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Environmentalists For Clinton/Gore

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CLINTON • GORE ON NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY

For twelve years, the Republicans in Washington have undermined our national security and cut short our economic growth because they haven't had a national energy policy. In the last decade, 8,000 of our independent oil and gas producers have closed their doors; 300,000 Americans have lost their jobs. Of 4,500 domestic drilling rigs operating in the United States in 1981 when Ronald Reagan and George Bush took office, less than 700 remain in operation today. We've fallen behind our competitors in energy efficiency and are in danger of leaving future generations of Americans in a precarious position of overwhelming debt and dependence.

America needs a new national energy policy that enables Americans to control America's energy future. Instead of coddling special interests whose fortunes depend on America's addiction to foreign oil, the Clinton/Gore national energy policy promotes national security, energy diversity, economic prosperity, and environmental protection.

It's time to make the right energy choices.

THE CLINTON/GORE PLAN

Increase energy efficiency and conservation

Increase natural gas use

Expand the use of renewable energy sources

A safe, environmentally sound energy policy

The Record

- In Governor Clinton's first term in 1979, he created a state Department of Energy which emphasized renewable resource development, reduced institutional barriers to energy conservation and encouraged the development of new energy sources.
- Established an Alternative Fuels Commission.
- Arkansas ranks 10th in the nation in energy research spending.

- Gore amendments enacted by the Senate as part of the 1992 energy bill:
 - Help small businesses increase their energy efficiency and cut their energy bills by establishing energy diagnostic centers where engineering students and their professors can work with small businesses.
 - Accelerate the government's efforts to procure the most energy efficient products and to provide grant money to states to fund energy efficiency and conservation initiatives.
 - Require the Tennessee Valley Authority of conduct least-cost planning analyses of energy supply and demand requirements.
 - Provides assistance to states to develop energy conservation and renewable energy initiatives.

- Senator Gore was a leader in the successful efforts to kill provisions that would have allowed drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

- Led efforts in the 1991 Interior Appropriations for solar and renewable joint venture programs.

- Senator Gore introduced legislation to involve America's national labs in developing and disseminating energy efficient technologies and practices.

JOBS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

CLINTON-GORE POSITION: "You can't have a healthy economy without a healthy environment, and you don't have to sacrifice environmental protection to get economic growth. Our competitors know that you can't have one without the other." (Clinton, Drexel University, 4/22/92).

Bush-Quayle present a short-sighted and false choice between jobs and the environment. Clinton-Gore believe that environmental stewardship and economic opportunity are complementary national goals -- not a contradiction.

Some job loss will occur as a result of environmental protection, but more jobs will be added. America can profit from this change and increase employment through: 1) greater efficiency in domestic production and energy use; and 2) a greater share of the growing global environmental market.

The choice is clear: we can put off some environmental initiatives for now and temporarily insulate inefficient businesses from the need to innovate -- or we can take the lead and capitalize on the enormous economic opportunity.

● **Environmental protection helps create jobs at home.**

-- Today, nearly 70,000 businesses are engaged in environmental protection, recycling, and energy conservation in the U.S.. This \$130 billion environmental sector represents over 2% of GNP. By the end of this decade, environment and defense spending will represent equivalent shares of the GNP -- approximately 3%. This is big business, and -- unlike defense -- it is growing.

-- \$130 billion spent in 1991 on pollution abatement and control generated \$270 billion in total industry sales, \$22 billion in corporate profits, and \$76 billion in federal, state and local revenues. Total jobs dependent upon environment sector, using standard multiplier effect, is over 3.5 million. (Management Information Services, Inc., March 1992, Washington, DC).

-- Environmental business has been growing faster than the overall US economy. During the recession year of 1991, America's 40 largest environmental firms reported an average payroll increase of nearly 9%. (Silverstein).

-- 9% of the paltry 1.1 million jobs created under the Bush Administration were in the environmental sector; environment

-- The 425 companies participating in EPA's "Green Lights" program are saving \$700 million by reducing energy use. AND thousand of people in hundreds of companies are at work in America today producing the efficient lighting products and services.

-- The best evidence that tough environmental standards DO NOT hamper competitiveness is the fact that the most successful economies have the toughest environmental standards (Porter, Competitive Advantage of Nations). Germany and Japan currently require far more recycling than the U.S. achieves. Germany was among the first to commit to Co2 reductions of 25% by the year 2005.

-- If the U.S. were as energy-efficient as Japan, we would save over \$200 billion annually -- money that could be used to save jobs and reinvest in America. Japan uses roughly half the energy that we do for the same domestic output, making them less polluting and more competitive.

-- German workers are paid on average \$6.70 more per hour in wages and benefits than their American counterparts and yet continue to produce competitively priced products on the world market. Why? Because they use resources more efficiently than we do -- and pollute less (Bureau of Labor Statistics).

● Our economic competitors recognize that the \$3 trillion market in the 1990s for environmentally-sound products and technologies is a real opportunity and are preparing for that race. We should be too.

-- The current global market for environmental goods and services totals over \$200 billion and is growing rapidly. The Department of Commerce estimates the current global market is as high as \$370 billion. By the year 2010, it is estimated that the market for energy efficiency products alone will total \$250 billion annually (Reilly, 4/23/92).

-- As early leaders in the environmental movement, Americans made large investments in clean air, water and soil. Now we need to turn our environmental leadership in the 1960s and 1970s into export opportunities for the 1990s.

-- Today we export some \$8 billion annually in environmental goods and services. Germany exports \$11 billion -- the world leader (OECD). We need to be more aggressive in capturing this growing market.

-- Japan has already created a government-industry plan to produce environmentally-sound technology for the future. Funded at \$1 billion, this MITI-backed project ("New Earth 21") is aimed to

50%
pure
domestic
25% more.

GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL MARKETS

SELECTED ARTICLES

1) U.S. Faces Foreign Competition on Environmental Technology

Section of a DPC report on environment -- shows how U.S. government and industry are not adequately marketing their goods for export and that we now import many technologies that we once pioneered.

2) America's Green Strategy

Influential statement by Michael Porter of how strict domestic regulation can stimulate more competitive businesses and thus lead to improved economic performance over the long run.

3) The Green Giant? It May Be Japan

Describes how Japanese firms, with strong government support, are attempting to become the world leader in environmental equipment exports.

"So the government enacted draconian measures to clean things up. Other laws fostered energy efficiency -- a byproduct of which is less pollution. Now, after years of investments that produced dramatic gains at home, Japan is looking abroad. Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Ltd. and Hitachi Ltd., among others are criss-crossing Europe, Asia, and the U.S., striking deals on equipment or licensing their approach in everything from plant design to waste-water and air pollution control. The Japanese have a lead over the U.S. and Germany in pollution technology for basic industry, and Tokyo is spending \$4 billion a year to broaden the country's environmental skills....[Japan] 'is starting to target the environmental market.'"

4) Japan Bids for Global Leadership in Clean Industry

Describes Japanese industry/government initiatives to market for export their environmental technologies. The plan includes a training program for foreign managers who would presumably take back a bias for Japanese technology. A real wake-up call for the U.S. government in foreign aid and export policy.

..."the new technology being developed by RITE won't be ready for 20 years; until then Japan sees transferring its existing energy-efficient technology to the developing world as the best way to tackle global warming....Japan's answer to the threat is the International Center for Environmental Technology Transfer (ICETT) which one MITI backing last year. Its objectives are ambitious: Tomita says it and an

10) Not Flying Down to Rio: How Bush is Ducking the Global Warming Treaty (By Al Gore)

Makes the point that the Bush Administration presents one-sided economic analysis to justify their opposition to a climate treaty. Cites poor Administration analysis and presents more progressive alternatives that suggest that CO₂ stabilization could actually spur economic growth in the United States.

11) Essay: A Case of Deja Vu

Richard Elliot Benedick, who negotiated the Montreal Protocol on ozone depleting substances for the Reagan Administration, offers his views of the economic impacts of a climate change treaty.

Access to International Markets Is at Stake

Tsukasa Sakai, Managing Director of JGC Corporation, said in *Business Week* magazine (5/11/92), "In the future, access to international markets will depend on who has the most environmentally sound technologies. If U.S. companies don't move aggressively, we will see the same conflict in environmental technology that we see today between GM and Honda."

For example, Japanese electric power companies, steelmakers and other dischargers of greenhouse gasses say they are already actively developing technology to eliminate pollutants. Officials at NKK Corp. and Sumitomo Chemical say they have made more progress in reducing emissions than any of their overseas counterparts. NKK is working on a number of pollution control projects such as converting sewage sludge to paper, flower pots, and other goods. (*Wall Street Journal*, 6/3/92, p.1)

The Rio Summit highlights the importance of environmental protection and the economic benefits generated by new environmental technologies. With such positive economic benefits, it is unfortunate that President Bush follows a short-sighted policy which harms the environment, misses opportunities for economic development, and hurts our international prestige.

Science & Technology

POLLUTION CONTROL

THE GREEN GIANT? IT MAY BE JAPAN

Environmental equipment and skills could be its hot new products

Two decades ago, Japan was choking on its own filth. Acrid clouds of photochemical smog from car and factory emissions assaulted residents of major cities. Then, two oil crises led to energy shortages and sent prices spiraling. That walloped Japan, a huge oil importer, harder than other industrial countries. Something had to be done.

So the government enacted draconian measures to clean things up. Other laws fostered energy efficiency—a byproduct of which is less pollution. Now, after years of investments that produced dramatic gains at home, Japan is looking abroad. Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Ltd. and Hitachi Ltd., among others, are criss-crossing Europe, Asia, and the U.S., striking deals on equipment or licensing their approach in everything from plant design to waste-water and air-pollution control. The Japanese have a lead over the U.S. and Germany in pollution technology for basic industry, and Tokyo is spending \$4 billion a year to broaden the country's environmental skills. Jerry D. Newton, Far East marketing manager for environmental and geographic information systems at Digital Equipment Corp., has just returned from surveying such efforts. Japan, he confirms, "is starting to target the environmental market."

SEAWEED POWER? The green technologies being developed in Japan span a broad range of industries. Steelmakers, who spew out 25% of the country's carbon dioxide, a greenhouse gas, have slashed energy consumption per ton of steel by 20% since the mid-1970s. Already, the world's most energy-efficient producers, these companies hope to cut energy use a further 10 points with a new process, called direct iron-ore smelting, which is due out in 1994. Meanwhile, Toyota, Nissan, Honda, and Mazda are pushing hard to raise fuel efficiency and slash emissions. And Tokyo Electric Power recently unveiled an electric car that broke two world records. It hit a peak of 109 mph and drove 340 miles on a single battery charge at 25 mph—much farther than U.S. models go.

Innovation isn't limited to smokestack industries. Construction giants Taisei Corp. and Kajima Corp. have integrated systems for sorting and transporting waste within office buildings and complexes. Sanyo,

Sharp, and Matsushita Electric Industrial dominate the world market for solar batteries, and Fuji Electric Co. leads in fuel-cell technology. Last year, Matsushita Battery Industrial Co. commercialized the world's first mercury-free alkaline batteries. It licensed the technology to Rayovac Corp., the No. 3 U.S. battery producer.

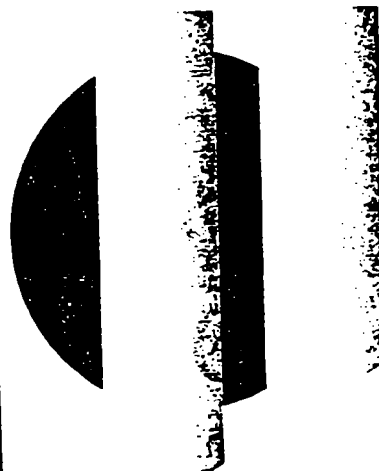
Now, the Japanese government is funding more exotic projects. The latest, led by the Ministry of International Trade & Industry (MITI), aims to use biotech to make hydrogen, the cleanest-burning of all fuels and one that experts think is the great hope for the 21st century. Making hydrogen now requires huge amounts of electricity to separate the gas from water. MITI's idea is to use gene-splicing and other techniques to boost the productivity of hydrogen-producing microbes and seaweed. If this works, MITI says, the benefits could far exceed those of solar cells and other energy sources it has backed so far.

