficiency and proceed accordingly.

3. No, I would not support a phased-in gasoline tax. Rather, I would look at the tax structure to find ways to encourage

domestic drilling and production i.e., by funding DOE research into secondary and tertiary recovery methods to encourage the redrilling of existing wells.

I would repeal the windfall profits tax, increase the fill rate of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve, and fund as the Reagan Administration has, the development of clean coal technology.

Conservation of energy is also essential to reducing our consumption of oil. Conservation would be a priority in a Bush Administration.

B. Energy Conservation

Greater energy efficiency must be a cornerstone of any sound energy policy. Insulation of buildings, passive energy systems, more efficient electrical appliances and lighting are all areas where progress has been made, but still more could be accomplished.

C. Renewable Energy Technologies

1. I believe the private sector should play the principal role in promoting the research and development of renewable sources of energy.

- a. In cooperation with the private sector, we can provide some funding for research into new technologies.
- b. We should also provide market incentives to bring currently available technologies more fully into the marketplace. This will require public/private partnerships to be successful.

D. Nuclear Power

Global warming caused in part by fossil fuels, will force us to reexamine nuclear power as an alternative source of power. I support its continued use with the highest safety standards. State and federal officials need to work closely together in a spirit of cooperation to achieve mutually satisfactory emergency evacuation plans.

I would support a cooperative effort between federal and state officials based upon good faith effort on the part of both parties.

V. POLLUTION

A. Pesticides

Groundwater contamination from pesticides and other causes is one of the most pressing environmental and public health issues facing us today and is of particular concern in our farm states. The FIFRA should be the product of both health based standards and cost-based standards. I would authorize the review of FIFRA and the implications of the changes in regulations. Cooperation between farmers and environmentalists, which was so successful on the Farm Bill, will be essential to arrive at an acceptable solution. Innovative biotechnology will help solve the problem over the long-term.

B. Solid Waste

There is no single solution to this serious and difficult problem. I would encourage the reduction of waste at the source and the minimizing of waste production. I would support research and development in this area and would support incentives to promote recycling. Although we must recognize that local and state governments have primary responsibility for solid waste management, I believe we must reduce all kinds of waste. I would encourage local governments to institute separation and recycling of household waste and the reduction of industrial waste.

It is in the economic self-interest of industry and government to avoid polluting by recycling waste, minimizing waste at its source, and changing to a non-polluting process. We should encourage the adoption of safe, environmentally sound ways to dispose of waste that can't be recycled and the reduction of non-redeemable packaging and containers.

C. Groundwater

There are currently two ways to reduce the use of chemical pesticide which are the principal culprit in groundwater contamination: better crop rotation and management, and greater use of biotechnology products such as microbial pesticides. Both approaches require better coordination with agricultural policy -- and both would, of course, significantly reduce energy costs.

Biotechnology regulation is especially sensitive, requiring careful monitoring of programs at EPA, FDA, USDA, and NIH. If overregulation can be avoided, as it has been to date, biotechnology promises a revolution in choices available to farmers to improve crop yields at lower costs, with less

energy input and drastically reduced groundwater contamination.

1. One role of federal government is to support state governments in the protection of groundwater. Another is to move decisively to clean up toxic waste and this I would do. Once groundwater is contaminated, the damage can be almost irreversible. We must give a high priority to groundwater protection through federal leadership. The federal government should identify the sources of contamination, set the standards for preventing contamination and monitor remedial action. The state's role is to implement programs to meet the standards.

2. I would review possible alternatives for this program.

D. Toxic Prevention and Minimization

1. One of the highest priorities of my Administration would be the adequate funding and stringent enforcement of regulations by the EPA on Superfund sites. Public and private cooperation is required to clean up our national priority sites. I would continue requiring the Justice Department's aggressive enforcement of violations. I would ask the Treasury Department to review the proposal and consider pollution reform. We must push harder for enforcement of the laws, streamline and accelerate the process, promote voluntary settlement procedures, reduce regulatory barriers to new and innovative cleanup technologies, and bring states more actively into the effort. In addition, we must direct federal agencies to ensure that future activities of federal facilities meet all environmental standards.

2. Yes, I would consider the use of economic incentives to induce industry to reduce its dependence on toxics by changing products and production practices. Biodegradable products would be encouraged.

E. Acid Rain

As President I will do even more to address this serious environmental problem. We can no longer afford to simply study the problem. We must begin to take effective action. We must have a national commitment to continue to reduce emissions of sulphur and nitrogen oxide. I have supported efforts to develop new clean coal technology and other alternative fuels such as methanol and ethanol, and pollution control incentives. We should pursue initiatives which have emerged from our dialogue with Canada and, if they do not produce results, establish specific emission reduction goals that promise steady progress towards cleaner air. Moreover, I enthusiastically support the participation of the United States in international

negotiations now taking place to limit the emissions of nitrogen oxides worldwide.

F. Global Warning

1. This complex problem needs to be addressed at the international level and requires the cooperation of the major fossil fuel users. I believe the United States should take the leadership role in setting an example and securing the cooperation of other countries. I would convene an international summit to address this pressing issue. We should review alternate sources of energy. In addition, cooperation with the Soviet Union and China is essential because of their large deposits of coal.

2. Any progress requires international cooperation in the move from fossil fuels, to a mixture of fossil and nuclear fuel, conservation, energy efficiency, and renewable alternate sources of energy.

VI INTERNATIONAL

Our nation is well equipped especially in technical expertise, to give strong international leadership to global environmental programs, such as species extinction, soil erosion, and destruction of tropical rain forests. International environmental cooperation will be a foreign policy priority in a Bush Administration.

A. Tropical Forests

1. The most devastating long-term international issue confronting us today involves the loss of biological diversity -- the extinction of species. Current estimates project 5 million species of all kinds of organisms worldwide will become extinct. Existing inventories suggest that 2/3 of all species (3.3 million) live in the tropics and that 2/3 of these (2 million) are unique to tropical rain forests that cover just 7 percent of the earth's land area. By the end of this century between 1/3 and 1/2 of the remaining tropical forests supporting species will be lost. I recognize that reduced biological diversity poses not only severe biological consequences but also holds the potential for significant economic loss and disruption. Protection of worldwide biological diversity is therefore important. I support the need for the endangered species programs of the Fish and Wildlife Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management, National Park Service, and the State Grant Program.

2. One aspect of our policy would involve support of private sector innovative approaches like debt for nature swaps. The current administration has made changes in the tax law to encourage debt-charity swaps to encourage U.S. holders of foreign debt to donate the debt to conservation groups. This is an excellent source of local currency. Environmental groups, especially those concerned with tropical forests have urged this policy. I can say that my administration will make sure these initial efforts take hold and expand.

A second element of this policy would be the convening of an international conference on the use of tropical forests.

3. The timber industry should cooperate in arriving at a level of harvesting which recognizes the needs of this generation in a way that makes sure that timber and soil are still available to future generations.

B. International Lending Institutions

Our unilateral and multilateral development assistance programs must be revised to assure the protection of biological diversity worldwide. I will not tolerate the use of taxpayer supported programs which result in the environmental impoverishment of developing nations. We must work with Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs) to increase the extent to which environmental and resource protection questions are considered in the determination of bank lending practices. Environmental protection needs to be fully integrated into the decision making practices of the MDBs. We should only support long-term environmentally sustainable development projects.

1. The U.S. taken the lead in this area. Under Barber Conable, President of the World Bank, our representatives are already advocates of appropriate scale projects which restore degraded environments, restore watersheds, and implement energy efficiency improvements. Certainly, in the past few years we have made tremendous progress in recognizing this. But we should actively work with the World Bank and other lending institutions to design projects that are of the appropriate size and scope.

2. It is current policy today that the U.S. will oppose loans which have an adverse impact on the environment. I am committed to carrying this leadership stance forward. The United States should guide other nations in insisting on environmental protection as a component of lending. I will make this a priority for action at the UN and at all the MDBs.

3. The loans should be reviewed on a case-by-case basis and with environmental considerations taken into account in determining whether or not the United States will support a program. I support working with the MDBs to increase the importance of environmental resource protection in their lending decisions.

C. International Environmental Programs

I am proud of my role in getting the Administration to take the lead in developing and promoting a multilateral agreement to reduce the use of chloroflourocarbons around the world. This treaty sets a major precedent. For the first time, we have a multilateral treaty that commits countries to take effective action against the worldwide environmental problem.

In addition, I called for establishing a global observation system in space, which could help us develop a fundamental understanding of the earth system. First proposed in a report headed by former astronaut Dr. Sally Ride, this "Mission to Planet Earth" would provide scientists with the ability to answer fundamental questions about our environment.

1. The US must take the lead in international cooperation on environmental issues. This can be done both through our foreign aid policy and through our participation in the full range of international forums.

2. Appropriate consideration for natural resource management in our foreign aid assistance programs can be accomplished by reviewing our present program on a country-by-country basis.

D. Third World Debt Crisis

The Third World debt problem is a complex problem with major implications for the world financial system as well as for natural resource management and other issues. Our primary goal is to encourage policies which will promote responsible economic growth in the developing world, thereby strengthening their economies and their ability to manage natural resources over the longer term.

I recognize that finding solutions for the Third World debt crisis is pivotal to shaping the future of developing nations worldwide. This is an area where a little money, combined with a maximum of flexibility and imagination, goes a long way; "Debt for Nature" trades, pioneered by US non-governmental organizations, offer the possibility of not only preserving many endangered species and their habitats but simultaneously

solving the outstanding debt crisis that is crippling many developing nations.

The private sector must help as we continue this initiative. I strongly encourage US conservation organizations to proceed with these efforts and I support the Secretary Baker's initiative to encourage U.S. donation of foreign debt for charitable conservation purposes. The U.S. Treasury Department has taken the lead through its tax ruling on debt conversion.

The debt/charity swap permits U.S. banks to donate their losses to a charity through the Central Bank of the LDC, and get a deduction for the full book value without having to sell the loan first. This ruling has increased the donations of loans to charities to the benefit of developing nations.

Conservation groups, in particular, have welcomed this move. I share their strong concern in assuring that conservation and development proceed in a mutually supportive and constructive fashion.

VII BUDGET REGULATION

A. EPA Budget

1. To insure proper protection of the environment, strict enforcement of EPA regulations is required. I will be a "law and order" President, and enforcement of environmental laws will be a priority of my Administration.
2. To restore confidence in these laws, fair and impartial enforcement of regulations will be administered.
3. Before deciding on the exact amount to be recommended in the EPA budget for enforcement we would need to review EPA programs and budgets and make judgements about how EPA can best execute its mission. But let me be clear: I believe that this mission is vitally important.

B. OMB Influence

As President, I would appoint the most qualified and dedicated people with the highest ethical standards who are available to head key environmental agencies (EPA, Department of Interior, and the Department of Energy). I would revitalize the Council on Environmental Quality and work to strengthen the EPA's ability to enforce regulations which protect the public's health. A clean environment is crucial to American's future. It would be one of my top priorities as President and the OMB in a Bush Administration would know that this was the case.

William Reilly or Dan Quayle:
Who is George Bush's Man on the Environment?

As the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, William Reilly is, in theory, the Bush Administration's key decision-maker on environmental issues. But the record shows clearly that, despite his position, Reilly's views on key issues are ignored by President Bush, while Bush Administration environmental policies are controlled by big business interests acting through secret channels at Dan Quayle's Council on Competitiveness.

Here are the most prominent examples:

Wetlands. Wetlands protection was a central focal point of Bill Reilly's career at the Conservation Foundation before he came to EPA, and is an area in which he reportedly has great personal interest. Even so, Bill Reilly is being forced to preside over the greatest cutback in wetlands protection in history. Last year Dan Quayle's Council on Competitiveness intervened to rewrite EPA's definition of what constitutes a wetland -- with devastating results. The area of protected wetlands was pared back by about 100 million acres -- eliminating protection for fully half of the nation's wetlands, including much of the Florida Everglades.

Global Warming. As EPA Administrator, Bill Reilly urged George Bush to have the U.S. play a constructive role in international efforts to protect our planet from greenhouse warming. But Reilly and the EPA have been largely shut out of Bush Administration policy-making on the environmental issue that many consider the most important facing our planet. Ignoring Reilly's entreaties, George Bush, who had once committed to fight the greenhouse effect with the "White House effect," made the U.S. the central obstacle to international action on global climate change, and made our nation an international villain on the environment at the Earth Summit last June in Rio.

Recycling. Late in 1990 William Reilly urged the Bush White House to finalize an EPA rule requiring big garbage incinerators to recycle some of their trash. Bush had specifically endorsed the EPA recycling effort on the campaign trail in 1988. But when time came for George Bush to formally approve the EPA effort, he allowed Dan Quayle and his Council to override the EPA, and abolish the recycling program. Bill Reilly's arguments at the White House that recycling was not only environmentally advantageous, but also saved money, were ignored.

Burning Lead Batteries. Bill Reilly also urged the Bush White House to support an EPA rule banning the burning of lead batteries at incinerators. The burning of lead batteries is a major source of lead air pollution, which endangers the intellectual development of the nation's children. Despite extensive evidence from Reilly's EPA that the ban was needed to protect the health and intellectual development of children, and that lead batteries can easily be re-used instead of burned, Reilly was overruled by Dan Quayle's Competitiveness Council in December 1990. The ban on burning lead batteries was eliminated without explanation, an action which was overturned as illegal by a

Federal Court last July.

Clean Air. The Bush White House has again and again stepped in to delay or weaken vitally important Clean Air Act programs developed by EPA under Bill Reilly. The most brazen example concerns the new program requiring big pollution sources to get permits under the Clean Air Act. Interceding on behalf of big polluters, the Quayle Council strong-armed EPA to revise its permit rule to include a loophole allowing industrial polluters to increase the release of dangerous pollutants at any time, regardless of the levels allowed in their clean air permits, and without telling those living in the nearby communities. EPA Administrator Bill Reilly objected on the grounds that the loophole was illegal. But Dan Quayle persisted and, after months of debate between EPA and the Competitiveness Council, Quayle called for George Bush himself to decide the matter.

When presented with the issue, George Bush sided with Dan Quayle, despite the voluminous written record concluding that the loophole was illegal. This widely reported action graphically demonstrated that Dan Quayle and the big polluters, not Bill Reilly, makes environmental policy for George Bush.

Biodiversity. Bill Reilly strongly supported an international agreement on biodiversity which the U.S. had a major role in drafting last winter at a working session prior to the Earth Summit. But Dan Quayle and the Competitiveness Council intervened on behalf of the drug industry, and the U.S. became the only nation in the world to oppose the accord on biodiversity. Seeking to end U.S. isolation on the issue at the Earth Summit last June, Bill Reilly tried to forge a last minute compromise. But White House functionaries killed the effort, and humiliated Reilly by publicly releasing his plea to the White House for more flexibility on the issue. In a recent letter to EPA employees, Reilly analogized this treatment by the White House at Rio to having the cord cut while he was bungee jumping.

ENVIRONMENTAL ENFORCEMENT: SMALL POLLUTERS TAKE THE RAP, EXXON AND BIG POLLUTERS GET SWEETHEART DEALS

"Enforcement is more vigorous in the Bush Administration than it has ever been in any previous era."

-- William Reilly, 8-7-92

The Bush Administration claims that it has assessed more fines for violations of environmental laws than any other previous administration.

RESPONSE

Statistically, EPA brought more fines than previous administrations. However, more fines are possible because Congress gave EPA the power to levy administrative fines under the Clean Water Act of 1987. President Reagan vetoed this bill twice.

More importantly, many of these enforcement efforts are against small companies, while the Administration has a shameful record of making sweetheart deals with big polluters.

EXXON LET OFF THE HOOK FOR OIL SPILL

Contact: Pam Brodie, Sierra Club in Alaska, 907-276-4048; Bob Adler, NRDC, 202-783-7800

Despite the costly damage of the Prince William Sound oil spill, the Bush Administration let Exxon off the hook for this tragedy.

* Exxon was required to pay only a \$1 billion fine. Although this is the largest fine ever levied, a government study indicates that the actual damage to the public value of these resources could be as high as \$15 billion -- 15 times MORE than Exxon was required to pay.

* Exxon has to pay this fine over 10 years. The Congressional Budget Office estimates the "present value" (adjusted for inflation) of the fine is \$400 to \$500 million.

* The Alyeska pipeline company was legally responsible for containing and cleaning up the spill. The company did not fulfill this responsibility. Despite this flagrant inaction, the Bush Administration did not fine or punish Alyeska.

* The Bush Administration's rationale for rushing to this settlement was to quickly spend money for environmental restoration. So far, however, ZERO DOLLARS have been spent for environmental restoration.

Background

The Exxon Valdez oil spill in Prince William Sound, Alaska was the greatest environmental disaster in the history of the nation. The tanker dumped 11 million gallons of crude oil into the Sound. More than one thousand miles of coastline were contaminated by the oil spilled from the leaking tanker. Hundreds of thousands of birds and animals were killed. Key fish habitat was poisoned. Three and a half years later, there is still oil on the beaches, while the populations of some birds and animals continue to decline.

ROCKWELL GETS OFF EASY AT ROCKY FLATS

Contact: Shira Flax, Sierra Club, 202-675-6272; Dan Reicher, NRDC, 202-783-7800

The Exxon Valdez case is not the only big polluter the Bush Administration let out on parole. Rockwell International recently plead guilty to criminal violations of the nation's hazardous waste law at the Dept. of Energy's Rocky Flats facility in Colorado.

- * Rockwell plead guilty to illegally creating and disposing of radioactive hazardous waste. Rockwell was fined \$18.5 million. Total clean up at Rocky Flats could cost taxpayers \$1 BILLION [ck figure].

- * Rockwell's fine is less than the \$22 million government bonus received by Rockwell for 1987-91.

Background

Rockwell managed the Rocky Flats plant for the Department of Energy during the 1970's and 1980's. Rockwell plead guilty to felony charges, which included illegal dumping of hazardous waste and illegal management and storage of radioactive waste. Some of the contaminated groundwater could migrate with in ten years to the water supply of an adjacent town.

DEPT. OF JUSTICE LETS BIG POLLUTERS WALK WHILE PUNISHING SMALL BUSINESSES

Contact: Janina Jaruzelski or Steve Sims, House Energy & Commerce Comm., 202-225-4441

A investigation by Legal Times (7-20-92) found a

"pattern of behavior by Justice Department officials that is seriously hindering efforts by law enforcers to hold polluters accountable for their environmental crimes."

- * Both Weyerhaeuser and a small waste disposal company were charged with similar water pollution violations. Weyerhaeuser paid a \$500,000 fine, while the 68 year old head of the waste company went to jail for three years. No Weyerhauser officials were sent to prison.

- * EPA attorneys and state prosecutors pushed for the indictment of Chemical Waste Management (a subsidiary of Waste Management Inc.) for illegal transportation and storage of agent orange (dioxin) in Alabama. DOJ prevented the indictment.

- * Two employees of Hughes Aircraft were charged with filing false statements about hazardous wastes. The company was not charged. The judge blasted the government for omitting the company from the indictment.

Rep. John Dingell (D-MI), chair of the Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, is expected to conduct a hearing this September on DOJ's record on environmental prosecutions.

BUSH INCREASES IN EPA FUNDING BARELY OFFSET REAGAN-BUSH BUDGET CUTS

"My budget has gone up 50 percent at a time when domestic discretionary spending went up 5 percent."

--William Reilly, 8-7-92

The Bush Administration increased the EPA operation budget by 26 percent in real, inflation adjusted dollars.

RESPONSE:

Contact: Ralph De Gennaro, Friends of the Earth, 202-675-2286

EPA BARELY RECOVERING FROM REAGAN-BUSH CUTS

EPA suffered significant budget cuts during the Reagan-Bush Administration. In effect, many of the increases under Bush-Quayle just restored funds cut during '81-'89.

* Bush's FY '93 EPA operating budget request is only 16 percent higher in real dollars than EPA's operating budget in 1979-- fourteen years earlier!!

* Since 1979, the workload of the agency has doubled with the passage of at least six major environmental laws. In other words, there is less money available for each program, while our environmental problems continue to grow.

* Bush's EPA operating budget request for FY '93 is \$2.7 billion. He requested \$4.4 billion for the Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars).

NOTE: Congress cut Bush's EPA operating budget requests in recent years. Response: EPA must compete with housing and veterans programs in the same appropriations bill for limited dollars. We could spend more on the environment if we spent less on SDI and on paying for the Reagan-Bush deficit. Even if Congress fully funded EPA, it is still not enough money to combat our mounting national and global environmental problems.

BUSH ONLY CARES ABOUT BOSTON HARBOR AND CLEAN WATER IN ELECTION YEARS

* Bush twice proposed ZERO funding for the clean up of Boston Harbor, in FY '90 and '91.

* During his presidency, Bush proposed a total of almost \$2 BILLION less for building sewage treatment plants than Congress has provided. (NOTE: Bush did seek full funding for the first time for FY '93). These plants are essential for protecting water quality in the Chesapeake Bay, Puget Sound, the Great Lakes, and other places.

* Bush did not seek significant funding for heavily polluted areas, including Boston, New York, Los Angeles, San Diego, and Seattle until FY '92 - when the election was imminent.

BUSH FOUGHT TO CUT RUN OFF CONTROL PROGRAM; ARKANSAS' WHITE RIVER SUFFERING FROM RUN OFF

The Bush Administration has consistently tried to limit funding for the only federal program designed to help states alleviate run off water pollution.

* Bush has proposed only \$71 million for this program over four years, while Congress will have provided more than twice as much (about \$180 million).

Background

Rain and other water washes toxic and organic pollutants from streets, farms, construction sites, lawns and other sources into rivers and lakes. Wastes from animal production facilities also contribute organic pollution. Lead, pesticides, and other toxic chemicals form "poison run off." Congress included a run off control program in the Clean Water Act of 1987, which President Reagan vetoed twice.

The program money to states to develop and implement plans to use "best management practices" to control runoff. For instance, putting hay bales around construction sites can trap thousands of pounds of sediment.

BUSH-QUAYLE GUT CLEAN AIR ACT IN BACK ROOMS TO BENEFIT BIG POLLUTERS

"The most innovative environmental law that has been seen in this country or nay country, which is the Clean Air Act, he's achieved the results we've set out to achieve."

"Most of the regulations that we're required to issue under the Clean Air Act are statutory milestones where we have deadlines for them. We are behind some months."

-- William Reilly, 8-7-92

The Bush Administration signed the Clean Air Act on November 15, 1990.

RESPONSE:

Contact: Greg Wetstone & Phil Barnett, House Energy and Commerce Committee, 202-226-7620; David Hawkins & David Doniger, NRDC, 202-783-7800; Blake Early or Dan Weiss, Sierra Club, 202-675-6277/75

QUAYLE COUNCIL ON COMPETITIVENESS GUTTING CLEAN AIR ACT IN BACK ROOMS

Congress did not include many of the loopholes and other breaks sought by oil, chemical, auto, and other companies and advocated by the Bush Administration (see below). Instead, many of these same industries successfully sought relief from the Quayle Council on Competitiveness in secret, with no opportunity for public participation or scrutiny.

* The regulations implementing the air pollution emission permit provisions of the Clean Air Act violate the law by allowing companies to emit up to 240 tons of cancer-causing air pollution without public notice or comment. EPA OPPOSED the Quayle Council's proposal to eviscerate this part of the law.

* Old power plants that are refurbished would be allowed to evade stricter pollution controls required of such plants by the Act. The then-head of the Quayle Council owned stock in an Indiana utility that would benefit from this loophole [ck fact].

* The Bush Administration broke the law by not requiring "on board canisters" to be added to new cars to trap harmful ozone-forming substances. The Clean Air Act of 1990 explicitly requires EPA to issue such standards.

The Bush Administration also violated the Clean Air Act of 1990 by failing to promulgate regulations governing the following requirements.

* "Cold start" controls on autos to reduce carbon monoxide in cold weather.

* Reduction in CFC's and other substances that destroy the stratospheric ozone layer. Sen. Gore wrote this provision.

* Reduction in evaporative emissions from autos that contribute to urban smog.

* Reduction in emissions from new and retrofitted urban buses. These



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

July 8, 1992

MEMORANDUM TO ~~KEY~~ ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS

FROM:

MICHAEL R. DELAND 

Enclosed you will find a comprehensive package of materials regarding the Bush Administration's recent environmental initiatives. Of course, many of you played a key role in developing these initiatives, but some of you may not have all of the enclosed materials.

If you have any further questions, please contact Dale Curtis of my staff on (202) 395-5750.

- Remarks by President Bush delivered at the Goddard Space Center on June 1.
- A White House fact sheet detailing the Bush Administration's environmental activities in support of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED).
- A fact sheet on the President's "Forests for the Future" Initiative.
- Remarks by President Bush at UNCED, delivered on June 12 in Rio de Janeiro.
- "U.S. Actions for a Better Environment," a booklet describing the United States' environmental policies and programs, distributed at the Earth Summit.
- An Op-Ed which was published in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* on June 11.
- A special section from *Fortune* Magazine describing the projects of the President's Commission on Environmental Quality (PCEQ), published June 15.
- An address delivered on May 6 to the Annual Dinner of the Rene Dubos Center for Human Environments.

I hope you will find these documents useful and informative.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 1, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO GODDARD SPACE FLIGHT CENTER EMPLOYEES

Goddard Space Flight Center
Greenbelt, Maryland

2:44 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very, very much. Thank you for this welcome to Goddard. And, Dan Goldin, thank you, sir for the introduction, the leadership you're giving the agency.

With me is Bill Reilly. We've been talking today about the upcoming summit in Brazil, the environmental meeting down there. And this visit is very timely for both of us, I think, seeing what magnificent contribution Goddard makes to a better understanding of our planet. I want to salute Mike Deland, who was with us up at Camp David a little bit ago. He runs our Council on Environmental Quality. He's at my side in the White House -- a sound environmentalist. Dr. Klineberg -- I listened, I had the applause meter on when you walked in -- (laughter) -- and either they're scared of you or you doing something right. (Laughter.) I don't know which it is, but it was most impressive. And thanks for your hospitality. May I salute Brian Daley, out here, of the Space Council. And I'd like to thank Dr. Fisk who helped us in the tour.

Now, you know that it's been a month, and in just over a month on the job, Dan Goldin supervised the recovery of a satellite on Endeavor's maiden voyage; he won a vote, a very important vote, to save the space station on the floor of the House; and he launched his own cultural revolution at NASA. And I'd say the new NASA is off to a flying start. And I am very grateful to him for taking on this terribly important assignment heading up NASA.

Twenty years ago this month -- 20 years ago, the leaders of the world gathered in Sweden to talk about the human environment. The Stockholm Declaration that they adopted had a simple conclusion, that "through fuller knowledge and wiser action, we can achieve for ourselves and our posterity a better life in an environment more in keeping with human needs and hopes." Much has been accomplished since those early days of environmentalism, and much has been learned.

And we've learned that only market-oriented economies and democratic systems provide the accountability needed to protect against environmental degradation. The coating of soot that the world found when the curtain of secrecy was pulled back from Eastern Europe was but one visible demonstration of that.

We've learned that the economy can grow even while pollution is reduced. Since 1973, our GDP has grown by more than 50 percent. And yet air quality has gotten better: Emissions of carbon monoxide and smog-forming ozone, sulfur dioxide, and particulate matter are all down by more than 20 percent. And water quality has gotten better: We've achieved an 80 percent reduction in suspended solids from industrial and sewage treatment plants.

We've learned that technology -- spurred by the right incentives -- can provide help to the environment that no amount of

MORE

regulation of old technology could have achieved. Technological progress can cut pollution rather than increase it. And at the same time, the efficiency gained is good for profits.

And we've learned that market-based mechanisms and flexibility -- aimed at ambitious objectives and backed up by rigorous enforcement -- can help us solve environmental problems at less cost than command and control regulation.

We've learned about a new generation of environmental problems that are global in scope, and that will require international cooperation to solve.

This week -- and I referred to this earlier -- over 100 heads of state will gather in Rio de Janeiro, and it will be time to apply those lessons. And what better place to discuss our plans for taking on the problems of the international environment than here at Goddard.

I thought as I was on this little tour -- which was all too quick, but nevertheless gave me a little feel about the magnificent work that the wonderful employees of Goddard do -- I thought wouldn't it be a wonderful thing if these 100 or more heads of state could actually walk through the laboratories here and get a practical feeling for what it is you are doing; to see how they can better monitor the changes that they talk about or that they get from their environmental ministers. It's a wonderful thing. And I think it's very timely that I've had this opportunity, and I look forward to sharing with those people down in Rio.

It is science developed here that has given the world a new window from which to see its environment. A spacecraft managed by Goddard provided humanity with its first image of Earth from space. It was your scientists -- Goddard's scientists who developed the Upper Atmosphere Research Satellite launched last year, which is providing us new insight about the content of the ozone layer.

And the lion's share of the science that the world is using to understand our climate comes from a program with its heart and soul right here -- the Global Change Research Program, built around the Mission to Planet Earth that Goddard is developing.

When we go to Rio, the U.S. will go proudly as the world's leader, not just in environmental research, but in environmental action. The United States was the first nation to recognize the danger of CFC emissions by eliminating aerosol propellants, which we did in 1978. Other nations are now following suit -- using the aerosol phaseout as credit to meet the terms of the Montreal Protocol. We are 42 percent ahead of the schedule required by that agreement. And earlier this year, on the basis of science developed by NASA, we unilaterally decided to speed up our timetable for phasing out CFCs to the end of 1995.

We were the first nation, back in 1975, to adopt catalytic converters to reduce those emissions from our cars and trucks. In 1982, we began phasing out lead from American gasoline -- and now ambient levels of lead in our air have been cut by 95 percent. Other nations are only now taking these two steps.

I came to this office committed to extend America's record of environmental leadership. And I've worked to do so in a way that is compatible with economic growth, because this balance is absolutely essential -- and because these are twin goals, not mutually exclusive objectives.

You see, those who met 20 years ago at Stockholm and called for this UNCED, this summit, explicitly called for the

discussion at Rio to be about both environment and development. And they knew even back then that the two were inextricably linked.

Only a growing economy can generate the resources and the will to manage natural assets for the longer term and the common good. But only assets which are so managed can support the growth on which so much human hope is hinged. By definition, for development to be successful in the long term, it has got to be sustainable.

And so I invite comparison of the record that we as a country and as an administration have built. It is aggressive. It is comprehensive. And it is ambitious, but carefully balanced. What we've done in this administration reflects the new environmentalism, more sophisticated in its approach, that harnesses the power of the marketplace in the service of the environment. Let me give you some examples.

The 1990 Clean Air Act, which I proposed and signed into law, is the most ambitious air pollution legislation anywhere on Earth. It will cut acid rain, smog, toxic chemical emissions. And yet it will do so with innovations the whole world is watching. We have a trading system for sulfur dioxide reductions, have a new generation of cleaner fuels and cleaner cars, a massive -- and to date successful -- voluntary air toxics reduction program.

Our national parks are under stress from millions of visitors. And so, just in the last four years, we've added over a million and half acres to America's parks, forests, wildlife refuges and to other public land. We've created 57 new wildlife refuges and restored or protected more than a-half-a-million acres a year of important wetlands. And at the same time, we've streamlined the permitting process so that projects which don't hurt wetlands aren't slowed down. And we've made sure to respect people's private property rights.

We've placed a moratorium on oil and gas drilling along the most environmentally-sensitive areas of our coasts, signed new laws to protect against oil spills, to end below-cost timber sales in America's largest rain forest, the Tongass, and to promote environmental education. We've backed our laws up with strict enforcement to make the polluters pay. And the results have been record contributions to cleanups from businesses.

And we have attended to the international environment -- with new agreements to stop the irresponsible export of toxic wastes, to ban trade in ivory and thereby stop the extinction of elephants due to poaching, and to use debt forgiveness to protect the environment through debt for nature swaps.

In short, our country, America, retains its place at the forefront of international environmental accomplishment. Our laws have served as a model for environmental laws the world over.

America's environmental accomplishments have not come by mistake -- they are the result of sustained investment. Today, the U.S. spends about two percent of its Gross Domestic Product -- over \$100 billion per year -- on pollution control. In comparison to other nations, that's among the highest in the world.

Americans have always believed that actions speak louder than words. And simple wisdom has guided our approach to the questions on the table at Rio. We will sign a good agreement on climate change. It is based on the idea that every nation should prepare an action strategy -- as we in the United States have done.

We first laid our plan on the table in February 1991 -- with specific policy proposals and specific calculations concerning how much greenhouse gas emissions would be reduced. When the science on CFCs changed, we added new measures and we again laid our plan on

the table. We showed that our policies would reduce projected year 2000 greenhouse gas emissions by 125 million to 200 million tons -- or by seven to 11 percent.

No other nation except the Netherlands has laid out such a specific plan of action. And that's why we insisted that the focus be on results, not on rhetoric.

It may not have been widely reported in the press, but in area after area, the United States laid down specific proposals and worked for their adoption: Forests. Oceans. Living Marine Resources. Public participation. Financing.

Let me be clear: Our commitment to action did not begin and will not end with Rio.

So when I travel down there next week, to Brazil, I will bring with me several proposals to extend the commitment of the world community into the future. Let me outline for you my four-point plan of cooperation:

First, I will propose a major new initiative to protect and enhance the world's forests. I mentioned lessons learned about cost effectiveness. Well, halting the loss of the Earth's forests is one of the most cost-effective steps we can take to cut carbon dioxide emissions.

Forests also filter the air and water. They provide products from timber and fuelwood to pharmaceuticals and foodstuffs. They are home to more than half the world's species. At the Houston G-7 Summit two years ago, I proposed a global forest convention. At UNCED, we should get agreement on the principles leading up to it.

But I propose today to move ahead faster. At Rio, I will ask the other industrialized countries to join me in doubling worldwide forest assistance -- with a goal of halting the loss of the world's forests by the end of the decade. As a down payment, the U.S. will increase its bilateral forest assistance by \$150 million next year.

The plan is to encourage partnerships -- between recipient countries who could propose new projects and investor countries who, in effect, could bid to support the most effective proposals for sequestering CO2 or preserving biodiversity.

Second, with respect to climate. The signing of a convention that calls for action plans is simply a first step -- we must implement them. So I will join in proposing a prompt start to adoption of climate action plans. Of course, as new and better science becomes available on climate change, we will adjust our action plan accordingly.

The solution to climate change must include the developing countries. While today they account for about a quarter of the world's emissions, by the year 2025 they will contribute over half. So we must have their participation -- and we will fund "country studies" to get them started.

These countries will need new technologies if they are to enjoy "green growth". And America can provide them. So my budget includes an investment of almost a \$1 billion in developing new energy-efficient technologies.

Hundreds of American businessmen will be traveling to Rio to make the case for our technology. But this effort must

continue. So then the third part of our plan is to support a program, a broad program of technology cooperation. In particular, we're going to create a Technology Cooperation Corps to identify the green technology -- those green technological needs of countries around the world -- and then to knock down the barriers to making it available.

The fourth point of my program for a cleaner future is a continued program of research and understanding. This year, we are requesting over \$1.4 billion for the Global Change Research Program -- that's more than the amount spent on climate research by the rest of the world put together.

With Dan Goldin's leadership here at NASA, we will push for a program that provides results faster, cheaper, and better. At Rio, I will propose to make the data from our climate change program available and affordable for scientists and researchers all around the world.

As part of this effort, we will distribute at that conference, at UNCED, thousands of copies of computer disks with data on greenhouse effects and we will open this year a Global Change Research Information Office.

These four steps -- a dramatic program to protect and to enhance forests; quick action on climate change; cooperation in deploying cleaner, more efficient technology; and then an ongoing program to develop and share sound science -- can help us seize that opportunity long after those speeches in Rio have been given and the conference is over.

Two decades ago, when they gathered at Stockholm, the leaders of the world could not possibly have foreseen the tumultuous events of the intervening two decades. Then they worried about nuclear war as a chief environmental threat. They couldn't have known that today the specter of nuclear war -- with its unthinkable destruction -- would be calmed as never before in our postwar history.

They could not possibly have envisioned that, with the fall of statism and communism, those who would come to Rio would have the chance to launch a new generation of clean growth -- guided by the wisdom of free peoples and fueled by the power of free markets.

They could never have known how far we'd have come in 20 years. Now it is for us to imagine how much further we can go. And what better place to make the point -- that point -- than standing before these people that are dedicated to demonstrating to the rest of the world how much farther we can go.

I am grateful to each and every one of you who gives of himself or herself to further the science and, thus, to improve and keep something very, very special -- the environmental quality of our entire world. Thank you for what you do. And may God bless our great country. Thank you. (Applause.)

END

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THE WHITE HOUSE
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

June 1, 1992

BUSH ADMINISTRATION ENVIRONMENTAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS
IN SUPPORT OF UNCED

FACT SHEET

From June 11 to June 13, 1992, President Bush will travel to Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, to participate with the leaders of over 100 nations in the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). In his address today at Goddard Space Center in Greenbelt, Maryland, the President outlined the record of United States achievements in protecting the environment and proposed a four point plan of cooperation moving forward from UNCED.

The four proposals offered by the President for moving forward from the UNCED meeting include:

- A major effort to protect and enhance the world's forests, by doubling worldwide forest assistance. As a downpayment on this initiative, the President pledged to increase U.S. bilateral forest assistance by \$150 million next year;
- Support for a "prompt start" in implementing the national action programs called for in the proposed Framework Convention on Climate Change. The President stated that the U.S. would provide support for "country studies" to assist developing countries in developing national action programs on climate change;
- A broad program of technology cooperation, including the establishment of a Technology Cooperation Corps, comprised of teams of U.S. businessmen and women who would identify the "green technology" needs of countries around the world and work to remove barriers to the acquisition of such technology; and
- Support for increased climate change research, with a series of programs to make earth observation data acquired through NASA's Mission to Planet Earth available to governments, scientists, and researchers around the world. To begin this effort, the U.S. will make available in Rio thousands of computer disks, each with a billion bytes of greenhouse effects data.

The President noted that the United States had long been at the forefront of international environmental protection efforts. He pointed out that the U.S. has build a solid record of achievement in many of the areas to be considered at UNCED. What follows is a more detailed description of that record.

I. EFFORTS OF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION ON THE KEY SUBJECTS TO BE DISCUSSED AT UNCED

A.) ATMOSPHERE

- Global Climate Change Framework Convention
- The United States expects to sign the Framework Convention on Global Climate Change, which calls upon industrialized countries to adopt national action programs that will limit greenhouse gas emissions and protect greenhouse gas sinks.
- The proposed Framework Convention requires that all nations publish detailed information on these action plans and the projected emissions that will result from them.
- The aim of reviewing these plans and emissions projections is to return net greenhouse gas emissions to 1990 levels.
- The U.S. Action Agenda on Climate Change
- The United States, throughout the negotiations, believed that the climate agreement should aimed at encouraging real actions, as opposed to simple rhetorical commitments.
- The United States is the only nation (except for the Netherlands) to have published a detailed action plan for limiting net greenhouse gas emissions.
- The U.S. first laid its detailed action plan on the table at the first negotiating session on the framework convention back in February 1991 at Chantilly, Virginia. At that time, the agenda showed projected U.S. net greenhouse gas emissions in the year 2000 to be at or below 1987 levels.
- In early 1992, new science indicated that reductions in CFC emissions would not contribute as much as previously believed to the mitigation of climate change. In March 1992, the United States published a series of additional measures it was prepared to undertake to update its action plan.
- The results of this update indicate that the U.S. action plan will reduce U.S. year 2000 net greenhouse gas emissions by 125 to 200 million tons, or 7 to 11 percent, below projected levels.

- Specific U.S Measures Contained in the Action Agenda:
- The 1990 Clean Air Act: The Act, proposed and signed into law by President Bush, will reduce the emissions of greenhouse and precursor gases, including volatile organic compounds, carbon monoxide, and nitrogen oxides. In addition, by capping utility sulfur dioxide emissions at 10 million tons below 1990 levels and allowing utilities full freedom of choice in how to achieve the reductions, the Act creates a powerful conservation incentive for U.S. electric utilities, which will reduce carbon dioxide emissions from that sector.
- America the Beautiful Reforestation Program: The President has proposed to plant one billion trees per year across the U.S. Trees sequester carbon dioxide and thus serve as a sink for greenhouse gases.
- The National Energy Strategy (NES): First proposed by President Bush in February 1991, the NES includes actions to: increase utilization of natural gas - which releases less carbon dioxide per unit of energy; increase efficiency in coal use; facilitate the safe use of nuclear energy; increase the use of solar power and other alternative energy sources; and encourage utilities and consumers to produce and use electricity efficiently. Legislation incorporating major elements of the NES has passed both the Senate and the House, and the Administration has moved ahead administratively with several NES measures that do not require legislation.
- Residential, Commercial, and Industrial Energy Efficiency: The Bush Administration is pursuing, through existing authority, several measures to encourage more efficient lighting, more efficient building design, more efficient heating and cooling, and more efficient appliances. For example, more than 400 companies have already signed up for EPA's "Green Lights" program -- which will bring more energy efficient lighting to over two billion square feet of office space, more than the total office space in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Dallas and Detroit combined. The Administration proposes to expand similar programs to office computers, industrial motors, and commercial building heating and cooling.
- In addition, the Department of Energy (DOE) has promulgated rules improving efficiency standards for energy-consuming home appliances such as dishwashers and washing machines. Energy auditing programs are being expanded to aid smaller companies in identifying and implementing options for low-cost energy saving investments.

- Reductions of Other Greenhouse Gases: The EPA will promulgate rules to reduce methane emissions from landfills, in addition to pursuing several other methane reduction programs. In total, the Administration's strategy projects methane emission reductions totalling 25 to 58 millions of carbon equivalent by the year 2000.
- Protection of the Ozone Layer:
- In February of this year, President Bush unilaterally accelerated the U.S. phaseout of ozone-depleting substances to the end of 1995, four years ahead of the international deadlines set in the amended Montreal Protocol, and called on other nations to match the U.S. commitment. U.S. law (under the Clean Air Act) also includes a schedule for phase-out of HCFCs which is not required under the provisions of the Montreal Protocol.
- The Bush Administration in 1989 implemented a fee on U.S. production of ozone harming substances (CFCs) to accelerate reductions. Today, U.S. CFC production levels are 42 percent below the level allowed by the Montreal Protocol.
- The U.S. was the first nation to provide funds to assist developing countries reduce CFCs -- contributing \$50 million over three years to assist developing nations in meeting the terms of the Montreal Protocol.
- Global Change Research: The U.S. has funded the world's most extensive program of climate change research. The President's proposal for \$1.4 billion in fiscal year 1993 for the U.S. Global Change Research Program (USGCRP) represents more than is being spent on climate change research by the rest of the world combined. The U.S. has spent over \$2.6 billion for global climate research from 1990 to 1992.

B.) FORESTS

- Global Forest Convention: At the Houston Economic Summit in 1990, President Bush proposed, and the G-7 Industrialized nations adopted, a call for a global convention to protect and improve the world's forests.

Subsequently, the U.S. published a comprehensive set of forestry principles. The U.S. is working to get them adopted at UNCED.
- "Forests for the Future": The President today announced a new initiative to conserve and enhance the earth's forests. This initiative proposes to double worldwide international forest conservation assistance to \$2.7 billion from \$1.35

billion. The initiative will accelerate international progress toward a global forest agreement.

- As a down payment on the initiative, the U.S. will increase bilateral forestry assistance by \$150 million next year.
- Existing U.S. Forestry Financial Assistance:
In its FY 1993 budget, the Administration has included approximately \$121 million in direct bilateral forest aid. The U.S. currently provides additional forest assistance through the interest generated by loan forgiveness under the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, through its contributions to the U.N. organizations and the World Food Program, through loan guarantees provided by multilateral development banks, and through loan guarantees provided by the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC). In addition, the U.S. has pledged \$5 million to the Brazil Rainforest Pilot Program, which has been endorsed at previous G-7 summit meetings.
- Since 1988, U.S. international forest conservation assistance has increased in direct outlays by 156 percent.
- Reforestation: The Administration continues to press for full funding of its "America the Beautiful" Treeplanting Initiative, which has a goal of planting one billion trees per year across America. This the most ambitious reforestation program undertaken by any country. In FY 1993, the Administration has requested \$139 million for this program. Last year, Congress cut the Administration's \$140 million request to \$66 million.

C.) OCEANS

- U.S. Proposals on Oceans at UNCED: The U.S. is encouraging other nations to join its proposal to protect oceans, coasts, and living marine resources, by better controlling land based pollution of oceans. The comprehensive strategy proposed by the U.S. forms the core of the UNCED Agenda 21 action plan. It would:
 - use **ecosystem approaches** to manage living marine resources to maximize sustainable harvest of fisheries;
 - improve **coastal zone management** to ensure ecologically sensitive coastal development;
 - create a revolving fund for **sewage treatment facilities in developing countries**;
 - establish a **clearinghouse of marine pollution information** through the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP);
 - support the Global Observation System to improve understanding of ocean systems.

- Driftnet Fishing Ban: The United States led a successful effort to have the UN adopt a resolution to ban large-scale driftnet fishing by the end of 1992.
- Fisheries Development: Through the national fish hatcheries, the U.S. produces annually over 200 million fish from over 50 species such as Atlantic Salmon, Pacific salmon and steelhead, lake trout and striped bass.
- Oil Spill Prevention: At the Paris G-7 Summit in 1989, President Bush offered proposals that resulted in the 80-nation Convention on Oil Spill Preparedness and Response. In 1990, the President signed the Oil Spill Pollution Act, which requires double hulls on new tankers and improves oil spill response capabilities.
- National Marine Sanctuaries: The U.S. is home to nine marine national parks, which harbor a wide diversity of plants and animals. President Bush has more than doubled these areas to over 5,000 square nautical miles.
- Coastal Protection: The President established a moratorium on offshore oil and gas development until after the year 2000 for 99 percent of the California coast, and the entire coasts of southern Florida, New England, Washington, and Oregon.
- Water Pollution Control: The President proposed and secured \$340 million to accelerate construction of secondary sewage treatment plants in the largest American coastal cities which do not now have secondary treatment, including: Boston, New York, Los Angeles, San Diego, Seattle, and Baltimore.
- Ban on Ocean Dumping: The Bush Administration secured agreements to ban ocean dumping of sewage sludge and industrial wastes. As a result of these agreements, all ocean sludge dumping will cease by June of this year. The Administration also established pilot tracking system to prevent the dumping of medical waste.

D.) BIODIVERSITY

- Biodiversity Convention: The U.S. was an early proponent of the Biodiversity Convention and continues to provide strong support to the conservation of biological diversity through protection of natural habitats.

The U.S. is disappointed that the draft biodiversity convention is seriously flawed and therefore has concluded, after a thorough review, that the U.S. will not be able to

sign the convention. The convention as drafted does not contain acceptable language, as the climate change convention does, establishing the role of the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) in providing financial assistance. In addition, the draft convention provides inadequate protection of intellectual property rights, and implies that biotechnology development is unsafe.

- Biodiversity Research: The U.S. will propose at Rio de Janeiro a Biodiversity Research Initiative that will: (1) suggest the development of biodiversity inventories and surveys to create the information base necessary for the protection of species; and, (2) propose the creation of a U.S. center for biological diversity information.
- U.S. Record on Biological Diversity: The U.S. has a long record of support for the conservation of biological resources. For example:
 - The U.S. contains over 270 million acres of lands specifically protected as National Parks, Wildlife Refuges, Wilderness Areas, or Wild and Scenic Rivers.
 - Since 1989, the Bush Administration has created 57 new wildlife refuges, and added over 750,000 acres to the National Wildlife Refuge system.
 - The 1990 Farm Bill, signed by President Bush, established a Wetlands Reserve Program, which will restore wetlands previously converted to cropland to conditions suitable for migrating waterfowl and other wetland-dependent species. The President has requested funds to allow the reserve to include one million acres.
 - The U.S. proposed and agreed to an international ban on trade in ivory, which will help protect the African elephant against poaching.
 - Under the Bush Administration, the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) has sharply increased its assistance programs to conserve biodiversity. In the current fiscal year, AID will spend over \$60 million on conservation of biological diversity, a five-fold increase over five years ago.
 - The U.S. Endangered Species Act is one of the strongest laws for the protection of threatened or endangered species in the world. Almost 400 recovery plans for threatened or endangered species are now in place, compared to less than 50 in 1981.

- The President signed into law the North American Wetlands Conservation Act, which will protect the flyways of migratory birds in the U.S. and Canada.

E.) WASTES

- Basel Convention: The Bush Administration signed and proposed needed legislation to implement the Basel Convention, which prevents the illegal export and dumping of hazardous waste. The United States exports less than one percent of the hazardous waste generated within its borders.
- Hazardous Waste Cleanup: The Bush Administration has dramatically accelerated cleanup progress under the EPA's Superfund program. Short-term response actions have been taken at 475 sites to control immediate threats to human health and the environment. Long-term work is underway at 550 sites. Last year, following the President's directive that polluters should pay for cleanup, the Federal government secured a record \$1.4 billion in private party commitments to clean up hazardous wastes. In each of the last three years, Congress has cut President Bush's budget request for cleanups under the Superfund program.
- Voluntary Toxic Reductions: Under the Bush Administration, the EPA has instituted an innovative program in which companies agree to reduce releases and off-site transfers of 17 highly toxic chemicals by 33 percent in 1992 and 50 percent by 1995. Over 700 firms have signed up for this "33/50" program.
- Cleaning Up Federal Facilities: The Bush Administration has tripled funding to clean up facilities owned and operated by the Federal Government, in order to ensure that they are brought into compliance with environmental laws that apply to private sector facilities. For DOE atomic weapon sites alone, the President has increased funds devoted to cleanup and compliance activities from \$1.7 billion in FY 1989 to \$5.5 billion in FY 1993.
- Recycling: President Bush signed Executive Orders to encourage recycling and waste reduction at all Federal Agencies.

F.) AGRICULTURE AND LAND MANAGEMENT

- Agricultural Subsidies: High levels of agricultural subsidies degrade the environment by encouraging the excessive use of nitrogenous fertilizers. The U.S. cut agricultural subsidies by 25 percent in the 1990 Farm Bill. Since 1986, the annual level of outlays for commodity

subsidies has fallen from \$26 billion to approximately \$12 billion.

- Conservation Reserve Program (CRP): Under the CRP, the U.S. is withdrawing approximately 40 million acres of highly erodible land from production over the course of ten years. Under this program, the government pays the landowner annual rent and a portion of the costs of installing alternative ground cover.
- Parks, Forests, and other Public Lands: Since 1989, the President had doubled funding for parks, wildlife, and outdoor recreation programs under his America the Beautiful initiative.

The program includes:

- the acquisition of critical nationally significant lands (over 1.5 million acres have been added since 1989 to America's national parks, forests, wildlife refuges and BLM lands);
 - the expansion of recreation opportunities like camping, boating, fishing, and hiking; and
 - the protection natural resources on these public lands;
 - and the development of partnerships with state governments and non-profit entities to protect and enhance the public lands.
-
- Included in America the Beautiful is a tripling of grants (to \$60 million in FY 1993) to states under the Land and Water Conservation Fund (LWCF) for parks and other outdoor recreation facilities.
 - Wetlands protection: President Bush has increased funds for wetlands research, protection and enhancement from \$295 million in 1989 to \$600 million in 1992. His budget for FY 1993 requests \$812 million for this purpose. This funding has allowed the Administration, in conjunction with state and private partners, to acquire and conserve almost 2 million acres of valuable wetlands.

G.) PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT

- U.S. legislation supports public participation through statutes such as the Administrative Procedures Act, which mandates public hearings on most regulations and the Freedom of Information Act, which provides public access to most government documents.

- The U.S. pioneered the use of environmental impact assessments, which require notice to the potentially affected public and allows for a period of public comment.
- The U.S. also pioneered programs to provide the public with access to information on environmental risks. For example, the Community-Right-To-Know-program, enacted in the mid-1980s, requires companies to make inventories of the release of specified chemicals. These inventories are provided to the government and the public.
- The U.S. argued successfully for the inclusion in the Rio declaration of a principle that notes the importance of public participation to the achievement of sustainable development.
- The U.S. worked to establish rules at UNCED that enhance public participation by providing non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with the opportunity to discuss their concerns with delegations.
- Environmental Education: The President signed into law the National Environmental Education Act of 1990. The Bush Administration has established the Environmental Education and Training Foundation (to train U.S. teachers in environmental education), the Environmental Training Institute (to train executives from other countries in dealing with environmental problems), and other programs.

H.) FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

- The U.S. has been the world's major contributor of international assistance for many years. Total U.S. assistance for economic, environmental, humanitarian, and development purposes now totals over \$11 billion.
- In FY 1992, the U.S. is providing an estimated \$579.5 million dollars specifically for international environmental financial assistance.
- Global Environment Facility: The U.S. and other OECD countries agree that the GEF should be the principal mechanism for providing financial assistance to developing countries to meet the incremental costs of projects that would provide global environmental benefits in addressing problems in areas such as climate change, biodiversity, oceans, and ozone depletion. The U.S. has contributed \$150 million (over 3 years) in parallel financing and has pledged \$50 million to the Core Fund of the GEF.
- Montreal Protocol Fund: The U.S. is contributing \$50 million over 3 years to the Interim Multilateral Fund, established

under the Montreal Protocol to help developing countries meet the incremental costs of complying with the agreement. The U.S. is the largest and first contributor to this fund.

- Mexican Border Plan: In support of its efforts to secure a North American Free Trade Agreement, the Bush Administration has worked to increase and coordinate joint U.S.-Mexico environmental programs. The Administration developed an environmental action plan for the border area. The Administration secured \$103 million in FY 1992 for activities in support of this plan, and has requested \$201 million for these activities in FY 1993.
- Brazil Rain Forest Pilot Program: The Bush Administration has committed \$5 million in additional funding for this pilot program, agreed at the Houston and London G-7 summits, to protect the Brazilian rainforest. In addition, the U.S. provides approximately \$15 million in existing bilateral funds for this purpose.
- Country Studies: The U.S. will provide \$25 million to developing nations over a 2 year period for climate change "Country Studies". The money will help these nations implement reporting obligations under the framework climate convention.
- Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI): The President has provided in FY 1991 \$34 million and proposed in both FY 1992 and FY 1993 \$100 million for the EAI. Under this program, participating countries in Latin American can create environmental funds in their own currency from the interest on debt reduced by the United States.
- Eastern European Assistance: The Bush Administration has provided assistance to establish the East European Environmental Center in Budapest, Hungary. The Center will provide environmental education to help address pesticide disposal, lead in drinking water, and other problems. In addition, the U.S. initiative to reduce Poland's debt obligations has allowed the establishment of the Polish Environmental Foundation.
- U.S.-Asia Environmental Partnership: Late last year, the President announced the establishment of this partnership, an unprecedented coalition of U.S. and Asian governments, businesses, and community groups working to enhance Asia's environment, with an emphasis on technology cooperation.
- Multilateral Development Lending: The U.S. worked successfully for the adoption of a directive that requires strengthened environmental impact assessments by multilateral development banks.

J.) RESEARCH

- The U.S. Global Climate Change Research Program (USGCRP):
The U.S. has supported the world's most advanced program of global climate change research. Since 1989, the U.S. has invested over \$2.6 billion in better understanding of critical earth systems such as climate, oceans, and atmosphere. For FY 1993, the President has requested \$1.4 billion for this program. The U.S. investment represents over half the annual amount spent on global change research by the entire world.
- Mission to Planet Earth: The cornerstone of the USGCRP is NASA's Mission to Planet Earth, a coordinated system of space observations, science, data processing, and modelling to better understand the earth's environmental systems. The first NASA launch of a Mission to Planet Earth satellite occurred last September, when the shuttle Discovery deployed the Upper Atmosphere Research Satellite (UARS), which is providing data on the content of the ozone layer and the effects of the eruption of Mount Pinatubo on global climate change. Under this program, the U.S. will launch 30 additional missions over the next six years.
- Earth Observing System (EOS): The EOS program, the centerpiece of Mission to Planet Earth, consists of a series of instruments, to be launched in the late 1990s, that will make simultaneous, global-scale observations of climate and related environmental variables. At President Bush's direction, the EOS program was restructured in 1991 to provide earlier data in order to assist the policymaking process. The EOS restructuring was consistent with the emphasis of the President and the new NASA Administrator Dan Goldin on obtaining "faster, cheaper, and better" results from the space program.
- Stratospheric Ozone Depletion: It was U.S. science, obtained under the USGCRP, which allowed scientists to understand and observe changes in atmospheric chemistry which are leading to the depletion of stratospheric ozone. NASA results obtained under the USGCRP led to the announcement in February 1992 that the U.S. would speed up its timetable for phasing out the production of CFCs and other ozone-depleting substances.
- Regional Institutes on Climate Change: President Bush, during the 1990 White House Conference on Science and Economics Related to Global Change, invited the countries of the world to join the U.S. in developing three regional research institutes on global change. On May 13, 1992, the U.S. and ten other countries of the Americas, signed an

agreement establishing one of these institutes, the Inter-American Institute for Global Change Research.

- Energy Efficiency and Alternative Energy Research: The President's proposed FY 1993 budget includes over \$900 million in research and development funds for energy-related technologies that increase the use of alternative sources of energy and increase energy efficiency. This includes research into electric and hybrid vehicles, high speed rail and magnetic levitation technology, fuels from biomass, photovoltaics, and industrial and building energy efficiency. Since 1989, President Bush has increased funding just for conservation and renewable energy R&D at DOE from \$324 million to \$616 million per year.
- Data Sharing: The Bush Administration is committed, as national policy, to the principle of full and open sharing of all global change data at the lowest possible cost. The President stated today that the United States would propose at Rio this policy of making global change data available to scientists and researchers from around the world. As a measure of this policy, the United States plans to distribute at UNCED, at no cost, thousands of computer disks with over a billion bytes of greenhouse effects data. In addition, the U.S. will open this year a Global Change Research Information Office, which will disseminate information on global change to governments, businesses, scientists, and institutions from all interested nations.

II. LONG-TERM UNITED STATES LEADERSHIP IN CONTROLLING POLLUTION AND PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT.

- A.) U.S. Commitment to the Environment: The President pointed out that the United States currently spends more than any other nation in controlling pollution and protecting the environment: over \$100 billion per year, or about two percent of U.S. Gross National Product (GNP). Over the last decade, the United States has spend over three-quarters of a trillion dollars on pollution control.
- B.) U.S. Leadership: The President noted that the United States has been far ahead of many other nations in recognizing environmental problems and taking action to solve them.
- Pollution control on automobiles: In 1975, the United States began requiring catalytic converters on new automobiles. The European Community is implementing this requirement later this year.
- Ban on CFC use as spray can propellants: In 1978, the U.S. banned CFC spray can propellants as a non-essential use for

which there were acceptable substitutes. The U.S. was the first nation to implement such a ban.

- The United States subsequently played a leadership role in concluding the Vienna Convention, signed in 1985, which established a framework to respond to the depletion of the ozone layer. Then Vice President Bush personally intervened in 1987 to help reach agreement on the original Montreal Protocol, which called for a 50 percent cut in CFC production. President Bush proposed in 1989 to phase out CFC production completely as part of the London Amendments to the Protocol, which were signed in 1990. The United States enacted legislation implementing this phaseout by the end of 1990. Earlier this year, President Bush announced that the U.S. was unilaterally speeding up the phaseout of CFCs and several other ozone depleting substances to the end of 1995.
- **Phase-out of lead in gasoline:** In 1982, the U.S. began to phase out the use of leaded gasoline. Today, 99 percent of U.S. cars burn only unleaded fuel, and ambient concentrations of lead in the air have been reduced by 96 percent. Unleaded gasoline is still not widely available in Europe, although several countries are exploring differential pricing of leaded gasoline as a means to reduce emissions.

C.) Air Pollution Reductions:

- Since 1970, U.S. air emissions of lead have been reduced by 97%; emissions of particulate matter have been reduced by 62%; emissions of sulfur dioxide have been reduced by 27%; emissions of carbon monoxide have been reduced by 40%; emissions of hydrocarbons have been reduced 29%.
- Since 1970, U.S. "carbon intensity", or carbon emissions per unit of GDP, has been reduced by approximately 30 percent.
- From 1970 to 1990, the U.S.A. has reduced sulphur dioxide emissions (SO₂) by over 7 million tons per year, particulate emissions by 11.7 million tons per year, total carbon monoxide (CO) by about 40 million tons per year, total hydrocarbons (VOCs) by about 7.7 million tons per year and lead (Pb) by about 60 million tons per year.

D.) Water Pollution Reductions:

- Since 1972, the U.S. has invested more than \$75 billion in federal, state and local funds to construct municipal sewage treatment facilities.

- Since 1973, municipal and industrial water discharges of total suspended solids have been reduced from almost 10 million tons per year to less than two million tons per year.
- Since 1972, the amount of oxygen-demanding pollutants leaving the nation's sewage plants has decreased by roughly 46 percent. Without rapid improvements in sewage treatment, it would have doubled.

E.) Habitat and Natural Resource Protection:

- The cumulative length of rivers designated for federal protection as "wild and scenic" has increased from 868 miles in 1970 to 9,463 miles in 1990.
- The acreage included in the National Wildlife Refuge system increased from 29 million acres in 1970 to 88.5 million acres in 1991.
- The number of acres in the U.S. Wilderness system increased from approximately 10 million acres in 1970 to about 95 million acres in 1990.
- Since 1972, dolphin captures by U.S. tuna fisherman have been reduced by 90 percent.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 2:30 P.M.
MONDAY, JUNE 1, 1992

June 1, 1992

FORESTS FOR THE FUTURE INITIATIVE

FACT SHEET

The President today announced an initiative to conserve and sustain the earth's forests. The "Forests for the Future" Initiative builds on the record of U.S. leadership on this critical global environmental and economic issue. The Initiative would put the world on the path to halting the loss of the earth's forests by the beginning of the next century, by conserving and sustaining all forests -- tropical, temperate, and boreal.

The President proposed to double worldwide international forest conservation assistance from \$1.35 billion to \$2.7 billion, with participating countries sharing in the total on a fair basis. Under the Initiative, countries would be invited to engage in a cooperative approach in which interested countries propose programs and work together in forest partnerships.

1. Benefits of the Initiative. Forest loss is occurring now, not forecast to occur decades from now. Tropical forests, for example, are being lost at over 17 million hectares (42 million acres) per year (FAO). Fifty percent or more of the temperate forests in Europe are being degraded by air pollution (WRI). The President's Initiative will provide several benefits, including:

- Biodiversity. Forest conservation can help save the earth's precious biological diversity that has been developed over the ages. Although forests cover only a small fraction of the earth's surface, they contain more than 50% of its species.
- Greenhouse Gases. Because forests store carbon, curbing forest loss would be an extremely cost-effective way to reduce net CO2 emissions. For example, halting the loss of the earth's forests by 2000 would reduce over twice as much CO2 emissions as stabilizing CO2 emissions from industrialized countries at 1990 levels by 2000, at a fraction of the cost.

- o Other Environmental Benefits. Forests also play a key role in preventing soil erosion, limiting flood damage, and ensuring pure drinking water.
- o Economic Benefits. Conserving forests can also have important economic benefits. Forest clearing can be the result of subsidies and property rules that encourage short-term revenue at the expense of more valuable longer-term assets. For example, forests harbor the secrets of new life-saving drugs and other products. Already, the rosy periwinkle has provided drugs that mean new life for the victims of leukemia and Hodgkins disease.

2. International Assistance. As part of the Initiative, the President proposed a goal of doubling current international forest conservation assistance from \$1.35 billion (FAO 1991) to \$2.7 billion next year if other countries join us.

- o Participating countries would contribute to the total on a fair basis. As a downpayment on the Initiative, the U.S. will commit now to an additional \$150 million in bilateral forest assistance next year. The U.S. will continue and, as appropriate, expand this commitment in the future if other countries join the Initiative.
- o Doubling the level of international assistance would put the world on a path to halting the loss of the earth's forests by early in the next century, consistent with the strategy mapped out by several key forest conservation groups to halt forest loss over a decade by starting with an investment of \$1 billion.

3. Cooperative Approach. Because the Initiative would employ a cooperative approach, no new international bureaucracy would have to be created.

- o The additional resources would be mobilized through existing bilateral and multilateral avenues, such as through voluntary "Forest Partnerships" between interested parties and potentially including the World Bank's Global Environmental Facility (GEF). Potential recipients would compete for funding by proposing programs for forest conservation, and potential investors would compete by offering funding packages for projects with the greatest benefits.
- c Reliance on these cooperative arrangements would ensure that (1) the most effective and efficient programs are funded, (2) the sovereignty of all nations is respected, and (3) programs match the needs and circumstances of recipient countries.

- o The United States proposes to convene a "Forest Partnership Forum" by the end of this year to bring together potential investors and recipients and to share ideas on forest conservation opportunities.

4. Toward a Global Forest Agreement. At the 1990 economic summit in Houston, the President and his G-7 partners called for a Global Forest Agreement to conserve the earth's forests. The Forests for the Future Initiative will accelerate progress toward that goal.

- o Efforts to advance a Global Forest Agreement have moved slowly because of the fear that the burden of curbing deforestation would fall disproportionately on poorer countries.
- o The President's Initiative makes clear that the global benefits of forests will be supported by a globally shared investment. It creates the market incentives needed to make forest conservation economically attractive for both investors and recipients. Countries with forests would not bear the entire burden. Countries without their own forests also benefit from the earth's forests, and would therefore also share in the investment.
- o Forest "conservation" does not mean that forests could no longer be managed and used as an economic resource. On the contrary, it includes the idea that forests do have economic value that can be appropriately sustained in many cases by managing the forest for multiple uses rather than by converting it permanently to non-forest status.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

For Immediate Release

June 12, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ADDRESS TO
THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON
ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Assembly Hall
Riocentro Conference Center
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

3:19 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: President Collor, Mr. Secretary General, Heads of Delegation. May I first express my admiration to Secretary General Boutros-Ghali and my gratitude to Secretary General Maurice Strong for his tireless work in bringing this "Earth Summit" together. This is truly an historic gathering.

The Chinese have a proverb: If a man cheats the Earth, the Earth will cheat man. The idea of sustaining the planet so that it may sustain us is as old as life itself. We must leave this Earth in better condition than we found it.

Today this old truth must be applied to new threats facing the resources which sustain us all -- the atmosphere and the ocean; the stratosphere and the biosphere. Our village is truly global. Some find the challenges ahead overwhelming. I believe that their pessimism is unfounded.

Twenty years ago, at the Stockholm Conference, a chief concern of our predecessors was the horrible threat of nuclear war -- the ultimate pollutant. No more. Upon my return from Rio, I will meet with Russian President Yeltsin in Washington, and the subject we will discuss is cooperation -- not confrontation.

Twenty years ago, some spoke of the limits to growth. Today we realize that growth is the engine of change and the friend of the environment.