Whenever possible, Japan is focusing on integrated systems that minimize waste—and create new markets. Nippon Steel Corp., for example, is converting coal ash to zeolite, a mineral used in water treatment. Researchers at the Japan Atomic Energy Research Institute, Chubu Electric

Power Co., and Ebara Corp. are working on a project to convert sulfur and nitrogen oxides—the chief causes of acid rain—into ammonium sulfate and ammonium nitrate, which can be used in fertilizers. The technique has been licensed to research groups in the U.S., Poland, and Germany.

To be sure, Japan faces plenty of obstacles. U.S. and European competitors haven't been standing still. Japan produces some of the world's most advanced incinerators, for instance, but relatively few of the 2,000 in operation are rigged to produce electricity. The U.S. has the lead in such cogeneration systems, and the Energy Dept. funds leading research in a broad range of advanced energy technologies.

Moreover, as with earlier efforts in semiconductors and consumer electronics, Japan is starting from a small base. Domestic orders for environmental equipment last year totaled just \$5.8 billion, and exports of such gear account for less than 10% of Ja-



INCINERATING WASTE

With limited space for land-fill, Japan builds powerful, low-emission incinerators for every type of solid and liquid waste.

PUSHING FOR GREEN TECHNOLOGIES

Japan is making a major effort to develop and export pollution control gear and expertise

GREENING THE AUTO INDUSTRY The less fuel burned, the less CO₂ released. Japan's auto companies are racking up 'green' innovations, from lighter body materials to lean-burn engines and better catalytic converters

MANAGING STEEL PLANTS Steelmakers produce 35% of Japan's industrial waste, more than any other industry. So the most modern plants are designed to recycle much more heat and waste product

TREATING WASTE WATER Japan's heavy industrial companies are exporting sewage-control and sludge-treatment equipment and expertise to other Asian countries

CREATING ALTERNATIVE ENERGY The best solution to global warming? Cease all greenhouse gas emissions. Japan is the world leader in solar and fuel cell technology

REMOVING CO₂ The government and electric power companies are doing exotic research, such as using genetically engineered micro-organisms to gobble up CO₂

NEUTRALIZING FLUE GASES A dozen Japanese companies sell equipment to remove sulfur oxides and nitrous oxides from the stacks of steel and electric-power plants

DATA: BW

Japan Bids for Global Leadership in Clean Industry

"In the past, Japan was criticized because we did not create new technology," says Ikuro Tomita, Director for Global Environmental Technology at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI). But as Tomita lists the innovative, high-technology environmental projects that MITI has begun as part of its strategy for sending world greenhouse gas emissions plunging by the year 2025, it's clear that he is determined to put the lie to that criticism. "This program is completely different," he says. "Japan wants to be a leader in global environmental technology."

Japan first laid out its comprehensive plans for a technical fix for global warming and ozone depletion in 1990, in MITI's "The New Earth 21—Action Program for the Twenty-

First Century." New Earth 21 is a "vision," as the ministry calls its long-term strategic plans, and as such it comes with plenty of hype. The ultimate goal, says MITI, is "to undo the damage done to the earth over the past two centuries, since the Industrial Revolution." But this is no utopian dream: Like the "visions" that preceded Japan's conquest of world semiconductor markets, it signals a consensus in industry that it is time to move into a particular area of technology. And like earlier visions, New Earth 21 has spurred the formation of new government-industry-university joint research institutes, in this case aimed at transferring existing "clean" technologies to developing countries and—a longer-term goal—devising completely new technologies

that would actually strip carbon dioxide out of industry smokestacks.

That big-budget, long-term technological approach to global warming is unparalleled elsewhere. "[Even] in the United States," remarks Tomita, "the Department of Commerce, the National Science Foundation, or the Environmental Protection Agency have no such programs for environmental technology development." And Japan's effort attracting plenty of plaudits abroad. Nation Academy of Engineering president Rube White, for example, has cited it as a potential nucleus for a global effort to develop and transfer clean technology—an effort likely to be discussed next month in Rio de Janeiro at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

Japan is well positioned to take the lead in environmental technology, as industry and government spokesmen are fond of pointing out. Turn to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs handbook on Japan's environmental policies and you'll find a proud boast in big, bold headlines: "Japan's carbon dioxide emissions

A Technical Fix for the Greenhouse

When Japanese government and industry get together to develop a new technology, they're in it for the long haul. And their national effort to seize the lead in technologies for reducing greenhouse gas emissions and protecting the ozone layer (see main text) is no exception. With government and industry promising funding for "at least 10 years," says Ikuro Tomita, director for global environmental technology at MITI, scientists at the Research Institute of Innovative Technology for the Earth (RITE) know that they can think really long-term in their quest for technological solutions to the problems of the global environment.

Five of RITE's suite of seven big projects have familiar goals: substitutes for the chlorofluorocarbon compounds that attack ozone, biodegradable plastics, improved bioreactors for low-energy synthesis of chemicals, production of hydrogen by bacteria, and recycling of steel scrap. But the two front-runners, sharing half of the total \$28 million-a-year budget, are more unusual. Both projects aim at new methods for removing carbon dioxide from industrial exhaust gases. If they succeed, factories and power plants might one day run without net production of carbon dioxide.

One project, run by Hiroshi Kuwahara, general manager of Hitachi's Industrial Systems and Equipment Division, would harness biology. At the mercy of rainfall and soil quality, plants are normally working at less than optimal efficiency when they use sunlight to convert carbon dioxide into carbohydrates. RITE would outdo nature, placing algae capable of extraordinarily high rates of photosynthesis in a perfect environment: a nutrient bath at the ideal temperature, with sunlight piped in through special optical fibers that diffuse light through their sides to produce an even illumination. If the plan works, carbon dioxide bubbled into this algal heaven from industrial exhausts will simply vanish, turned straight into carbohydrate, which can in turn serve as a fuel or food source.

"To find the superior photosynthetic microorganisms,

microalgae have been collected from lakes and hot springs," says Mamoru Kodama, chief scientist at the Marine Biotechnology Institute in Kamaishi, on the north Pacific coast of Japan. "Several species were found that could grow under carbon dioxide concentrations of 20%," he says. Screening of the organisms is now underway, and biotechnologists are ready to try to improve the best the microbiologists can find. Meanwhile, physicists are developing new reflective coatings for solar collectors and new types of glass for light-diffusing optical fibers; biochemists are examining ways of turning end products into useful fuels or foodstuffs; and, at the top of the hierarchy, computer engineers are developing fuzzy logic controls that would operate the whole system automatically. Sixteen companies are involved in the work, including Hitachi, Asahi Glass, and Sumitomo Chemical Company, each bringing its own special area of expertise. The goal is to have a test plant running early in the next century, at a projected total cost of \$123 million. If a bacterium can't gulp enough carbon dioxide, then maybe blunter chemical methods will work. Another group of 14 companies, plus three of MITI's own research institutes, is also spending big—\$77 million over 10 years—to create new kinds of selectively permeable membranes that could filter carbon dioxide out of high-volume, high-concentration industrial sources. "We have found two or three types of membrane with high efficiency for carbon dioxide separation," says Hiroshi Mano of Sumitomo, who directs the membrane research. The next step might be to turn the carbon dioxide into methanol, a fuel, by adding hydrogen in the presence of new high-performance metal catalysts. A copper-based catalyst already looks promising, says Taiki Watanabe, a researcher from Kawasaki Heavy Industries, who directs the catalyst side of the project. Together, the membrane and the catalyst could yield an elegant recycling scheme: When the methanol is burned, the carbon dioxide could be recovered and turned into fuel again. One way or another, it seems, RITE is determined to turn carbon dioxide from a problem into a profit center.

—F.S.M.

bio tech.
• photosynthesis membranes → then
CO₂ → CH₄

Down Germany's Road

THE WORLD'S FUTURE begins in Germany, down a country lane and through a gate into tomorrow. You get to it on a two-lane road that winds across a field, then disappears over the crest of a hill.

There, nestled in a hollow near the tiny village of Neunburg just 20 miles from the border with Czechoslovakia, stands a glimmering complex of yellow and white, glass and steel, which converts solar radiation into electricity and, in turn, into hydrogen fuel. It is the experimental \$38 million Solar Wasserstoff power plant.

By utility-company standards the futuristic plant, owned by a consortium of governments and industries, is minuscule; it generates only enough energy to supply the equivalent of 50 or 60 households. By every other standard, however, it is revolutionary. The fuel it produces to run cars and furnaces is zero-polluting and virtually limitless.

Even more important, Solar Wasserstoff symbolizes a strategy that may catapult Germany into a position of global economic dominance for years to come. Like dozens of other environmental miracles currently being nurtured in that country, the Wasserstoff operation is lean, mean, competitive and poised to take advantage of an expanding global marketplace—precisely because it is clean.

More than anywhere else on Earth, Germany is demonstrating that the greening of industry, far from being an impediment to commerce, is in fact a stimulus. From Bonn to Berlin, Germany's citizens, businesses and government have concluded that a robust economy and a safe environment are like the chicken and the egg: One leads to the other. "What we are doing

here is economic policy, not environmental policy," says Edda Müller, chief aide to Germany's minister for the environment.

The impetus for that economic policy, however, began with an environmental shock wave: a phenomenon called *Waldsterben*, or "forest death." The term refers to a mysterious tree die-off, first noticed around 1979 or 1980, which has been linked to air pollution. In a nation with an almost mythic connection between its people and the forests, the specter of losing woods ranging from the fabled Black Forest of Hansel and Gretel to the graceful

lindens of Berlin generated an irrepressible demand for action.

The result was the burgeoning of the world's first environmentally based Green political party. At one point the Greens claimed roughly one of every 12 members of the parliament, or *Bundestag*, and their grass-roots pressure pushed politicians inexorably toward tighter and tighter environmental controls.

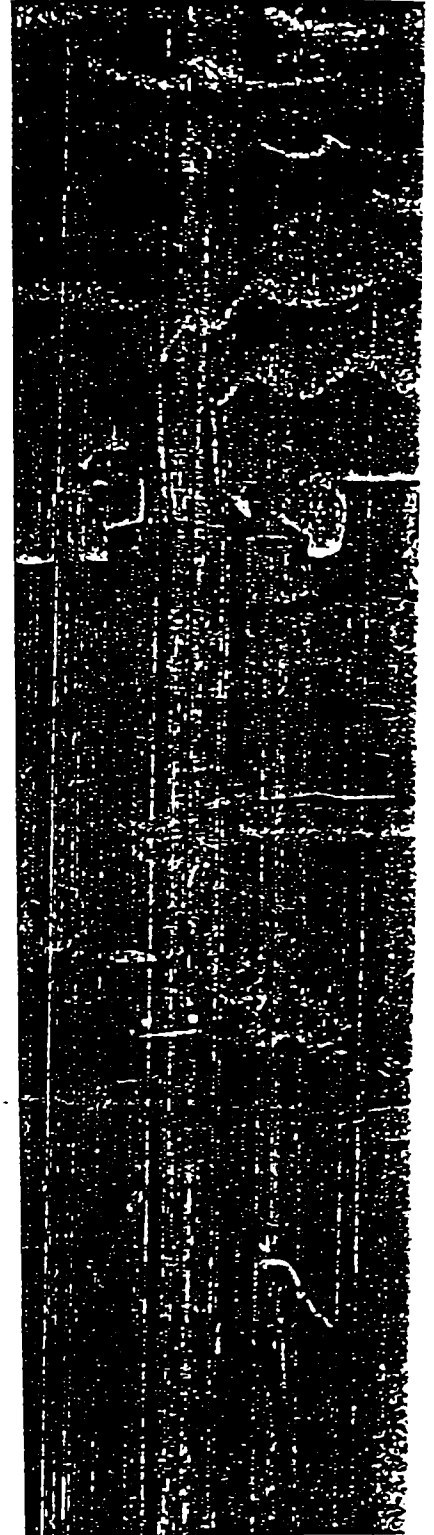
Then, just as this upwelling of environmental fervor seemed

to be subsiding, the meltdown and explosion in 1986 of the Soviet Union's Chernobyl nuclear power plant revived and strengthened it. As mothers fearfully kept their children indoors to avoid the hazard of nuclear fallout, and, as rumors of two-headed calves being born to exposed cattle swept the nation, environmentalism became a deep-seated national value.