Today, an unprecedented era of peace, freedom, and stability makes concerted action on the environment possible as never before. This summit is but one key step in the process of international cooperation on environment and development. The United States will work to carry forward the promise of Rio. Because as important as the road to Rio has been, what matters more is the road from Rio.

There are those who say that cooperation between developed and developing countries is impossible. Let them come to Latin America, where debt-for-nature swaps are protecting forests in Costa Rica and funding pollution control in Chile.

There are those who say that it takes state control to protect the environment. Let them go to Eastern Europe, where the poisoned bodies of children now pay for the sins of fallen dictators -- and only the new breeze of freedom is allowing for cleanup.

MORE

There are those who say that change can never come because the interests of the status quo are too powerful. Well, let them come right here to Brazil, where President Collor is forging a new approach that recognizes the economic value of sustaining the rainforest.

There are those who say that economic growth and environmental protection cannot be compatible. Well, let them come to the United States -- where, in the 20 years since Stockholm, our economy has grown by 57 percent, yet we have cut the lead going into the air by 97 percent, the carbon monoxide by 41 percent, the particulates by 59 percent. We've cleaned up our water and preserved our parks, wilderness, and wildlife.

There are those who say that the leaders of the world do not care about the Earth and the environment. Well, let them all come to Rio.

Mr. President, we have come to Rio. We've not only seen the concern, we share it. We not only care, we're taking action. We come to Rio with an action plan on climate change. It stresses energy efficiency, cleaner air, reforestation, new technology. And I am happy to report that I have just signed the Framework Convention on Climate Change.

And today, I invite my colleagues from the industrialized world to join in a prompt start on the convention's implementation. I propose that our countries meet by January 1st to lay out our national plans for meeting the specific commitments in the Framework Convention. Let us join in translating the words spoken here into concrete action to protect the planet.

We come to Rio with a proposal to double global forest assistance. We stand ready to work together, respecting national sovereignty, on new strategies for forests for the future. As a downpayment, we will double U.S. forest bilateral assistance next year. And we will reform at home, phasing out clear-cutting as a standard practice on U.S. National Forests; and working to plant one billion trees a year.

We come to Rio with an extensive program of technology cooperation. We stand ready, government and private sector, to help spread green technology and launch a new generation of clean growth.

We come to Rio recognizing that the developing countries must play a role in protecting the global environment, but will need assistance in pursuing these cleaner growths. So we stand ready to increase U.S. international environmental aid by 66 percent above the 1990 levels, on top of the more than \$2.5 billion dollars that we provide through the world's development banks for Agenda 21 projects.

We come to Rio with more scientific knowledge about the environment than ever before and with the wisdom that there is much, much we do that's not yet known. And we stand ready to share our science and to lead the world in a program of continued research.

We come to Rio prepared to continue America's unparalleled efforts to preserve species and habitat. And let me be clear. Our efforts to protect biodiversity itself will exceed -- will exceed -- the requirements of the treaty. But that proposed agreement threatens to retard biotechnology and undermine the protection of ideas. And unlike the climate agreement, its financing scheme will not work. And it is never easy, it is never easy to stand alone on principle, but sometimes leadership requires that you do. And now is such a time.

Let's face it, there has been some criticism of the United States. But I must tell you, we come to Rio proud of what we have accomplished and committed to extending the record on American leadership on the environment. In the United States, we have the world's tightest air quality standards on cars and factories, the most advanced laws for protecting lands and waters, and the most open processes for public participation.

And now for a simple truth. America's record on environmental protection is second to none. So I did not come here to apologize; we come to press on with deliberate purpose and forceful action. And such action will demonstrate our continuing commitment to leadership and to international cooperation on the environment.

We believe that the road to Rio must point toward both environmental protection and economic growth, environment and development. And by now it's clear, to sustain development, we must protect the environment; and to protect the environment, we must sustain development.

It's been said that we don't inherit the earth from our ancestors, we borrow it from our children. And when our children look back on this time and this place, they will be grateful that we met at Rio. And they will certainly be pleased with the intentions stated, and the commitments made. But they will judge us by the actions we take from this day forward. Let us not disappoint them.

Mr. President, once again, my congratulations to you, sir. Mr. Secretary General, our sincere thanks. And thank you all very, very much. (Applause.)

END

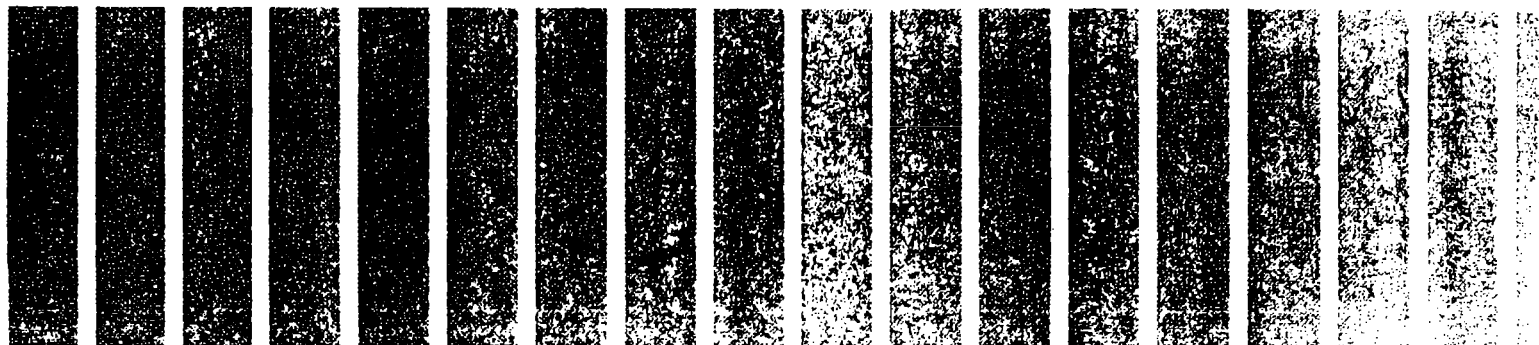
3:28 P.M. (L

U. S. A C T I O N S FOR A BETTER ENVIRONMENT

A Sustained Commitment

This 44-page booklet describes the United States' policies and programs addressing the following issues: atmosphere, forests, freshwater and oceans, biodiversity, wastes, agriculture and land management, public participation, financial assistance, technology cooperation, and global change research.

The booklet can be ordered from the Environmental Protection Agency Public Affairs Office at (202)260-4361.



T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

Atmosphere



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Forests



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Freshwater and
Oceans



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Technology
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Global Change
Research

The Philadelphia Inquirer

Thursday, June 11, 1992

A17

Bush has a hard sell on the environment in his Rio speech

The Bush approach will emphasize a clean environment along with growth

By MICHAEL R. DELAND

As President Bush and leaders of more than 100 nations gather this week in Rio de Janeiro for the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development, their goal is to approve an agenda for simultaneous improvements in both the standard of living and environmental quality.

The United States bears a unique responsibility to offer leadership on these issues — and the United States is leading the world in many ways — not only because it has the world's largest economy and source of financing and new technology, but also because it has a proven track record of providing both economic growth and a cleaner, safer environment.

For example, it was not reported widely, but last July at the London economic summit, an environmental coalition issued a detailed scorecard on the environmental performance of seven leading industrial nations. The United States earned the highest score overall and top honors in eight out of 10 categories.

Since 1970, air pollution has fallen appreciably, hundreds of rivers and lakes have been restored and millions of acres of ecologically sensitive lands have come under federal protection — all while the economy grew by more than 50 percent in real terms. That's real progress, and it disproves the theory that a flourishing economy is compatible with environmental cleanup.

Indeed, as Bush insists over the din from extremists on the left and the right, the only sound policies are those that provide both growth and cleanup while compromising neither.

In Rio, world leaders have before them a number of documents addressing the full range of inter-connected environment and development issues. One of these documents will be a "framework" convention to address the threat of global warming. Although the scientific evidence in this area is highly uncertain with regard to the rate, extent and causes of climate change, the evidence to date is troubling enough to warrant the kind of precautionary measures that we have launched since 1989 — energy-efficiency programs, emission cutbacks and accelerated reforestation that will reduce net U.S. greenhouse emissions by 7 to 11 percent below projected levels in the year 2000.

The climate treaty being signed in Rio will spur action on a worldwide basis. The treaty requires signatories to publish and implement specific plans to limit emissions of all "greenhouse gases" (not just carbon dioxide) with a goal of returning emissions to their 1990 levels by the year 2000. Signatories must also protect greenhouse gases. Unlike uniform emissions targets imposed on all nations regardless of their varying economic circumstances, the agreed-upon approach allows nations the flexibility to design action plans that are consistent with needed economic growth. In addition, the treaty requires signatories to update the

plans on a regular basis.

This approach to potential global warming, which merges economic and environmental considerations, is at the heart of Bush's environmental strategy. Increasingly, governments, citizens and businesses are looking for policies that harmonize economic and environmental goals.

Corporate leaders in the United States and abroad have awakened to the notion that there are economic rewards in preventing pollution before it occurs rather than cleaning it up after the fact.

Proven techniques such as elimination of toxic inputs and reusing or recycling materials prevent emissions altogether and cut operating costs. By helping customers to invest in more efficient motors, light and other equipment, electric utilities are postponing powerplant construction while holding down

The U.S. has established the model for others to follow at the Earth Summit.

emissions of sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxide, carbon dioxide and other pollutants.

By promoting open, fair trade, economically efficient regulations and long-term investments in "green" technologies, the United States is building a foundation for clean economic growth and thousands of good jobs in the future.

The President's program to spur eco-efficiency includes the 1990 Clean Air Act, which creates incentives for energy conservation and voluntary toxics reductions. The President's national energy strategy promotes conservation and clean energy sources. Federal spending on research and development of solar, wind and biomass power, electric and natural gas-powered vehicles, and cleaner coal-burning powerplants has doubled since 1989.

The recently signed transportation act increases employer tax credits for use of mass transit. Voluntary nationwide efforts to increase eco-efficiency are being coordinated by the Environmental Protection Agency and the President's private sector Commission on Environmental Quality.

In Rio, Bush will challenge world leaders to change the mindset with which they view the relationship between the environment and economic development. For too long, the short-term tradeoffs between growth and the environment have polarized debate and hindered progress on both sides. The future must be shaped by a recognition that economic growth and environmental cleanup can work together — if we make them.

Michael R. Deland is chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY
THE HON. MICHAEL R. DELAND
CHAIRMAN, PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

RENE DUBOS ENVIRONMENTAL AWARDS DINNER
NEW YORK -- MAY 6, 1992

THANK YOU BILL, FOR THAT GENEROUS INTRODUCTION AND FOR YOUR REMARKS, WHICH WERE ELOQUENT, AS ALWAYS.

NOT ONLY IS BILL REILLY THOUGHTFUL, ARTICULATE, AND FLUENT IN FOUR LANGUAGES... AND NOT ONLY DID HE BEGIN HIS CAREER BY NURTURING INTO PROMINENCE THE THEN-FLEDGLING COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY... (AND THAT, BILL, IS ITSELF SUFFICIENT TO EARN ACCOLADES FROM ME)....

BUT BILL HAS DONE MORE -- MUCH MORE. LIKE RENE DUBOS, HE HAS DEDICATED HIS CAREER TO FOSTERING NEW ENVIRONMENTAL VALUES. HE HAS INFUSED NEW VALUES INTO THE EPA AND INTO NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL DELIBERATIONS. OUR ENVIRONMENT COULD NOT HAVE A MORE DEDICATED DEFENDER THAN BILL REILLY. SO, BILL, YOU HAVE EARNED OUR ADMIRATION AND OUR THANKS.

I ALSO WANT TO THANK PETE SILAS OF PHILIPS PETROLEUM, AND RUTH AND BILL EBLEN OF THE DUBOS CENTER, FOR OFFERING ME THE PRIVILEGE TO BE HERE TONIGHT, ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT BUSH, TO JOIN IN YOUR AWARDS DINNER AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL LITERACY SUMMIT.

SPEAKING OF AWARDS, I SHOULD ADD THAT THE PHILIPS PETROLEUM COMPANY WAS HONORED WITH A PRESIDENTIAL AWARD LAST OCTOBER FOR ITS EFFORTS, TOGETHER WITH FIVE STATE WILDLIFE AGENCIES, THE NATURE CONSERVANCY, DUCKS UNLIMITED, AND OTHERS, TO ACQUIRE AND IMPROVE HABITAT FOR WATERFOWL IN THE PLAYA LAKES REGION OF THE SOUTHWEST. PETE, FOR YOUR COMPANY'S ROLE IN THAT PROJECT, I SALUTE YOU.

AND OF COURSE, I WANT TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SALUTE TONIGHT'S AWARD WINNERS. WINSTON CHURCHILL SAID, "YOU MAKE A LIVING BY WHAT YOU GET, BUT YOU MAKE A LIFE BY WHAT YOU GIVE." EACH OF YOU HAS GIVEN MANY YEARS OF YOUR PERSONAL TIME AND ENERGY TO MAKE A BETTER LIFE FOR OTHERS, AND FOR THAT, WE HONOR YOU.

Difficult Period for Environmentalism

THIS EVENING I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE DIFFICULTIES AND OPPORTUNITIES FACING ENVIRONMENTALISM.

THIS IS A DIFFICULT PERIOD FOR ENVIRONMENTALISM, NOT BECAUSE OF RECESSIONS HERE OR ABROAD, OR BECAUSE IT IS FADING IN THE WORLD OF IDEAS. IN FACT, ENVIRONMENTAL COMMITMENT HAS NEVER BEEN STRONGER. THIS MONDAY, THE GALLUP INSTITUTE RELEASED ITS LATEST POLL ON THE SUBJECT NOTING, AND I QUOTE, "ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE SHIFTS IN PUBLIC OPINION IN RECENT HISTORY.... WE WERE SUPRISED AT THE HIGH LEVEL OF CONCERN WE FOUND."

ENVIRONMENTALISM HAS ENTERED A DIFFICULT PHASE BECAUSE IT IS IN TRANSITION. YESTERDAY'S METHODS ARE BEING QUESTIONED. NEW VALUES ARE EMERGING AND LIKE ANY TRANSITION PERIOD, CHANGE IS OCCURRING IN DISCONCERTING FITS AND STARTS.

THE PAST IS REPRESENTED BY THE OLD SAW THAT THERE'S "NO FREE LUNCH." FOR YEARS, THE TRADEOFFS BETWEEN ECONOMIC GROWTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION HAVE POLARIZED THE DEBATE AND HINDERED PROGRESS.

THE FUTURE WILL BE SHAPED BY A RECOGNITION THAT ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL FORCES REACT IN MORE COMPLEX WAYS. CONFLICT BETWEEN THE TWO IS ONLY A PART OF THE STORY AND QUITE FRANKLY, IT'S NOT THE MOST INTERESTING PART.

THE INTERESTING PART IS THIS: AMID ALL THE NOISY DEBATES OF RECENT YEARS, THERE IS A GROWING MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY AND AROUND THE WORLD WHO BELIEVE WE CAN HAVE BOTH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND A CLEANER, SAFER ENVIRONMENT.

GEORGE BUSH, BILL REILLY, AND I HAVE SAID IT MANY TIMES. IN THE PRESIDENT'S WORDS, "TO THOSE WHO SUGGEST WE'RE ONLY TRYING TO BALANCE ECONOMIC GROWTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, I SAY THEY MISS THE POINT. WE ARE CALLING FOR AN ENTIRELY NEW WAY OF THINKING TO ACHIEVE BOTH WHILE COMPROMISING NEITHER."

AND YET, THERE IS A DISCONNECT BETWEEN THIS BELIEF AND THE WAY THE ISSUES ARE PORTRAYED IN THE POPULAR MEDIA. TO CITE JUST ONE EXAMPLE OF MANY, THE COVER OF THIS WEEK'S BUSINESS WEEK GRABS YOU WITH THE HEADLINE, "GROWTH VERSUS THE ENVIRONMENT." IT SHOULD HAVE READ, "GROWTH AND THE ENVIRONMENT."

CHOOSE ALMOST ANY ISSUE -- CLEAN AIR, THE SPOTTED OWL, OR GLOBAL WARMING -- AND ONE INVARIABLY CAN FIND SINGLE ISSUE GROUPS WILLING TO PERPETUATE DISCORD FOR SELF-SERVING ENDS.

THE NEWS MEDIA REPORT A CONFLICT -- AND AT TIMES THEY POLARIZE IT FURTHER -- AND THE PUBLIC IS GIVEN THE IMPRESSION

THAT PROPOSED ACTIONS WILL EITHER IMPEDE ECONOMIC GROWTH OR FALL SHORT OF PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT.

IN THE DEBATE OVER THE FUTURE OF THE OWL AND NORTHWEST TIMBER, THE PARTICIPANTS KNEW 15 YEARS AGO THAT WITH NO CHANGE IN COURSE THIS ENDANGERED SPECIES CRISIS WOULD ARISE. AND YET THE TWO SIDES, COMMITTED TO THE OLD PARADIGM, REFUSED TO COME TOGETHER EARLY ON TO NEGOTIATE A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. WE NEED TO LEARN FROM THAT LESSON, AND IDENTIFY AND AVOID SUCH CONFLICTS IN THE FUTURE.

WHAT CAN WE DO TO CHANNEL OUR ENERGY INTO SOLUTIONS INSTEAD OF STALEMATE?

PART OF THE PROBLEM IS JUST INTELLECTUAL LAZINESS. ODDLY ENOUGH, WHEN FACED BY A CONFLICT BETWEEN CONSERVATION AND GROWTH, IT'S OFTEN EASIER TO FIGHT ~~THAN IT IS TO~~ COMPROMISE. YOU DON'T HAVE TO THINK AS HARD IF YOUR MIND IS ALREADY MADE UP.

HOWEVER, WITH THOUGHT AND PERSISTENCE, SUCH CONFLICTS CAN BE RESOLVED. IF YOU HEAR SOMEONE FALL INTO THE OLD PARADIGM OF EITHER-OR, YOU SHOULD REDIRECT THE DISCUSSION TOWARD SIMULTANEOUSLY ACHIEVING BOTH.

JUST AS IMPORTANTLY, WE NEED TO ENGENDER A WIDER ABILITY TO UNDERSTAND AND TO COMPARE RISKS, COSTS, AND BENEFITS. TO QUOTE BILL REILLY, "A MORE LITERATE PUBLIC WILL BE BETTER ABLE TO ENSURE THAT GOVERNMENT GETS IT PRIORITIES RIGHT ON THE BIG ISSUES."

THESE TWO IDEAS -- MERGING ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL GOALS AND SPREADING ENVIRONMENTAL LITERACY -- ARE THE KEYS TO GETTING BEYOND ADVERSARIAL POLITICS AND GETTING ON WITH REAL SOLUTIONS.

Merging Economic and Environmental Goals

ANYONE WHO WORKS DAY IN AND DAY OUT WITH THESE ISSUES UNDERSTANDS THAT WE CAN HAVE BOTH A FLOURISHING ECONOMY AND A CLEANER, SAFER ENVIRONMENT. IF YOU LOOK AROUND THE WORLD, IT IS THE COUNTRIES WITH GROWING, CAPITALIST ECONOMIES THAT ARE LEADING THE WAY ON ENVIRONMENTAL CLEANUP. GROWING ECONOMIES PROVIDE THE WEALTH AND TECHNOLOGY TO GET THE JOB DONE. IN CONTRAST, THE NATIONS OF THE OLD SOVIET BLOC, ONCE SADDLED WITH COMMAND-AND-CONTROL ECONOMIES, ARE NOW SUFFERING FROM ACUTE ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE AND SHORTAGES OF FINANCIAL CAPITAL TO ADDRESS IT.

THERE IS MORE EVIDENCE. SINCE ENACTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL STATUTES IN THIS COUNTRY IN THE EARLY 1970s, AIR EMISSIONS OF SULFUR HAVE DROPPED 26 PERCENT... PARTICULATE EMISSIONS ARE DOWN 60 PERCENT... LEAD -- THAT POISON OF OUR CHILDREN -- IS BASICALLY OUT OF THE AIR. RIVERS AND LAKES THAT WERE ONCE OPEN SEWERS -- AND SEVERAL OF WHICH WERE LITERALLY AFLAME -- ARE TODAY LARGELY

FISHABLE AND SWIMMABLE. THE AMOUNT OF ENERGY NEEDED TO PRODUCE A DOLLAR OF NATIONAL OUTPUT HAS FALLEN BY 27 PERCENT.

THESE GAINS ALL OCCURRED WHILE THE NUMBER OF HOMES GREW 30 PERCENT, THE NUMBER OF VEHICLES GREW 50 PERCENT, AND OUR ECONOMY OVERALL GREW BY MORE THAN 50 PERCENT IN REAL TERMS. THAT'S NOT A BAD RECORD.

HOWEVER THAT PROGRESS CAME AT GREAT COST. THIS COUNTRY WILL SPEND AN ESTIMATED \$130 BILLION ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION IN 1992, AND THAT FIGURE WILL CONTINUE TO GROW. THESE EXPENDITURES PUT THE UNITED STATES AMONG THE WORLD LEADERS IN THE SHARE OF ITS ECONOMY SPENT ON POLLUTION CONTROL. BUT IN AN ERA OF STRETCHED RESOURCES, WE NEED TO ENSURE THE NATION IS GETTING THE MAXIMUM ENVIRONMENTAL BENEFIT AT THE LEAST COST.

OVER THE LAST THREE YEARS, THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS LAUNCHED A NUMBER OF PROGRAMS TO BREAK THE MOLD AND FORGE NEW APPROACHES TO ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY -- ONES THAT MERGE ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL GOALS. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING OUR APPROACH. I WILL DESCRIBE ONLY A FEW.

Values of the New Environmentalism

FIRST, WE BELIEVE THE NATION SHOULD BE RIGOROUS ABOUT SETTING PRIORITIES BASED ON SOUND SCIENCE. RESEARCH IS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR PRECAUTIONARY ACTION. BUT GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS BASED ON EMOTION, NOT FACTS, UNDERMINE CONFIDENCE IN THE SYSTEM. THE UNITED STATES IS AN INTERNATIONAL LEADER IN ENVIRONMENTAL RESEARCH, AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO INCREASE FUNDING FOR THESE PROGRAMS. MORE IMPORTANTLY, WE WILL CONTINUE TO TAKE ACTION PREDICATED ON SOUND SCIENCE.

SECOND, WE ARE TRYING TO SET PRIORITIES BASED ON METHODS THAT ENABLE US TO DISTINGUISH THE ENVIRONMENTAL LIFE-THREATENING HEART ATTACKS FROM THE REPAIRABLE BROKEN BONES AND LESSER HEADACHES. THIS PARTICULAR ASPECT OF THE TRANSITION IS DIFFICULT SINCE THE STATUTES THAT DRIVE EPA'S PROGRAMS DO NOT ALLOW THE AGENCY TO SET PRIORITIES NOR TO FOCUS EFFORTS ON THE GREATEST RISKS.

THE RESULT OF AN UNFOCUSED APPROACH IS EVER-GREATER COSTS FOR EVER-SMALLER GAINS. FOR EXAMPLE, IN 1967 THE GOVERNMENT ISSUED A RULE RELATED TO AUTOMOTIVE SAFETY THAT COST \$100,000 PER PREMATURE DEATH AVOIDED. THAT SEEMS REASONABLE. BUT IN 1990, THE AVERAGE COST OF FOUR ENVIRONMENTAL RULES WAS \$1.4 TRILLION DOLLARS PER PREMATURE DEATH AVOIDED.

THESE ARE AVERAGED STATISTICS -- NOT ACTUAL COSTS -- AND THERE ARE OTHER JUSTIFICATIONS FOR THESE RULES BESIDES AVOIDING PREMATURE DEATHS -- BUT I THINK THE MAGNITUDE OF THE CHANGE, FROM THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS TO TRILLIONS OF DOLLARS, MAKES THE POINT.

OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS, EPA HAS ENDEAVORED TO IDENTIFY THE GREATEST RISKS TO HEALTH AND THE ENVIRONMENT, AND TO REORIENT PROGRAMS TO TARGET THOSE RISKS. IN MY VIEW, EPA DESERVES GREATER RECOGNITION AND SUPPORT FOR THAT EFFORT.

A THIRD ELEMENT OF OUR APPROACH IS STRAIGHTFORWARD: A SUSTAINED COMMITMENT ON THE PART OF GOVERNMENT TO ENFORCE THE LAW. WE'RE DOING THAT:

- EPA'S OPERATING BUDGET HAS GROWN BY 47 PERCENT SINCE 1989, WHILE OVERALL DOMESTIC DISCRETIONARY SPENDING HAS GROWN LESS THAN 5 PERCENT.
- FEDERAL ENVIRONMENTAL INDICTMENTS AND CONVICTIONS ARE AT ALL-TIME HIGHS.
- AND IN THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION, EPA COLLECTED MORE IN CIVIL PENALTIES THAN IN ITS ENTIRE PREVIOUS HISTORY.

FIRM, FAIR AND SUSTAINED LAW ENFORCEMENT DENIES POLLUTERS ANY COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE, AND IT REINFORCES THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF ALL ENVIRONMENTAL LAW: THE POLLUTER MUST PAY.

THE FOURTH ELEMENT OF THE NEW ENVIRONMENTALISM IS EFFICIENCY -- THE COMMON DENOMINATOR THAT ALLOWS US TO MERGE ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL GOALS. LET ME EXPLAIN.

EARLIER TODAY IN GENEVA, THE BUSINESS COUNCIL FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT -- A GROUP OF 48 INDUSTRIALISTS FROM 20 COUNTRIES ORGANIZED TWO YEARS AGO TO GATHER THE VIEWS OF THE INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS COMMUNITY FOR THE RIO CONFERENCE -- RELEASED AN IMPORTANT NEW REPORT CALLED CHANGING COURSE.

NORTH AMERICAN MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL MET WITH PRESIDENT BUSH AT THE WHITE HOUSE JUST TWO DAYS AGO TO DISCUSS THEIR REPORT. THE COUNCIL'S FINDINGS SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S VISION OF A NEW ENVIRONMENTALISM BASED ON EFFICIENT SOLUTIONS. THE COUNCIL COINED THE TERM ECO-EFFICIENT TO DESCRIBE COMPANIES THAT PRODUCE EVER MORE GOODS AND SERVICES WHILE REDUCING RESOURCE USE AND POLLUTION.

EFFICIENCY LINKS BUSINESS NEEDS, THE ENVIRONMENT, AND THE INCREASING NEEDS OF FUTURE GENERATIONS IN THREE WAYS: BY KEEPING COMPANIES COMPETITIVE... BY ADDING VALUE WITH THE LEAST USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES... AND BY FREEING RESOURCES TO CREATE JOBS AND NEW WEALTH IN THE FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY.

GOVERNMENT'S CHALLENGE IS TO DRAW OUT AND PROMOTE THIS EFFICIENCY. THAT IS A GOAL OF THE REGULATORY REVIEW INITIATED BY PRESIDENT BUSH IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS, AND RECENTLY EXTENDED FOR ANOTHER 120 DAYS. OUR GOAL IS NOT RELIEF FOR THE SAKE OF RELIEF. NOR WILL WE VIOLATE STATUTORY DEADLINES OR COMPROMISE HEALTH AND SAFETY. THE GOAL IS TO WEED OUT MISGUIDED

REGULATIONS AND NURTURE THE SMART ONES -- PROVIDING BUSINESS THE FLEXIBILITY TO REACH TARGETS IN THE MOST COST-EFFECTIVE WAY.

FOR EXAMPLE, DURING THE LAST THREE MONTHS, EPA HAS TAKEN ACTIONS THAT WILL PROMOTE CLEANER AIR AND RELEASE CAPITAL FOR ECONOMIC INVESTMENT, WHILE REDUCING ANNUAL REGULATORY COSTS BY \$4-8 BILLION ANNUALLY -- ALL WITHOUT SACRIFICING ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY.

ECO-EFFICIENCY IS THE IDEA BEHIND POLLUTION PREVENTION -- GETTING BEYOND THE PRACTICE OF SPENDING BILLIONS OF DOLLARS TO CLEAN UP POLLUTION AT THE DISCHARGE END OF THE PIPE AND MOVING INSTEAD TO OUR PRODUCTION PROCESSES TO PREVENT POLLUTION IN THE FIRST PLACE.

LIKEWISE ECO-EFFICIENCY IS MOTIVATING A DRIVE BY THE ENERGY INDUSTRY TO GET MORE OUTPUT PER UNIT OF INPUT.

THERE ARE MANY, MANY EXAMPLES OF SUCCESSFUL ECO-EFFICIENCY PROJECTS BY GOVERNMENT, THE PRIVATE SECTOR, AND NONPROFIT GROUPS. WITHOUT GOING INTO THE DETAILS OF THOSE PROJECTS, SUFFICE IT TO SAY WE ARE IN THE EARLY STAGES OF A QUANTUM IMPROVEMENT IN ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY -- A NEW ERA CHARACTERIZED BY STRONGER SCIENCE, CLEARER PRIORITIES, SUSTAINED GOVERNMENT ACTION, AND MORE EFFICIENT SOLUTIONS.

THESE VALUES DO NOT PLACE LIMITS ON GROWTH, WHICH ARE CONTRARY TO HUMAN NATURE, BUT INSTEAD SEEK ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION THROUGH MORE INFORMED, MORE EFFICIENT, AND CLEANER GROWTH.

Spreading Environmental Literacy

WHILE THERE IS BROAD ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEED TO HARMONIZE ECONOMICS AND THE ENVIRONMENT, THERE IS STILL A GAP BETWEEN ELITE SUPPORT AND WIDER PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE VALUES THAT WILL MAKE THAT TRANSITION POSSIBLE. THE NEW VALUES MIGHT FOUNDER AND FAIL IF THE PUBLIC, AND THOSE IN A POSITION TO EDUCATE THE PUBLIC, DO NOT UNDERSTAND AND SUPPORT THEM.

SO THERE MUST BE ANOTHER ELEMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL REVOLUTION -- AN ALL-OUT EFFORT TO RAISE THE LEVEL OF PUBLIC DEBATE CONCERNING OUR ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES.

THIS WILL REQUIRE BETTER BASIC EDUCATION ABOUT ECOLOGY AND THE ECONOMY, AND HOW THEY INTER-RELATE, AT THE PRIMARY AND SECONDARY LEVEL. AS YOU DOUBT KNOW, THE PRESIDENT AND THE NATION'S 50 GOVERNORS SET A GOAL FOR THE YEAR 2000 FOR AMERICAN STUDENTS TO BE FIRST IN THE WORLD IN MATH AND SCIENCE. TEACHERS AND JOURNALISTS WILL NEED SPECIAL TRAINING AND SUPPORT.

AT THE UNIVERSITY LEVEL, EVERY ENGINEERING AND BUSINESS STUDENT SHOULD BE REQUIRED TO STUDY PRINCIPLES AND CASE STUDIES OF ECO-EFFICIENCY. BUSINESSES SHOULD OFFER ADVANCED ENVIRONMENTAL TRAINING AND ENCOURAGE EMPLOYEES TO GET INVOLVED IN POLLUTION PREVENTION PROGRAMS.

IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, THERE IS A TREMENDOUS NEED TO DEVELOP BASIC LITERACY AS WELL AS ADVANCED EDUCATIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC CAPACITY, SO THAT THE PEOPLE OF THOSE NATIONS CAN BUILD THEIR OWN SUSTAINABLE FUTURE.

THERE ARE MANY GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE PROGRAMS TOWARD EACH OF THESE ENDS, AND I SUSPECT YOU AND I ARE INVOLVED IN SOME OF THEM. I SERVE ON THE BOARDS OF THE NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOUNDATION... AND THE MANAGEMENT INSTITUTE FOR ENVIRONMENT AND BUSINESS, WHICH DEVELOPS PROGRAMS TO TRAIN ENVIRONMENTALLY COMPETENT BUSINESS MANAGERS. IT IS THESE ORGANIZATIONS LIKE THESE, LARGELY UNNOTICED AND OFTEN UNDERFUNDED, THAT CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

ALL OF YOU FACE OPPORTUNITIES TO STUDY THE NEW ENVIRONMENTAL VALUES AND INCORPORATE THEM IN YOUR DAILY WORK, AND I CHALLENGE YOU TO DO SO.

"Think Globally, Act Locally"

THINKING ABOUT LITERACY AND THE NEED TO EVOLVE TOWARD NEW ENVIRONMENTAL VALUES, I AM REMINDED OF A SEEMING PARADOX BETWEEN THE GLOBALIZATION AND PERSONALIZATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERN.

ON THE ONE HAND, THE ENVIRONMENTAL ETHIC HAS REACHED GLOBAL PROPORTIONS. WHEN THE LEADERS OF MANY NATIONS MEET IN RIO DE JANEIRO NEXT MONTH FOR THE UNITED NATIONS EARTH SUMMIT, THEY WILL APPROVE A 600-PAGE DOCUMENT CALLED "AGENDA 21," OUTLINING ACTIONS NEEDED TO ENSURE THAT NEEDED ECONOMIC GROWTH DOES NOT COMPROMISE THE LIFE SUPPORT SYSTEMS OF THE PLANET.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE SUCCESS OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL ETHIC DEPENDS ON PERSONAL ATTITUDES -- THE WILLINGNESS OF PEOPLE TO ADJUST THEIR LIFESTYLES OR TO SCRUTINIZE BALLOTS AND BUSINESS CLAIMS -- ALL IN THE PURSUIT, ONE PERSON AT A TIME, OF GREATER ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY.