Quickly, the zeal to make environmental improvements spread from smokestacks to cars, then to ozone-destroying chemicals, hazardous wastes and global warming. As a result, says Alan Miller of the Center for Global Change, a policy-analysis institute at the University of Maryland, "There is virtually no field of environmental protec-

**Precisely
because it is so
environmentally
advanced,
Germany is lean,
mean,
competitive—
and poised
to dominate
the global
marketplace**

By Curtis A. Moore
Illustrations by Paul Schulenburg



time as Germany edges closer to a self-imposed target of reducing carbon dioxide emissions from the former West Germany by 25 percent and from the former East Germany by 50 percent, both by the year 2005. As the already efficient economy slims itself down further, this will mean:

- **Harnessing wasted energy:** In most power plants and factories, only about one-third of the energy in coal, oil or gas is converted into electricity. The rest is vented as waste heat. Now, the German government is preparing regulations that require large and medium industries and utilities to market this waste energy. The energy can be used to heat or cool homes and factories, operate paper mills and chemical plants, and even generate additional kilowatts in power plants. Officials estimate that by using this waste heat, efficiency can be boosted to roughly 90 percent and air pollution—already at the world's lowest levels—can be chopped in half or more.

- **Cutting auto use.** Other regulations on the drawing board will reduce pollution by forcing drivers out of gas-guzzling cars and onto public transit. Inner cities are systematically being closed to auto traffic, while fees for highway and bridge use are being raised. The government hopes that the number of bicycle riders in Germany, already at one of every 20 commuters, will double.

- **Recycling more than cars.** Because products made from virgin raw materials can require 10 to 100 times the energy of those made from recycled goods, the car company "take-back" requirements now applicable to new vehicles are being extended to virtually all other products. By 1995, 72 percent of glass and metals must be recycled, along with 64 percent of paperboard, plastics and laminates. Incineration, even if used to generate power, is ruled out. Goods made from recycled materials require up to 95 percent less energy—savings that can make products less expensive and more competitive.

- **"Taking back" used products.** Consumers will be required to begin paying deposits on bottles, paint cans and even soap boxes. Such products will bear a "green point" recycling symbol. "The ferocity of the new regulations is extraordinary," said the international business magazine *The Economist*.

To be sure, there are critics of the German strategy. Many question whether the country can achieve its environmental goals while maintaining a high standard of living and a social welfare system that is among the world's most comprehen-

sive—all while undertaking the mammoth costs of reunifying the former East and West Germanies.

Gasoline prices have already been hiked by roughly 45 cents a gallon to help pay the estimated \$128 billion cost of bringing the former East Germany up to West Germany's stringent environmental standards. New taxes on toxic waste, carbon dioxide and other pollutants are imminent. Now some industries are resisting.



**Only ten years later,
the Germans have
shown that cleaning
up industry can
stimulate growth; now
Germany may be
headed down a yellow
brick road paved
with gold**

When the government proposed yet another turn of the environmental screw in late 1991, the chairman of Hoechst, Germany's largest chemical company, complained bitterly, saying the government "had lost all sense of proportion." Wolfgang Hilger said stringent requirements had already forced Hoechst to halt production of some dyes and chemicals at a cost of \$60 million, and another \$48 million were threatened. Chemical firms, Hilger warned, "now have to study each new legislative proposal to see whether we can still afford to invest in Germany."

It is exactly these kinds of fears that have slowed cleanup in the United States, Canada and other developed countries. In the United States, for instance, the prevailing view among Bush Administration officials is that the inevitable consequence of environmental protection is a weakened economy and loss of jobs.

Increasingly, however, the marketplace results of the German experiment are discounting this view. Now many experts feel that if the United States and other industrial giants fail to take actions of their own to catch up, the Germans will be catapulted into the lead in many areas.

This makes sense to economists who have attempted to explain the dynamics underlying the debate. "Tough standards trigger innovation and upgrading," says Harvard Business School economist Michael Porter, whose 855-page multinational study of industrial economies, *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*, examined the impact of environmental regulations on competitiveness. "Nations with the most rigorous requirements often lead in exports of affected products," he adds, citing both Germany and Japan's air-pollution requirements.

"Although the U.S. once clearly led in setting standards," Porter continues, "that position has been slipping away. Today the U.S. remains the only industrialized country without a policy on carbon dioxide, and our leadership in setting environmental standards has been lost in many areas."

Roger Gale, a former senior official at both the U.S. Department of Energy and the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, agrees. Investments in new technologies of the sort being deployed in Germany "accomplish the twin goals of improving environmental quality while improving competitiveness," says Gale, who now advises foreign and domestic utilities on the competitive implications of environmental regulations. "Gains in efficiency from investment in new technologies and services will provide a huge, long-term competitive advantage."

Meantime, there is no sign that the German public is growing weary of the pursuit of green policies. In fact, the government is now launching a series of innovative initiatives that capture the imagination. The most environmentally elegant may be an aggressive and focused program to commercialize what many energy experts consider to be the two perfect fuels: solar electricity and hydrogen.

Electricity can be generated from sunlight through the use of photovoltaic panels—devices commonly used on a

Fighting Global Warming Is Good for Business

By David Doniger
and Alan Miller

THERE is an air of familiarity to the White House's doomsday warnings against rapid action to combat global warming.

We are told that a severe cutback in the use of fossil fuels, which produce the carbon dioxide that is warming the atmosphere, is technically impossible and economically suicidal. This is exactly what we heard just a few years ago, when the idea of banning ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbons was first proposed.

Today, however, with the recent adoption of a treaty to phase out the 10 worst ozone-depleting chemicals, things don't look nearly so bleak. Virtually every industry knows how it will eliminate these chemicals before

David Doniger is senior attorney with the Natural Resources Defense Council. Alan Miller is executive director of the Center for Global Change at the University of Maryland.

the year 2000 deadline, and many firms already have. Cost estimates are melting away like an iceberg adrift in a tropical sea. The economy may even show a net savings from the ban.

The lesson of the ban on chlorofluorocarbons, or CFC's, is clear: When industry is forced to find alternatives it will, and without the dire consequences that are routinely forecast.

CFC's seemed indispensable when they were dirt cheap and available in unlimited quantity. If you've got something almost as inexpensive and plentiful as water, why look for substitutes? Thus it was no surprise that in 1982 the Environmental Protection Agency could identify substitutes for no more than a third of the chemicals' uses.

But with the discovery in 1985 of the ozone hole yawning over Antarctica, perceptions turned and the search for substitutes began in earnest. Today, breakthroughs are coming at increasing speed. Many companies have sharply cut ozone-depleting emissions just by eliminating waste or recycling used chemicals — usually saving money. Some industries are swimming in new alternatives.

For cleaning printed circuit boards,

The lesson of the battle over ozone depletion.

for example, the electronics industry has perfected new solvents made from water and detergents (one is even made from orange peels). For refrigeration and air conditioning, alternatives include new, less dangerous chemicals and even the revival (with modern safety precautions) of old coolants such as ammonia.

The best of the new cooling compounds and equipment, it now turns out, are more energy-efficient than their predecessors. According to the E.P.A., the energy savings could reach \$5 billion in the 1990's and \$100 billion over the next 85 years.

As alternatives mushroom, estimates of the overall cost to the U.S.

economy have nose-dived. In 1988, the E.P.A. projected that cutting CFC's by 50 percent over 10 years would cost more than \$3 billion. But just a year later, the agency found that a total phase-out by the year 2000 would cost less than its earlier estimate for doing just half as much.

In fact, thanks to the multibillion-dollar energy savings, the economy may show a net profit. And this is not to mention some \$30 trillion in health and environmental damages avoided over the next 85 years.

The analogy between cutting CFC's and reducing the use of fossil fuels is very close.

Opportunities for cutting U.S. energy use — at enormous profit — are widespread. For example, applying known energy-efficiency improvements to seven types of home appliances would produce net savings of more than \$50 billion over the next 20 years.

Responding to a United Nations report predicting a disastrous warming of 5 to 10 degrees Fahrenheit by 2100, six of the seven countries at the Houston economic summit meeting last month have announced major curbs in carbon dioxide emissions over the next 10 to 15 years. Only the Bush Ad-

ministration persists in King Canute-like denial.

Just as with CFC's, the new commitments are going to spur strong investment in energy efficiency and alternative power, producing a crop of currently unimagined technologies and options. The cost of cooling the greenhouse will tumble.

Germany, which already uses only half as much energy per unit of gross national product as the U.S., plans a 25 per cent cut in its carbon dioxide emissions by 2005, and expects a net savings to its economy. On competitive grounds alone, it should worry U.S. leaders that industry in other countries will get the jump on new energy technologies.

Short of total conversion, President Bush could take one immediate lesson from the ozone story and support a "carbon tax." Last year, after all, he endorsed a \$5 billion tax on CFC's to cut emissions and trim the deficit. A carbon tax, based on the amount of carbon dioxide produced by each type of fuel, would yield billions while sharply reducing greenhouse emissions. And it would spur U.S. investments in the new energy technologies needed to stay competitive in a greenhouse world.

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In Economics, 'Green' Is Gold

By Michael Silverstein

EMERGING from the shadows of the current recession in the United States is one startlingly favorable point of light. Surprisingly, it comes from a source that Americans have regarded as an alternative to, rather than an engine of, eco-growth — the environment.

In the last two decades, the US economy has been undergoing a vast environmental restructuring. Initially brought about by hundreds of new environmental laws, regulations, and court decisions, this process has been reinforced in recent years by a "greening" of consumer preferences.

Increasingly important, as the world economy has become ever more competitive, greater efficiency has become the hallmark of successful producers. Since waste and pollution are just other ways of saying inefficiency and poor management, marketplace forces increasingly favor those companies (and countries) that waste less in their manufacturing.

The economic restructuring brought about by environmental laws, changed consumer tastes, and improved efficiency is advanced in the US than anywhere else in the world for the reason that it began here earlier and has been pursued with greater vigor. In consequence, we stand to benefit from a new world economic order.

The most obvious benefit is the striking growth of a domestic environmental-services industry, whose components now generate \$30 billion in annual revenues and employ an estimated 2 million people. This industry is one of the few American businesses that has not been obliged to "downscale" during the economic downturn.

Western Europe and the tigers of Asia toughen their own environmental policies, as the pollution-wracked countries of Eastern Europe, Mexico, and Thailand seek to reclaim their environments, our lead in environmental services is opening new export markets for US "green goods."

The worldwide market for pollution-control products and services, according to the US Department of Commerce, was about \$50 billion last year. Some \$50 billion took the form of trade with other nations. Of this latter sum, the largest single exporter (\$6 billion) was the US. The environmental tax levied on Americans for polluting in the 1970s and 1980s, in other words, is now creating a job and profit boom for US exporters in the 1990s.

BYOND the specialty area of environmental services, one key to virtually all successful international trading in years to come will be how well exports meet environmental requirements of importing countries.

New packaging, recycling, and content regulations taking hold in the European Community and other major trading blocs make it clear that consumer goods of all kinds will be held to ever higher environmental standards. Here, again, because whole classes of American-made products became environmentally sensitized earlier to accommodate tough environmental regulations, we enjoy a selling edge.

Viewed from the ecological perspective, the world is moving into a period of endemic disasters generated by the cumulative effects of too much industrialization and too many people. Viewed from the perspective of national and international economics, however, we are on the verge of an opportunity.

In decades to come, as much wealth will accrue to individuals, companies, and nations learning to cope with new and nastier man-made environmental realities as was made in all centuries past creating these realities. The economies of nations that "green" faster than their competitors will benefit most.

The environment is thus no longer an economic problem for Americans, but a redeeming and regenerative economic vision. Pursuing this vision merits serious consideration today. In many respects, it embodies the best economic future we can reasonably hope to enjoy.

■ Michael Silverstein is president of Environmental Economics in Philadelphia and professor of environmental economics at the Management Institute of New York University.

SUNDAY, MAY 3, 1992

Not Flying Down to Rio

How Bush Is Ducking the Global Warming Treaty

By Al Gore

FOR THE BUSH administration, deciding whether the United States can afford to reduce emissions of carbon dioxide has all the seriousness of a rigged television game show: They know the answer before they ask the question. And the answer is "no."

That's the wrong answer. In fact, it's a dangerous answer, with severe consequences not just for the United States and for our economy, but also—because carbon dioxide is the principal cause of global warming—for the global economy, the global environment and for humanity.

There is an urgent need for a reality check. Urgent, because a draft agreement on climate change—a compromise released late Friday—leaves many goals unmet. This draft compromise comes as nations from around the world meet for the sixth time in an effort to craft a new international agreement to control emissions of carbon dioxide and confront global warming in time for the agreement to be signed at the Earth Summit in June.

Each time these nations have negotiated, intransigence from President Bush and his representatives has blocked progress. Now, there is a weak compromise, clouded by confusing and dense language and without any specific targets and timetables for action, but a compromise. Unfortunately, it appears as though the United States—in-



CHRIS MADDEN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

stead of moving forward—has pulled every other nation back to craft an agreement far short of what could have been accomplished. A treaty without specific targets and timetables is a hollow promise. There is no assurance it will be kept and no promise of future benefit. This is the final negotiating session, and every indication is that the United States will con-

tinue to do all it can to weaken the language of any treaty.

That's why a reality check is needed. The administration is selectively sorting through the data to get the answers it wants, ignoring even the findings of its own agencies whenever they don't support the administration's advance conclusions.

For many months, the administration took the position that the United States cannot afford to stabilize emissions of carbon dioxide at 1990 levels by the year 2000—and sign the climate convention at the international Earth Summit—because the economic impact would be debilitating. However, the administration's most recent analysis, "U.S. Views on Global Climate Change," shows not only that we can afford to stabilize emissions but that voluntary energy conservation and other measures have brought the United States close to meeting the proposed targets and timetables—while actually enhancing business profits. What was once called too expensive is now called a bargain too good to pass up.

But instead of seizing this as a plausible justification for a change in position—and one that would be politically palatable to the president's conservative critics—the administration now argues that this good news means the United States doesn't need to sign an international agreement—or at least not one that actually requires us to do anything.

The economic analysis that supported the report's findings was debated intensely within the administration; it is unclear whether the

conclusions were reached as much by politics as by facts. But, by the administration's own reckoning, the United States can nearly achieve stabilization of carbon dioxide emissions at 1990 levels by the year 2000, and—again by the administration's own reckoning—easily meet targets and timetables in language now being negotiated by other nations. The Bush administration has stubbornly blocked a binding commitment to these goals on the grounds that the United States, of all the world's developed nations, is uniquely unable to reach meet them.

Indeed, the administration has consistently endorsed the idea that business profits can only be hurt by the effort to curb global warming embodied in specific targets and timetables. For example, previous Department of Energy (DOE) analyses, such as the National Energy Strategy and the DOE Report to Congress, "Limiting Net Greenhouse Gas Emissions in the United States," concluded that many of the options now considered profitable would, in fact, hurt the economy. The administration justifies its stubborn opposition to a strict climate change agreement—indeed, to any serious U.S. effort to reduce emissions of carbon dioxide—by arguing we can't afford it.

But a closer look at the administration's own analyses of the costs and benefits discloses numerous examples of faulty analysis:

- DOE emphasizes energy production over conservation in its modeling. That's what a National Research Council committee—put to work by the department to evaluate the anal-

Al Gore is the junior Democratic senator from Tennessee.



ESSAY: A CASE OF DÉJÀ VU by Richard Elliot Benedick

Memories are short. A scant five years ago there was no evidence of global depletion of the ozone layer. Skeptics maintained that the dangers were unproved, that better technologies were nonexistent and that the cost of developing such technologies would disrupt the economy.

The current debate about greenhouse warming conveys a distinct sense of déjà vu. The world again confronts a classic situation: weighing the risks of action and inaction in the face of uncertainties. Short-term costs loom large; long-term dangers seem remote.

Nature, however, is not in the habit of providing convenient early-warning signals. So astounded were scientists in the early 1980s to detect a dramatic seasonal drop in ozone levels over Antarctica that they spent two years rechecking their data. They soon discovered that satellites had dutifully been recording the ozone collapse for several years but had not raised any alert because the computers were programmed to reject such extreme data as anomalies.

The Antarctic ozone hole is an example of what scientists call a nonlinear response; that is, the ozone layer kept absorbing ever more chlorine from man-made sources without revealing any problem, until the concentrations reached a breaking point, and collapse ensued. With respect to greenhouse warming, scientists warn that the billions of tons of carbon dioxide and other gases being emitted by modern industrial economies constitute an unpredictable experiment on the atmosphere. Are we approaching other unknown thresholds?

If we heed those who counsel deferring policy action on global warming, we are betting high stakes that clouds or oceans will offset for a while the intrusions into the atmosphere. If they are wrong, the consequences will be grave. Even the most dire predictions are now shown to have *underestimated* ozone loss caused by chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs). Had CFCs been permitted to continue growing, they would have wrought irreparable damage on the ozone layer. And yet at the time, powerful voices in government and industry strongly opposed regulations, on the grounds of incomplete scientific evidence.

Under these circumstances, the lesson for the policymaker seems clear:

if we are to err, let us err on the side of caution. The very existence of scientific uncertainty about global warming should lead us to action rather than delay, especially when most of the international scientific community persistently warns of the risks.

Against this background, at least one country, Japan, has unveiled an aggressive program for improving energy efficiency and developing technology to combat the dangers threatening the environment. The program, called Earth 21, clearly considers protecting the planet to be a commercial opportunity. Contrary to views in some influential circles in the U.S., environmental concern is not a pretext for central planning. Free-market forces can be harnessed to work for sustainable growth. For the market is essentially neutral with respect to the environment; relying solely on Adam Smith will not, as we have painfully learned, invariably lead to the right outcome.

It is our inadequate tools of economic analysis and accounting that often lead planners and investors to precisely the wrong decisions. Outmoded concepts of national accounting generally ignore the "externalities" of environmental damage and discount potential harm. A country's economy, for example, receives a double "boost" from production of toxic products and from their subsequent costly cleanup. Similarly, the more countries such as Malaysia and Indonesia destroy their tropical forests and export their patrimony, the more "growth" they register in their GNP. On a corporate level, the technique of discounting future values intrinsically minimizes the harm to future generations while predisposing managers toward investment decisions that maximize short-run profits.

Something is clearly wrong here. The outmoded system by which we measure income needs to be overhauled so that it reflects the future costs of environmental damage. Only then will financial markets reward environmental protection rather than regarding it as an irksome charge against current profits. Far-ranging benefits could flow from such a reform as markets begin receiving more balanced financial signals and their responses permeate the economy.

Here again, the experience with the ozone layer offers some lessons. Consumers showed that with the right information from the media, they were

capable of changing purchasing habits, abandoning or even boycotting CFC-propelled aerosol sprays. And the ozone treaty signed in Montreal in 1987 demonstrated that, with the proper stimulus, industry can change old habits.

Significantly, the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer departed from the customary accommodation of environmental regulation to commercial convenience. It did not merely prescribe "best available technology" to replace CFCs. Rather the designers of the treaty mandated a timetable for deep cuts in consumption of these useful chemicals with full knowledge that the technology did not yet exist to achieve those cuts.

The treaty furnished an unmistakable market signal that made it worthwhile for companies to invest in research into new chemicals and processes they had previously eschewed. The rules of the market were modified, creating conditions that mobilized the vast financial and intellectual resources of the private sector to find solutions formerly claimed to be impossible.

Given the most recent scientific revelations on the ozone layer, we are fortunate that the Montreal Protocol stimulated entrepreneurship on behalf of an environmental objective that had previously been ridiculed. Was this a "radical" treaty, as some antiregulatory politicians argued? Far from it: the protocol was an expression of genuine faith in the market system, in its ability to respond to incentives. As it turned out, economists had vastly overestimated the costs of CFC alternatives and new technologies; some industries even lowered expenses by redesigning processes to do without CFC substitutes.

Market signals imposed by an innovative international treaty achieved results for protecting the ozone layer. I suspect we would find the same forces at work if we would focus on reducing dependence on fossil fuels in the current international negotiations on a climate treaty. The moment of truth will be a historic United Nations conference in Rio de Janeiro in June.

RICHARD ELLIOT BENEDICK, formerly deputy assistant secretary of state for environmental matters and chief U.S. negotiator for the Montreal Protocol, is a senior fellow at the World Wildlife Fund.

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IS GEORGE BUSH REALLY "THE ENVIRONMENTAL PRESIDENT"? LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD

Claims drawn from EPA Administrator William Reilly's interview with John McLaughlin, 8/9/92; President Bush's speech at the Godard Space Science Center, 6/1/92

Claim #1. "The 1990 Clean Air Act... is the most ambitious air pollution legislation anywhere on earth."

The record: President Bush did introduce comprehensive clean air legislation, and he did sign the bill that Congress produced. Ever since the signing ceremony, unfortunately, the Administration has opened the back door of Dan Quayle's Competitiveness Council in order to let industrial polluters rewrite parts of the law they don't like.

Example: President Bush sided with the Quayle Council and overruled his EPA chief, Bill Reilly, to issue a rule allowing companies to emit up to 240 tons of cancer-causing air pollution without public notice or comment.

Significantly, Reilly objected vehemently that the Administration rule would be illegal, and was supported by a Justice Department opinion that was later rewritten at the President's direction.

Example: In December 1990, the Quayle Council forced EPA to eliminate a widely supported ban on the combustion of lead batteries at incinerators. The rule would have dramatically reduced the release of airborne lead from incinerators, a serious threat to the health of children. The Council's action in this case was overturned by the D.C. Circuit Court in a case brought by the State of New York. In its ruling, the Court instructed the Competitiveness Council that all decisions must be supported in the public record, and expressly forbade it from holding up EPA rules past the deadlines set out in the law.

Example: The Bush Administration has delayed the issuance of a large number of other rules and standards required to implement the law that President Bush signed. A pending lawsuit by Congressman Waxman cites more than 50 failures to take pollution control actions specifically mandated in the law -- a startling failure for a law less than two years old.

Claim #2: "(EPA) budget is up substantially at a period when budgets have not gone up."

The record: EPA suffered severe and damaging budget cuts during the Reagan/Bush Administration. In effect, the modest increases in the agency budget requested by the Bush/Quayle Administration have barely restored the funds cut in the previous eight years. (The Bush Administration's FY'93 EPA operating budget request is only 16% higher in real dollars than EPA's operating budget in 1979 -- but during the same period, EPA's real workload has doubled with the passage of at least six major environmental laws).

Claim #3: "(EPA) enforcement is more vigorous in the Bush Administration than it has ever been in any previous era," and "the results have been record contributions to cleanups from businesses."

Statistically, the Bush Administration EPA has brought more fines than any previous administration. This is possible in part because the Congress gave EPA a new power to levy administrative fines in the Clean Water Act of 1987. Despite this fact, many observers have noted a disturbing pattern in the Bush Administration pollution enforcement record -- one in which, the bigger the polluter, the lighter the punishment.

Rockwell International recently plead guilty to criminal violations of the nation's hazardous waste laws at the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant in Colorado. Although the Rocky Flats clean-up may cost taxpayers as much as \$1 billion, Rockwell was fined only \$18.5 million.

Similarly, a recent (7/20/92) investigative article by the Legal Times found a "pattern of behaviour by Justice Department officials that is seriously hindering efforts by law enforcers to hold polluters accountable for their environmental crimes." The article charged, among other examples, that Justice had overruled EPA to prevent the prosecution of Chemical Waste Management for illegal transportaion of agent orange (dioxin) in Alabama, and had sought and received a three year jail sentence for water pollution violations by a 68 year-old independent waste company executive while allowing the giant Weyerhaeuser Co. to escape with a \$500,000 fine for a similar violation.

Claim #4. "Just in the last four years, we've added a million and a half acres to America's parks, forests, wildlife refuges, and other public lands... We've created 57 new wildlife refuges, and restored or protected more than half a million acres a year of important wetlands."