RENE DUBOS SUMMED UP THIS PARADOX IN THE OFT-QUOTED PHRASE, "THINK GLOBALLY, ACT LOCALLY" -- AND INDEED, OUR GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS REQUIRE BOTH KINDS OF ACTION. EDUCATION IS THE LINK BETWEEN GLOBAL AWARENESS AND PERSONAL ACTION.

PROFESSOR DUBOS EXPLAINED CHANGE IN EVEN MORE ELOQUENT TERMS. "THE PHILOSOPHERS OF OLD," HE SAID, "PREPARED A BLUEPRINT FOR MODERN LIFE WITH A FAITH THAT KNOWLEDGE, SOCIAL REFORMS, AND SCIENCE COULD LIBERATE HUMAN BEINGS FROM FEAR AND DESTITUTION."

HUMAN PROGRESS, HE SAID, INVOLVES "THE UNFOLDING OF VISIONARY IMAGININGS."

LIKE RENE DUBOS, ALL OF US IN THIS ROOM TONIGHT BELIEVE IT IS IN OUR POWER TO IMAGINE AND CREATE A BETTER FUTURE -- A WORLD CAPABLE OF SUSTAINING HUMANITY AND A WONDROUS DIVERSITY OF LIFE.

NOT ONLY IS THIS DESIRABLE, IT IS NECESSARY. ON THE ONE HAND, A REDUCTION OF EVEN 1 OR 2 PERCENT IN ECONOMIC GROWTH MEANS MISERY FOR MILLIONS.

ON THE OTHER, SUCH CONCERNS AS DEPLETION OF THE OZONE LAYER, LOSS OF BIODIVERSITY, AND ORDINARY AIR AND WATER POLLUTION THREATEN OUR HEALTH AND PRODUCTIVITY. WE KNOW FROM EXPERIENCE THAT WE CAN REVERSE THIS DEGRADATION AND ENLARGE OPPORTUNITY THROUGH RESEARCH, DIALOGUE, AND VERY HARD WORK.

IN DUBOS'S WORDS, "MAN MAKES HIMSELF." IN THE WORDS OF ANOTHER THOUGHTFUL LEADER, GEORGE BUSH, "THE ENVIRONMENT IS A MORAL ISSUE. WE CAN AND SHOULD BE NATURE'S ADVOCATES."

ALL WHO CARE ABOUT THE FUTURE OF OUR PLANET MUST BE TENACIOUS, INFORMED, AND CONSTRUCTIVE ADVOCATES OF ENVIRONMENTALLY-SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT. THAT IS OUR COMMON CHALLENGE AND I WISH YOU THE BEST OF LUCK.

THANK YOU.

The final rating of any environmental policy has to be made on the spot—at the place it is designed to preserve. We chose SIX CASES to show how George Bush's environmental policies evolve and are applied. They include some of America's greatest travel experiences—places on the edge of survival. First, TOM HUTH reports

America on the edge

The *incredible* shrinking swamp

IT IS EARTH DAY 1992, AND THE DEFENDERS of the Great Dismal Swamp (in truth, less than half a dozen strong) set out in their store-bought canoes. They paddle quietly up a still-water canal, through tall forests of maples and sweet gums and loblolly pines, the treetops alive with the song of migrating warblers. It is a slow and very Southern waterway, stained with tannic acid from decaying vegetation—the color of root beer against the stroke of the paddle, the surface a blackened mirror.

The Great Dismal Swamp: what better place than here, down along the Virginia–North Carolina border, to begin exploring the murky issue of America's endangered wetlands? This is the swamp, after all, that was first drained for profit by George Washington.

Twelve of us have joined the Defenders for their outing to Lake Drum-

mond, in the heart of the swamp. Lloyd Culp, who manages the Dismal's national wildlife refuge, shares a boat with his wife and five-year-old daughter. He says that at one time the swamp was half a million to two million acres in size. Now it covers about 200,000 acres—"only a remnant of what was." Farms and housing developments have encroached; canals, ditches, and roads have blocked the free flow of water. For two centuries the swamp was logged, so most of its hardwoods are gone.

Nevertheless, a certain damp, dark beauty has survived. The slender second-growth trees let in a patterned light; the peat bogs of the forest floor are covered with ferns and wild grapes. One can still feel solitude here. More important, the swamp still serves many of its vital ecological functions: as a habitat for wildlife, and as a great sponge for storing and purifying the

earth's water. A wetland, it seems, can take a lot of abuse.

But only so much.

Since the nation's founding, in fact, more than half of our wetlands have disappeared altogether—they've been filled in for farming, mainly, or for urban expansion and roads, or have been flooded to make reservoirs. Only in the last couple of decades have we come to understand the subtle benefits they provide for our continued growth and survival. Consequently, a broad scientific and political consensus has been reached—voiced repeatedly by President Bush—that we can afford to lose no more wetlands. In the real world, however, the forces of development are hard to deny.

Last year the White House proposed new regulations that, by redefining wetlands, could remove federal protection from as much as half of the areas that still remain. Yet the new rules

PHOTOGRAPHS By BURK UZZLE



have turned out to be seriously, embarrassingly, almost comically flawed. They weren't a work of dedicated science, it seems, but of political wish-manship. The President stalled, then distanced himself from his staff's proposals. Now the White House is bogged down in indecision, or simply occupied with other things.

No matter what eventually transpires, the heart of the Great Dismal Swamp, the wettest part, where we're canoeing, will remain protected by the presence of the wildlife refuge. Beyond its boundaries, though, the swampland is privately owned, and field tests indicate that more than eighty percent of the Dismal—those parts that are drier, at least to the untrained eye—would no longer qualify under the new federal definition of what a wetland is.

As Lloyd Culp remarks, referring to a canoe in our party that can't keep a straight course, "It's one of those government canoes. It just goes back and forth."

After paddling for an hour and a half, we reach Lake Drummond, and the forest shelter gives way to the sky. "It really opens your *aahs* when you get out here," observes Cecil Stewart, one of the Defenders, whose father helped build a railroad through this swamp. Lake Drummond is a spooky place, two miles across, dead flat, dead silent. Craggy old cypress trees rear out of the mirrored water like ghosts, draped with Spanish moss. We paddle out to meet them, hear a woodpecker drumming from behind.

Swamps bring up some primal sense of mystery and dread. We sit in our

canoes, drifting in place, and Cecil tells the legend of the witch of the Great Dismal who preyed upon hunters. He tells about the Indian maiden who, long after she died, could be seen moving across the lake in her white canoe. Another local fellow tells about Old July, the Negro slave who was burned out of his house and whose spirit came back as that greenish glow you can sometimes see at night in the Great Dismal Swamp.

The man I'm sharing the canoe with, Rick Fuller, is lying back looking up at the clouds. "There aren't many places," he reflects, "where you can hear uninterrupted birdsong." He's like a lot of us these days, pulled in two directions: a nuclear engineer by trade, and yet a member of the Sierra Club. After a while, the sound of a motor

America on the edge

breaks the spell. Rick says, "Nothing can last forever, I guess."

We head down the canal again, back to the world we're more familiar with. Cecil Stewart, who's a toolmaker at an auto plant, expresses the opinion that conservationists have gotten a bad name. People accuse them of wanting to lock up the wilderness so that nobody can use it. "Not me," he says. "I like huntin'. I like fishin'. You just don't want to see a place taken advantage of. You have a natural resource, you use it conservatively."

TO RAISE ROBERT Frost (who supposedly came to the Great Dismal Swamp once, intending to kill himself), something there is that doesn't love a wetland.

By any other name—call it a swamp, a marsh, or a bog, a slough, a fen, or a pocosin, a playa lake or a vernal pool or a prairie pothole—a wetland is neither here nor there. It is not land and not water, but that transitional zone where the two come together, usually with disastrous effects on a city shoeshine. Many wetlands will dry up at the surface for certain seasons of the year. In general, though, since the white man arrived in America, his attitude has been: If you can't walk on it and you can't sail on it, you might as well drain it and fill it in.

A government inventory estimates that 104 million acres of wetland remain in the lower forty-eight states—five percent of our land mass. This compares with the 221 million acres we started out with in the 1780s. What we didn't realize as we reshaped the environment was that those soggy areas served some greater purpose than to breed mosquitoes. They helped maintain water quality by straining out pollutants; helped control floods by absorbing excess water during storms, then releasing it after the storms passed. They provided habitat for migrating ducks, geese, and other birds, as well as spawning grounds for fish.

By now, the government concludes that more than half of our threatened or endangered species depend in some way on wetlands. William Reilly, the conservationist whom Bush appointed to head the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), reported to Congress last fall that between 1955 and 1986 alone, mallard counts declined by forty percent, black ducks and pintails by sixty percent. Still, this isn't just a

dentally to wetlands. The executive branch holds the power to enforce and interpret regulatory laws, and in this case the job is handled with varying degrees of enthusiasm by six different agencies. More than a thousand employees on the federal level alone work at stopping (or not stopping) the wetlands drain. The principal regulatory tool, the Clean Water Act of 1972, didn't even apply to wetlands until environmental lawsuits forced the Army Corps of Engineers to take up the job five years later.

Section 404 of the Clean Water Act

The attitude has been: If you can't walk on it or sail on it, you might as well drain it and fill it in

hunter and bird watcher issue. Reilly pointed out the cash-dollar benefits of wetland protection: the savings on property damage from flooding; the value of having waterborne toxins filtered out naturally; the reliance of the commercial fishing industry on wetlands habitat.

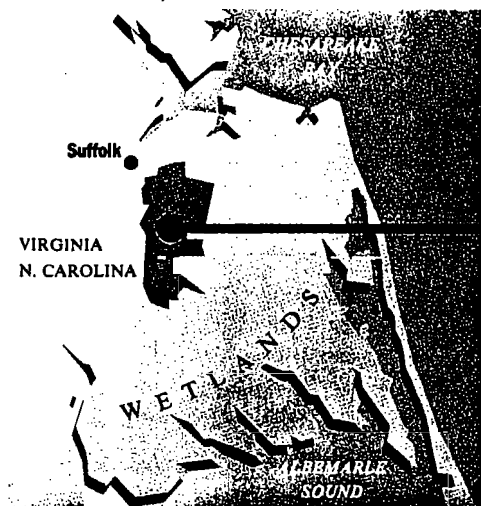
Slowly we are coming to understand how the earth's parts are interrelated. No politician today can come right out and say he's in favor of destroying wetlands. Yet it's also true that three-quarters of our wetlands are on private property, and neither can a politician come out against an American's right to use his land as he sees fit. In the ensuing competition of priorities, our wetlands are shrinking by an estimated 290,000 acres every year.

For the last fifteen years or so, the federal government has been trying, after a fashion, to control that drain. The result is not a comprehensive or comprehensible wetlands statute, but, rather, a piecemeal collection of twenty-five laws, many of which pertain only inci-

requires developers to get federal permits to dump dredged or fill material into any areas that are adjudged to be wetlands—and this is what the current political debate is about, on the surface: What is a wetland for these specific purposes, and what isn't a wetland?

AMONG THE ONGOING DISPUTES between defenders of nature and champions of the human domain, wetlands have been a hot item since 1988. That was when a top drawer National Wetlands Policy Forum, consisting of governors, federal officials, business interests, and conservationists, issued a call for "no overall net loss" of wetlands, plus a longer-term goal (this part has been mainly forgotten) of an actual net gain in the amount and quality of wetlands. In his first presidential campaign, at the urging of his advisers, George Bush took up the call of "no net loss."

Meanwhile, throughout that same year, teams of scientists from four federal agencies (Continued on page 184)



INTO THE GREAT DISMAL

The Great Dismal Swamp straddles the North Carolina-Virginia border. By car, take U.S. 13 from Suffolk, Virginia, to State Route 32; follow it south for 4.5 miles, then watch for signs. There are hiking and biking trails, and fishing is permitted year-round on 3,100-acre Lake Drummond (Virginia fishing license required), as are small boats. Wildlife observation is excellent for much of the year: Migrating songbirds fill the trees early in May, and autumn colors peak from late October through November. The refuge is open daily, but there is no overnight camping. For more information, call 804-986-3705.

WHAT WOULD BE LOST UNDER NEW WETLANDS PROPOSAL

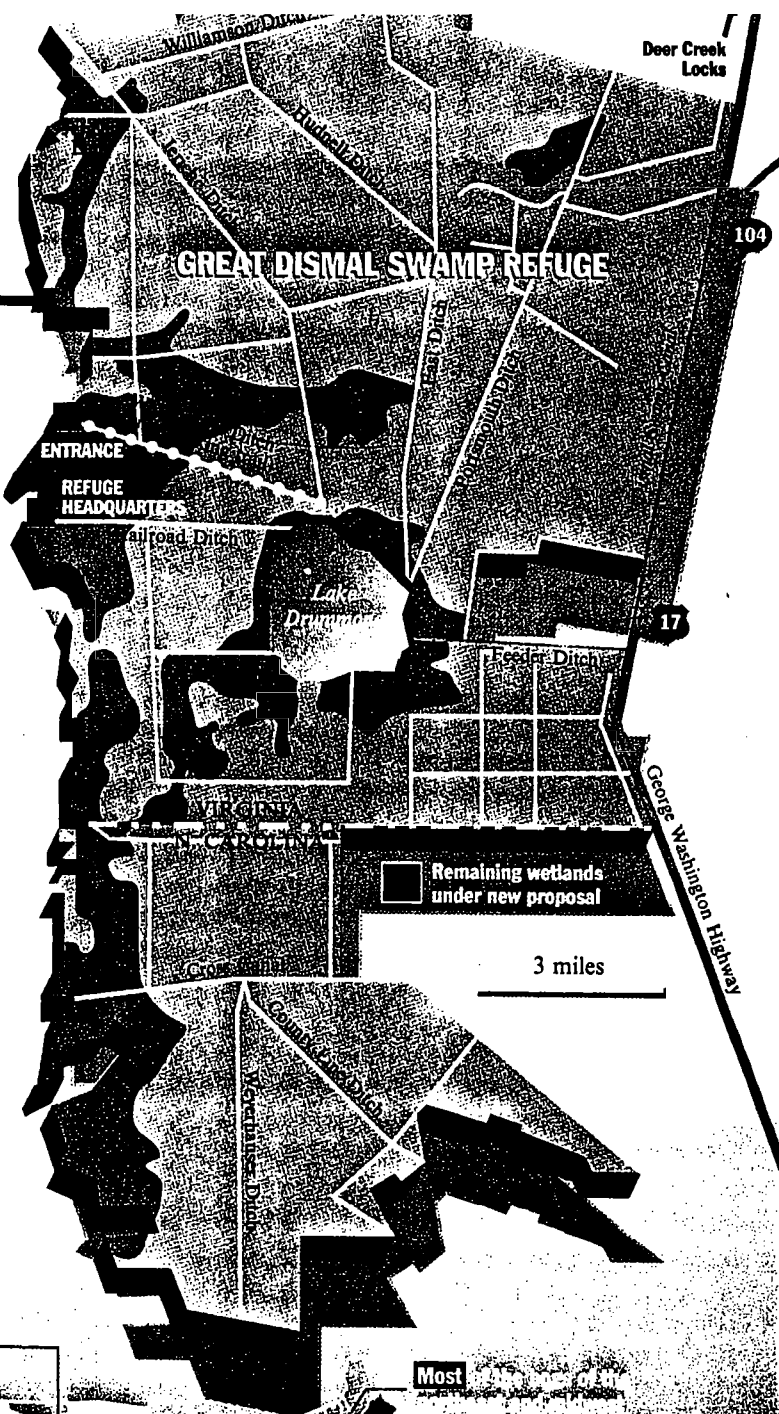
38%

75% of wetlands of the San Francisco Bay and delta, the winter habitat of hundreds of thousands of water birds

Most of the high coastal marsh along the Pacific

Virtually all cottonwood and willow wetlands along the rivers of the Rockies and the southwest

Wetlands losses from the Environmental Defense Fund and World Wildlife Fund.



Most of the wetlands of the Great Dismal Swamp

80% of the Great Dismal Swamp, home to 179 species of birds, 200 species of mammals, including black bear

50% of all hardwood swamps near rivers of the southeast (8 million acres)

23% of Everglades Nat'l. Park, 41% of remaining privately owned Everglades east of it. Result: The continued plummeting of fish and game populations

50% of bottomland hardwoods of the lower Mississippi

SPECIAL OFFER!

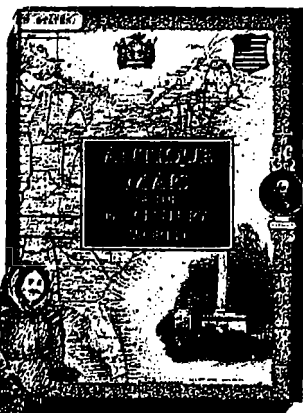


Chart a Course to Tartary or Hindoostan

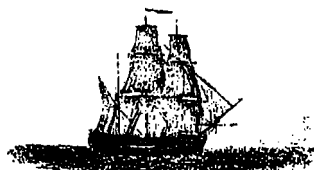
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ON THE EDGE

(Continued from page 138) were working quietly to produce what everyone agreed was needed: a uniform wetlands-regulation manual that every agency could use. With the title *Federal Manual for Identifying and Delineating Jurisdictional Wetlands*, it didn't figure to make a big splash when it came out in early 1989. Yet for many reasons—often having to do with its zealous enforcement, or with simple confusion on the public's part—a ruckus of protest came up from farmers and developers.

The manual was too complicated, they said, too bureaucratic. But worse than that, it seemed to greatly expand the definition of what a wetland was, to include any little backyard hollow where a dog might get its paws wet for a few days every spring. Lobbyists collected what they called "horror stories" of honest Americans who were being driven crazy by the bureaucracy, and they appealed to their allies in the Bush administration for regulatory relief, which struck a familiar chord in a Republican White House.

Bush appointed a task force to develop a national wetlands policy, specifically charged with that same ringing goal of "no net loss." Finally, in August 1991 the President announced his program. "The plan," he said, "seeks to balance two important objectives: the protection, restoration, and creation of wetlands, and the need for sustained economic growth and development." Toward the first objective, he pledged more federal funds for acquiring and restoring wetlands. To satisfy the second, he released a rewritten delineation manual that, upon inspection, was vigorously more favorable to developers.

The 1989 definition, for example, said a wetland was a place that had water within eighteen inches of the surface for any seven days of the growing season; the 1991 definition said it couldn't be a wetland unless there was water at the surface for twenty-one consecutive days in the growing season, or standing water for fifteen consecutive days during the year. Instead of a "squish test," it was said, there'd be a "splash test." It had to be "duck wet": If a duck couldn't splash down, it wasn't a wetland.

Whatever the details, one can't help but wonder: How could the White House start out with "no net loss" and

end up with a document that would open up to development half of the wetlands we have left?

FROM THE PEACEFUL BACKWATERS of the great Dismal Swamp, it's a half-day's drive north to that much more treacherous bog, that city which is named for the Father of Our Country.

On the way, I drive up the Eastern Shore of Virginia, through Maryland and into Delaware, to meet up with two people who might shed some light. Hope Babcock, a former general counsel of the National Audubon Society and now a law professor, is referred to by environmentalists as their guru on the wetlands issue. Edwin (Toby) Clark, now Delaware's secretary for natural resources and environmental control, was the director of the 1988 national forum that gave birth to "no net loss."

In Babcock's Jeep Cherokee we head out of Dover, through flat farmland. The darker-colored depressions in the fields, Clark points out, are converted wetlands, exempt from regulation. The small patches of woods are wetlands still. "If the trees haven't been cut down," he says, "it's too wet to farm." We stop at one such woods and stand beside the road, gazing down into a hollow of skunk cabbage and matted leaves that contains a few inches of standing water—the kind of place that used to be perfect for pitching beer cans into.

"These are isolated wetlands," says Clark, "but they're very valuable. They contain most of our endangered species." To the advocates of broad federal protection, these marginal wetlands—the ones that will be dry by the summer—are actually some of the choicest, from nature's point of view. Several hundred thousand shorebirds, Clark says, stop in Delaware every spring on their way from Central America to the Arctic Circle. They are small birds; they need pockets of shallow water that are wet for only a few weeks or even a few days of the year. Under the new White House manual, those pockets—this soggy hollow in front of us—would not be wet enough to qualify. They'd be buildable.

Back in the car, we drive past houses that have been built on reclaimed wetland. Some of them are standing on soil so saturated that their septic fields are installed above ground, like ritual burial

mounds. Then Hope Babcock starts explaining the inner politics of the wetlands issue—how the White House could support “no net loss” and yet oppose the environmentally correct 1989 manual. One problem was its timing, she says. The government scientists released the manual in the last days of the Reagan regime, catching the new Bush policymakers by surprise. “I think they said to the agencies, with some legitimacy, ‘Hey, what are you guys doing? You’ve gone and popped this thing out without any sort of coordination.’ That gave these guys [Bush’s political team] a chance to say, ‘Whoa!’”

At the same time, Bush’s closest advisers have had reason to be predisposed against the 404 program, Babcock points out. Chief of Staff John Sununu had several road projects blocked by the program when he was the governor of New Hampshire. “Sununu *hated* wetlands,” recalls Toby Clark. Similarly, Sununu’s successor as Chief of Staff, former transportation secretary Samuel Skinner, had a new Chicago airport blocked by the 404 program. Then the Council on Competitiveness—that secretive antiregulative body led by Vice President Quayle—jumped into the White House debate. No wonder the revised manual turned out the way it did.

“You have policy people making scientific decisions,” says Clark. “The 1989 manual had scientists making policy decisions.”

The way it stands now, the White House appears to have at least two choices: Rewrite yet again the rewritten field manual, or else lateral the whole debate off to the National Academy of Sciences, which could act as a sort of Supreme Court. With the issue still hot, it is reasoned, the White House might put off any action until after the November election.

While the different branches of the administration argue about it (with the protectionist EPA being cast as the odd man out), one can’t help but be curious: Where does President Bush himself stand on this wetlands issue? Yet, perhaps that is an innocent question.

“Look through political glasses for a moment,” says Hope Babcock, who’s a Washington animal herself. “If you are managing the President, the best strategy you could have is to keep him on a higher plateau, saying, ‘No net loss of

wetlands . . . I really care.’ And never, never ask him to make a detailed decision about it.”

The wetlands issue has defeated not only Bush’s but everyone’s attempts at resolution. “It’s probably the perfect example of [how] everything that can go wrong will go wrong,” says Babcock. “It’s the most difficult resource to understand. The most difficult resource to regulate, because of the impact on individuals. And you have all those large-money interests—farmers, timber, oil and gas, real estate. Give me a break!”

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All the land that we see between the Potomac and the Washington Monument (there’s the developer’s name once again)—all of that was wetlands in the late 1700s. From the back lawn of the White House, whose site was selected by Washington himself, he could look out upon a broad tidal marsh where swans, ducks, and geese flocked year-round. The only problem was that the marsh got in the way of a growing city. Over time it was filled in, with muck dredged up from the Potomac, and replaced by a Reflecting Pool and a Tidal Basin.

The Jefferson Memorial, the Lincoln Memorial, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the Kennedy Center—sorry, boys: Section 404.

Those early developers would find an ally today at what is now 15th and M Streets N.W., at the bold glass headquarters of the National Association of Home Builders. Mike Luzier, its director of environmental regulation, tells me that the association runs educational programs, publishes technical guides, mans emergency hot lines—all in an attempt to help its 157,000 members fight through the regulatory jungles of the 404.

Sure, he says, the EPA can report that it approves ninety-four percent of the fifteen thousand wetland-development plans it receives every year (as well as rubber-stamping the 75,000 applications for minor encroachments). “But when you’ve got a regulatory program where a full fifty per-

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ON THE EDGE

cent of the permit applicants give up in frustration, I think that's a signal that there is something wrong here. They either can't get a decision or they go broke waiting for one."

A developer walks a piece of land, doesn't get his feet wet, assumes it's God's green earth—then learns from the feds only afterward that he has purchased a wetland. Luzier hands me case studies—"actual horror stories"—of small builders who, in all good faith, working with the best environmental engineering firms, were defeated by harsh and conflicting requirements, paralyzing delays, lost documentation. One horror story shows a snapshot of the builder standing in the woods with his arms outstretched, to indicate the size of an alleged wetland.

"You look at the list of wetlands values," says Luzier, "and some of them are dubious at best." Granted, he says, wetlands provide wildlife habitat. But he cites evidence that other areas are just as valuable for removing sediment from groundwater and for absorbing floodwaters. "The environmental community," he jeers, "has been circulating its most recent book on the Hill, giving a classic argument as to why you ought to regulate the dry wetlands. And one of the strong arguments is"—he widens his eyes for effect—"Gosh, they've got better retention capability because they're not wet!"

The home builders are still smarting over being left out in the cold when the government's scientists were cooking up the 1989 delineation manual. "It was a closed-door process," Luzier complains. "We approached the government and said, 'We have a great stake in what you do on this. Let us provide input in whatever meaningful way is appropriate.' And their attitude was one of technical arrogance. We still see this today in the whole debate—what is science, what is policy? We said, 'We'll hire the best damned consultants money can buy. We will bring experts in here. But you need to get input from those you are going to regulate.' And we were turned away."

When the White House rewrote the regulations last year, the pro-development lobby did have a voice. No surprise, then: The home builders are happy with the new definitions.

Jon Kusler, who is executive director

of the Association of Wetland Managers, agrees with one thing Luzier says: The decision making process is a closed loop. He travels around the country a lot, and reports emphatically: "People everywhere are saying, 'Give us a voice!' There is a terrific anger among interest groups on both sides about decision making occurring in the White House with very little input from the rest of the country. We desperately need a national dialogue," he says, among landowners, conservation groups, public officials—everyone involved.

"I was at a conference in Nebraska a few weeks ago," he relates, "the first-ever wetland conference in Nebraska, and one afternoon there was really kind of a touching exchange that went on for about two hours. There were some farmers who were against wetlands, but one man really summed it up, I think, very well. And he said—he got up some passion—he said, 'We don't hate wetlands. We don't want to be viewed as bad people. We're interested in the environment. But we don't understand what's happening in Washington, because nobody comes out and talks to us.' He said four times in his five minutes, 'Somebody come and talk to us. Somebody visit us. Let us know what's happening. Let us know what you're proposing for the future. Somebody come and talk to us about what is happening to our land!'"

Kusler is, refreshingly, close enough to the middle of the issue to be able to look both ways. "Everything's gotten so polarized with wetlands," he says. "Some of these organizations make their business out of generating heat, essentially. You get members by generating controversy—on all sides of the issue. But there are a lot of people who would like to try to look for common denominators, and unfortunately they haven't had much of a voice."

Kusler says he realizes that from a policymaker's point of view, asking what the public wants can only complicate things. "They might not want what you want." As a system of government, though, "this is not the way Jefferson imagined."

To a scientist, such a closed system is known as a black box, says biologist Peter deFur at the Environmental Defense Fund, "a process in which we know that something goes in, and we

know what comes out—but we have no idea what goes on in the process. Before we understood cellular biology, we referred to the cell as a black box.” And so with the wetlands issue: “You’ve got a problem going in, you’ve got a regulatory and policy process inside the black box, and out comes a manual. *The solution!*”

But when it comes to the environment, he believes that the time has passed for simple answers. “We have learned to pick the best spots for agriculture and for forestry and for this and for that. We’ve found all the good sites, and all of a sudden we’re going to have to put in a lot of effort to find a very few sites. We’ve found all the easy solutions, and as we do that we’ve run into conflicts between our needs and our wants and our values. We want to have an improved quality of life, and that means having roads, schools, houses, farms, and so forth, but building them means that we’re going to run into our values for preserving wetlands and natural areas. And unless there is some mechanism for getting all the people who are involved in the solution involved in *crafting* that solution, there’s no reason for them to buy into it.”

When the White House came out with its revised manual last summer, it was said to have caught the green movement flat-footed. But within months, to show the importance they place on this issue, deFur and his colleagues at the Defense Fund had published a 175-page book in response, drawing upon the expertise of forty wetlands scientists. In a competition of technical proportions like this one, the environmental groups really have the horses.

According to deFur and others acquainted with the process, the White House manual began with scientific input. But the scientists pulled out when they thought their efforts were being subverted by the policymakers who had been added to the task force.

DeFur acts puzzled. “There seems to have been in this process a fundamental failure to recognize water movement, almost a total lack of understanding of water flow and volume and capacity and so forth. A wetland represents a storage for a time period. It’s like a series of cups that overflow one into the next, into the next, into the next, and if you start wiping out wetlands you take out

those cups. And those cups provide an opportunity for various physical, chemical, and biological processes to occur. Physical being flood, chemical being removal of [harmful] nutrients, and biological being a place for habitat.”

I ask deFur where he thinks George Bush’s sympathies might lie on the wetlands, and again he looks puzzled. “I hear anecdotal reports that when he has been accurately briefed on some of these environmental issues, he has been supportive and has said, ‘You know, that makes sense.’ But in the political process there is always someone who has an issue, an ax to grind, a point to make, a buck to make—there’s always something.”

“I have no idea,” he says, “if any of our political leaders recognize the fundamental relationship between our economy and our natural resources, and the fact that our pollution cup is full, in some regards—that we’ve lost all the wetlands we can afford to lose. My suspicion is that George Bush may understand that.”

Yet speaking in terms of Bush’s leadership on this issue, deFur concedes, “If an administrator did what Bush has done, he’d be looking for another job.”

THE PICTURE WE GET, THEN, IS OF the President as hostage—kept in the dark, perhaps, given food and water—a mere pawn to his advisers, who are unsympathetic to the environment. And yet these are all people whom he has duly appointed.

From the hotel where I’m staying in Washington, I can look down 16th Street and see the White House gleaming at night, just three blocks away. I wish I could go down there and sneak in, break in—rush past the guards, run into the Oval Office or the presidential bedchamber or wherever they keep him. I’d demand to know of George Bush: “What do you think about the wetlands? What are you going to *do*? For God’s sake, man, why don’t you make a *decision*?”

Instead, I request an interview with Vice President Dan Quayle, who does

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ON THE EDGE

seem to have an opinion on the matter. By all accounts, Quayle is the chief architect of the administration's pro-development stance, and it is instructive to go back and see how this came to be.

By July of 1991, the task force appointed by Bush to develop a "no net loss" program had been taken over by ideologues. The EPA's top scientist had quit the committee, saying he couldn't in good conscience "change policy under the guise of science. If they want to change the policy," he said, "they should do it in the open so the public knows what's going on." By this time, most important, the White House Council on Competitiveness had moved in on the action.

This inner circle of seven men, accountable to no one but Bush, has an ultimate clout. It is chaired by Vice President Quayle and includes the White House Chief of Staff, the Attorney General, the secretaries of Commerce and the Treasury, the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the director of the Office of Management and Budget. Its job is to review all pending federal regulations to make sure they won't stand in the way of profits for business and industry. Bush chaired a similar task force when he was vice president, but Quayle has gone at it with relish, expediting the approval of new drugs, cutting red tape for the biotechnology and telecommunications industries, and helping business, especially, avoid what are seen as excessive environmental constraints. Its deliberations are so secretive, its powers so unchecked, that in the area of federal regulations Quayle's council seems to be acting like a shadow government.

On the wetlands issue, the Competitiveness Council was at odds with the EPA in the summer of 1991 over the new delineation manual—over how many days a wetland had to be wet. Dan Quayle was holding out for twenty-one days. Relying on his own common sense, he wanted to protect only "real wetlands." As he explained it once: "If you have a pond or something like that, that's clearly a wetland. Most people presume that if you talk about a wetland, it is wet for more than twenty-one days."

At midnight on July 9, according to people who ought to know, the EPA's Bill Reilly called Quayle. Reilly was

appearing before a Senate subcommittee in the morning and wanted to present the administration's new manual. He suggested a compromise (ten to twenty consecutive days of inundation, with the exact figure to be decided later), and Quayle agreed to it.

AT EIGHT THE NEXT MORNING, however, as Reilly was on his way to the hearing, he got an urgent call on his car phone from the executive director of the Council on Competitiveness. The message was: "The deal's off. Don't release the manual."

Did Quayle have a change of heart? Did someone overrule him? Persuade him? According to one reading, the council's staff changed the agreement on its own.

At a meeting of the Competitiveness Council a few weeks later, according to a newspaper report, Reilly was allowed to attend, and he read aloud the President's campaign promise of "no net loss." Budget director Richard Darman supposedly responded, perhaps facetiously, "He just said that in a speech. It doesn't mean anything." Then Quayle decided, summarily, that he had the authority to impose the twenty-one-days-of-inundation standard. "If we say it's wet," he reportedly pronounced, "it's wet."

So the official version of the proposed manual came out, reading the way Quayle's office wanted it to read. The manual was opened to public comment—and the muck hit the fan.

The nation's most prominent wetland scientists said the revisions were "fundamentally flawed" and "seriously misguided" and would "make a mockery of the token protection that presently exists." Even more rudely, they said the new definitions had "no foundation in wetland science" and "no scientific basis whatever." Wrote one professor, "Indeed, the revised manual appears to reject the results of the last fifteen years of wetland research." Moreover, they said the book was not any easier to use than the old one, but mad-deningly more complicated.

Nor were the responses from the nation's governors any more polite. Of the sixteen who offered opinions, fifteen opposed the manual. California's Pete Wilson, a Republican, wrote President Bush directly to say that the methodolo-

gies and criteria were "conflicting, needlessly complex, and scientifically irrelevant." Mario Cuomo estimated that the manual would "define out of existence over three-quarters of New York State's wetlands." Arkansas's Bill Clinton feared the changes "could result in disaster to the state's most valuable wetlands, our seasonally flooded bottomland forests." One governor even sneered at the manual's style of writing.