The record: The Bush Administration, at best, has been a grudging steward of our public lands. At worst, the President has allowed our professional land managing agencies to be hamstrung by political appointees.

A. National Parks: The Bush Administration opposed four of the seven units that Congress added to the National Park System approved during the last four years. The Administration continues to oppose proposed park additions, even in the face of strong public support, such as the proposed East Mojave National Park and Death Valley Monument Additions in Senator Cranston's California Desert bill. The Administration also opposes the addition to the park system of what many park supporters believe to be the most significant missing natural land type, in the form of the proposed Tallgrass Prairie National Park in Kansas. The Administration has also notably failed to remedy the many threats to the Park system and defects in park management identified in studies commissioned by the Park Service itself.

Even more seriously, the Administration has punished and forced out career professionals who were only trying to defend the integrity of the Park Service and the national park system. Chief among these is the case of Loraine Mintzmyer, the long-time regional director of the NPS in the Rocky Mountain region, and the highest ranking woman in the Service's professional ranks. Ms. Mintzmyer lead the preparation of early drafts of the "Yellowstone Vision Document," which was designed to guide federal agency management of lands in and surrounding America's oldest national park. As a result of political opposition to the document from Republican Congressmen and Senators, she was transferred from her post and chose to resign. The document was then watered down by political appointees.

B. National Wildlife Refuges: Despite an internal USFWS study showing that incompatible activities such as mining, off road vehicle use, and military practice bombing are damaging 63% of the nation's 471 national wildlife refuges, the Bush Administration has opposed legislation (by Senator Graham and Rep. Studds) to improve the management of the refuge system. In one particularly spectacular example, the Administration, against the advice of field professionals, has allowed the Navy to continue practice bombing of the Copalis National Wildlife Refuge in Washington state.

C. Land and Water Conservation Fund (LWCF) additions: The Administration has consistently requested appropriations for land acquisition through the LWCF at a third or less of the annually authorized expenditure. Without aggressive leadership, Congress has sometimes appropriated even less than the Administration request, with the result that the backlog of unspent moneys accruing to the fund grows each year, and currently totals over \$8 billion.

Claim #5: "We've placed a moratorium on oil and gas drilling along the most sensitive areas of our coasts"

President Bush did place a ten-year administrative moratorium on drilling along much of the coast of California, Oregon, Washington, and S. Florida. Many believe that these decisions were made, not because of the ecological sensitivity of the lands involved, but rather because of their electoral sensitivity. The Administration continues to promote drilling in the most ecologically sensitive land of all, the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

Claim #6: "We've signed new law(s) to protect against oil spills"

One of the worst oil spills in American history happened on President Bush's watch when the Exxon Valdez struck a reef in Prince William Sound in March of 1989. The spill released over 11 million gallons of crude oil into the wildlife-rich waters of SE Alaska. The Bush Administration responded to the emergency timidly, refused requests to federalize the clean-up, and ultimately pursued a plea bargain that let Exxon off the hook on criminal charges.

Working under a mood of overwhelming national revulsion at the spill, Congress enacted the Oil Pollution Prevention Act of 1990. Although the President ultimately signed the bill, the administration resisted many of the Act's strong provisions, including requirements for double hull construction on new tankers and the refusal of Congress to pre-empt stronger state laws or liability standards.

The Wall Street Journal (7/20/92) recently charged that in 1981, Bush, as Vice President and head of the Task Force on Regulatory Relief (the predecessor to Quayle's Competitiveness Council), forced the withdrawal of a proposed Coast Guard regulation that would have eliminated single hull tankers for environmental reasons. The WSJ also charged that Bush had a concealed conflict of interest in the rulemaking, because he was at the time an investment partner of Hollywood Marine, Inc., the oil barge company that led the charge against the regulation (as were James Baker and Robert Mosbacher).

Claim #7:. "We've signed new law(s) to end below-cost timber sales in America's largest rainforest -- the Tongass"

The record: The Bush Administration opposed many of the key reforms that Congress enacted in the Tongass Timber Reform Act. Although President Bush did sign the Tongass bill, his administration defended the land planning process that the Forest Service had undertaken under the provisions of the 1980 Alaska Lands Act, opposed termination of the long-term timber supply contracts through which the Forest Service supplied two pulp mills (one of which is foreign-owned) with logs, and opposed "any major change in the statutory direction for management of the Tongass National Forest" as "premature".

Claim #8:. "We've attended to the international environment -- with new agreements to stop the irresponsible export of toxic wastes, to

ban trade in ivory, and to use debt forgiveness to protect the environment."

The record: President Bush's failure to take leadership at the Earth Summit in Rio humiliated the U.S. in the eyes of the world, and cast an unfair doubt on our country's many real environmental achievements.

Claim #9. "We (have signed) a good agreement on climate change."

The record: Although President Bush did sign the climate change treaty, he did so only after his negotiators had diluted the treaty's most important proposed goal, the stabilization of carbon dioxide emissions from the industrialized countries. His statements during the negotiations show that, unlike our trade competitors in Japan and Germany, he entirely failed to see the economic potential for U.S. companies to market energy efficiency services and renewable energy technology that will accompany international efforts to prevent global warming.

As signed, the Convention obligates the United States to take measures to limit anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gasses, including CO₂, but fails, largely because of the recalcitrance of the Bush Administration, to call for the stabilization of greenhouse gas emissions (at 1990 levels by the year 2000), as was urged by the EC in preparatory negotiations.

In the place of such a commitment to stabilize, the Bush Administration has proposed a series of measures, some administrative and some legislative, in the paper known as "U.S. Views on Global Climate Change," which, taken together, were estimated to reduce projected U.S. net GHG emissions by 125 - 200 million tons, or 7 - 11% of the total projected emissions for the year 2000. Although EPA analysts argued that these measures would bring the U.S. very close to the stabilization goal advanced by some European countries, the Bush Administration continued to object to any national commitment to stabilize CO₂ or other greenhouse gases, and ultimately succeeded in forcing agreement to the much vaguer goal now contained in the convention.

Claim #10: "(We have advanced) major new initiatives to protect and enhance the world's forests."

The record: At the Houston G-7 Summit Meeting in July, 1990, President Bush proposed the beginning of negotiations on a global convention on forests to be signed in 1992. The Administration has failed to achieve any international consensus on forest protection however. The reluctance of developing nations to negotiate forest protections with the Administration stems both from President Bush's perceived hypocrisy on the forest issue itself (i.e. his failure to apply the same standard to the forests of the Pacific Northwest that he does to the Amazon, and in part to the perceived refusal of the Administration to make real commitments to reduce carbon dioxide emissions as part of the climate treaty.

The "Forests for the Future Initiative", which Bush introduced to little applause at the Earth Summit in Rio, represents a modest increase in aid for forest management and other programs in developing countries. The program, though not unwelcome, is only sketchily conceived, and, according to the House Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee, the Administration has planned to finance it, at least in part, by reducing other tropical forestry aid programs. (In House Report #102-585, the Subcommittee noted: "... despite the Administration's announcement, AID had planned to actually reduce its resources devoted to tropical forestry from \$130,000,000 to \$65,000,000 in fiscal year 1993."

CLINTON • GORE ON NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY

For twelve years, the Republicans in Washington have undermined our national security and cut short our economic growth because they haven't had a national energy policy. In the last decade, 8,000 of our independent oil and gas producers have closed their doors; 300,000 Americans have lost their jobs. Of 4,500 domestic drilling rigs operating in the United States in 1981 when Ronald Reagan and George Bush took office, less than 700 remain in operation today. We've fallen behind our competitors in energy efficiency and are in danger of leaving future generations of Americans in a precarious position of overwhelming debt and dependence.

America needs a new national energy policy that enables Americans to control America's energy future. Instead of coddling special interests whose fortunes depend on America's addiction to foreign oil, the Clinton/Gore national energy policy promotes national security, energy diversity, economic prosperity, and environmental protection.

It's time to make the right energy choices.

THE CLINTON/GORE PLAN

Increase energy efficiency and conservation

Increase natural gas use

Expand the use of renewable energy sources

A safe, environmentally sound energy policy

The Record

- In Governor Clinton's first term in 1979, he created a state Department of Energy which emphasized renewable resource development, reduced institutional barriers to energy conservation and encouraged the development of new energy sources.
- Established an Alternative Fuels Commission.
- Arkansas ranks 10th in the nation in energy research spending.

- Gore amendments enacted by the Senate as part of the 1992 energy bill:
 - Help small businesses increase their energy efficiency and cut their energy bills by establishing energy diagnostic centers where engineering students and their professors can work with small businesses.
 - Accelerate the government's efforts to procure the most energy efficient products and to provide grant money to states to fund energy efficiency and conservation initiatives.
 - Require the Tennessee Valley Authority of conduct least-cost planning analyses of energy supply and demand requirements.
 - Provides assistance to states to develop energy conservation and renewable energy initiatives.

- Senator Gore was a leader in the successful efforts to kill provisions that would have allowed drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

- Led efforts in the 1991 Interior Appropriations for solar and renewable joint venture programs.

- Senator Gore introduced legislation to involve America's national labs in developing and disseminating energy efficient technologies and practices.

CLINTON • GORE ON PROTECTING OUR ENVIRONMENT

For all its rhetoric, the Bush Administration has been an environmental disaster. The President has ignored the threat of global warming and the depletion of the Earth's ozone layer, undermined enforcement of the Clean Air Act, supported drilling in Alaska's precious Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, abandoned his "no net loss" wetlands policy, and opposed efforts to increase recycling. The United States ought to lead the world in fighting for environmental protection, but George Bush has been dragging his feet abroad and ignoring his promises at home.

It's time for a change. Bill Clinton and Al Gore will give America a real environmental policy. They believe that environmental protection is fundamental to America's national security — and that we must reject Bush Administration attempts to force a false choice between environmental protection and economic growth. A Clinton/Gore Administration will challenge Americans and demand responsibility at every level — from individuals and families to corporations and government agencies — to do more to preserve our world.

THE CLINTON/GORE PLAN

Reduce pollution and solid waste

Preserve America's natural beauty and key resources

Use market forces to encourage environmental protection

Exert American leadership for a healthier world

Improve energy efficiency

THE CLINTON/GORE PLAN

The time for complacency is over. We need to take swift and aggressive action to turn our nation around, and make America a leader in the fight to save the planet.

We must renew our commitment to leave our children a better nation — a nation whose air, water, and land are unspoiled; whose natural beauty is undimmed; and whose leadership for sustainable global growth is unsurpassed.

Four goals:

- Reduce solid and toxic waste, and air and water pollution to ensure we leave our nation cleaner and healthier.
- Preserve places of natural beauty and ecological importance — such as our national parks, wilderness areas, old-growth forests, and wetlands — so that we can pass on America's natural splendor to our children.
- Shatter the false choice between environmental protection and economic growth by creating a market-based environmental protection strategy that rewards conservation and "green" business practices while penalizing polluters.
- Exert international leadership to advance our own nation's interest in a healthier global environment, a stable global climate, and global biodiversity. Reduce American and worldwide use of fossil fuels and airborne chemicals that destroy the ozone layer and work to keep our world's delicate environment in balance.

Reduce pollution and solid waste

- Create and expand markets for recycled products by providing revenue-neutral tax incentives which favor the use of recycled materials whenever possible.
- Create a solid waste reduction program which gives credits to companies that recover a portion of the waste they generate and penalizes companies that fail to do so. Less efficient companies would be forced to buy waste credits from more efficient companies, creating a strong profit incentive for reducing solid waste.
- Pass a new Clean Water Act with standards for "non-point-source" pollution and incentives for our firms, farmers, and families to develop ways to reduce and prevent polluted run-off at its source; launch a national education campaign to encourage all citizens to drastically reduce their contributions to "non-point-source" pollution made by household chemicals, lawn products, and pesticides.
- Reform and ensure proper enforcement of the EPA Superfund so that taxpayer money goes toward cleaning up toxic waste instead of paying legal bills. Currently, almost half of all federal Superfund appropriations go to pay lawyers' fees — while 22,000 Superfund sites threaten the health of citizens and communities across America.
- Support legislation that allows ordinary citizens to sue federal agencies that ignore environmental laws and regulations designed to preserve our environment — so government bureaucrats are made accountable for proper and effective environmental law enforcement.
- Support efforts to mandate public reporting on toxic chemicals used and

We need to adopt an aggressive market-based national strategy to cut pollution and decrease the generation of solid waste. We also need to take more effective measures to clean up pollution and waste which have already harmed our environment.

Every year millions of American families vacation in national parks, from Yosemite to Yellowstone. Those people deserve an Administration that cares as much about America's parks as they do.

produced by companies, and require those companies to develop plans for reducing their toxic chemical use.

- Crack down on environmental crime by holding companies and polluters responsible for their behavior. Corporations that deliberately violate environmental laws will pay the price — and polluters will be sent to jail where appropriate.

Preserve America's natural beauty and key resources

- Preserve our ancient forests for their scientific and ecological importance.
- Make the "no net loss" wetlands pledge a reality; base wetlands policy on science instead of politics by working with the National Academy of Sciences and other members of the scientific community to devise appropriate policies. Our wetlands act as a natural filter for much of the water America drinks, and make up one of our most important and fragile natural habitats.
- Rededicate the agencies that manage our national parks and wilderness lands to a true conservation ethic; expand our efforts to acquire new parklands and recreational sites with funds already available under the federal Land and Water Conservation Fund.
- Designate as a wilderness area the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and stop the crusade for new offshore drilling.

Use market forces to encourage environmental protection

- Place greater emphasis on preventing and reducing pollution before it happens, so we won't have to spend so much on cleaning it up after the fact. We can do that without big bureaucracies and public spending — by harnessing market forces, integrating environmental incentives into daily production decisions of big firms, and making polluters pay.
- Harness market forces to reward consumers and businesses that conserve, and penalize polluters and inefficient energy users.
- Create revenue-neutral tax incentives to encourage the use of alternative fuels like natural gas, and renewable energy sources like hydro-electricity, solar power, and wind power.

Exert American leadership for a healthier world

- Provide real international leadership to protect the world's delicate environmental balance.
- Limit U.S. carbon dioxide emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000 and accelerate the phase-out of substances that deplete the ozone layer.
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- Restore U.S. funding for the United Nations' population stabilization efforts, and allow U.S. foreign aid to support international family planning services.
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- Accelerate our progress toward more fuel-efficient cars, and raise the CAFE standards for automakers to 40-45 miles per gallon.
- Increase U.S. reliance on natural gas — which is inexpensive, clean-burning and abundant, and can reduce carbon dioxide emissions — by issuing an executive order to purchase natural gas-powered vehicles for the federal automobile fleet, following Texas' lead.
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- Convert some of our Cold War military spending to civilian purposes, like funding light rail systems, which can speed travel, save fuel, and provide transportation for people less able to afford it.
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 - Encouraged the State Department of Education to emphasize environmental issues in all aspects of the curriculum. An Environmental Education Trust Fund also was created in 1991 at the Department of Pollution Control and Ecology.
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- Cosponsored the original Superfund Act which now is law. It resulted from hearings chaired by Senator Gore which revealed illegal dumping of billions of pounds of hazardous chemical waste.

CLINTON • GORE ON PROTECTING OUR ENVIRONMENT

For all its rhetoric, the Bush Administration has been an environmental disaster. The President has ignored the threat of global warming and the depletion of the Earth's ozone layer, undermined enforcement of the Clean Air Act, supported drilling in Alaska's precious Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, abandoned his "no net loss" wetlands policy, and opposed efforts to increase recycling. The United States ought to lead the world in fighting for environmental protection, but George Bush has been dragging his feet abroad and ignoring his promises at home.

It's time for a change. Bill Clinton and Al Gore will give America a real environmental policy. They believe that environmental protection is fundamental to America's national security — and that we must reject Bush Administration attempts to force a false choice between environmental protection and economic growth. A Clinton/Gore Administration will challenge Americans and demand responsibility at every level — from individuals and families to corporations and government agencies — to do more to preserve our world.

THE CLINTON/GORE PLAN

Reduce pollution and solid waste

Preserve America's natural beauty and key resources

Use market forces to encourage environmental protection

Exert American leadership for a healthier world

Improve energy efficiency

THE CLINTON/GORE PLAN

The time for complacency is over. We need to take swift and aggressive action to turn our nation around, and make America a leader in the fight to save the planet.

We must renew our commitment to leave our children a better nation — a nation whose air, water, and land are unspoiled; whose natural beauty is undimmed; and whose leadership for sustainable global growth is unsurpassed.

Four goals:

- Reduce solid and toxic waste, and air and water pollution to ensure we leave our nation cleaner and healthier.
- Preserve places of natural beauty and ecological importance — such as our national parks, wilderness areas, old-growth forests, and wetlands — so that we can pass on America's natural splendor to our children.
- Shatter the false choice between environmental protection and economic growth by creating a market-based environmental protection strategy that rewards conservation and "green" business practices while penalizing polluters.
- Exert international leadership to advance our own nation's interest in a healthier global environment, a stable global climate, and global biodiversity. Reduce American and worldwide use of fossil fuels and airborne chemicals that destroy the ozone layer and work to keep our world's delicate environment in balance.

Reduce pollution and solid waste

- Create and expand markets for recycled products by providing revenue-neutral tax incentives which favor the use of recycled materials whenever possible.
- Create a solid waste reduction program which gives credits to companies that recover a portion of the waste they generate and penalizes companies that fail to do so. Less efficient companies would be forced to buy waste credits from more efficient companies, creating a strong profit incentive for reducing solid waste.
- Pass a new Clean Water Act with standards for "non-point-source" pollution and incentives for our firms, farmers, and families to develop ways to reduce and prevent polluted run-off at its source; launch a national education campaign to encourage all citizens to drastically reduce their contributions to "non-point-source" pollution made by household chemicals, lawn products, and pesticides.
- Reform and ensure proper enforcement of the EPA Superfund so that taxpayer money goes toward cleaning up toxic waste instead of paying legal bills. Currently, almost half of all federal Superfund appropriations go to pay lawyers' fees — while 22,000 Superfund sites threaten the health of citizens and communities across America.
- Support legislation that allows ordinary citizens to sue federal agencies that ignore environmental laws and regulations designed to preserve our environment — so government bureaucrats are made accountable for proper and effective environmental law enforcement.
- Support efforts to mandate public reporting on toxic chemicals used and

We need to adopt an aggressive market-based national strategy to cut pollution and decrease the generation of solid waste. We also need to take more effective measures to clean up pollution and waste which have already harmed our environment.

Every year millions of American families vacation in national parks, from Yosemite to Yellowstone. Those people deserve an Administration that cares as much about America's parks as they do.

produced by companies, and require those companies to develop plans for reducing their toxic chemical use.

- Crack down on environmental crime by holding companies and polluters responsible for their behavior. Corporations that deliberately violate environmental laws will pay the price — and polluters will be sent to jail where appropriate.

Preserve America's natural beauty and key resources

- Preserve our ancient forests for their scientific and ecological importance.
- Make the "no net loss" wetlands pledge a reality; base wetlands policy on science instead of politics by working with the National Academy of Sciences and other members of the scientific community to devise appropriate policies. Our wetlands act as a natural filter for much of the water America drinks, and make up one of our most important and fragile natural habitats.
- Rededicate the agencies that manage our national parks and wilderness lands to a true conservation ethic; expand our efforts to acquire new parklands and recreational sites with funds already available under the federal Land and Water Conservation Fund.
- Designate as a wilderness area the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and stop the crusade for new offshore drilling.

Use market forces to encourage environmental protection

- Place greater emphasis on preventing and reducing pollution before it happens, so we won't have to spend so much on cleaning it up after the fact. We can do that without big bureaucracies and public spending — by harnessing market forces, integrating environmental incentives into daily production decisions of big firms, and making polluters pay.
- Harness market forces to reward consumers and businesses that conserve, and penalize polluters and inefficient energy users.
- Create revenue-neutral tax incentives to encourage the use of alternative fuels like natural gas, and renewable energy sources like hydro-electricity, solar power, and wind power.

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Environmentalists For



For Immediate Release

Contact:

Brooks Yeager 202 466 8154;

Molly Olson 202 466 8154;

Brett Hulsey 501 370 2643

National Advisory Committee

NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTALISTS FOR CLINTON/GORE ESTABLISHED

Joan Campbell

Ben Chavis

Michael L. Fischer

Denis Hayes

Roger P. Hoffman

Wilma Mankiller

Diane MacEachern

Jim Maddy

Gaylord Nelson

Russell W. Peterson

John J. Sheehan

Cathleen Douglas Stone

Bailus Walker, Jr.

Edward O. Wilson

Brooks B. Yeager
Coordinator

Washington, D.C....Seventeen prominent leaders from the nation's science, healthcare, labor, business and religious communities today joined together to express their concern for the environment by announcing the formation of a broad-based coalition of **Environmentalists For Clinton/Gore**. Led by such nationally known conservation leaders as Russell Peterson and Cathleen Douglas Stone, the group will act as co-chairs for a national network of conservationists supporting the Clinton/Gore ticket.

"The environment is one issue that affects us all," said Jack Sheehan, Legislative Director of the United Steelworkers of America. "We are all together in wanting a healthy environment, whether we measure it in terms of health and safety at the workplace, the conservation of our natural resources, a sustainable environment for economic growth, or our commitment to take care of the earth for our children and grandchildren."

"Governor Clinton and Senator Gore recognize that the quality of the environment and the adequacy of its resource base are among this country's greatest national assets -- assets with economic as well as many other beneficial dimensions," said Bailus Walker, Jr., Immediate Past President of the American Public Health Association.

The advisory committee includes a diverse group of community, business, and religious leaders such as Denis Hayes, Ben Chavis, Michael Fischer, Wilma Mankiller, and Gaylord Nelson.

Roger Hoffman, Chief Operating Officer of Green Bay Packaging, commented, "Governor Clinton played a key role in getting recycling started

in the state of Arkansas.... Clinton represents a good balance, putting the environment first, but recognizing the needs of business -- to prosper and provide jobs."*

"The record is clear," said Dr. Benjamin Chavis, Executive Director of the Commission for Racial Justice, "Bush and Quayle have failed to protect the environment. Clinton and Gore have worked diligently to protect the environment and to protect communities from pollution."

"We are dealing with a major social, ecological, and economic challenge unlike any other in our history. It is a challenge that begs for the kind of dedicated, inspirational leadership provided by Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill in their pursuit of victory in the Second World War," said Gaylord Nelson, former U.S. Senator and "Father of Earth Day."

"We must have a healthy environment for our children and grandchildren. The leadership of Bill Clinton and Al Gore will preserve, protect, and defend the natural beauty of the earth that we enjoy today and must save for tomorrow," said Michael Fischer, Executive Director of the Sierra Club.*

The advisory committee plans to work to inform thousands of environmental grassroots leaders and the broader American public of the issues in the campaign.

Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore is staffed by volunteers, who are conducting a full-time effort to reach out to the national environmental community on behalf of the Clinton/Gore ticket. The offices of **Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore** are located at 1707 L Street, N.W., Suite 1030, Washington, D.C. 20036, and can be reached at (202)466-8154, or (202)466-8173 (FAX).

The co-chairs of the **Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore National Advisory Committee** are: Lee Botts, former head of the Great Lakes Basin Commission, Rev. Joan Brown Campbell, General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, Rev. Dr. Benjamin Chavis, Jr., Executive Director of the Commission for Racial Justice, Michael Fischer, Executive Director of the Sierra Club, Denis Hayes, Chairman of the Board of Green Seal, Roger Hoffman, Chief Operating Officer of Green Bay Packaging, Diane McEachern, environmental author, James D. Maddy, Executive Director of the League of Conservation Voters, Wilma Mankiller, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, former Senator Gaylord Nelson, the "Father of Earth Day," Russell W. Peterson, former President of the National Audubon Society and Chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality, Steven C. Rockefeller, Professor of Religion at Middlebury College, Jack Sheehan, Legislative Director of the United Steelworkers of America, Cathleen Douglas Stone, environmental lawyer, Suzy Tompkins, co-founder of Esprit Clothing, Dr. Bailus Walker, Jr., Immediate Past President of the American Public Health Association, and Dr. E.O. Wilson, Pulitzer Prize-winning Harvard biologist.