The most pungent comment was made to the press by Jay Hair, president of the National Wildlife Federation. "Protecting wetlands by redefining them out of existence," he said, "is like ending homelessness by redefining a home as a cardboard box."

Here is where, if not earlier, the issue could have used some presidential leadership. And yet a year later it remains in limbo. At last report, the principal enforcement agencies were quietly using an earlier wetlands-definition manual written in 1987. The 1991 version, while not officially dead, is going nowhere.

Nevertheless, as improbable as it seems, the Quayle team is still fighting on.

MY REQUEST FOR AN INTERVIEW with the Vice President leads to a meeting, instead, with an assistant named Jonathan Tolman, who reputedly is his specialist on wetlands affairs. I find him in a room in the Old Executive Office Building next to the White House—a young man who, in his fulsome-cheeked innocence, looks unsettlingly like Quayle himself. He sits surrounded by reports on hydrology, hydric soils, and hydrophytic vegetation, reviewing the field tests of the 1991 delineation manual. Tolman tells me that he has a degree in political science, with minors in math and chemistry, and four years' experience as a water-quality technician. All of twenty-four years old, he is the one and only source of wetlands expertise for the Council on Competitiveness.

"I don't think the 1991 manual is too far off the mark," he ventures to say. He is trying to figure out how to alter the manual's language in a few places to satisfy any objections, clear up any misunderstandings.

He explains the rationale at work here: "Vice President Quayle is very

much interested in property rights issues. A lot of what he has to do is travel around and give speeches. He meets a lot of farmers, he meets a lot of people who are in the development and land-use industries, and he sees how this has an impact on their everyday lives. And not just this—but things like the Endangered Species Act. It encroaches on people's ability to use their property."

Here is how this young man describes the changes he's making in the manual: "Not too much, not too little. What we like to call the Little Baby Bear Syndrome—his porridge is just right."

Comments one EPA official, shaking his head when I describe this scene: "Obviously, the people who have missed some fundamentals seem still to be in a position to influence the action."

The day after visiting Quayle's office, I return to the Old Executive Office Building to see one last player in the game—Michael Deland, the chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality. As Bush's chief adviser and apologist on issues of the earth, he might be able to indicate who, if anyone, is in charge here. I expect him to offer some sort of defense of the 1991 manual, but he doesn't even try.

"Clearly," he says, "on the basis of what information has come in through the public-comment process, we've swung the pendulum too far and excluded from coverage in the proposal wetlands that were indeed wetlands. So what is now needed is a redressing, yet again, of that imbalance, hopefully in a way that hits it on the mark this time."

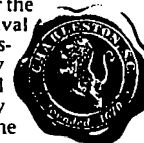
Deland is one of those advisers who would like to send the issue to a committee of the National Academy of Sciences. "That decision has not yet been made, and I'm hopeful it will be made," he says. "It might be made. It depends on the dynamics of this crazy place—will we get enough people together in one room at any given time to try to hammer it out?"

"It's a messy one," he concedes. "All of these environmental issues are. They're not getting any easier, and in a political year they're going to be increasingly polarized and politicized. That's too bad," he agrees. "But that's the reality of the situation."

Deland, like Bill Reilly, has environmental credentials. As a regional administrator for the EPA in the late

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1980s, he led the campaign to clean up Boston Harbor. Now he sits here swearing on a stack of *Federal Registers* that President Bush is as committed as ever to "no net loss." And that might be true, in a technical sense. But I am left with the overwhelming impression that, on this issue at least, the White House has lost whatever rudder it once had.

ON MY WAY HOME FROM WASHINGTON, I stop once more at the Great Dismal Swamp. In late morning the place lies suspended in a cool transparent mist. The million leaves of the forest are dripping one at a time from an overnight rain, lending a percussion to the birdsong overhead. Woody vines loop down the slender bodies of the trees to touch the earth: a moment of some enchantment. Then the trail comes to an area where all the trees lie dead, one on top of the other, in violation of the senses. A sign put up in the National Wildlife Refuge explains

that, in times past, fires started by lightning cleared the forest of its old growth so that the cycle of life could begin again. Now natural fires are suppressed by man because they threaten private property. So a modern forest manager has to create his own clearings, like this one, with a chain saw, to kind of goose the cycle along.

In other words, now that we've thoroughly disrupted nature, we're part of it in a new, unfortunate sense: It cannot get along on its own. We're the problem; we have to come up with the solution.

Does the Bush administration see this? Yes and no, it seems. Meanwhile, its ship of state looks more and more like a canoe lost in a swamp with three people aboard: a scrawny environmentalist at one end, a can-do American businessman at the other, and a bureaucrat in between. The first two are paddling against each other, the bureaucrat is throwing his weight back and forth, and the canoe is getting nowhere. □

(Continued from page 143) dirt roads, they succeeded: The areas, no longer wild, are less likely to be designated.

Travel advisory

A fine introduction to south central Utah is the Pack Creek Ranch (Long Weekend, May 1991), a favorite of the late Edward Abbey, whose paean to nearby Grand Gulch in these pages was his last published work ("The secret of the green mask," March 1989). In Moab, "Opera in the Canyons" is September 5 and 6 (801-259-8946); St. George's has a rodeo September 10 through 12 (800-869-6635). For scenic drives, ask for "Utah's Scenic Byway and Backway" brochure (801-628-4171); for more information, send for the very thorough "Utah Travel Guide 1992" by calling the Utah Travel Council (801-538-1030).

Mill City, Oregon

First glimpse

Mill City lies on scenic Route 22, just east of Oregon's wine country at the foot of the majestic Cascade Range: The road is one of the prettiest in the state, snaking around green hills and deep gorges, past old mines and trading posts, and interweaving with the North Santiam River and passing Detroit

Dum, above which lies man-made Detroit Lake, popular for swimming, boating, and fishing.

Threat

Deforestation.

Condition

Barely ten percent of the original forest survives in the hills around this classic logging town. The clear-cut swaths, many on national forestland, have grown back, but in carefully planted monocultural rows. In contrast, the ancient forest around glacial Opal Creek is darkly tangled and moss-hung and supports a far richer range of shrubs, shade trees, wildflowers, ferns, birds, insects, and wildlife. Among them is the endangered spotted owl, an "indicator species": Biologists say that if its numbers decline, so too will those of other species dependent on the old growth ecosystem. The logging industry argues that the owl's survival should not jeopardize jobs.

Parallels

Western Washington, California, and southeast Alaska have no more of their original forests than Oregon has. Example: Alaska's Tongass National Forest, which began to be logged in the 1950s, is now denuded of nearly all its old spruce and hemlock, which has been cut

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America on the edge

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ozone damage.

Acadia National Park, Maine

First glimpse

One of America's most visited national parks. Sheer coastal drama, from the shore's spruce forest and cliffsides to the rugged hills of Mount Desert Island, which composes most of the park's 60 square miles and is accessible by a causeway that ranks among this country's best-loved drives. No lodge accommodations, but two very popular campgrounds; one requires reservations.

Threat

Air pollution.

Condition

Belcaguered. Although Acadia is far from any industrial city, for decades air currents have carried sulfur dioxide from coal-fired electrical utilities in Canada and the Midwest. The result: acid rain that eats away leaves and kills nutrient-rich waters. Twin threat: urban smog, from Boston and elsewhere. Rangers post signs warning visitors of "unhealthy" levels of ozone, smog's major component. Views are often obscured.

Parallels

Other national parks seriously threatened, especially those ringed by urban growth or lying downwind of polluters. Standouts: Great Smoky Mountains (Tennessee/North Carolina),

Shenandoah (Virginia), Grand Canyon (Arizona).

The Bush approach

Passage of new Clean Air Act, aimed principally at smog and acid rain. Bush proclaimed it the centerpiece of his environmental presidency, signed in November 1990. Proud photo-op at Grand Canyon ("How's this for the vision thing?") after the nearby coal-fired utility agreed to go clean and save Canyon views.

In fact, key sections of the Clean Air Act went to the Office of Management and Budget for economic review—and many remain there, nearly two years later. Quayle's Competitiveness Council has also targeted the act, citing economic priorities over environmental in

a recession. One battle went public: EPA's William Reilly fought Quayle over allowing 34,000 industrial plants the right, under the new act, to increase emissions without public review. After months of back and forth, Bush sided with Quayle in May 1992. Acid rain provisions, due to be finalized by mid-May, have yet to appear; not yet even proposed are regulations limiting emissions of nitrogen oxides, a component of smog. While the Clean Air Act remains stalled, parks like Acadia cannot begin to heal.

Travel advisory

For park information, call 207-288-3338. Nearby is the Inn at Canoe Point (Long Weekend, October 1990; 207-288-9511). Fifty miles south, on Deer Isle, is the 13-room Pilgrim's Inn (Long Weekend, October 1990; 207-348-6615).

Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska

First glimpse

America's last great wilderness is 19 million acres of glorious mountains and tundra in northeastern Alaska. In late spring, after the snows melt, 180,000 caribou migrate here to calve; in summer the coastal plain is home to millions of nesting birds. Brilliant yellow and blue wildflowers carpet the valleys; the Hulahula River's dramatically clear water makes for dazzling rafting trips.

Threat

Oil drilling.

Condition

Pristine. 8.9 million acres initially protected by Congress in 1960; in 1980, protected area was more than doubled. Remains barren and remote, unlike the Prudhoe Bay oil fields to the west. Chances of a productive oil strike in Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) are disputed, estimates varying from 19 to 46 percent.

The Bush approach

The case for ANWR oil exploration, made strongly from 1987, has shifted

from lessening U.S. dependence on imported oil (during the Gulf war) to stimulating jobs (as recession deepened). In his 1992 budget proposal, Bush included \$3 billion in anticipated revenues from ANWR oil leases. To make oil development more palatable, he is fond of citing evidence that caribou south of Prudhoe Bay like making love along the long-established 800-mile Trans-Alaska pipeline. Environmentalists claim, on the other hand, that a pipeline in the ANWR would disrupt the migration routes—and, of course, to have a pipeline you need an oil field.

All agree that the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill in Prince William Sound (March 24, 1989) severely set back the oil lobby's case in Alaska. Some in Washington feel ANWR drilling is a dead issue, others that oil interests are simply playing dead. ANWR drilling was dropped from this year's omnibus energy bill after Democratic senators threatened a filibuster, but it remains part of the Bush National Energy Strategy. Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan, Jr., recently offered optimistic forecasts of an oil strike in the refuge, but lack of scientific evidence forced him to retreat.

Travel advisory

For a firsthand report of traveling through the ANWR, see "The last frontier" (November 1989). Expeditions begin with a plane ride from Fairbanks and can be arranged through Wilderness Birding Adventures (907-694-7442) or Sourdough Outfitters (907-692-5252). Travel months: June, July.

Turtle Canyon, Utah

First glimpse

Wild canyons and gulches, slickrock walls, stone arches, and overhanging alcoves configure this beautiful wedge of south central Utah in Emery County. Below the cliffsides are piñon pine, juniper, Douglas fir, and sagebrush, among which roam mule deer, Rocky Mountain bighorn sheep, elk, and black bear; along the most verdant valleys run clear streams bordered by willows and cottonwoods. Within a short drive are two national parks, Canyon-

lands and Arches, as well as several national forests.

Threat

Open-pit mining.

Condition

Pristine.

Parallels

Turtle Canyon is among 25 million acres of federally owned wild places in 11 western states that came under a 15-year land-use review by the U.S. Bureau of Land Management. The BLM, as ordered by Congress, sent its state-by-state recommendations to the President last fall. To the dismay of environmentalists, it proposed that only 9.8 million acres be kept wild. Uses for the rest: oil and gas drilling, cattle grazing, gold and silver mining, recreational vehicles. Turtle Canyon, found to have reserves of commercial-grade coal, would be opened to open-pit mining.

The Bush approach

The Bush administration has gone even further than the BLM, paring back proposed wilderness areas at the top levels by tens of thousands of acres. Rationale: The economic benefits of taxpayers' land should be available to taxpayers. The President's revised recommendations will be sent to Congress no later than October 1993, there to be voted on.

The reality is that of the 100 million acres of western rangeland already opened by the BLM to cattle grazing, only 33 percent is in good or excellent condition, as reported by the BLM itself in 1990. Much of the rest is severely degraded, with tall prairie grasses wiped out forever because of overgrazing. Further, the government bills ranchers \$2 per head of cattle per month, about 20 percent of the going rate on private range, and less than one-third the cost of administering the land. Bungling in the BLM's land-review process, too: For convenience, BLM officials drew wilderness boundaries along BLM district lines or down the middle of rivers, protecting one side but not the other. And when pro-development Utah businesspeople took matters into their own hands by illegally using bulldozers in wilderness areas to gouge out (Continued on page 191)

1980s, he led the campaign to clean up Boston Harbor. Now he sits here swearing on a stack of *Federal Registers* that President Bush is as committed as ever to "no net loss." And that might be true, in a technical sense. But I am left with the overwhelming impression that, on this issue at least, the White House has lost whatever rudder it once had.

ON MY WAY HOME FROM WASHINGTON, I stop once more at the Great Dismal Swamp. In late morning the place lies suspended in a cool transparent mist. The million leaves of the forest are dripping one at a time from an overnight rain, lending a percussion to the birdsong overhead. Woody vines loop down the slender bodies of the trees to touch the earth: a moment of some enchantment. Then the trail comes to an area where all the trees lie dead, one on top of the other, in violation of the senses. A sign put up in the National Wildlife Refuge explains

that, in times past, fires started by lightning cleared the forest of its old growth so that the cycle of life could begin again. Now natural fires are suppressed by man because they threaten private property. So a modern forest manager has to create his own clearings, like this one, with a chain saw, to kind of goose the cycle along.

In other words, now that we've thoroughly disrupted nature, we're part of it in a new, unfortunate sense: It cannot get along on its own. We're the problem; we have to come up with the solution.

Does the Bush administration see this? Yes and no, it seems. Meanwhile, its ship of state looks more and more like a canoe lost in a swamp with three people aboard: a scrawny environmentalist at one end, a can-do American businessman at the other, and a bureaucrat in between. The first two are paddling against each other, the bureaucrat is throwing his weight back and forth, and the canoe is getting nowhere. □

(Continued from page 143) dirt roads, they succeeded: The areas, no longer wild, are less likely to be designated.

Travel advisory

A fine introduction to south central Utah is the Pack Creek Ranch (Long Weekend, May 1991), a favorite of the late Edward Abbey, whose paean to nearby Grand Gulch in these pages was his last published work ("The secret of the green mask," March 1989). In Moab, "Opera in the Canyons" is September 5 and 6 (801-259-8946); St. George's has a rodeo September 10 through 12 (800-869-6635). For scenic drives, ask for "Utah's Scenic Byway and Backway" brochure (801-628-4171); for more information, send for the very thorough "Utah Travel Guide 1992" by calling the Utah Travel Council (801-538-1030).

Mill City, Oregon

First glimpse

Mill City lies on scenic Route 22, just east of Oregon's wine country at the foot of the majestic Cascade Range: The road is one of the prettiest in the state, snaking around green hills and deep gorges, past old mines and trading posts, and interweaving with the North Santiam River and passing Detroit

Dam, above which lies man-made Detroit Lake, popular for swimming, boating, and fishing.

Threat

Deforestation.

Condition

Barely ten percent of the original forest survives in the hills around this classic logging town. The clear-cut swaths, many on national forestland, have grown back, but in carefully planted monocultural rows. In contrast, the ancient forest around glacial Opal Creek is darkly tangled and moss-hung and supports a far richer range of shrubs, shade trees, wildflowers, ferns, birds, insects, and wildlife. Among them is the endangered spotted owl, an "indicator species": Biologists say that if its numbers decline, so too will those of other species dependent on the old growth ecosystem. The logging industry argues that the owl's survival should not jeopardize jobs.

Parallels

Western Washington, California, and southeast Alaska have no more of their original forests than Oregon has. Example: Alaska's Tongass National Forest, which began to be logged in the 1950s, is now denuded of nearly all its old spruce and hemlock, which has been cut

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The Bush approach

The administration continues to argue the case for jobs, against the spotted owl. It accepts timber industry figures that 32,000 jobs would be lost if, as environmentalists want, 5.4 million acres of old growth forest are preserved for wildlife habitat. Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan, Jr., has proposed protection for only 2.8 million old growth acres in isolated areas of the Pacific Northwest, and the easing of restrictions on timber cutting on another 4.9 million acres of federal land. In May the administration agreed to allow logging on 13 of the 44 disputed tracts of forest in the heart of the owl's habitat.

In fact, automation, not spotted-owl defenders, is chiefly responsible for the steady decline of logging jobs in the Pacific Northwest. More jobs are being lost to nonunion loggers in the southeastern United States. Last year the administration suppressed a report that banning the export of raw logs could create 15,000 timber-related jobs in the United States. Lujan concedes that under his plans the spotted owl will likely become extinct in the next century but says that jobs come first. In June the Forest Service, which reports to the Department of Agriculture, agreed to reduce clear-cutting on the 155 forests it manages in 43 states, but its selective cutting methods are little better: A handful of trees per acre are left standing, but harvested swaths may be contiguous, unlike with clear-cutting. Meanwhile, the Forest Service continues to spend up to 70 percent of its \$1.3 billion on timber sales, though the program operates at a heavy loss.

Travel advisory

Condé Nast Traveler reported on the clear-cutting of Tongass in November 1987 ("Going, going . . . America's majestic rain forest, at two bucks a tree") and the clear-cutting of national forestlands in Washington and Oregon in July 1989 ("George Atiyeh's second war"). The Tongass is reachable via Ketchikan or Juneau, preferably by ferryboat, from June through August (Alaska Marine Highway, 800-642-0066). For canoeing or kayaking trips, contact Alaska Discovery (907-586-1911). Oregon's wonders include its coast and wineries ("How are

*How could the
White House open
up to development
half of the wetlands
we have left?*

we going to keep them in Paris now that they've seen Oregon?" June 1989) and Portland (Stopover, July 1990).

Yucca Mountain, Nevada

First glimpse

One hundred miles northwest of Las Vegas, Yucca Mountain is actually a ridge in dry, desolate Shoshone tribal land. Yet the area retains a stark grandeur; just across the California border is the no less bleak but highly popular Death Valley, with its Sahara-like sand dunes and craters, spring poppies, and summer beaver tail cactus, where the lowest point of elevation in the continental United States (282 feet below sea level) is near the highest (Mount Whitney, 14,494 feet).

Threat

Nuclear waste.

Condition

Untouched so far. But the Bush administration sees ridgelike Yucca Mountain as a perfect burial site for 70,000 metric tons of radioactive nuclear waste, including plutonium and cesium 137. Roads don't come close; more important, the mountain's volcanic tuff bedrock is 1,000 meters above the water table. The plan: a \$26 billion catacomb of vaults, to open in 2010. The Department of Energy says waste-filled canisters will stay dry for the waste's 10,000-year shelf life.

The Bush approach

Yucca Mountain and its sister site, WIPP (Waste Isolation Pilot Plant) in southeastern New Mexico, will enable the United States to double its number of nuclear

plants—from 111 to 222—by the year 2025, as outlined in last year's National Energy Strategy. Solved will be the nasty problem of what to do with 25,000 metric tons of spent fuel rods created already in America's nuclear age—rods lying temporarily plant-side in pools and dry casks—as well as future waste.

In fact, the government's right to exploit Shoshone land—Indians argue that it violates an 1863 treaty—is debatable enough that in the 1970s a \$26 million payment was offered to the tribe; the money remained in escrow, having nearly doubled, because the tribe refuses to accept it and bitterly objects to all federal intervention. That aside, Yucca Mountain is crisscrossed by 30 seismic faults, and the DOE's plan to blast a series of tunnels more than 100 miles long within it may trigger future quakes, says DOE geologist-turned-whistle-blower Jerry Szymanski. (California's July quake, in fact, possibly triggered a 5.6 temblor just twelve miles from the site, surprising DOE staffers.) A quake, in turn, could raise the water table; if water seeps into the radioactively hot chambers, steam explosions could crack waste containers and contaminate large areas. (Trouble already at WIPP: Brine, which could corrode containers, has seeped steadily into the constructed burial rooms.) Short-term prospects are dubious, too: By 2010, existing nukes alone will have produced 60,300 metric tons of waste, enough to fill Yucca, forcing an immediate search for new waste sites. The DOE has spent \$9 million in PR campaigning to teach scientists how to smooth-talk furious Nevadans. Should the carrot fail, Bush plans a stick: legislation to override Nevada's right as a state to regulate its environment.

Travel advisory

Day-trips to Yucca Mountain are now being conducted out of Las Vegas once a month by the Department of Energy, as part of its public education campaign. Any U.S. citizen over the age of 14 is eligible, but the DOE reserves the right to turn down applications (for more information, call 702-794-7104). Within nearby Death Valley ("Fun in the furnace," August 1988) is Furnace Creek Ranch, open year-round (619-786-2345 or 800-528-6367). In winter, head north for heliskiing in the Ruby Mountains ("Dropping on the Rubies," January 1990). □

Story Name	Source	Creator	Last User
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MICHAEL DELAND, CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON
ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY, ADDRESS AT THE 1992 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL
CONVENTION

Location: Astrodome, Houston, Texas

Time: 12:12 p.m. CDT

August 18, 1992

The editor of the report is Steve Ginsburg. Tim Ahmann,
Eric Beech, Mary Gabriel, Peter Ramjug and Paul Schomer also are
available to help you. If you have questions, please call 202-
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MICHAEL DELAND (chairman, President's Council on
Environmental Quality): Good morning. Ladies and gentlemen,
our years ago George Bush moved the issue of environmental
quality to center stage in America by promising to be the
environmental president. He builds on a Republican tradition, a
tradition that recognizes America's love of country is, in part,
love of the land, a land that is bountiful in its resources,
resources that sustain our life and refresh our spirit.

Our party's first president, Abraham Lincoln, never
saw California, but when it was described to him, Lincoln had
the foresight to designate a special place in that state. Today
we call it Yosemite.

Teddy Roosevelt's foresight became the reality we
today call Yellowstone. And 25 years ago, when Bill Clinton was
in college, George Bush was in Congress establishing a new
national park right here in the heart of Texas. It stands as a
monument to George Bush's vision, a vision that moves beyond the
idea that environmental quality and a growing vibrant America
are on a collision course, a vision that places environmentalism
firmly in the mainstream of America's constant quest to improve
our quality of life, a vision that rejects, rejects what the
junior senator from Tennessee says is our only hope, our only
hope for survival, and I quote, "a wrenching transformation of
society".

Think about what Albert Gore's words mean to you and
to America--a wrenching transformation of society. Then think
again about President Bush's vision. He knows that Americans
don't want to choose between a good job and clean air. He knows
that Americans don't want to choose between a growing economy,

and clean water. Americans want both. Americans expect both. With the sensible approach of President Bush, Americans can have both.

Try as some might to divide the country on this issue, Americans realize that when it comes to the environment, we all share the same environmental needs and the same economic aspirations. Whether you're a farmer, stockbroker, homemaker, teacher, indeed whether you're Republican, Democrat, independent, you recognize that a healthy economy depends on a clean, safe environment, just as our environment is best protected by the creativity and resource that a strong market economy provides.

That's why we must bury the old liberal myth that capitalism is the enemy of the environment.

(Applause.)

That myth is exploded when you look at Eastern Europe, where command and control economies left a legacy of poisoned environment. Children can't play outdoors. Lakes and rivers are dead. Acid rain scars ancient cathedrals.

By contrast, America is the first nation in the history of the world to spend over a trillion dollars to meet the world's toughest environmental standards.

We didn't need Albert Gore's scare tactics to persuade us to do these things. Without a wrenching of society, George Bush made record investments in environmental protection, investments that provide America with the cleanest environment in the world.

(Applause)

George Bush is leading America to a new environmentalism, one that harnesses the power of our free marketplace, turns demands for cleaner air and water into opportunities for development, and exports our environmental expertise to the rest of the world, thus creating new jobs here at home while making the planet cleaner for all.

George Bush knows that when it comes to the environment, Americans want action, Americans want results, Americans want the truth.

Four years ago, in New Orleans, George Bush promised to end the dumping of sewage sludge into the ocean, to clean up medical waste washing up on America's beaches, and to clean the nation's air. Much like George Bush's record in World War II, I am pleased to report: mission accomplished.

(Applause)

The dumping of sludge in Boston Harbor ended on Christmas Eve last year. New York City stopped its dumping in June, a month ahead of schedule, and beaches are no longer closed because of washed-up vials and syringes. And George Bush broke a 13-year logjam in Congress to achieve the world's most protective and innovative clean air law.

And George Bush has accomplished more, much more. He has accomplished more for the environment than any president in history. The truth is, he added over 3/4 of a billion dollars in funding for expansion improvement of our national parks and forests, including the establishment of 57 new wildlife refuges.

The truth is, he nearly tripled funding to clean up the nation's nuclear weapons facilities to bring them into compliance with all environmental laws. The truth is, he led the way to international agreements to ban driftnet fishing and illegal ivory trade, to phase out chemicals that destroy the ozone layer.

The truth is, he ordered the federal government to lead by example and mandated aggressive standards for recycling and energy efficiency.

The truth is, he helped launch and support more cooperative environmental partnerships than any other president in history.

Bill Clinton can't compare to George Bush in terms of his environmental record.

First, let's turn to his performance. Bill Clinton's strategy on Earth Day this spring was to compare his record to Michael Dukakis.

Bad news, Bill. After it rains, the water in northwest Arkansas has more fecal bacteria than Boston Harbor's.

Under Slick Willie's watch, Arkansas ranked 47th out of 50 states in avoiding oil spills. It ranked 47th out of 50 in per capita amounts of toxins released into the water. It ranks 43rd out of 50 in terms of avoiding the release of nerve-damaging toxins into the environment. It ranks 45th in terms of pesticides used per capita.

But don't worry about Bill. He assures us, he doesn't inhale.

(Applause)

No wonder a non-partisan ranking of state environmental policy initiatives by the Institute of Southern Studies places Governor Clinton's administration dead last, 50 out of 50. Dead last. None worse.

Now that we've looked at his performance, let's look at Bill Clinton's promises. You'll see that they were hatched in fantasyland during his Earth Day speech.

Fantasy--he would stop the shortchanging of EPA's enforcement funds. The truth is, George Bush has increased EPA's enforcement budget by 72 percent. Under President Bush, we have filed more cases, collected more penalties and put more corporate officials behind bars than in EPA's 18-year previous history combined.

Clinton's fantasy--he would stop the crusade for drilling off our coasts. The truth is George Bush has already imposed a moratorium on offshore oil and gas development off of the ecologically sensitive coasts of California, Washington, Oregon, southern Florida, and New England.

Clinton's fantasy--he would bring market forces to bear on pollution problems. The truth is, President Bush has already established market incentives to cut additions of sulfur dioxide, ozone-depleting substances and toxic air pollutants, and they have put the United States ahead of domestic and international ozone protection schedules.

Stop and think, Bill and Albert are the environmental odd couple. Clinton admits--Clinton admits--he sacrificed Arkansas' environment. And Albert Gore says reaching environmental spirituality will demand a wrenching transformation, a wrenching transformation.

Meanwhile, George Bush has put environmentalism in America's mainstream. George Bush respects the laws of nature and enforces the laws of the land. George Bush understands that a clean, safe environment is good for America and that a growing, vibrant America is the environment's best friend.

Let's reelect George Bush, our environmental president, so he can continue to make America stronger and the world cleaner and safer for you and for me and for our children and for children around this globe.

George Bush, taken at his word

LIKE MOST OF YOU, WE WERE moved four years ago when George Bush declared 1988 to be the year the Earth spoke back. And like you, we hoped he was sincere, and so urged him in this space to make good on his pledge to work for clean air and clean water and to protect our wild places.

But now, like you, we believe he has let us down. Our concern has been reinforced by our extensive investigation of the threat to America's wetlands, beginning with a profile of the Great Dismal Swamp on page 134. It is a tale of confusion and indecision and contradiction, of good intentions derailed by political expediency. And it is a tale that has parallels in our sampling of five other definitive travel destinations.

Your view is expressed in a poll [page 32], conducted over the summer by an independent research company. In the four years since Bush has been President, 87 percent of you say, he has failed to live up to his promise of being the "environmental president." And 69 percent of you say that in the four years he has had the authority to protect the nation's environment, it either has gotten no better or has actually gotten worse. It is difficult to imagine a more complete repudiation.

The role the environment plays in travel cannot be overstated. In recent years, visitors to the United States have spent \$5 billion more per year here than Americans have spent abroad, making travel one of the few bright spots in the balance of trade. People come to this country and are astonished by our natural wonders—mountains, forests, canyons, vistas without peer anywhere in the world. Not to preserve them is to doubly waste a precious resource.

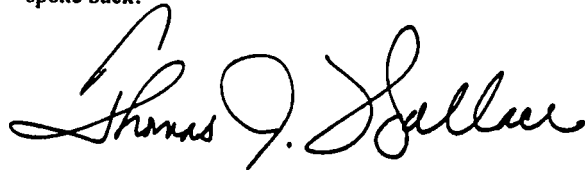
In our poll, 87 percent of you said that at one time or another the environment has been a consideration in

your travel plans; 24 percent said you have had to change your plans because of an environmental problem in a specific destination. And as many as 35 percent of you say you expect that environmental problems will in the future force you to cancel your plans.

These are frightening statistics. We are at the end of an age in which ideology and terrorism limited our freedom of movement. What a pity to be entering a new age in which access to a destination is constrained by environmental hazards.

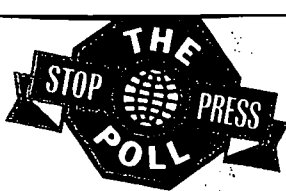
We in this country tend to believe that such hazards are confined to the Third World or to countries impoverished by Cold War imperialism. But this is not the case. As we report on page 142, Acadia National Park, on the coast of Maine and a place that one might think would be the last to fall prey to environmental damage, is in fact reeling from the toxic menace of air pollution and acid rain. On especially bad days, park rangers post signs warning visitors with respiratory diseases that entering the park is actually dangerous to their health. There is a solution for this problem, but it, too, has been thwarted by political meddling.

We have a president who is quick to blame Congress for governmental failure, but the problems we identify can all be laid squarely on the White House. If 1988 was the year the Earth spoke back, clearly George Bush did not listen. We are now in another election year, and we, like you, wait to see whether 1992 will be remembered as the year the people spoke back.



THOMAS J. WALLACE, *Editor in Chief*

Stop



A stern verdict on our Environmental President

By Catherine Kelley

IT'S NOT EASY BEING GREEN. BUT THIS YEAR'S presidential candidates would do well to heed environmental issues if they want to win over the readers of *Condé Nast Traveler*. Nearly 70 percent of those responding to a Stop Press poll say they are "very concerned"

about the environment, and almost half say the nation's environment has worsened in the past four years.

Conditions around the globe are already affecting the way we travel. Nearly a quarter of those surveyed say environmental problems at a specific destination have forced them to change their travel plans, and another 60 percent predict that this will happen to them within the next ten years.

But our readers are taking steps to help curtail the damage. Nearly 90 percent say that they consider the environmental impact of their travel. One in five has been on an ecotour, and half would consider taking one in the future. Eighty-

percent favor limiting public access to such endangered American vacation spots as national parks and seashores.

We also asked our readers to consider the conflict in the Pacific Northwest. Environmentalists there are trying to save the last ten percent of the nation's virgin forests and are clashing with loggers fighting for their jobs. Eighty-four percent sided with the trees.

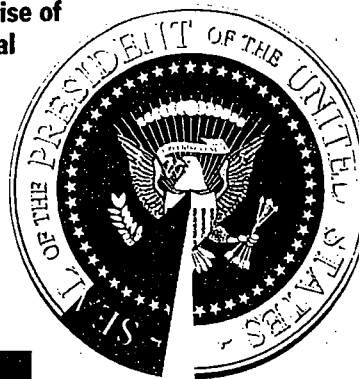
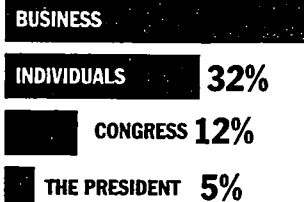
The poll, conducted by Mark Clements Research, reflects the responses of more than 200 readers and has a margin of sampling error of plus or minus 7.1 percent. □

More on our imperiled environment, page 134.

Do you think President Bush has lived up to his promise of being "the environmental president"?

YES **10%** NO **87%**
3% did not respond

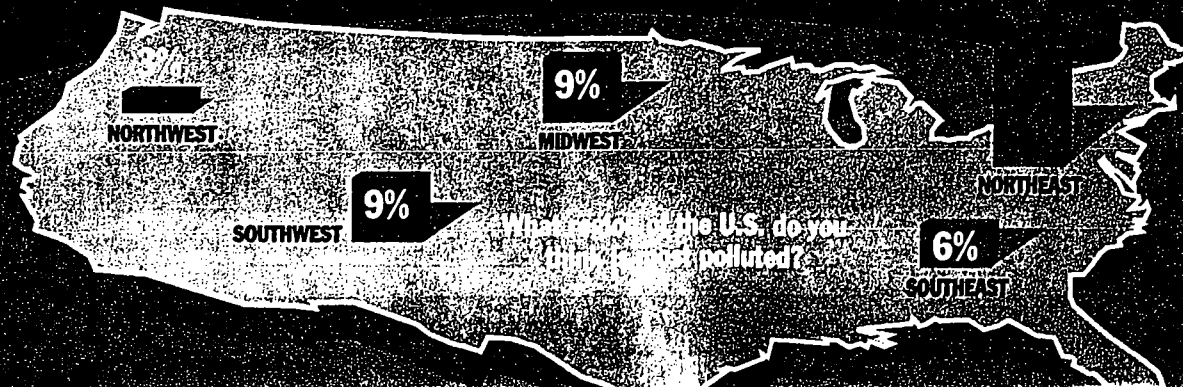
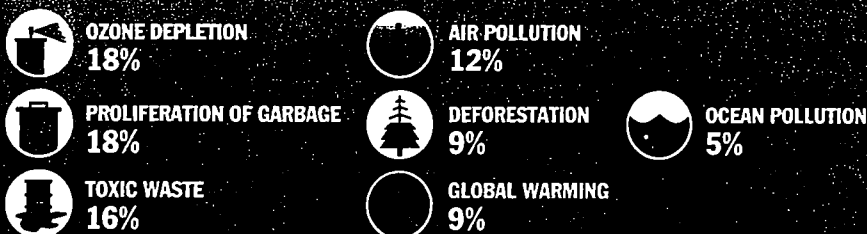
Who do you think is most responsible for the environmental problems in the U.S.?