* Mr. Fischer and Mr. Hoffman were unable to attend the press conference, but can be reached for further comment at (415)923-5610 and (302)428-0736, respectively.

**ENVIRONMENTALISTS FOR CLINTON/GORE:
NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE**

Lee Botts

Ms. Botts, former head of Chicago's environmental agency, is an independent environmental consultant and adjunct faculty member at Indiana University Northwest. She was named head of the Great Lakes Basin Commission by President Carter in 1978, and helped to organize the binational citizens coalition Great Lakes United. Ms. Botts served as consultant for a study of toxic contamination in the Great Lakes by the National Academy of Sciences and the Royal Society of Canada, and in 1987 she was recognized by the United Nations Environmental Program as one of 500 persons worldwide who has "made a difference" for the environment.

Rev. Joan Brown Campbell

As General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, Rev. Campbell provides spiritual leadership and administrative oversight to the Council's work toward peace and justice in the U.S. and around the world. She has also served as Executive Director of the U.S. Office of the World Council of Churches and as Executive Director of the Council for Action in Public Education, and has published works on topics as diverse as peace, racism, women's rights, poverty, apartheid, and the Middle East.

Rev. Dr. Benjamin Chavis, Jr.

Dr. Chavis is one of the founders of the emerging environmental justice movement. He is a national civil rights leader with over 30 years of professional experience as an advocate for social justice, and is currently the Executive Director of the Commission for Racial Justice of the 1.6 million-member United Church of Christ, in Cleveland, Ohio. Dr. Chavis is also Vice President of the National Council of Churches in the U.S.A.

Michael Fischer

Mr. Fischer is Executive Director of the **Sierra Club**, the 600,000 member national environmental organization founded by John Muir. Mr. Fischer is recognized for his leadership in directing the programs of the Sierra Club to be of relevance and service to communities of color. Mr. Fischer has served as Executive Director of both the North Central Regional Coastal Commission and the Statewide California Coastal Commission. While acting as Chief Deputy Director of Governor Edmund G. Brown's Office of Planning and Research he authored An Urban Strategy for California.

Denis Hayes

Mr. Hayes is Chairman of the Board of Directors of **Green Seal**, an organization dedicated to informing, educating and mobilizing consumers on behalf of the environment. From 1977 to 1980, he headed the federal government's Solar Energy Research Institute. A prominent leader in the field of energy policy, Mr. Hayes authored the solar energy book, Rays of Hope, which is available in six languages. Mr. Hayes' name is synonymous with "Earth Day." Twenty years ago he was the Executive Director of the first Earth Day and was the International Chairman of the 1990 Earth Day. Mr. Hayes writes a regular environmental column for USA Today Weekend.

Roger Hoffman

Mr. Hoffman, Chief Operating Officer of **Green Bay Packaging**, is one of the founders of the National Office Paper Recycling Project, and a recipient of one of President Bush's "Environment and Conservation Challenge" Awards. He is Chairman of the Great Lakes Waste Paper Work Group, a regionally-focused recycling effort.

Diane MacEachern

Ms. MacEachern is the author of the best-selling Save Our Planet: 750 Everyday Ways You Can Help Clean Up The Earth. She was integrally involved in the planning and execution of Earth Day 1990. Her column, "Tips for Planet Earth," is nationally syndicated, and she has also written on the environment for Family Circle and Good Housekeeping. Ms. MacEachern is currently writing an environmental dictionary and a community organizing handbook, and runs **Vanguard Communications**, a media firm that specializes in energy and environmental issues.

James D. Maddy

Mr. Maddy serves as both the Executive Director of the **League of Conservation Voters**, which publishes the annual National Environmental Scorecard, and the President of The American Political Network, publishers of the Political Hotline and Greenwire. In the past Mr. Maddy has focused on energy and the environment in his post as Assistant to Governor Jay Rockefeller, and as Executive Director of the Western Governors' Association.

Gaylord Nelson

Former U. S. Senator Gaylord Nelson (D-WI) is the "Father of Earth Day." As founder in 1970 of the annual observance to focus national attention on the problems of the environment, Senator Nelson has fought to protect America's natural resources. During his tenure on Capitol Hill Mr. Nelson authored legislation to preserve the 2,000 mile Appalachian Trail and establish a nationwide system of hiking trails, co-sponsored the 1964 Wilderness Act, and created the St. Croix Wild and Scenic Riverway.

Russell W. Peterson

Mr. Peterson, former President and Chief Executive Officer of the **Audubon Society**, is now President of the International Council for Bird Preservation and Goodwill Ambassador for the United Nations Environment Programme. He serves additionally on the Executive Committee of the Population Crisis Committee, as Director of the Alliance to Save Energy, as a member of Governor Cuomo's Environmental Advisory Board, and as a member of the Advisory Board of Pace University School of Law. Mr. Peterson has worked as Chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality, was Vice-Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the U.N. World Population Conference in Bucharest in 1974, and from 1969 to 1973 was Governor of the State of Delaware.

Steven C. Rockefeller

Mr. Rockefeller is professor of Religion at Middlebury College in Vermont, where he formerly served as Dean of the College. Rockefeller is the author of John Dewey: Religious Faith and Democratic Humanism and the co-editor of Spirit and Nature: Religion, Ethics, and Environmental Crisis. A member of the National Commission on the Environment convened by the World Wildlife Fund and The Conservation Foundation, he also serves as Vice-Chairman of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. He

received a B.A. from Princeton University; a M.Div. *cum laude* from Union Theological Seminary; and a Ph.D. in the philosophy of religion from Columbia University.

Jack Sheehan

As the Director of the United Steelworkers' of America Legislative Department, Jack Sheehan has led efforts on occupational and environmental health, consumer affairs, industry restructuring, and the enactment of OSHA, MSHA and ERISA. Throughout his 40 years with the Steelworkers, Mr. Sheehan has played a major role in the legislative and lobbying arm of one of the most powerful labor unions in America. He also currently sits on the board of the Johns Hopkins Health Advisory Committee, National Clean Air Coalition and the American Lung Association.

Cathleen Douglas Stone

Ms. Stone is a partner in the Boston law firm of Foley, Hoag & Eliot. She has a corporate and administrative law practice with special emphasis on environmental law. Her corporate board memberships include the New York Mercantile Exchange and the Greater Boston Area Chamber of Commerce. She is on the Advisory Committee of The Center for National Policy, and serves on the Women's Economic Forum in Boston.

Bailus Walker, Jr.

Dr. Walker is Immediate Past President of the American Public Health Association and currently serves on the National Academy of Sciences Commission to study the future of public health in the United States. As head of the Occupational Health Standards Program of the Department of Labor Dr. Walker was instrumental in the development of the nation's first policy for the classification and regulation of potential occupational carcinogens. During the late 1980s Dr. Walker focused his work on the health effects of crowd control chemicals and environmental effects of violence and low-intensity warfare.

E. O. Wilson

Dr. Wilson is an eminent Harvard biologist who holds two Pulitzer Prizes for his book On Human Nature and The Ants. His most recent book, The Diversity of Life, which chronicles the origin of the earth's millions of species and documents the current environmental dilemma, has received wide acclaim for its importance. Dr. Wilson holds numerous awards for his 50 years of dedication to the field. He currently sits on the Board of Directors of the New York Botanical Garden.



SIERRA CLUB POLITICAL COMMITTEE

Washington Office 408 C Street NE Washington, DC 20002 (202) 547-1141

National Headquarters 730 Polk Street San Francisco, CA 94109 (415) 776-2211

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Victorious Clinton Campaign
FR: Reid Wilson, Sierra Club Political Director
RE: Sierra Club activities in the campaign

November 6, 1992

CONGRATULATIONS! The Sierra Club is ecstatic about your tremendous victory and was thrilled to be a part of it. We enjoyed working with you and we look forward to working with you during the transition and the next eight years.

This memo summarizes for you the activities that the Sierra Club carried out on behalf of the Clinton/Gore ticket. We witnessed unprecedented activity by our volunteer activists all around the country. They were extremely enthusiastic about the campaign and turned out volunteers and free press work in volumes and quality that we had not seen since the "Dump Watt" petitions in the early 1980's.

- 1) First off, the Sierra Club endorsed the ticket, only the second such endorsement in our 100 year history. And, we made the endorsement early; the Board voted on July 16. We were the first environmental group to join the campaign. In addition to the Sept. 4 national press event at Pinnacle Mountain State Park, we held 40 same day press conferences in 30 states.
 - 2) We targeted our efforts roughly to the same states that your campaign targeted. We devoted most of our efforts to 20 or so key battleground states and did not waste our time in places that you either would win handily or that you would have an extremely difficult time winning.
 - 3) Throughout the campaign, we strove to match our message with yours. We constantly talked about the environment in an economic sense, echoing Clinton's and Gore's position that we could have a clean and safe environment and a healthy economy at the same time, and that, indeed, they were dependent on one another. For example, when we talked about wetlands, we didn't talk about wildlife habitat; we emphasized jobs in the sport and commercial fishing industries instead.
- We also used the environment to question Bush's character. We made the point again and again that Bush could not be trusted because he had broken every single one of his 1988 campaign promises, and still continued to maintain that he cared about the environment. (I should add that we were quite pleased to see your television ad which used an excerpt from Club President Tony Ruckel's endorsement speech to make this very point).
- 4) We set up a ready response system in approximately 30 states. These Club volunteers were able throughout the campaign to respond within 24 hours to significant events in the campaign.
 - 5) In addition to organizing our own members, Sierra Club volunteers helped

put together state level "Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore" groups. Indeed, in eighteen states a Sierra Club person was either chair or co-chair of the state EFCG group.

6) We developed a system to keep our Sierra Club activists informed. Starting Sept. 10 we sent out a daily campaign update to approximately 200 key Club activists. This update was also sent out to all state EFCG coordinators by the national EFCG office. The updates covered: Things activists should do that day to help; General environmental and campaign news; News of successes in the different states; Schedules of the candidates and surrogates; Polling Information; and Fact sheets, generic press releases, and letters to the editor that they could use. In the final three weeks, we set up a desk system in our Washington office to ensure more frequent contact with Club coordinators in key states.

7) We responded immediately at the national level and in targeted states to statements or actions by President Bush. These included responses to his comments about water quality in Arkansas, NAFTA, his proposals to allow strip mining in national parks and forests and to weaken hazardous waste rules, and his signing of the energy bill. We also did pieces about Bush's Top Ten Broken Promises, a Great Lakes issues scorecard released in eight states, and looming post-election anti-environment surprises.

8) We responded with a press release or news conference in about ten states that Bush ran his nasty, untruthful radio ads about "radical environmental taxes." We called for Bush to pull the ads from the air.

9) We issued press releases or held conferences in states in which Bush or Quayle was about to campaign. Your campaign gave us the signal on Sept. 15 that we should organize press events to hit Bush and Quayle just before they arrived in states, to get into the local news mix. At least thirty different times this happened.

10) We did the same for surrogates such as Bill Reilly and Michael Deland. Our Arkansas volunteers helped make Deland's visit to Arkansas unpleasant, and our volunteers hit Reilly for being an apologist for Bush in the following states, at a minimum: CA, CT, TX, AZ, NY, IL. Maryland volunteers issued a release slamming Gov. Schaefer for endorsing Bush.

11) We attacked Ross Perot when your campaign decided it was time. Our volunteers held press conferences or issued press releases in NJ, FL, CO, MI, WI, and PA, at a minimum.

12) All told, the Sierra Club did between 180 and 190 press hits, either national or local press conferences or releases.

13) Our volunteers also did other free media work. They appeared as guests on radio call-in shows, called in to radio call-in shows, wrote and sent op-ed articles, and sent in letters to the editor.

14) We responded to hundreds of inquiries from national and regional press about the environmental records and programs of Bush and Clinton.