Which of the following steps have you taken to improve the environment?



What is the greatest environmental problem facing the U.S.?



Acadia on the edge

Five litmus tests of the Environmental President's record

A sassafras leaf from the Great Smoky Mountains in Tennessee shows ozone damage.

Acadia National Park, Maine

First glimpse

One of America's most visited national parks. Sheer coastal drama, from the shore's spruce forest and cliffsides to the rugged hills of Mount Desert Island, which composes most of the park's 60 square miles and is accessible by a causeway that ranks among this country's best-loved drives. No lodge accommodations, but two very popular campgrounds; one requires reservations.

Threat

Air pollution.

Condition

Beleaguered. Although Acadia is far from any industrial city, for decades air currents have carried sulfur dioxide from coal-fired electrical utilities in Canada and the Midwest. The result: acid rain that eats away leaves and kills nutrient-rich waters. Twin threat: urban smog, from Boston and elsewhere. Rangers post signs warning visitors of "unhealthy" levels of ozone, smog's major component. Views are often obscured.

Parallels

Other national parks seriously threatened, especially those ringed by urban growth or lying downwind of polluters. Standouts: Great Smoky Mountains (Tennessee/North Carolina),

Shenandoah (Virginia), Grand Canyon (Arizona).

The Bush approach

Passage of new Clean Air Act, aimed principally at smog and acid rain. Bush proclaimed it the centerpiece of his environmental presidency, signed in November 1990. Proud photo-op at Grand Canyon ("How's this for the vision thing?") after the nearby coal-fired utility agreed to go clean and save Canyon views.

In fact, key sections of the Clean Air Act went to the Office of Management and Budget for economic review—and many remain there, nearly two years later. Quayle's Competitiveness Council has also targeted the act, citing economic priorities over environmental in

a recession. One battle went public: EPA's William Reilly fought Quayle over allowing 34,000 industrial plants the right, under the new act, to increase emissions without public review. After months of back and forth, Bush sided with Quayle in May 1992. Acid rain provisions, due to be finalized by mid-May, have yet to appear; not yet even proposed are regulations limiting emissions of nitrogen oxides, a component of smog. While the Clean Air Act remains stalled, parks like Acadia cannot begin to heal.

Travel advisory

For park information, call 207-288-3338. Nearby is the Inn at Canoe Point (Long Weekend, October 1990; 207-288-9511). Fifty miles south, on Deer Isle, is the 13-room Pilgrim's Inn (Long Weekend, October 1990; 207-348-6615).

Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, Alaska

First glimpse

America's last great wilderness is 19 million acres of glorious mountains and tundra in northeastern Alaska. In late spring, after the snows melt, 180,000 caribou migrate here to calve; in summer the coastal plain is home to millions of nesting birds. Brilliant yellow and blue wildflowers carpet the valleys; the Hulahula River's dramatically clear water makes for dazzling rafting trips.

Threat

Oil drilling.

Condition

Pristine. 8.9 million acres initially protected by Congress in 1960; in 1980, protected area was more than doubled. Remains barren and remote, unlike the Prudhoe Bay oil fields to the west. Chances of a productive oil strike in Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) are disputed, estimates varying from 19 to 46 percent.

The Bush approach

The case for ANWR oil exploration, made strongly from 1987, has shifted

from lessening U.S. dependence on imported oil (during the Gulf war) to stimulating jobs (as recession deepened). In his 1992 budget proposal, Bush included \$3 billion in anticipated revenues from ANWR oil leases. To make oil development more palatable, he is fond of citing evidence that caribou south of Prudhoe Bay like making love along the long-established 800-mile Trans-Alaska pipeline. Environmentalists claim, on the other hand, that a pipeline in the ANWR would disrupt the migration routes—and, of course, to have a pipeline you need an oil field.

All agree that the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill in Prince William Sound (March 24, 1989) severely set back the oil lobby's case in Alaska. Some in Washington feel ANWR drilling is a dead issue, others that oil interests are simply playing dead. ANWR drilling was dropped from this year's omnibus energy bill after Democratic senators threatened a filibuster, but it remains part of the Bush National Energy Strategy. Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan, Jr., recently offered optimistic forecasts of an oil strike in the refuge, but lack of scientific evidence forced him to retreat.

Travel advisory

For a firsthand report of traveling through the ANWR, see "The last frontier" (November 1989). Expeditions begin with a plane ride from Fairbanks and can be arranged through Wilderness Birding Adventures (907-694-7442) or Sourdough Outfitters (907-692-5252). Travel months: June, July.

Turtle Canyon, Utah

First glimpse

Wild canyons and gulches, slickrock walls, stone arches, and overhanging alcoves configure this beautiful wedge of south central Utah in Emery County. Below the cliffsides are piñon pine, juniper, Douglas fir, and sagebrush, among which roam mule deer, Rocky Mountain bighorn sheep, elk, and black bear; along the most verdant valleys run clear streams bordered by willows and cottonwoods. Within a short drive are two national parks, Canyon-

lands and Arches, as well as several national forests.

Threat

Open-pit mining.

Condition

Pristine.

Parallels

Turtle Canyon is among 25 million acres of federally owned wild places in 11 western states that came under a 15-year land-use review by the U.S. Bureau of Land Management. The BLM, as ordered by Congress, sent its state-by-state recommendations to the President last fall. To the dismay of environmentalists, it proposed that only 9.8 million acres be kept wild. Uses for the rest: oil and gas drilling, cattle grazing, gold and silver mining, recreational vehicles. Turtle Canyon, found to have reserves of commercial-grade coal, would be opened to open-pit mining.

The Bush approach

The Bush administration has gone even further than the BLM, paring back proposed wilderness areas at the top levels by tens of thousands of acres. Rationale: The economic benefits of taxpayers' land should be available to taxpayers. The President's revised recommendations will be sent to Congress no later than October 1993, there to be voted on.

The reality is that of the 100 million acres of western rangeland already opened by the BLM to cattle grazing, only 33 percent is in good or excellent condition, as reported by the BLM itself in 1990. Much of the rest is severely degraded, with tall prairie grasses wiped out forever because of overgrazing. Further, the government bills ranchers \$2 per head of cattle per month, about 20 percent of the going rate on private range, and less than one-third the cost of administering the land. Bungling in the BLM's land-review process, too: For convenience, BLM officials drew wilderness boundaries along BLM district lines or down the middle of rivers, protecting one side but not the other. And when pro-development Utah businesspeople took matters into their own hands by illegally using bulldozers in wilderness areas to gouge out (Continued on page 191)

1980s, he led the campaign to clean up Boston Harbor. Now he sits here swearing on a stack of *Federal Registers* that President Bush is as committed as ever to "no net loss." And that might be true, in a technical sense. But I am left with the overwhelming impression that, on this issue at least, the White House has lost whatever rudder it once had.

ON MY WAY HOME FROM WASHINGTON, I stop once more at the Great Dismal Swamp. In late morning the place lies suspended in a cool transparent mist. The million leaves of the forest are dripping one at a time from an overnight rain, lending a percussion to the birdsong overhead. Woody vines loop down the slender bodies of the trees to touch the earth: a moment of some enchantment. Then the trail comes to an area where all the trees lie dead, one on top of the other, in violation of the senses. A sign put up in the National Wildlife Refuge explains

that, in times past, fires started by lightning cleared the forest of its old growth so that the cycle of life could begin again. Now natural fires are suppressed by man because they threaten private property. So a modern forest manager has to create his own clearings, like this one, with a chain saw, to kind of goose the cycle along.

In other words, now that we've thoroughly disrupted nature, we're part of it in a new, unfortunate sense: It cannot get along on its own. We're the problem; we have to come up with the solution.

Does the Bush administration see this? Yes and no, it seems. Meanwhile, its ship of state looks more and more like a canoe lost in a swamp with three people aboard: a scrawny environmentalist at one end, a can-do American businessman at the other, and a bureaucrat in between. The first two are paddling against each other, the bureaucrat is throwing his weight back and forth, and the canoe is getting nowhere. □

(Continued from page 143) dirt roads, they succeeded: The areas, no longer wild, are less likely to be designated.

Travel advisory

A fine introduction to south central Utah is the Pack Creek Ranch (Long Weekend, May 1991), a favorite of the late Edward Abbey, whose paean to nearby Grand Gulch in these pages was his last published work ("The secret of the green mask," March 1989). In Moab, "Opera in the Canyons" is September 5 and 6 (801-259-8946); St. George's has a rodeo September 10 through 12 (800-869-6635). For scenic drives, ask for "Utah's Scenic Byway and Backway" brochure (801-628-4171); for more information, send for the very thorough "Utah Travel Guide 1992" by calling the Utah Travel Council (801-538-1030).

Mill City, Oregon

First glimpse

Mill City lies on scenic Route 22, just east of Oregon's wine country at the foot of the majestic Cascade Range: The road is one of the prettiest in the state, snaking around green hills and deep gorges, past old mines and trading posts, and interweaving with the North Santiam River and passing Detroit

Dam, above which lies man-made Detroit Lake, popular for swimming, boating, and fishing.

Threat

Deforestation.

Condition

Barely ten percent of the original forest survives in the hills around this classic logging town. The clear-cut swaths, many on national forestland, have grown back, but in carefully planted monocultural rows. In contrast, the ancient forest around glacial Opal Creek is darkly tangled and moss-hung and supports a far richer range of shrubs, shade trees, wildflowers, ferns, birds, insects, and wildlife. Among them is the endangered spotted owl, an "indicator species": Biologists say that if its numbers decline, so too will those of other species dependent on the old growth ecosystem. The logging industry argues that the owl's survival should not jeopardize jobs.

Parallels

Western Washington, California, and southeast Alaska have no more of their original forests than Oregon has. Example: Alaska's Tongass National Forest, which began to be logged in the 1950s, is now denuded of nearly all its old spruce and hemlock, which has been cut

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The Bush approach

The administration continues to argue the case for jobs, against the spotted owl. It accepts timber industry figures that 32,000 jobs would be lost if, as environmentalists want, 5.4 million acres of old growth forest are preserved for wildlife habitat. Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan, Jr., has proposed protection for only 2.8 million old growth acres in isolated areas of the Pacific Northwest, and the easing of restrictions on timber cutting on another 4.9 million acres of federal land. In May the administration agreed to allow logging on 13 of the 44 disputed tracts of forest in the heart of the owl's habitat.

In fact, automation, not spotted-owl defenders, is chiefly responsible for the steady decline of logging jobs in the Pacific Northwest. More jobs are being lost to nonunion loggers in the southeastern United States. Last year the administration suppressed a report that banning the export of raw logs could create 15,000 timber-related jobs in the United States. Lujan concedes that under his plans the spotted owl will likely become extinct in the next century but says that jobs come first. In June the Forest Service, which reports to the Department of Agriculture, agreed to reduce clear-cutting on the 155 forests it manages in 43 states, but its selective cutting methods are little better: A handful of trees per acre are left standing, but harvested swaths may be contiguous, unlike with clear-cutting. Meanwhile, the Forest Service continues to spend up to 70 percent of its \$1.3 billion on timber sales, though the program operates at a heavy loss.

Travel advisory

Condé Nast Traveler reported on the clear-cutting of Tongass in November 1987 ("Going, going . . . America's majestic rain forest, at two bucks a tree") and the clear-cutting of national forestlands in Washington and Oregon in July 1989 ("George Atiyeh's second war"). The Tongass is reachable via Ketchikan or Juneau, preferably by ferryboat, from June through August (Alaska Marine Highway, 800-642-0066). For canoeing or kayaking trips, contact Alaska Discovery (907-586-1911). Oregon's wonders include its coast and wineries ("How are

*How could the
White House open
up to development
half of the wetlands
we have left?*

we going to keep them in Paris now that they've seen Oregon?" June 1989) and Portland (Stopover, July 1990).

Yucca Mountain, Nevada

First glimpse

One hundred miles northwest of Las Vegas, Yucca Mountain is actually a ridge in dry, desolate Shoshone tribal land. Yet the area retains a stark grandeur; just across the California border is the no less bleak but highly popular Death Valley, with its Sahara-like sand dunes and craters, spring poppies, and summer beaver tail cactus, where the lowest point of elevation in the continental United States (282 feet below sea level) is near the highest (Mount Whitney, 14,494 feet).

Threat

Nuclear waste.

Condition

Untouched so far. But the Bush administration sees ridgelike Yucca Mountain as a perfect burial site for 70,000 metric tons of radioactive nuclear waste, including plutonium and cesium 137. Roads don't come close; more important, the mountain's volcanic tuff bedrock is 1,000 meters above the water table. The plan: a \$26 billion catacomb of vaults, to open in 2010. The Department of Energy says waste-filled canisters will stay dry for the waste's 10,000-year shelf life.

The Bush approach

Yucca Mountain and its sister site, WIPP (Waste Isolation Pilot Plant) in southeastern New Mexico, will enable the United States to double its number of nuclear

plants—from 111 to 222—by the year 2025, as outlined in last year's National Energy Strategy. Solved will be the nasty problem of what to do with 25,000 metric tons of spent fuel rods created already in America's nuclear age—rods lying temporarily plant-side in pools and dry casks—as well as future waste.

In fact, the government's right to exploit Shoshone land—Indians argue that it violates an 1863 treaty—is debatable enough that in the 1970s a \$26 million payoff was offered to the tribe; the money remains in escrow, having nearly doubled, because the tribe refuses to accept it and bitterly objects to all federal intervention. That aside, Yucca Mountain is crisscrossed by 30 seismic faults, and the DOE's plan to blast a series of tunnels more than 100 miles long within it may trigger future quakes, says DOE geologist-turned-whistle-blower Jerry Szymanski. (California's July quake, in fact, possibly triggered a 5.6 temblor just twelve miles from the site, surprising DOE staffers.) A quake, in turn, could raise the water table; if water seeps into the radioactively hot chambers, steam explosions could crack waste containers and contaminate large areas. (Trouble already at WIPP: Brine, which could corrode containers, has seeped steadily into the constructed burial rooms.) Short-term prospects are dubious, too: By 2010, existing nukes alone will have produced 60,300 metric tons of waste, enough to fill Yucca, forcing an immediate search for new waste sites. The DOE has spent \$9 million in PR campaigning to teach scientists how to smooth-talk furious Nevadans. Should the carrot fail, Bush plans a stick: legislation to override Nevada's right as a state to regulate its environment.

Travel advisory

Day-trips to Yucca Mountain are now being conducted out of Las Vegas once a month by the Department of Energy, as part of its public education campaign. Any U.S. citizen over the age of 14 is eligible, but the DOE reserves the right to turn down applications (for more information, call 702-794-7104). Within nearby Death Valley ("Fun in the furnace," August 1988) is Furnace Creek Ranch, open year-round (619-786-2345 or 800-528-6367). In winter, head north for heliskiing in the Ruby Mountains ("Dropping on the Rubies," January 1990). □

The final rating of any environmental policy has to be made on the spot—at the place it is designed to preserve. We chose SIX CASES to show how George Bush's environmental policies evolve and are applied. They include some of America's greatest travel experiences—places on the edge of survival. First, TOM HUTH reports

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America on the edge

The *incredible* shrinking swamp

IT IS EARTH DAY 1992, AND THE DEFENDERS of the Great Dismal Swamp (in truth, less than half a dozen strong) set out in their store-bought canoes. They paddle quietly up a still-water canal, through tall forests of maples and sweet gums and loblolly pines, the treetops alive with the song of migrating warblers. It is a slow and very Southern waterway, stained with tannic acid from decaying vegetation—the color of root beer against the stroke of the paddle, the surface a blackened mirror.

The Great Dismal Swamp: what better place than here, down along the Virginia–North Carolina border, to begin exploring the murky issue of America's endangered wetlands? This is the swamp, after all, that was first drained for profit by George Washington.

Twelve of us have joined the Defenders for their outing to Lake Drum-

mond, in the heart of the swamp. Lloyd Culp, who manages the Dismal's national wildlife refuge, shares a boat with his wife and five-year-old daughter. He says that at one time the swamp was half a million to two million acres in size. Now it covers about 200,000 acres—"only a remnant of what was." Farms and housing developments have encroached; canals, ditches, and roads have blocked the free flow of water. For two centuries the swamp was logged, so most of its hardwoods are gone.

Nevertheless, a certain damp, dark beauty has survived. The slender second-growth trees let in a patterned light; the peat bogs of the forest floor are covered with ferns and wild grapes. One can still feel solitude here. More important, the swamp still serves many of its vital ecological functions: as a habitat for wildlife, and as a great sponge for storing and purifying the

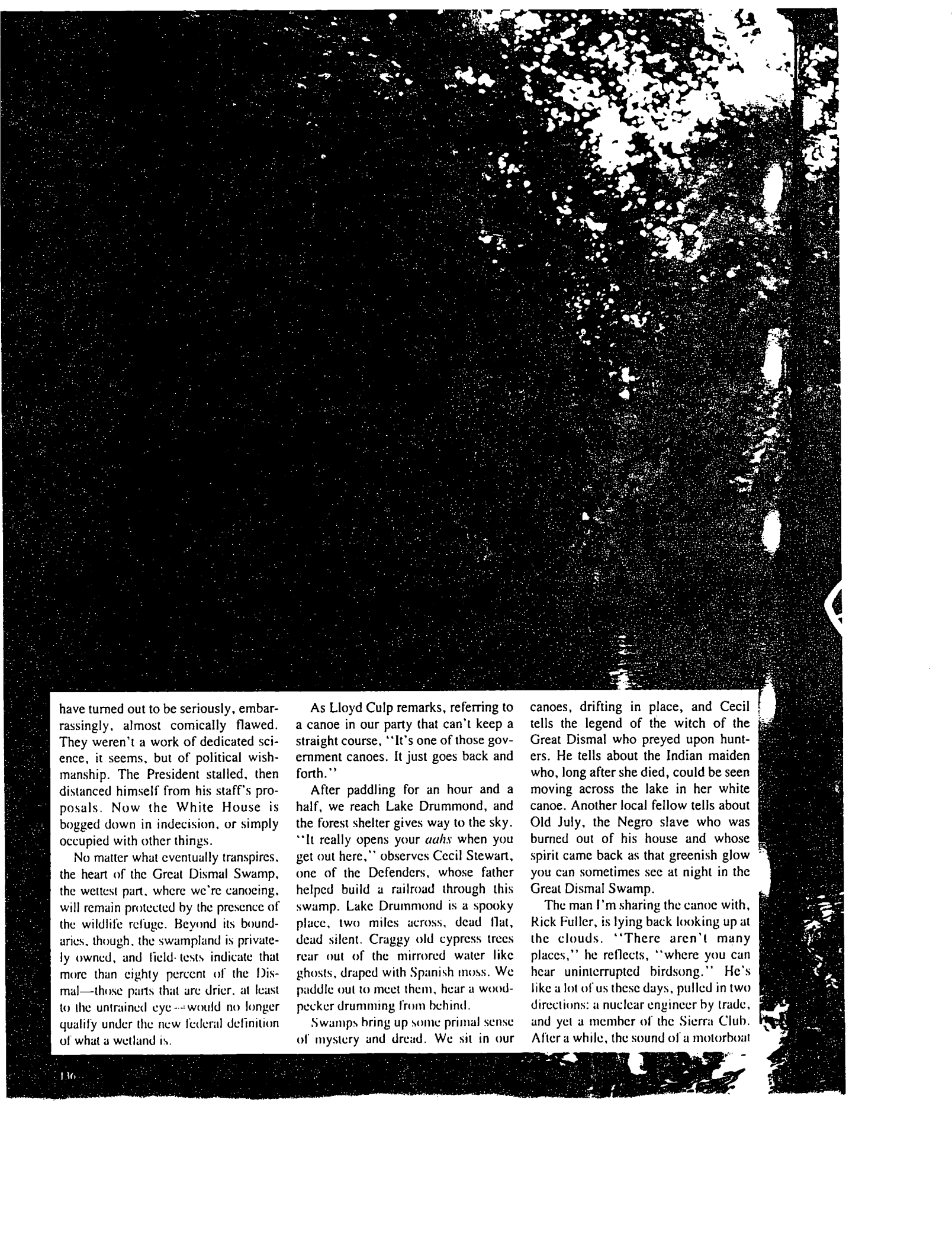
earth's water. A wetland, it seems, can take a lot of abuse.

But only so much.

Since the nation's founding, in fact, more than half of our wetlands have disappeared altogether—they've been filled in for farming, mainly, or for urban expansion and roads, or have been flooded to make reservoirs. Only in the last couple of decades have we come to understand the subtle benefits they provide for our continued growth and survival. Consequently, a broad scientific and political consensus has been reached—voiced repeatedly by President Bush—that we can afford to lose no more wetlands. In the real world, however, the forces of development are hard to deny.

Last year the White House proposed new regulations that, by redefining wetlands, could remove federal protection from as much as half of the areas that still remain. Yet the new rules

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BURK UZZLE



have turned out to be seriously, embarrassingly, almost comically flawed. They weren't a work of dedicated science, it seems, but of political wish-manship. The President stalled, then distanced himself from his staff's proposals. Now the White House is bogged down in indecision, or simply occupied with other things.

No matter what eventually transpires, the heart of the Great Dismal Swamp, the wettest part, where we're canoeing, will remain protected by the presence of the wildlife refuge. Beyond its boundaries, though, the swampland is privately owned, and field-tests indicate that more than eighty percent of the Dismal—those parts that are drier, at least to the untrained eye—would no longer qualify under the new federal definition of what a wetland is.

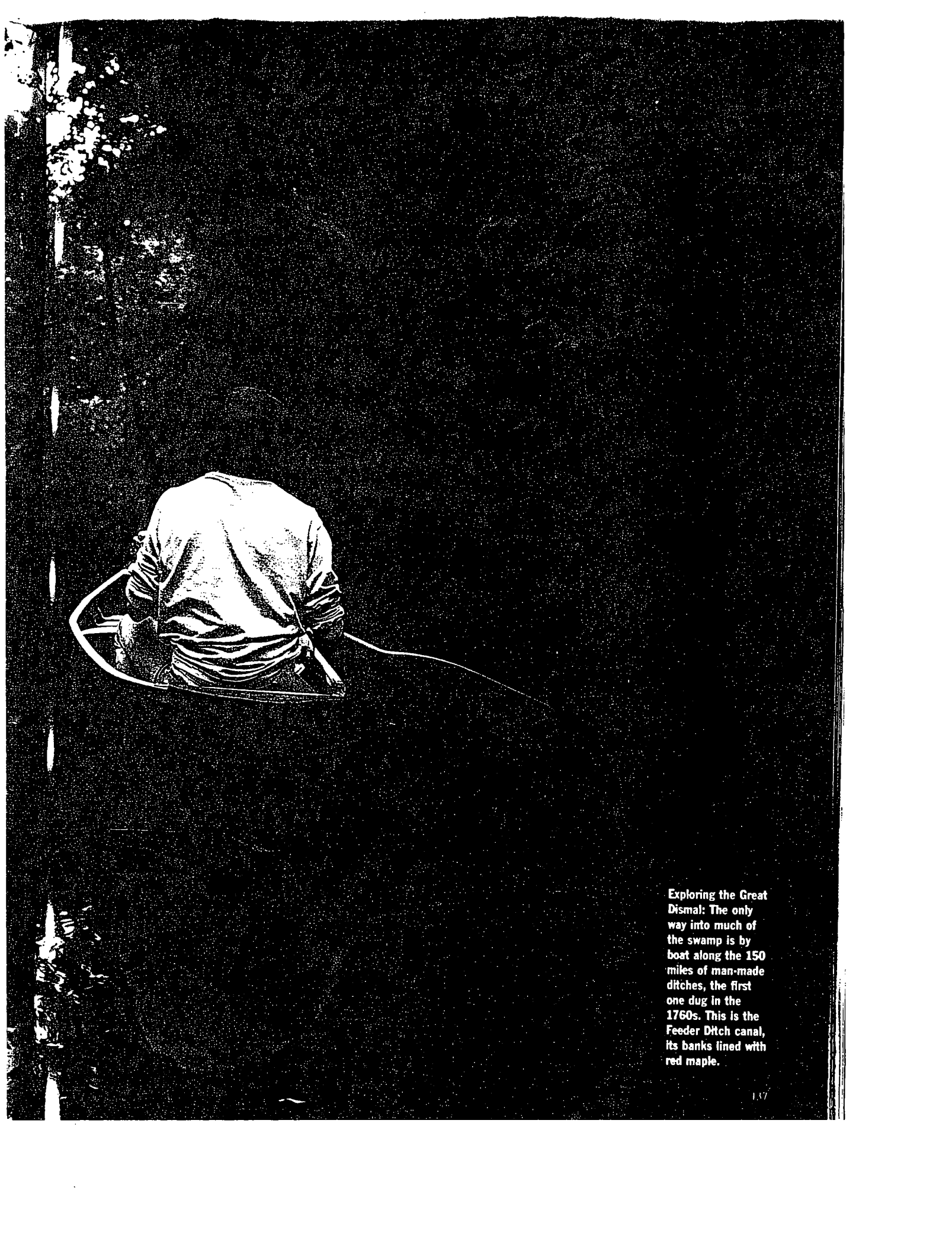
As Lloyd Culp remarks, referring to a canoe in our party that can't keep a straight course, "It's one of those government canoes. It just goes back and forth."

After paddling for an hour and a half, we reach Lake Drummond, and the forest shelter gives way to the sky. "It really opens your *aahs* when you get out here," observes Cecil Stewart, one of the Defenders, whose father helped build a railroad through this swamp. Lake Drummond is a spooky place, two miles across, dead flat, dead silent. Craggy old cypress trees rear out of the mirrored water like ghosts, draped with Spanish moss. We paddle out to meet them, hear a woodpecker drumming from behind.

Swamps bring up some primal sense of mystery and dread. We sit in our

canoes, drifting in place, and Cecil tells the legend of the witch of the Great Dismal who preyed upon hunters. He tells about the Indian maiden who, long after she died, could be seen moving across the lake in her white canoe. Another local fellow tells about Old July, the Negro slave who was burned out of his house and whose spirit came back as that greenish glow you can sometimes see at night in the Great Dismal Swamp.

The man I'm sharing the canoe with, Rick Fuller, is lying back looking up at the clouds. "There aren't many places," he reflects, "where you can hear uninterrupted birdsong." He's like a lot of us these days, pulled in two directions: a nuclear engineer by trade, and yet a member of the Sierra Club. After a while, the sound of a motorboat



Exploring the Great Dismal: The only way into much of the swamp is by boat along the 150 miles of man-made ditches, the first one dug in the 1760s. This is the Feeder Ditch canal, its banks lined with red maple.

America on the edge

breaks the spell. Rick says, "Nothing can last forever, I guess."

We head down the canal again, back to the world we're more familiar with. Cecil Stewart, who's a toolmaker at an auto plant, expresses the opinion that conservationists have gotten a bad name. People accuse them of wanting to lock up the wilderness so that nobody can use it. "Not me," he says. "I like huntin'. I like fishin'. You just don't want to see a place taken advantage of. You have a natural resource, you use it conservatively."

TO PARAPHRASE ROBERT Frost, who supposedly came to the Great Dismal Swamp once, intending to kill himself, "something there is that doesn't love a wetland."

By any other name—call it a swamp, a marsh, or a bog, a slough, a fen, or a pocosin, a playa lake or a vernal pool or a prairie pothole—a wetland is neither here nor there. It is not land and not water, but that transitional zone where the two come together, usually with disastrous effects on a city shoeshine. Many wetlands will dry up at the surface for certain seasons of the year. In general, though, since the white man arrived in America, his attitude has been: If you can't walk on it and you can't sail on it, you might as well drain it and fill it in.

A government inventory estimates that 104 million acres of wetland remain in the lower forty-eight states—five percent of our land mass. This compares with the 221 million acres we started out with in the 1780s. What we didn't realize as we reshaped the environment was that those soggy areas served some greater purpose than to breed mosquitoes. They helped maintain water quality by straining out pollutants; helped control floods by absorbing excess water during storms, then releasing it after the storms passed. They provided habitat for migrating ducks, geese, and other birds, as well as spawning grounds for fish.

By now, the government concludes that more than half of our threatened or endangered species depend in some way on wetlands. William Reilly, the conservationist whom Bush appointed to head the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), reported to Congress last fall that between 1955 and 1986 alone, mallard counts declined by forty percent, black ducks and pintails by sixty percent. Still, this isn't just a

dentally to wetlands. The executive branch holds the power to enforce and interpret regulatory laws, and in this case the job is handled with varying degrees of enthusiasm by six different agencies. More than a thousand employees on the federal level alone work at stopping (or not stopping) the wetlands drain. The principal regulatory tool, the Clean Water Act of 1972, didn't even apply to wetlands until environmental lawsuits forced the Army Corps of Engineers to take up the job five years later.

Section 404 of the Clean Water Act

*The attitude has been: If
you can't **walk on it or**
sail on it, you might
as well drain it and fill it in*

hunter and bird watcher issue. Reilly pointed out the cash-dollar benefits of wetland protection: the savings on property damage from flooding; the value of having waterborne toxins filtered out naturally; the reliance of the commercial fishing industry on wetlands habitat.

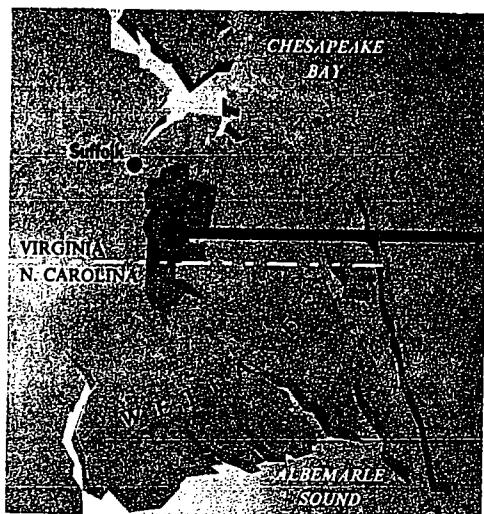
Slowly we are coming to understand how the earth's parts are interrelated. No politician today can come right out and say he's in favor of destroying wetlands. Yet it's also true that three-quarters of our wetlands are on private property, and neither can a politician come out against an American's right to use his land as he sees fit. In the ensuing competition of priorities, our wetlands are shrinking by an estimated 290,000 acres every year.

For the last fifteen years or so, the federal government has been trying, after a fashion, to control that drain. The result is not a comprehensive or comprehensible wetlands statute, but, rather, a piecemeal collection of twenty-five laws, many of which pertain only inci-

requires developers to get federal permits to dump dredged or fill material into any areas that are adjudged to be wetlands—and this is what the current political debate is about, on the surface: What is a wetland for these specific purposes, and what isn't a wetland?

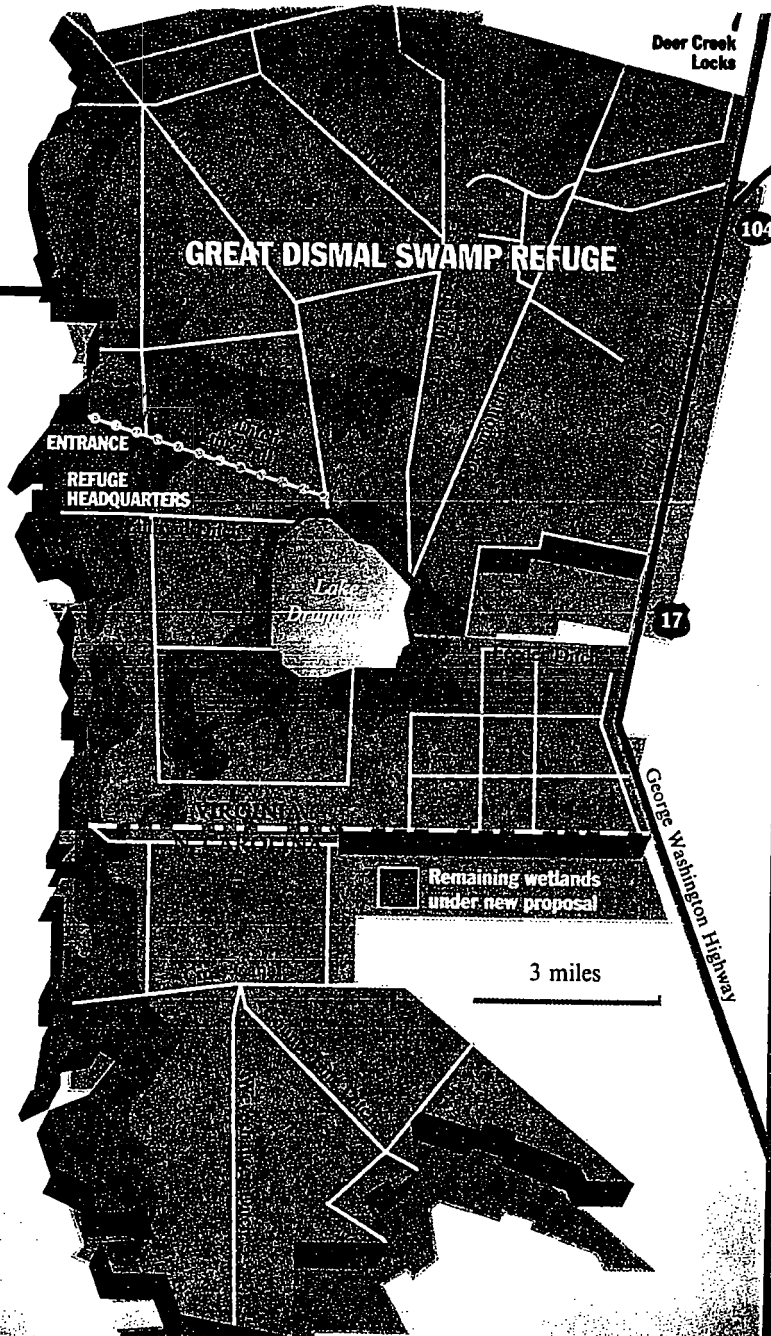
AMONG THE ONGOING DISPUTES between defenders of nature and champions of the human domain, wetlands have been a hot item since 1988. That was when a top drawer National Wetlands Policy Forum, consisting of governors, federal officials, business interests, and conservationists, issued a call for "no overall net loss" of wetlands, plus a longer-term goal (this part has been mainly forgotten) of an actual net gain in the amount and quality of wetlands. In his first presidential campaign, at the urging of his advisers, George Bush took up the call of "no net loss."

Meanwhile, throughout that same year, teams of scientists from four federal agencies (Continued on page 184,



INTO THE GREAT DISMAL

The Great Dismal Swamp straddles the North Carolina-Virginia border. By car, take U.S. 13 from Suffolk, Virginia, to State Route 32; follow it south for 4.5 miles, then watch for signs. There are hiking and biking trails, and fishing is permitted year-round on 3,100-acre Lake Drummond (Virginia fishing license required), as are small boats. Wildlife observation is excellent for much of the year: Migrating songbirds fill the trees early in May, and autumn colors peak from late October through November. The refuge is open daily, but there is no overnight camping. For more information, call 804-986-3705.



WHAT WOULD BE LOST UNDER NEW WETLANDS PROPOSAL

38%

of North American breeding ground for North American ducks

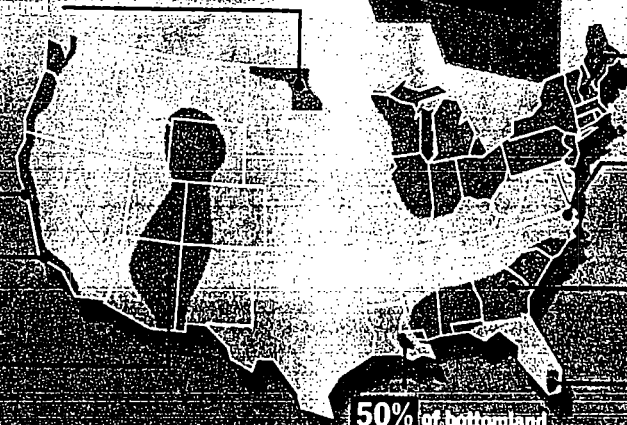
75%

of wetlands of the San Francisco Bay and delta, the winter habitat of hundreds of thousands of water birds

Most of the high coastal marsh along the Pacific

Virtually all cottonwood and willow wetlands along the rivers of the Rockies and the southwest

Wetlands losses from the Environmental Defense Fund and World Wildlife Fund.



Most

80%

of the Great Dismal Swamp, home to 179 species of birds, 200 species of mammals, including black bear

50%

of all hardwood swamps near rivers of the southeast (8 million acres)

23%

of Everglades Nat'l. Park, 41% of remaining privately owned Everglades east of it. Result: The continued plummeting of fish and game populations

50% of bottomland hardwoods of the lower Mississippi

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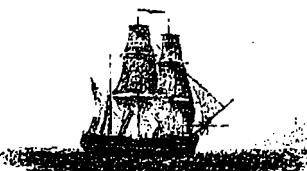
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ON THE EDGE

(Continued from page 138) were working quietly to produce what everyone agreed was needed: a uniform wetlands-regulation manual that every agency could use. With the title *Federal Manual for Identifying and Delineating Jurisdictional Wetlands*, it didn't figure to make a big splash when it came out in early 1989. Yet for many reasons—often having to do with its zealous enforcement, or with simple confusion on the public's part—a ruckus of protest came up from farmers and developers.

The manual was too complicated, they said, too bureaucratic. But worse than that, it seemed to greatly expand the definition of what a wetland was, to include any little backyard hollow where a dog might get its paws wet for a few days every spring. Lobbyists collected what they called "horror stories" of honest Americans who were being driven crazy by the bureaucracy, and they appealed to their allies in the Bush administration for regulatory relief, which struck a familiar chord in a Republican White House.

Bush appointed a task force to develop a national wetlands policy, specifically charged with that same ringing goal of "no net loss." Finally, in August 1991 the President announced his program. "The plan," he said, "seeks to balance two important objectives: the protection, restoration, and creation of wetlands, and the need for sustained economic growth and development." Toward the first objective, he pledged more federal funds for acquiring and restoring wetlands. To satisfy the second, he released a rewritten delineation manual that, upon inspection, was vigorously more favorable to developers.

The 1989 definition, for example, said a wetland was a place that had water within eighteen inches of the surface for any seven days of the growing season; the 1991 definition said it couldn't be a wetland unless there was water at the surface for twenty-one consecutive days in the growing season, or standing water for fifteen consecutive days during the year. Instead of a "squish test," it was said, there'd be a "splash test." It had to be "duck wet": If a duck couldn't splash down, it wasn't a wetland.

Whatever the details, one can't help but wonder: How could the White House start out with "no net loss" and

end up with a document that would open up to development half of the wetlands we have left?

FROM THE PEACEFUL BACKWATERS of the great Dismal Swamp, it's a half-day's drive north to that much more treacherous bog, that city which is named for the Father of Our Country.

On the way, I drive up the Eastern Shore of Virginia, through Maryland and into Delaware, to meet up with two people who might shed some light. Hope Babcock, a former general counsel of the National Audubon Society and now a law professor, is referred to by environmentalists as their guru on the wetlands issue. Edwin (Toby) Clark, now Delaware's secretary for natural resources and environmental control, was the director of the 1988 national forum that gave birth to "no net loss."

In Babcock's Jeep Cherokee we head out of Dover, through flat farmland. The darker-colored depressions in the fields, Clark points out, are converted wetlands, exempt from regulation. The small patches of woods are wetlands still. "If the trees haven't been cut down," he says, "it's too wet to farm." We stop at one such woods and stand beside the road, gazing down into a hollow of skunk cabbage and matted leaves that contains a few inches of standing water—the kind of place that used to be perfect for pitching beer cans into.

"These are isolated wetlands," says Clark, "but they're very valuable. They contain most of our endangered species." To the advocates of broad federal protection, these marginal wetlands—the ones that will be dry by the summer—are actually some of the choicest, from nature's point of view. Several hundred thousand shorebirds, Clark says, stop in Delaware every spring on their way from Central America to the Arctic Circle. They are small birds; they need pockets of shallow water that are wet for only a few weeks or even a few days of the year. Under the new White House manual, those pockets—this soggy hollow in front of us—would not be wet enough to qualify. They'd be buildable.

Back in the car, we drive past houses that have been built on reclaimed wetland. Some of them are standing on soil so saturated that their septic fields are installed above ground, like ritual burial

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mounds. Then Hope Babcock starts explaining the inner politics of the wetlands issue—how the White House could support “no net loss” and yet oppose the environmentally correct 1989 manual. One problem was its timing, she says. The government scientists released the manual in the last days of the Reagan regime, catching the new Bush policymakers by surprise. “I think they said to the agencies, with some legitimacy, ‘Hey, what are you guys doing? You’ve gone and popped this thing out without any sort of coordination.’ That gave these guys [Bush’s political team] a chance to say, ‘Whoa!’”

At the same time, Bush’s closest advisers have had reason to be predisposed against the 404 program, Babcock points out. Chief of Staff John Sununu had several road projects blocked by the program when he was the governor of New Hampshire. “Sununu *hated* wetlands,” recalls Toby Clark. Similarly, Sununu’s successor as Chief of Staff, former transportation secretary Samuel Skinner, had a new Chicago airport blocked by the 404 program. Then the Council on Competitiveness—that secretive antiregulative body led by Vice President Quayle—jumped into the White House debate. No wonder the revised manual turned out the way it did.

“You have policy people making scientific decisions,” says Clark. “The 1989 manual had scientists making policy decisions.”

The way it stands now, the White House appears to have at least two choices: Rewrite yet again the rewritten field manual, or else lateral the whole debate off to the National Academy of Sciences, which could act as a sort of Supreme Court. With the issue still hot, it is reasoned, the White House might put off any action until after the November election.

While the different branches of the administration argue about it (with the protectionist EPA being cast as the odd man out), one can’t help but be curious: Where does President Bush himself stand on this wetlands issue? Yet, perhaps that is an innocent question.

“Look through political glasses for a moment,” says Hope Babcock, who’s a Washington animal herself. “If you are managing the President, the best strategy you could have is to keep him on a higher plateau, saying, ‘No net loss of

wetlands . . . I really care.’ And never, never ask him to make a detailed decision about it.”

The wetlands issue has defeated not only Bush’s but everyone’s attempts at resolution. “It’s probably the perfect example of [how] everything that can go wrong will go wrong,” says Babcock. “It’s the most difficult resource to understand. The most difficult resource to regulate, because of the impact on individuals. And you have all those large-money interests—farmers, timber, oil and gas, real estate. Give me a break!”

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Sorry, boys: Section 404.

All the land that we see between the Potomac and the Washington Monument (there’s the developer’s name once again)—all of that was wetlands in the late 1700s. From the back lawn of the White House, whose site was selected by Washington himself, he could look out upon a broad tidal marsh where swans, ducks, and geese flocked year-round. The only problem was that the marsh got in the way of a growing city. Over time it was filled in, with muck dredged up from the Potomac, and replaced by a Reflecting Pool and a Tidal Basin.

The Jefferson Memorial, the Lincoln Memorial, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the Kennedy Center—sorry, boys: Section 404.

Those early developers would find an ally today at what is now 15th and M Streets N.W., at the bold glass headquarters of the National Association of Home Builders. Mike Luzier, its director of environmental regulation, tells me that the association runs educational programs, publishes technical guides, mans emergency hot lines—all in an attempt to help its 157,000 members fight through the regulatory jungles of the 404.

Sure, he says, the EPA can report that it approves ninety-four percent of the fifteen thousand wetland-development plans it receives every year (as well as rubber-stamping the 75,000 applications for minor encroachments). “But when you’ve got a regulatory program where a full fifty per-

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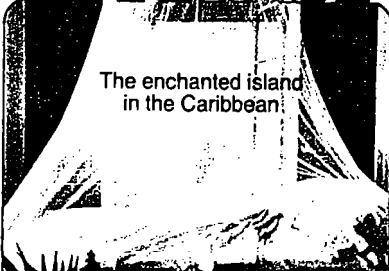
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ON THE EDGE

cent of the permit applicants give up in frustration, I think that's a signal that there is something wrong here. They either can't get a decision or they go broke waiting for one."

A developer walks a piece of land, doesn't get his feet wet, assumes it's God's green earth—then learns from the feds only afterward that he has purchased a wetland. Luzier hands me case studies—"actual horror stories"—of small builders who, in all good faith, working with the best environmental engineering firms, were defeated by harsh and conflicting requirements, paralyzing delays, lost documentation. One horror story shows a snapshot of the builder standing in the woods with his arms outstretched, to indicate the size of an alleged wetland.

"You look at the list of wetlands values," says Luzier, "and some of them are dubious at best." Granted, he says, wetlands provide wildlife habitat. But he cites evidence that other areas are just as valuable for removing sediment from groundwater and for absorbing floodwaters. "The environmental community," he jeers, "has been circulating its most recent book on the Hill, giving a classic argument as to why you ought to regulate the dry wetlands. And one of the strong arguments is"—he widens his eyes for effect—"Gosh, they've got better retention capability because they're not wet!"

The home builders are still smarting over being left out in the cold when the government's scientists were cooking up the 1989 delineation manual. "It was a closed-door process," Luzier complains. "We approached the government and said, 'We have a great stake in what you do on this. Let us provide input in whatever meaningful way is appropriate.' And their attitude was one of technical arrogance. We still see this today in the whole debate—what is science, what is policy? We said, 'We'll hire the best damned consultants money can buy. We will bring experts in here. But you need to get input from those you are going to regulate.' And we were turned away."

When the White House rewrote the regulations last year, the pro-development lobby did have a voice. No surprise, then: The home builders are happy with the new definitions.

Jon Kusler, who is executive director

of the Association of Wetland Managers, agrees with one thing Luzier says: The decision making process is a closed loop. He travels around the country a lot, and reports emphatically: "People everywhere are saying, 'Give us a voice!' There is a terrific anger among interest groups on both sides about decision making occurring in the White House with very little input from the rest of the country. We desperately need a national dialogue," he says, among landowners, conservation groups, public officials—everyone involved.

"I was at a conference in Nebraska a few weeks ago," he relates, "the first-ever wetland conference in Nebraska, and one afternoon there was really kind of a touching exchange that went on for about two hours. There were some farmers who were against wetlands, but one man really summed it up, I think, very well. And he said—he got up some passion—he said, 'We don't hate wetlands. We don't want to be viewed as bad people. We're interested in the environment. But we don't understand what's happening in Washington, because nobody comes out and talks to us.' He said four times in his five minutes, 'Somebody come and talk to us. Somebody visit us. Let us know what's happening. Let us know what you're proposing for the future. Somebody come and talk to us about what is happening to our land!'"

Kusler is, refreshingly, close enough to the middle of the issue to be able to look both ways. "Everything's gotten so polarized with wetlands," he says. "Some of these organizations make their business out of generating heat, essentially. You get members by generating controversy—on all sides of the issue. But there are a lot of people who would like to try to look for common denominators, and unfortunately they haven't had much of a voice."

Kusler says he realizes that from a policymaker's point of view, asking what the public wants can only complicate things. "They might not want what you want." As a system of government, though, "this is not the way Jefferson imagined."

To a scientist, such a closed system is known as a black box, says biologist Peter deFur at the Environmental Defense Fund, "a process in which we know that something goes in, and we

know what comes out—but we have no idea what goes on in the process. Before we understood cellular biology, we referred to the cell as a black box.” And so with the wetlands issue: “You’ve got a problem going in, you’ve got a regulatory and policy process inside the black box, and out comes a manual. *The solution!*”

But when it comes to the environment, he believes that the time has passed for simple answers. “We have learned to pick the best spots for agriculture and for forestry and for this and for that. We’ve found all the good sites, and all of a sudden we’re going to have to put in a lot of effort to find a very few sites. We’ve found all the easy solutions, and as we do that we’ve run into conflicts between our needs and our wants and our values. We want to have an improved quality of life, and that means having roads, schools, houses, farms, and so forth, but building them means that we’re going to run into our values for preserving wetlands and natural areas. And unless there is some mechanism for getting all the people who are involved in the solution involved in *crafting* that solution, there’s no reason for them to buy into it.”

When the White House came out with its revised manual last summer, it was said to have caught the green movement flat-footed. But within months, to show the importance they place on this issue, deFur and his colleagues at the Defense Fund had published a 175-page book in response, drawing upon the expertise of forty wetlands scientists. In a competition of technical proportions like this one, the environmental groups really have the horses.

According to deFur and others acquainted with the process, the White House manual began with scientific input. But the scientists pulled out when they thought their efforts were being subverted by the policymakers who had been added to the task force.

DeFur acts puzzled. “There seems to have been in this process a fundamental failure to recognize water movement, almost a total lack of understanding of water flow and volume and capacity and so forth. A wetland represents a storage for a time period. It’s like a series of cups that overflow one into the next, into the next, into the next, and if you start wiping out wetlands you take out

those cups. And those cups provide an opportunity for various physical, chemical, and biological processes to occur. Physical being flood, chemical being removal of [harmful] nutrients, and biological being a place for habitat.”

I ask deFur where he thinks George Bush’s sympathies might lie on the wetlands, and again he looks puzzled. “I hear anecdotal reports that when he has been accurately briefed on some of these environmental issues, he has been supportive and has said, ‘You know, that makes sense.’ But in the political process there is always someone who has an issue, an ax to grind, a point to make, a buck to make—there’s always something.”

“I have no idea,” he says, “if any of our political leaders recognize the fundamental relationship between our economy and our natural resources, and the fact that our pollution cup is full, in some regards—that we’ve lost all the wetlands we can afford to lose. My suspicion is that George Bush may understand that.”

Yet speaking in terms of Bush’s leadership on this issue, deFur concedes, “If an administrator did what Bush has done, he’d be looking for another job.”

THE PICTURE WE GET, THEN, IS OF the President as hostage—kept in the dark, perhaps, given food and water—a mere pawn to his advisers, who are unsympathetic to the environment. And yet these are all people whom he has duly appointed.

From the hotel where I’m staying in Washington, I can look down 16th Street and see the White House gleaming at night, just three blocks away. I wish I could go down there and sneak in, break in—rush past the guards, run into the Oval Office or the presidential bedchamber or wherever they keep him. I’d demand to know of George Bush: “What do you think about the wetlands? What are you going to *do*? For God’s sake, man, why don’t you make a *decision*?”

Instead, I request an interview with Vice President Dan Quayle, who does

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seem to have an opinion on the matter. By all accounts, Quayle is the chief architect of the administration's pro-development stance, and it is instructive to go back and see how this came to be.

By July of 1991, the task force appointed by Bush to develop a "no net loss" program had been taken over by ideologues. The EPA's top scientist had quit the committee, saying he couldn't in good conscience "change policy under the guise of science. If they want to change the policy," he said, "they should do it in the open so the public knows what's going on." By this time, most important, the White House Council on Competitiveness had moved in on the action.

This inner circle of seven men, accountable to no one but Bush, has an ultimate clout. It is chaired by Vice President Quayle and includes the White House Chief of Staff, the Attorney General, the secretaries of Commerce and the Treasury, the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and the director of the Office of Management and Budget. Its job is to review all pending federal regulations to make sure they won't stand in the way of profits for business and industry. Bush chaired a similar task force when he was vice president, but Quayle has gone at it with relish, expediting the approval of new drugs, cutting red tape for the biotechnology and telecommunications industries, and helping business, especially, avoid what are seen as excessive environmental constraints. Its deliberations are so secretive, its powers so unchecked, that in the area of federal regulations Quayle's council seems to be acting like a shadow government.

On the wetlands issue, the Competitiveness Council was at odds with the EPA in the summer of 1991 over the new delineation manual—over how many days a wetland had to be wet. Dan Quayle was holding out for twenty-one days. Relying on his own common sense, he wanted to protect only "real wetlands." As he explained it once: "If you have a pond or something like that, that's clearly a wetland. Most people presume that if you talk about a wetland, it is wet for more than twenty-one days."

At midnight on July 9, according to people who ought to know, the EPA's Bill Reilly called Quayle. Reilly was

appearing before a Senate subcommittee in the morning and wanted to present the administration's new manual. He suggested a compromise (ten to twenty consecutive days of inundation, with the exact figure to be decided later), and Quayle agreed to it.

AT EIGHT THE NEXT MORNING, however, as Reilly was on his way to the hearing, he got an urgent call on his car phone from the executive director of the Council on Competitiveness. The message was: "The deal's off. Don't release the manual."

Did Quayle have a change of heart? Did someone overrule him? Persuade him? According to one reading, the council's staff changed the agreement on its own.

At a meeting of the Competitiveness Council a few weeks later, according to a newspaper report, Reilly was allowed to attend, and he read aloud the President's campaign promise of "no net loss." Budget director Richard Darman supposedly responded, perhaps facetiously, "He just said that in a speech. It doesn't mean anything." Then Quayle decided, summarily, that he had the authority to impose the twenty-one-days-of-inundation standard. "If we say it's wet," he reportedly pronounced, "it's wet."

So the official version of the proposed manual came out, reading the way Quayle's office wanted it to read. The manual was opened to public comment—and the muck hit the fan.

The nation's most prominent wetland scientists said the revisions were "fundamentally flawed" and "seriously misguided" and would "make a mockery of the token protection that presently exists." Even more rudely, they said the new definitions had "no foundation in wetland science" and "no scientific basis whatever." Wrote one professor. "Indeed, the revised manual appears to reject the results of the last fifty years of wetland research." Moreover, they said the book was not any easier to use than the old one, but mad-denyingly *more* complicated.

Nor were the responses from the nation's governors any more polite. Of the sixteen who offered opinions, fifteen opposed the manual. California's Pete Wilson, a Republican, wrote President Bush directly to say that the methodol-

gies and criteria were "conflicting, needlessly complex, and scientifically irrelevant." Mario Cuomo estimated that the manual would "define out of existence over three-quarters of New York State's wetlands." Arkansas's Bill Clinton feared the changes "could result in disaster to the state's most valuable wetlands, our seasonally flooded bottomland forests." One governor even sneered at the manual's style of writing.

The most pungent comment was made to the press by Jay Hair, president of the National Wildlife Federation. "Protecting wetlands by redefining them out of existence," he said, "is like ending homelessness by redefining a home as a cardboard box."

Here is where, if not earlier, the issue could have used some presidential leadership. And yet a year later it remains in limbo. At last report, the principal enforcement agencies were quietly using an earlier wetlands-definition manual written in 1987. The 1991 version, while not officially dead, is going nowhere.

Nevertheless, as improbable as it seems, the Quayle team is still fighting on.

MY REQUEST FOR AN INTERVIEW with the Vice President leads to a meeting, instead, with an assistant named Jonathan Tolman, who reputedly is his specialist on wetlands affairs. I find him in a room in the Old Executive Office Building next to the White House—a young man who, in his fulsome-cheeked innocence, looks unsettlingly like Quayle himself. He sits surrounded by reports on hydrology, hydric soils, and hydrophytic vegetation, reviewing the field tests of the 1991 delineation manual. Tolman tells me that he has a degree in political science, with minors in math and chemistry, and four years' experience as a water-quality technician. All of twenty-four years old, he is the one and only source of wetlands expertise for the Council on Competitiveness.

"I don't think the 1991 manual is too far off the mark," he ventures to say. He is trying to figure out how to alter the manual's language in a few places to satisfy any objections, clear up any misunderstandings.

He explains the rationale at work here: "Vice President Quayle is very

much interested in property rights issues. A lot of what he has to do is travel around and give speeches. He meets a lot of farmers, he meets a lot of people who are in the development and land-use industries, and he sees how this has an impact on their everyday lives. And not just this—but things like the Endangered Species Act. It encroaches on people's ability to use their property."

Here is how this young man describes the changes he's making in the manual: "Not too much, not too little. What we like to call the Little Baby Bear Syndrome—his porridge is just right."

Comments one EPA official, shaking his head when I describe this scene: "Obviously, the people who have missed some fundamentals seem still to be in a position to influence the action."

The day after visiting Quayle's office, I return to the Old Executive Office Building to see one last player in the game—Michael Deland, the chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality. As Bush's chief adviser and apologist on issues of the earth, he might be able to indicate who, if anyone, is in charge here. I expect him to offer some sort of defense of the 1991 manual, but he doesn't even try.

"Clearly," he says, "on the basis of what information has come in through the public-comment process, we've swung the pendulum too far and excluded from coverage in the proposal wetlands that were indeed wetlands. So what is now needed is a redressing, yet again, of that imbalance, hopefully in a way that hits it on the mark this time."

Deland is one of those advisers who would like to send the issue to a committee of the National Academy of Sciences. "That decision has not yet been made, and I'm hopeful it will be made," he says. "It might be made. It depends on the dynamics of this crazy place—will we get enough people together in one room at any given time to try to hammer it out?"

"It's a messy one," he concedes. "All of these environmental issues are. They're not getting any easier, and in a political year they're going to be increasingly polarized and politicized. That's too bad," he agrees. "But that's the reality of the situation."

Deland, like Bill Reilly, has environmental credentials. As a regional administrator for the EPA in the late

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1980s, he led the campaign to clean up Boston Harbor. Now he sits here swearing on a stack of *Federal Registers* that President Bush is as committed as ever to "no net loss." And that might be true, in a technical sense. But I am left with the overwhelming impression that, on this issue at least, the White House has lost whatever rudder it once had.

ON MY WAY HOME FROM WASHINGTON, I stop once more at the Great Dismal Swamp. In late morning the place lies suspended in a cool transparent mist. The million leaves of the forest are dripping one at a time from an overnight rain, lending a percussion to the birdsong overhead. Woody vines loop down the slender bodies of the trees to touch the earth: a moment of some enchantment. Then the trail comes to an area where all the trees lie dead, one on top of the other, in violation of the senses. A sign put up in the National Wildlife Refuge explains

that, in times past, fires started by lightning cleared the forest of its old growth so that the cycle of life could begin again. Now natural fires are suppressed by man because they threaten private property. So a modern forest manager has to create his own clearings, like this one, with a chain saw, to kind of goose the cycle along.

In other words, now that we've thoroughly disrupted nature, we're part of it in a new, unfortunate sense: It cannot get along on its own. We're the problem; we have to come up with the solution.

Does the Bush administration see this? Yes and no, it seems. Meanwhile, its ship of state looks more and more like a canoe lost in a swamp with three people aboard: a scrawny environmentalist at one end, a can-do American businessman at the other, and a bureaucrat in between. The first two are paddling against each other, the bureaucrat is throwing his weight back and forth, and the canoe is getting nowhere. □

(Continued from page 143) dirt roads, they succeeded: The areas, no longer wild, are less likely to be designated.

Travel advisory

A fine introduction to south central Utah is the Pack Creek Ranch (Long Weekend, May 1991), a favorite of the late Edward Abbey, whose paean to nearby Grand Gulch in these pages was his last published work ("The secret of the green mask," March 1989). In Moab, "Opera in the Canyons" is September 5 and 6 (801-259-8946); St. George's has a rodeo September 10 through 12 (800-869-6635). For scenic drives, ask for "Utah's Scenic Byway and Backway" brochure (801-628-4171); for more information, send for the very thorough "Utah Travel Guide 1992" by calling the Utah Travel Council (801-538-1030).

Mill City, Oregon

First glimpse

Mill City lies on scenic Route 22, just east of Oregon's wine country at the foot of the majestic Cascade Range: The road is one of the prettiest in the state, snaking around green hills and deep gorges, past old mines and trading posts, and interweaving with the North Santiam River and passing Detroit

Dam, above which lies man-made Detroit Lake, popular for swimming, boating, and fishing.

Threat

Deforestation.

Condition

Barely ten percent of the original forest survives in the hills around this classic logging town. The clear-cut swaths, many on national forestland, have grown back, but in carefully planted monocultural rows. In contrast, the ancient forest around glacial Opal Creek is darkly tangled and moss-hung and supports a far richer range of shrubs, shade trees, wildflowers, ferns, birds, insects, and wildlife. Among them is the endangered spotted owl, an "indicator species": Biologists say that if its numbers decline, so too will those of other species dependent on the old growth ecosystem. The logging industry argues that the owl's survival should not jeopardize jobs.

Parallels

Western Washington, California, and southeast Alaska have no more of their original forests than Oregon has. Example: Alaska's Tongass National Forest, which began to be logged in the 1950s, is now denuded of nearly all its old spruce and hemlock, which has been cut

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AM-CAMPAIGN-REILLY

EPA HEAD CONTRADICTS BUSH, SAYS GORE NO ``ENVIRONMENTAL EXTREMIST``

By Andrea Shalal-Esa

WASHINGTON, Reuter - President Bush's top environmental aide Friday again broke ranks with the White House and said Democratic vice presidential candidate Al Gore was not an ``environmental extremist.``

Environmental Protection Agency director William Reilly told a television interviewer he had a lot of respect for Gore's bestselling book about the environment ``Earth in the Balance`` and thought Gore would help Democrats win votes in California.

Bush has pounced on Democratic presidential contender Bill Clinton for his poor environmental record as governor of Arkansas, while portraying Gore as an environmental extremist.

Reilly, who has been at loggerheads with the White House for months, last week criticised the Bush administration for its handling of the June Earth Summit in Brazil. He later backpedaled and said his critique had been overinterpreted.

In an interview on ``John McLaughlin's One on One,`` due to air this weekend, Reilly again distanced himself from the administration. He echoed Bush's remarks on Clinton, but rose to defend fellow environmentalist Gore.

Reilly headed the Conservation Foundation, which has since merged with the World Wildlife Fund, before being appointed to head the EPA.

``I don't think that the Clinton Administration gave very high priority to the environment...he gave his priority to jobs and economic development,`` Reilly said.

``Senator Gore...is very proud of his environmental record and he has done some important things. I don't think he's an environmental extremist.``

Reilly said Gore favors a variety of ``green taxes`` unlike the administration. But agreed with the Democrat on the need to broaden the definition of environmental action to include issues such as the population and living standards.

Reilly, however, rejected Gore's premise that drastic changes were needed to improve environmental conditions.

``I don't think the course we are on is going to require a wrenching transformation,`` Reilly said, adding rising recycling rates, declining pollution and global commitments to reduce ozone showed society was ``headed in the right direction.``

Reilly defended the White House's record on the environment and said Democratic swipes at Bush's positions on everything from global warming to fuel efficiency standards were unjustified.

``The last three-and-a-half years have been a period of unprecedented environmental progress for America on all fronts,`` he said. EPA had issued more fines than in its previous 18-year history and funding had increased 50 percent.

Reilly rejected Democratic charges that Bush was a hypocrite for visiting an Evergreen Inc. plant in California in June. Evergreen, which recycles used oil, is suing EPA for not

encouraging greater use of such technology.

Gore visited the same plant this week, condemning Bush's environmental record and saying he should have been embarrassed to visit the site. ``When he came here, he was the hypocritical president, not the environmental president,'' Gore said.

Reilly said this charge was absolutely wrong. ``The president wanted to make the point that he is in favor of recycling...he is a very strong recycler.``

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BC-TEXT-MCLAUGHLIN-MULTITAKES
THE REUTER TRANSCRIPT REPORT

JOHN MCLAUGHLIN'S ONE ON ONE

Airs August 9, 1992

Guest: Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William Reilly

(NOTE: THERE IS NO EMBARGO)

JOHN MCLAUGHLIN: Administrator Reilly, as you know, the environment is a major issue in this presidential campaign. Would you care to comment or rate the Clinton-Gore team on environment?

WILLIAM REILLY (Administrator, EPA): I'm not going to rate them on the environment and I'm not going to attack and criticize them other than to say when they talk about the president being hypocritical on the environment they are doing very serious violence to the Bush record. The last three and a half years have been a period of unprecedented environmental progress for America on all fronts, in terms of enforcement, vigor. We have had more civil fines and penalties, jailed more people for environmental crimes in three years than in the whole previous 18 year history of the Environmental Protection Agency. My budget has gone up 50 percent at a time when domestic discretionary spending.

We've added six and a half million acres of wilderness, 20 new national parks, 57 new wildlife refuges, almost 3,000 new miles of wild and scenic rivers.

It's an extraordinary record and I hope that as this campaign goes forward we can draw attention to the fact that the consensus is broader now. Things that Governor Clinton says he's for--debt for nature swaps, pollution trading, performance-based standards--pioneered by the Bush administration. We say more power to him if that's what he's going to talk about.

MCLAUGHLIN: The EPA is an enforcement agency, correct?

REILLY: Right.

MCLAUGHLIN: So you have to study all the states of the union, is that right?

REILLY: We're certainly familiar with all of them, sure.

MCLAUGHLIN: And you're familiar with Arkansas.

REILLY: Hm-hm (yes).

when enforcement down. when budget down

McLAUGHLIN: What do you think of the environmental status of Arkansas?

REILLY: I don't think that the Clinton administration gave very high priority to the environment. I think that as he has said in his Earth Day speech, he gave his priority to jobs and economic development. The environment of Arkansas, I think, reflects that. It's an issue, I suppose, that he's going to have to speak for. I think Senator Gore, obviously, is very proud of his environmental record and he has done some important things.

McLAUGHLIN: You are aware, are you not, that 600 miles of streams in northwest Arkansas are so polluted as to be unswimmable because of chicken parts dumping by Don Tyson, who has a \$4 billion plant in Arkansas, and the booming of that plant, the boom years, coincide--parallel--the gubernatorial terms of the candidate--the Democratic candidate for president? Does that suggest anything to you?

REILLY: There are problems there in Arkansas. There are pollution problems related to the pulp and paper industry. There are problems related to the chicken--poultry industry and--

McLAUGHLIN: Do you think that Bill Clinton was accommodative to business rather than being aggressively environmental?

REILLY: I am a regulator and I want to be very careful to distinguish between the kinds of things that we're responsible for and criticisms that I will respond to-- criticisms of the president's environmental record or of EPA's-- versus making blanket condemnations of the governor's own environmental record.

I might well be in the position at some point of taking an enforcement action against a violator in Arkansas. I don't at that time want the implication to arise that somehow this is a politically motivated thing. So I'm going to stay somewhat back from the involvement in that kind of--

McLAUGHLIN: Let's talk a little bit about his running mate, and you point out correctly that he is strongly environmentalist. In fact, he's written a book, ``Earth in the Balance,'` which I'm sure you're familiar with and you like.

REILLY: I have a lot of respect for that book. I think the kinds of issues he addresses, the fact that he wrote it himself and that it's obviously the product of a lot of concern and passion--

McLAUGHLIN: He's going to help in California, politically speaking, is he not, because Gore is so environmentally oriented?

REILLY: Well, I suppose he will.

McLAUGHLIN: The current issue of the Economist magazine writes about you, and it writes about environmentalism, and it writes a little bit about the politics of environmentalism.

REILLY: I hadn't seen it.

McLAUGHLIN: And it comments on Mr. Gore, Senator Gore and his book ``Earth in the Balance.'' He says that he's got some good ideas like we must--with its call for green taxes, which is a good idea, according to the Economist. But he also has assertions like this: we must make the rescue of the environment the central organizing principle for civilization, which the Economist says, quote, unquote, is a nutty idea.

Do you think it's a nutty idea?

REILLY: Well, I think he defines the environment very broadly. I think if you were to--at least I assume he does and the book suggests that he includes questions of economic development, safe drinking water, population, raising standards of living to allow people to address their own problems of an economic sort as well as the traditional pollution control. If you define it in terms of pollution control it is--

McLAUGHLIN: Do you define it that way?

REILLY: I certainly would define the environment, broadly speaking, as we--

McLAUGHLIN: But not as broadly as Senator Gore?

REILLY: Well, I think most of those things are implied. If you're going to use a phrase like the principal organizing idea of civilization, then I think you've got to be talking about culture as well as nature.

McLAUGHLIN: But then it loses its meaning.

REILLY: Well, it becomes so broad as to put a big tent--

McLAUGHLIN: It becomes coterminous with religion or philosophy or what have you.

REILLY: Yes, I think that's right.

McLAUGHLIN: But he says it's a central organizing principle for mankind and that makes him look like an environmental extremist. Do you think he's an environmental extremist?

REILLY: No, I don't think he's an environmental extremist. I think that he's, he's got a philosophy that believes in significantly more taxes certainly as he makes clear in the book than we do.

He strongly supported a series of initiatives that, like a 45-mile per hour--a 45-mile per gallon gasoline fuel efficiency requirement--

McLAUGHLIN: The CAFE--

REILLY: --which our analyses show technologically is not cost-effective and probably not achievable in the time frame that he advocates it. It might be very disruptive. He refers to a wrenching transformation of society. I guess that's the phrase that I recalled as most graphic and with which I disagree most strongly.

I don't think that the course we are on is going to require a wrenching transformation, somehow to get it right. I think if you look at recycling rates in the country, if you look at the pollution control progress we're making, if you look at the rising concern throughout the developed world on the environment, the fact that we're getting out of these ozone-depleting chemicals, we're headed in the right direction.

I don't think we have to wrenchingly transform society.

McLAUGHLIN: Let me ask you this about yourself and your mindset, your environmental mindset. Are you more simpatico with Bush-Quayle or with Clinton-Gore?

REILLY: I am far more comfortable with the philosophy that we have had which is one of looking for ways to create new incentives, pay more attention to economics, being much more attentive to science, that I associate with going beyond traditional command-and-control. Command-and-control is the philosophy that I associate with the other side.

McLAUGHLIN: Let me clear up one thing before we move on and that's this.

The criticism that we saw in the opening by Senator Gore, calling the president hypocritical, took place at a place called the Evergreen Oil Company, Inc. in Newark, California where Bush spoke in June.

Now that company, correct me if I'm wrong, is suing the EPA for not encouraging oil recycling. Okay?

So Gore says that Bush is a hypocrite for saluting the importance of the environment at this plant which recycles oil, while this plant is suing the government for not doing enough.

REILLY: This is something that is the sort of thing that happens in a campaign and it seems to me is very regrettable. Look, we are in favor of recycling oil. The idea that somehow the way you get the best result with respect to a product you want to see recycled is to declare it a hazardous

waste is not correct.

McLAUGHLIN: So you don't think bush is a hypocrite for saluting that company while it's suing EPA?

REILLY: Absolutely not; absolutely not. That Bush, the president wanted to make the point that he is in favor of recycling on his watch, he signed an executive order to promote recycling, we're doing more of it at the federal level than we've ever done before, virtually all our paper products are now recycled at the federal level and the federal government knows a lot about paper and uses a lot of paper. He is a very strong recycler.

McLAUGHLIN: We'll be right back.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: Could you clear up one thing? Richard Darman is the head of the Office of Management and Budget. He's described you as a global rock star. Do you regard that as a compliment?

REILLY: Absolutely. You know, I went home the evening that that was in the paper, my daughter saw it. And the new look of respect in her eyes was something to behold. Clearly I was doing important work after all.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: But he's not really sympathetic with your environmentalism, is he?

REILLY: Well, he and I have done very well in the one area I think that a budget director is most responsible for, and that is the budget support. The Environmental Protection Agency budget's done very well on the Darman watch.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: You don't think he's sabotaged you behind your back?

REILLY: He has differences of opinion with me on any number of issues, as economic officials tend to with environmental officials.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: All right, let me ask you this. This is a memorandum that you put out on July 15 after you returned from the Rio summit. In it you said, you thanked your staff for their tremendous help and for their greeting you on your return. You talked about the huge importance of the Rio summit. And you said for me personally, it was like a bungee jump--you dive into space secured by a line on your leg and trust it pulls you up before you smash to the ground. It doesn't typically occur to you that someone might cut your line.

Are you talking about Darman or Boskin or anybody in the administration?

REILLY: The bungee jump analogy is--you have to see

the position of the United States at that conference, where we were alone in declining to sign one of the treaties and had fought very hard to get a change, against much of the rest of the world, really all the rest of the world, in the other key treaty. We were under constant attack and criticism by some 9,000 journalists who were down there.

That was the bungee jump. I mean, we knew we were going into something. We had made a--

MR. McLAUGHLIN: So this is not a complaint against Dan Quayle, for example?

REILLY: No.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: Who runs the regulatory reform group.

REILLY: No. The bungee jump analogy is just because of the position we had. Having withheld the commitment of President Bush, in order to effect the treaty, the climate treaty, which we did successfully, we had to pay a public relations price.

As to the cutting your line, that referred to the fact that somebody leaked a confidential memo and made our already difficult position even more so from a public relations point of view.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: You're talking about your memo to the White House for the okay to negotiate changes in the biodiversity treaty.

REILLY: That's correct.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: That memo was leaked. And the White House said no.

REILLY: And the reporter who wrote the story said it was leaked by someone opposed to my position.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: Didn't you blame conservatives at the time within the White House?

REILLY: I don't blame anybody. I was 5,000 miles away. When the president said I'm going to have an investigation of this by the Justice Department, I'm going to get to the bottom of it and if I find out who did it, I'm going to fire him, that's good enough for me.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: But it was leaked internally obviously. It was leaked, correct?

REILLY: Yes.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: So someone at the White House must have leaked it.

REILLY: I think that's right.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: Well, who are the likely suspects? You've got Darman, OMB director. You've got Quayle, the head of the regulatory reform group, who is a great exponent of the importance of competitiveness. He believes that your regulations, a lot of them, can pose excessive economic costs, especially on small business. Who else have you got? You've got Michael Boskin, the head of the Office of Economic Advisors. It's got to be one of those three, wouldn't you say?

REILLY: No, I don't think for a minute it has to be one of those three.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: It can be somebody at the lower level.

REILLY: You take a memo like that, it gets a fairly widespread distribution. In this instance I have heard that it did. And there's no way to say that--

MR. McLAUGHLIN: But a conservative did it, right? A conservative, an environmental conservative.

REILLY: I would not want to say that because I think that the burden of the kinds of policies I've been responsible for at the Environmental Protection Agency have been very conservative. We've had much more attentiveness to science, which has been a claim of conservatives for years. We've had very good relations with some key industries. We've had voluntary programs. We've had a very vigorous enforcement program, but we've built on that and I think been very reasonable.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: The Economist says that the time is coming and it's coming shortly when George Bush is going to have to choose between Dan Quayle and you. Do you believe that?

REILLY: No and I'm certain that he doesn't either.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: The Economist also says whatever the outcome of the election, Mr. Reilly will almost certainly leave the administration within the next six months. Is that true?

REILLY: I haven't made any plans for the next six months. I got into this for four years. I wanted to serve out the term. I've approached the job in the manner of the old spiritual, one day at a time, sweet Jesus, and I want to complete the term. As to what I do in the next term, it depends a lot on the president, as well as on me.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: Do you have any intuition as to whether the president will ask you to stay on as EPA

administrator?

REILLY: No, I don't. No, I don't.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: We'll be right back.
(Commercial announcements.)

McLAUGHLIN: Let's go back to the memorandum, which is a lengthy document. On page four you say this. ``Another key question, frankly''--you're writing this to your staff. You're talking about the Rio summit. ``Another key question, frankly, is why did the United States play such a low keel defensive game in preparing for Rio. We assigned a low priority to the negotiations of the Biodiversity Treaty, were slow to engage the climate issue, were last to commit our president to attend Rio. We put our delegation together late and we committed few resources. No doubt this contributed to the negative feelings towards the United States.''

REILLY: I think the way you need to understand that memorandum--you say it's a long memorandum which is an important point. Most of the memorandum I devote to explaining the achievements of Rio that I don't think the press did at all.

McLAUGHLIN: You fault the press a lot.

REILLY: I do, indeed. Rio took place on two levels. One was the substantive agreements we reached on a whole range of subjects, most of them in a 900 page document called Agenda 21--

McLAUGHLIN: What's the second level?

REILLY: --which is a tribute to the United States and to our environmental achievement--

McLAUGHLIN: To have accomplished it?

REILLY: That's right. The second level--

McLAUGHLIN: You were the engine driving those agreements?

REILLY: We were indeed and we negotiated them over the last two years and my staff--my people at EPA--had a real confusion and disappointment that the experience of the United States, which they know is better than anybody else's, and they had a lot to do with, somehow got missed.

McLAUGHLIN: They got missed because the press concentrated on the Biodiversity Treaty.

REILLY: That's exactly right.

McLAUGHLIN: Now, what position did you take on biodiversity. ``Biodiversity,' ' by the way, means what?

REILLY: Biodiversity means the whole panoply of species of plant and animal life, all of which interact and have relationships that support one another.

REILLY: The preservation of same?

REILLY: That's right. I don't exonerate myself for not giving a higher priority to the biodiversity convention. I gave a speech in March at the United Nations I forgot to mention as one of the priorities of the United States. And a European delegate said, does that mean that you have given up on it. And I said, my God, I forgot to mention it. But the reason was that we didn't think we were going to get it, that the negotiations had been so contentious up until that time that many of us didn't focus on it.

McLAUGHLIN: Was it a miscalculation on your part or was it a strategic move?

REILLY: No, I think it was a miscalculation. It was the fact that there was a lot going on. It was a very busy period. And biodiversity began to come together relatively late. When it did--

McLAUGHLIN: But the treaty is economically obnoxious, is it not?

REILLY: The treaty has got provisions in it that have nothing to do with biological diversity and there are provisions that had they been presented to Helmut Kohl, for example, as part of the GATT, the Uruguay Round, as trade constraints on intellectual property, he wouldn't have agreed to them. Coming to him and others--

McLAUGHLIN: But Germany and Japan did sign it, did they not?

REILLY: They did, because it came to them under the guise of a biodiversity convention, which it has very little to do with. And so we stood in principle. We had a very valid reason for not agreeing to some of those provisions. The funding provisions give to the developing world basically the total control over how money is spent. We've never agreed to anything like that as a major donor country. No. It's a defective treaty.

McLAUGHLIN: Why did the United States commit few resources to it?

REILLY: The United States committed \$250 million in additional annual funding, which is about a 50 percent increase

for developing countries.

McLAUGHLIN: You think that's excessively low?

REILLY: No, I don't. In fact, six months ago I would not have expected we would have committed that much. The problem from the public relations point of view again is that the Japanese committed \$8 billion and the Germans committed a substantial three-fold increase in their funding and the European Community did. A conference which had never been as a moment to transfer resources became judged on that basis. And I'm simply saying as a candid fact that once that happened, the United States committing the amount of money it did simply caused us to be criticized. I think it's a perfectly defensible position that we had, and given in these times, it's more than I would have felt we could have come up with.

McLAUGHLIN: We'll be right back.
(Station commercial break)

MR. McLAUGHLIN: Administrator Reilly of the Environmental Protection Agency, are you going to speak at the convention?

REILLY: I am indeed.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: What are you going to say?

REILLY: I'm going to say that George Bush has been the environmental president. By the traditional measures that you judge such people on, he has been very strong. Budget? Our budget is up substantially at a period when budgets have not gone up.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: What's the second diagnostic?

REILLY: Enforcement is more vigorous in the Bush administration than it has ever been in any previous era, for all of the laws that I administer.

The third is if you look at nature protection and you look at the large number of new national parks and marine sanctuaries, big one in California, you look at the new wilderness, the wild and scenic rivers, this is a president who's done it.

Add to that the most innovative environmental law that has been seen in this country or any country, which is the Clean Air Act, he's achieved the results that we set out to achieve.

MR. McLAUGHLIN: Administrator William Reilly, thanks for being my guest on "One on One".

REILLY: Pleasure.

END ONE ON ONE

The Reuter Transcript Report
John McLaughlin's One on One (second and final add)
August 9, 1992
REUTER

CNN INTERVIEW WITH ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY
ADMINISTRATOR WILLIAM REILLY

Time: 1 p.m. EDT
August 4, 1992

The editor of the report is Steve Ginsburg. Tim Ahmann, Eric Beech, Peter Ramjug and Paul Schomer also are available to help you. If you have questions, please call 202-898-8345. For service problems call 1-800-435-0101.

This transcript is provided by News Transcripts, Inc. If questions of content arise, call 202-682-9050

LOU WATERS: So the folks will know what we're talking about The New York Times honed in on one part of your memo which states, ''Why did the United States play such a low key defensive game in preparing for Rio? We assigned a low priority to the negotiations of the Biodiversity Treaty. We were slow to engage the climate issue, were last to commit our president to attend Rio. We put a delegation together late. We committed few resources.'' That's what The New York Times headlined over the weekend. Do you agree with The New York Times that you're harshly critical of the administration on the environment, specifically the Rio summit?

WILLIAM REILLY (Administrator, EPA): Well, you have the memo. It's a five page memorandum. You're read one paragraph from it. And I think that the selective focus on a very candid assessment of how we, having brought the best environmental record to Rio, both historically over the past 20 years, and particularly during the Bush administration, got beaten up so badly in the press is something my people needed to understand.

I came back from Rio and they greeted me warmly, but we're perplexed. How did this happen? I was explaining how it happened. There are reasons why we did the things we did. We committed the president late to go to Rio because we were using his commitment in the bargaining on the Climate Treaty--a very effective tactic. It had consequences, however, for the kind of press that we got that were negative, that were unfortunate.

We didn't commit a lot of money. We committed a 50 percent increase in our support for environmental protection in the developing world. But Germany contributed a 300 percent increase and Japan, \$8 billion of new support.

Now, a conference that was never conceived to be one where we would transfer funds north to south suddenly began to be measured that way. Expectations developed. That's a fact. That's the truth. In fact, the conference, I think, was a success for the United States and for the environment generally. Many of the issues that we brought to conference are now in the documents that were agreed to.

WATERS: It sounds to me--pardon me--with all due respect--as though you're back peddling just a little bit on the memo. Because another part of the memo states, ''For me personally it was like a bungee jump. You dive into space, secured by a line on your leg.'' It goes on to say, ''It pulls you up before you smash to the ground.'' That would seem to suggest that there are some--

REILLY: Well, I also said that I hope that--it never occurs to you that somebody might cut your line. I'm quite directly commenting on the fact that somebody in Washington leaked a confidential memo that did great damage to our effectiveness in Rio--

WATERS: That was a memo you wrote from Rio suggesting a possible compromise might overcome the U.S. objections to the treaty.

REILLY: That's right.

WATERS: And that was leaked--why was that leaked?

REILLY: It was leaked to undermine my position and I think to frustrate the likelihood of a resolution of the problem. Now, that was people, as the times reporter said, opposed to my position. Obviously, I think that was outrage. I hope they find the individual who (inaudible).

WATERS: So there is someone in the White House undermining you, you think?

REILLY: I don't think there's any question. There's somebody in the administration. Now, whether it's in the White House remains to be seen. But President Bush made very clear, he was as outraged or more so than I was, sent the Justice Department to find out exactly who did it and said that he would fire the individual if he located him.

WATERS: Do you think it's possible Dan Quayle might have done it? He has a Council of Competitiveness in the White House, pro-business, chipping away some perceive, at environmental regulations?

REILLY: The vice president, I think--no. I think I have no reason to know who did it. I was 5,000 miles away, and I strongly suspect that it wasn't anybody at a very high level. But again, that--you know, it happened. It was a subject of great press attention and it did do damage, but it does not obscure the fact that we got the commitments we had hoped to get in many areas. What the rest of the world agreed to had been pioneered, had been proved successful in the United States--freedom of information, environmental impact assessment, coastal zone management, community right to know about toxics. Those are American achievements. And they didn't get much attention

in the press at Rio, but they are our victories, I think.

WATERS: Are you concerned about the perceptions here? Lester Brown, president of the World Watch Institute said today, "It's like Reilly is deserting a sinking ship." Others have said they think you're about to quite the Environmental--

Are you about to quit the EPA?

REILLY: I don't think I've had a press conference in two years where the question has not arisen, are you going to quit. This question doesn't come up to other members of the Cabinet or the administration--even those who are known to have a serious difference of opinion.

I think the fact that I come to the administration as a conservationist causes people somehow to think that this is the way it will work. No, I'm not about to quit. I'm tremendously grateful to the president for having given me this responsibility. I think we've made environmental history in the last three years in enforcement, in budget, in so many other areas and we're continuing to make progress.

WATERS: Do you wish you hadn't written this memo?

REILLY: You know, I wish the reporter had taken my word when I said, if you look at the overall thrust of the memo, it's very complimentary to the president and it basically says the principal substantive objectives we had for the conference were realized. I wish that he had been a little more balanced in his reporting.

WATERS: Well, you're aware of the realities of political rhetoric and you're aware now that Al Gore, for instance, is saying I can understand the sense of betrayal he, William Reilly, feels towards the administration he serves. So we have this environmental going on in a presidential election and you're now at the center of it.

REILLY: You know, the extraordinary thing about the environment is, we have moved the consensus together. A few weeks ago Governor Clinton gave a speech in which he supported pollution trading, debt for nature, a performance based environmental standards, a whole range of things that have been pioneered by the Bush administration. As we have the environmental debate, things like this should not contribute to the perception that somehow we're becoming more polarized as a country on this issue. The real truth is that we're coming closer together, and that's positive. And that's a tribute to President Bush.

WATERS: I'd like to get back to the Council on Competitiveness, which is perceived as chipping away at the regulations that you're responsible for at EPA. Is it a matter of jobs versus environment?

REILLY: Generally I don't think it is. Obviously the environmental regulations we have for air or water cost money. We spend about two percent of our gross national product on environmental protection in the United States. That's significant and we want to make sure that what we do is cost effective and we get commensurate benefits for that.

By and large, though, my impression is that we are creating new jobs with environmental technologies in catalytic converter manufacture, in new scrubbers to control sulphur dioxides, in new fuels--alternative fuels are coming on to clean the fuels of the cars of America. These are positive and we're discovering our exports are increasing in precisely those areas. Why? Because our standards are farther than the rest of the world's and the rest of the world wants safe, clean growth. We have it.

WATERS: So jobs, environment--not mutually exclusive?

REILLY: I think that we're creating jobs, honestly on that, as a consequence of the environment.

WATERS: And you're not going to quit the EPA?

REILLY: I am not going to quit the EPA.

WATERS: William Reilly--thanks for joining us today.

REILLY: You're very welcome.

END INTERVIEW

The Reuter Transcript Report
CNN/Administrator Reilly
Aug. 4, 1992
REUTER

- Kelly memo

- glossy document from RSO

Perot Deserves No Second Chance

By Edward J. Rollins

Ross Perot said he would run a world-class campaign. He said he would focus on the issues. Indeed, he pledged to dedicate 60 days to intensive study of the Federal budget and related matters. He promised to bow to the wishes of his volunteers. He — and no one else — characterized himself as a nonpolitician, someone who would add courage and truthfulness to a process badly in need of both. He did none of the above and is perhaps the last person in America to understand just how low his credibility as a public figure has sunk as a result.

Mr. Perot quit the race for the Presidency on July 16 because, he said, he "did not want to be disruptive." If, as many political analysts expect, he announces on the Larry King show tonight that he is re-entering the race, we can add that statement to the tall pile of Perot rhetoric, which is completely void of any substance, commitment or veracity.

As his former campaign manager, I hope he won't get back in the race. The country has just five weeks to decide who our next President will be and, since it is certain it will not be Mr. Perot, he should leave the country to its serious business without distraction.

In my first meeting with Ross Perot, in June, I wrote two words on a black-

board: "hope" and "kook." I told him that for him to win, he would have to cast himself as the agent of hope. I also told him that every day, the Republicans and Democrats would attempt to cast him as a kook. Little did I know no one could make him look

more kooky than he has himself. I joined the Perot movement because I believe that neither major party is facing up to the serious problems that confront our country. In the 45 days that I was his campaign manager, I discovered a great deal about Ross Perot, his temperament and his ideas — or lack of them — about governing.

Millions of Americans trusted Mr. Perot when he said he was different

and would lead "their" movement. Today, he believes it is "his" movement. When he talks of re-entering the race, he claims he simply wants to force President Bush and Bill Clinton to talk about the issues. What issues? Mr. Perot points to his proposed budget, which he himself saw for the first time less than 24 hours before he withdrew from the race.

Ross Perot should not re-enter the Presidential race because he is Ross Perot. His greatest political asset, his independence, has also proved to be his most fatal flaw. This is a man who will not listen to anybody.

If Ross Perot were seriously going to

He's the last
to understand
his irrelevance.



pursue the Presidency, which I believe he is not, he would need to develop a willingness to listen to others. He would need far more than the 60-day crash course in public policy he pledged to take, but didn't. And he would need to come out from behind talk-show hosts and subject himself to greater questioning and exposure in the national media. No such conversion is about to take place in the next 42 days.

Mr. Perot's re-entry would matter little in the final results. He cannot win and would only marginally affect the outcome. This is now a two-person race and the remaining five weeks ought to be a debate about the future of the country.

Ross Perot has been financially successful beyond anyone's dreams, presumably even his own. He's got a terrific family. He works hard at worthwhile civic and charitable causes. He has joined and contributed to the debate on important state and national issues. Today, he ought to be content and should quit tampering with our democratic process simply to massage his ego, badly bruised when the country finally learned he wasn't who he pretended to be and didn't have the courage to go the distance with a Presidential campaign.

If he truly had the temperament to be a leader, Ross Perot could have been the most significant third-party candidate for President since Teddy Roosevelt's Bull Moose candidacy in 1912. But as all America has learned, Ross Perot ... you're no Teddy Roosevelt.

U.S. vs. U.N.

By Siddharth Dube

Since the gulf war, President Bush has done to the United Nations what the tailor did with the emperor's new clothes: stitched a seamless suit that doesn't exist. And the West has gaped in wonder at the chimera of Mr. Bush's inflated view of the U.N.

But the debacle that befell the vain-glorious emperor is now being repeated at the U.N. The emperor is visibly naked. The organization's inability to secure peace in the Balkans

million Washington already owes. He will eventually revert to condemning and weakening the organization.

This would be a costly failure for the U.S.: Mr. Bush will have squandered yet another important peace dividend. Eventually, third world animosity will destroy the U.N.'s ability to bring about lasting global peace.

The greatest U.S. failure has been its refusal to allow a review of permanent membership of the Security Council. Germany and Japan, pressing for seats on the Council, asserted last week that permanent membership should be reviewed.

The third world's resentment of U.S. intransigence was stoked in Jan.

keep up the illusion that the U.N. is battling threats to peace.

A related misjudgment has been the U.S.-led move to strip the U.N. of its mandate for economic and social development. Third world demands for a more just international economy have angered the U.S., which still illegally withholds dues from Unesco and other U.N. agencies it disapproves of.

The American intent is to stifle the demands by giving the World Bank and International Monetary Fund control over economies of individual countries. Earlier this year, the U.S.

Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

Triumph and Tragedy

BOSTON Two years ago, in the Persian Gulf crisis, President Bush summoned up a vision to support his call for international military action against Iraq. Whatever one thought of the war and the way he took us into it, the vision was inspiring.

"A new world order," he called it. The strong would be called to account if they attacked the weak. Human rights would be respected. America, the one superpower, would provide leadership by seeking international consensus through the United Nations.

It was an appealing vision and a promising one. It combined the Wilsonian idealism that has been so important in American foreign policy through the years — the concern for individual and national rights — with a realistic sense of changing power in the post-cold war world. So it seemed.

The hopes raised by Mr. Bush's rhetoric then have turned to dust. Today the phrase "a new world order" evokes nothing but cynicism.

Instead of seizing the moment for constructive U.S. leadership, Mr. Bush flunked one opportunity, one challenge after another. He was slow to understand and accept the breakup of the Soviet Union, slow to recognize its republics, slow to offer help to the struggling democracies. In China he sided with yesterday's men, aging Communist tyrants. He has offered no leadership in the world's financial turmoil.

But the greatest failure, the one that will forever stain George Bush's reputation, has been in the former Yugoslavia. Bold American leadership, exercised in a timely way, could have prevented much of the political and human disaster. Mr. Bush wrung his hands. He is still wringing them.

The world has a short attention span for tragedy. How many times can we bear to hear about Serbian slaughter of innocent Bosnians? But the slaughter goes on, with terrible consequences not just for the Bosnians but for the peace of the world.

Within the last week we have heard reports of Serbs taking busloads of Bosnian men, Muslims, from a prison camp, supposedly to bring them to Bosnian-controlled areas. Instead the Serbs took the men to a ravine, shot them and threw the bodies in. Two prisoners escaped and lived to tell. The episode could have come from Yevgeny Yevtushenko's poem of the Holocaust, "Babi Yar."

It happened on George Bush's watch.

This past weekend the U.S. Govern-

ment said it had corroborated reports of mass murder in Serbian prison camps. A statement said "as many as 3,000" Muslim men, women and children were killed in the camps in May and June.

It happened on George Bush's watch.

"Ethnic cleansing" by the Serbs — removal of non-Serbian families from their homes — has actually increased in recent days. So has the Serbian shelling of Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, despite solemn promises. The attacks on civilians have been worse in the last month than at any time in the six-month Serbian siege of Sarajevo.

It is happening on George Bush's watch.

How is it possible to square the feeble, feckless Bush of these events with the gung-ho President who rallied the world against Saddam Hussein? Does the difference come down to oil? Has he been paralyzed by the prospect of the election?

Whatever the reason, the American public understands how weak his performance has been. The usual explanation for Mr. Bush's slide downward in the polls from his lofty ratings

Bush's 'new world
order' evokes
only cynicism.

after the gulf war is that people care more about the economic distress at home. That matters a lot. But I believe the public is judging him on foreign policy, too.

What has happened is more important than Mr. Bush's political difficulties, and sadder. At a time when countries are breaking up and nationalism burning, a chance has been lost to demonstrate that, whatever the ambiguity of international boundaries, the slaughter of ethnic groups will not be tolerated.

It was a task for the United Nations. And at this unique moment in modern history the United Nations could have undertaken it — if there had been American leadership.

What it required was vision, clarity and moral force from the American President. What we got from George Bush was fudge.

U.S. vs. U.N.

By Siddharth Dube

Since the gulf war, President Bush has done to the United Nations what the tailor did with the emperor's new clothes: stitched a seamless suit that doesn't exist. And the West has gaped in wonder at the chimera of Mr. Bush's inflated view of the U.N.

But the debacle that befell the vain-glorious emperor is now being repeated at the U.N. The emperor is visibly naked. The organization's inability to assure peace in the Balkans and Somalia and bring democracy to Cambodia has destroyed Western fantasies that it can serve as an police organization to enforce Mr. Bush's new world order.

The West is also disappointed that its hegemony has not silenced third world demands for economic equity and a say in world affairs. A U.N. riven by such claims is too much like the reviled cold war U.N.: it can be of no use to the U.S. and its European allies. His grandiose expectations disappointed, Mr. Bush is losing enthusiasm for the U.N. In his speech to the General Assembly last week, he gave no assurance even of paying the \$733

Siddharth Dube has reported on the United Nations for The Economist and been a consultant for Unicef and the U.N. Development Agency.

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The greatest U.S. failure has been its refusal to allow a review of permanent membership of the Security Council. Germany and Japan, pressing for seats on the Council, asserted last week that permanent membership should be reviewed.

The third world's resentment of U.S. intransigence was stoked in January, when the leaders of the Security Council nations slid Russia into the Soviet seat and squashed any review of British and French membership on the Council.

This imperialistic mind-set has led to another mistake: the push to turn the U.N. from peacekeeping to active peacemaking. In June, the Secretary General proposed strengthening the peacemaking role. A more ill-conceived effort would be difficult to think up. It confirmed third world suspicions that the new U.N. is being fashioned into an army that follows Council dictates. How else to explain that troops and money are committed to Yugoslavia and Cambodia but only grudgingly to Somalia? Wars are attended to only when they affect permanent Council members. A U.N. army would allow Western leaders to

keep up the illusion that the U.N. is battling threats to peace.

A related misjudgment has been the U.S.-led move to strip the U.N. of its mandate for economic and social development. Third world demands for a more just international economy have angered the U.S., which still illegally withholds dues from Unesco and other U.N. agencies it disapproves of.

The American intent is to stifle the demands by giving the World Bank and International Monetary Fund control over economies of individual countries. Earlier this year, the U.S.

The third world's hopes are stifled — again.

engineered cuts in U.N. development programs; five independent agencies were collapsed into one.

Mr. Bush may feel that quieting the third world should be continued. He is mistaken. Poorer countries have never had much power at the U.N. Since 1946, third world nationals have held fewer than a third of top posts at U.N. agencies. The organization has been marching to the West's tune for years. Mr. Bush and his allies are wrong to ask for more power for themselves. □

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Reading J.A.B. III's Mind

WASHINGTON

I am being blamed for a mistake I never made this summer and a mistake I am not making this fall.

The media, which I have been cultivating for these 13 years, is poised to hold me responsible for the delay in taking over the campaign before the disastrous Houston convention. (Is "poised" a good word, as in "poised for recovery"? Sounds effeminate; better tell Zoellick to drop it.)

They miss the whole point. The basic problem with the Bush campaign through June was not so much the nation's recession but the candidate's depression. Before I could come to the rescue of his mismanaged White House, I had to snap him out of his own double-dip. After I did, at least we had a fired-up candidate.

Granted, I had my hands full with the Arab-Israeli negotiations, and nobody sneezes at a chance at a Nobel prize, but even that delay had a campaign purpose: Rabin, who owes me his job, agreed to our sale of F-15's to the Saudis in return for the gift of some helicopters, and now we can bring off some sort of Syrian-Israeli agreement here in Washington the last week in October. That should help in Chicago and Miami.

All right, if I had been on top of things in Houston, we would never have given Buchanan prime time for his religious war unless we had rock-solid promises from the evangelicals to deliver, which they're not doing. And I would have squelched Marilyn Quayle (note to Tutwiler — make certain it's known, not for attribution, that I came to the '88 convention too late to stop George's choice of Dan Quayle).

The mistakes I never made.

But I was the one who cut losses on the family-values fiasco and got Darman and Brady to swallow the no-pain economic stuff from Kemp, so at least we had a plan to wave. My Truman analogy drew a lot of media scorn, but now that Clinton is running like Dewey it may gain some new resonance.

And nobody denies we're organized. Our spokesmen are seized with a simple message, and Teeter and Black clobber Kantor and Carville on TV. (Get some pundit to praise Carville — I want to see more of that evil grin.)

Now they say my mistake is in botching the debate debate. How little they know.

My strategy is to bust up the inevitability-of-Clinton factor first with a Perot ratings scramble, then with one killer three-way debate.

Our cover story for delay has been that we want a panel of reporters to protect us from a head-to-head contest with a Clinton great on specifics. As a result, the media have been falling all over themselves deriding their own questions that begin "What if your own son were gay and pregnant?" Now they assume a moderator-only debate to be in Clinton's interest.

They forget the way George tore Dan Rather's head off when he dared ask about Iran-contra four years early. They missed the way Bush recently scored on Brokaw's show, in the

only joint appearance so far, while Clinton talked too fast.

The media have persuaded themselves, and the public, that George is too much the gentleman to do the dirty work of destroying his opponent's character. But I want the President of the United States positioned right in the middle of a threesome, between the little guy others deride as "the yellow Ross of Texas" and the puffy draft dodger we hit in ads as "Slick Willie."

All the better if the two of them gang up on the President. Then he's the lonely man in the middle, the only one who has proven courage in combat, the only one with a plan to stop terrorist missiles from raining down on America, the only one against tax hikes, the only one you can really trust — against one guy with no experience in government and another guy with only experience in Government. Take a chance — hit Clinton for pandering to Perot.

How do we get people to stop voting against us and start voting against them? The trick is to shift attention away from the record of the past to the dangers of the future — to high taxes and crippling inflation. To get back the women and the youth, we have to push Perot to isolation and Clinton to intervention and re-implant the simple fear of war.

It's a daring strategy, and it requires some forward momentum before the debate, but when you're this far behind this late, you have to roll the dice.

If it doesn't work, all my spin doctors know the four magic words: "Not even Jim Baker..." □