15) We recruited volunteers for the campaign, lots of them. On October 31,

approximately 600 volunteers in Washington state distributed 100,000 doorhangers in seven cities. As many as 400 volunteers in Florida helped out at different points in the campaign. We had over thirty volunteers in Kentucky! We had scores in Colorado. The list goes on and on. In a number of key states Sierra Club volunteers worked with the campaign to send out mailings to Club members and other environmentalists. State activists called their volunteer networks to help build crowds for Clinton and Gore events.

16) We tried to be creative. In North Carolina, our volunteers organized a thirteen day bike tour to raise attention and support for the environment and the ticket. Each day, they did a press event that talked about the positive relationship between jobs and the environment. In Ohio, a volunteer dressed up like Teddy Roosevelt and read a statement claiming that he was insulted that Bush would compare himself to Roosevelt. This was covered on two TV stations, lots of radios, and the Columbus paper. There are other examples, but I'm trying to keep this memo to three pages.

17) Club leadership got involved. President Tony Ruckel, in addition to speaking at the endorsement, held an "Eat Pizza with the President" night once a week for the last 6 weeks of the campaign in his home state of Colorado. Tony and Club volunteers, after dinner, would walk over to the Clinton campaign and volunteer for several hours. Club Executive Director Michael Fischer spoke at an endorsement press conference in Maine (where he happened to be), and made surrogate appearances in North Carolina, Alabama, and California.

18) We provided environmental issues information to Katie McGinty, Dan Sakura, Brett Hulsey, and others whenever it was asked for.

19) We participated in the environmental debate watch group for all of the debates, and issued a press release hitting Dan Quayle the night of the vice presidential debate.

20) We helped raise money for the coordinated campaign at events in Washington, Seattle, Boston, New York, and San Francisco, at a minimum.

21) FYI - We also held non-political, strictly issue oriented press conferences: we released in twenty cities a report on Bush's failed implementation of the Clean Air Act; we released a report on Bush's politicization of science in his administration; we held several press conferences attacking Bush's handling of the Exxon Valdez settlement on its one year anniversary.

We now eagerly look forward to working with you on the transition (both positions and policy), the first hundred days, and the next four years. We want to help you fashion a program that will not only protect the environment, but will create jobs and stimulate the economy as well. We understand that your main focus will be the economy, and we want to help push policies that will create jobs through environmental protection and efficiency.

Again, CONGRATULATIONS for a job well done. It sure feels sweet!

for review for C/G



November 10, 1992

Memo

National Advisory Committee

Lee Botts
Joan Campbell
Ben Chavis
Michael L. Fischer
Denis Hayes
Roger P. Hoffman
Jim Maddy
Wilma Mankiller
Gaylord Nelson
Russell W. Peterson
Steven C. Rockefeller
John J. Sheehan
Cathleen Douglas Stone
Susie Tompkins
Bailus Walker, Jr.
Edward O. Wilson
Brooks B. Yeager
Coordinator

To: Clinton/Gore Campaign Leaders; George Stephanopoulos, Bruce Reed, David Wilhelm, Eli Segal, Stephanie Solien, Chris Dorval, Bob Hattoy, Brett Hulsey, Doug Hall, Katie McGinty

**From: Brooks Yeager, Coordinator,
Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore**

Re: A brief summary of Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore Campaign Activities in the 1992 Presidential Campaign

First, from all of us at Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore -- Congratulations! You all ran a terrific campaign, and it was a pleasure working with you on our small part of it. We are looking forward to working with you during the transition and throughout what we believe will be a wonderfully successful administration.

This memo is intended to give you a quick summary of the activities that Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore [EfCG] conducted on behalf of the ticket during the Campaign. Our work was made easier by the fact that the Clinton/Gore ticket mobilized broad and spontaneous enthusiasm within the national environmental community. Individuals all across the country jumped at the chance to help in whatever capacity was offered. That enthusiasm was the basis on which EfCG conducted activities in virtually every state.

Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore: Set-up and Objectives

Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore (EfCG) was set up as a functioning element of the campaign during the first week of September. The objective of EfCG, also known as the "green shop," as outlined in a series of conversations between Senator Tim Wirth and top campaign officials, was to organize a volunteer effort to harness the interest and talent of the national environmental community in the service of the Clinton/Gore Campaign.

Specific goals included the development of a rapid-response network within the environmental community in key battleground states, the identification and preparation of surrogates for the campaign, the production of issues research as needed by the campaign, and the organization of constituency events that would contribute to the campaign's overall themes. The campaign provided a basic budget to cover rent, phones, leasing of fax, copier, and computer equipment, and miscellaneous furniture and postage costs.

EfCG Activities During the Campaign

- 1. Building a National Network:** Cooperating closely with the Little Rock Campaign Office, and with the Sierra Club's national staff and volunteer networks, Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore established coordinators and steering committees in all 50 states. This nationwide network became the foundation for our rapid response efforts, as well as organizing press events and for developing intelligence on state and local issues of importance to the campaign.
- 2. Network Press Efforts:** We held press conferences and events in California, Illinois, Michigan, Maine, North Carolina, Indiana, New York, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, South Carolina, New Jersey, and Georgia, among others. Quite a few of the state networks did special press events following the Vice-Presidential Debate, pointing out Quayle's many perversions of the record. A brief survey of our network turned up 43 events which received local or regional press coverage, and 50 instances in which papers ran Op-Eds or Letters-to-the-Editor from the network.
- 3. Informing the Network and the Media:** We sent out a long series of mailings and alerts to the Environmentalists for CG state networks, including comprehensive materials on the real record of the

Bush "environmental Presidency," the contrast between Bush's promises and his actions, detailed background on the jobs/environment question, and specific pieces on topics such as the Quayle Competitiveness Council, Lujan's "Mining the Parks" rule, Bush's attack on the Endangered Species Act, and Bush's broken promise on Florida OCS protections (see attached list of publications). In many cases, these mailings became the basis for further press on the issues, either directly or through the efforts of the EfCG state networks.

4. Finding Surrogate Spokespeople: We formed a National Advisory Committee of a prominent and diverse set of environmental advocates who could speak as individuals to the environmental issues in the campaign. The Advisory Committee functioned collectively and individually as the national voice of EfCG, and as environmental surrogates for the Campaign. We were particularly proud when, later in the Campaign, Marjorie Stoneman Douglas agreed to be an Honorary Member of the Advisory Committee.

5. National Press Conferences: We also held two major D.C. press conferences. In the first, seven nationally prominent environmental advocates from our newly-formed National Advisory Committee declared their support for Governor Clinton. In the second, we convened twelve leading Congressional spokesmen to expose President Bush's record of broken environmental promises. Speakers included Senators Wirth, Bradley, Lieberman, and Kerry, and Representatives Waxman, Miller, John Lewis, Rahall, Synar, Sikorski, Kostmayer, and Torres.

6. Backstopping the Campaign's Information Needs: We supplied a steady stream of information to the campaign, first in the issue books, then in preparation for the debates, and throughout, in response to the day-to-day requests of the campaign. During the debates themselves, we set up, at the campaign's request, an environmental rapid response team with direct hotlines to the campaign, the DNC, and Sen. Gore's staff.

7. Mobilizing Other Constituencies: Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore acted as a catalyst in drawing other related constituencies into the Clinton/Gore camp. We assisted in the establishment of a national "Sportsmen for Clinton/Gore," and helped produce a national endorsement by the Clean Water Action Project with a well-publicized press conference in Florida. Ben Chavis, a member of our Advisory Board, worked hard in minority communities.

We also helped generate letters and public support of the Clinton/Gore environmental program from key members of the business and scientific communities.

8. Countering Bush/Quayle Surrogates: We shadowed the Bush/Quayle environmental surrogates, and developed information for the campaign to use against them. We pointed out Reilly's many policy defeats within the Bush Administration in order to neutralize his effectiveness in defending Bush's environmental record. Russ Peterson, a member of our advisory board, debated Mike Deland on TV.

9. Battling the Bush/Quayle Radio Ads: The EfCG network came into its own in battling the Bush/Quayle Campaign's mid October state by state radio blitz. Our network alerted us to the early ads, found the scripts, and countered the ads in free media with information that we provided. We provided the campaign with early information about the lies and misstatements in the ads, and helped generate the media critique that blasted the ads in late October.

9. GOTV: In the final weeks of the campaign, members of our state networks and several members of our national volunteer staff went to work in GOTV efforts in Clinton/Gore state offices.

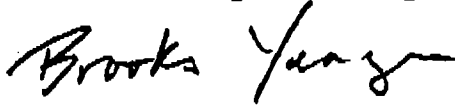
10. Fundraising: We helped coordinate the environmental community's Washington D.C. fundraiser, and lent our efforts to the campaign's fundraising in the national environmental community.

Throughout the campaign, we cooperated closely with Little Rock, primarily through the political and policy shops. Our contacts, who were consistently helpful in guiding our efforts, included Stephanie Sollien, Brett Hulsey, Chris Dorval, Dan Sakura, and others. We also cooperated closely with Senator Gore's team, through Katie McGinty, with various state directors, and with Senator Wirth, through David Harwood.

Although our staffmembers are now going their separate ways, I know they are all eager to help you as you begin the process of building an Administration. The environmental community wishes you every success. We believe that your emphasis on reviving the economy and on protecting the environment is exactly the right message, and we are anxious to work with you to make it a reality.

We have already begun winding down activities, and plan to terminate all activities and dismantle our 1707 L St. Office by end of business Friday, November 13. I will be available after November 13 at the League of Conservation Voters, (202) 785-8683, or at the National Audubon Society, (202) 547-9009.

Thanks once again for a great campaign.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Brooks Yeager".

Brooks B. Yeager
National Coordinator

**Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore
Publications List**

"Information Kit for Statewide Network"

By Brett Hulsey

"Is George Bush Really "the Environmental President"?"

By Brooks Yeager

"George Bush's Environmental Record: Broken Promises and Grim Reality" By Environment Issues Working Group, Convened by Clay Peters, Edited by Molly Olson, Pattie Pride, Bob Smythe.

"Parks in Peril: The Bush Administration's Sorry Record"

By Brooks Yeager

"Bush's Post Election Agenda"

By Brooks Yeager

"Responses to "Earth in the Balance" Attacks"

By Molly Olson, Don Henry

"Ross Perot on the Environment Record: It's Nice as Long as it Doesn't Get in the Way"

By Meta Schrenk

"Debate Fact Sheets on Environment"

By Brooks Yeager, Bob Baum, Molly Olson

"Jobs and Environment Sourcebook"

By Molly Olson, Mark Chupka, Rebecca Callahan Klein

"Requiem for the Environment, or the Environmental President"

By Katie McGinty, Molly Olson

Talking Points

Timber and the Spotted Owl, Brooks Yeager
Phone Bank script Endangered Species, Brooks Yeager
Negative Radio Ads, Scott Caton, Brooks Yeager
Promise Reality Summary, Brooks Yeager

Press Releases

"Bush Slashes Protection of 170 Million Acres in Alaska"
Molly Olson, Brooks Yeager 30 October 1992

"Environmentalists Blast Lies in Bush/Quayle Radio Ads"
Brooks Yeager, Scott Caton 20 October 1992

"Dan Quayle Can't Be Trusted on Bush Environment Record"
Molly Olson, Don Henry, Rebecca Callahan Klein 13 October
1992

"Congressional Leaders Attack Bush's Broken Environmental
Promises" Meta Schrenk, Molly Olson 1 October 1992

"National Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore Established"
Molly Olson, Advisory Meta Schrenk 22 September 1992

Mailouts to Network

All of the above documents were sent to the network
Others included correspondence regarding:
Introduction to the National EfCG Network, B. Baum, B. Yeager
Radio Ads Rebuttal, Scott Caton, B. Yeager
VP Debate Rebuttal, B. Yeager,
Bush Environmental Presidency, Policies, Parks, Promise vs Reality,
10 More for Clinton Gore, M. Olson
Jobs and the Environment kit (sample letters to the Editor...) Rebecca
Callahan Klein, M. Olson, Paul Brierre, Noel Gerson
Get Out the Vote, M. Olson
Quayle's Council on Competitiveness, B. Baum, Dan Abassi

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Washington, D.C. 20016

file Envs for C/G

Environmentalists For



MEMORANDUM

TO: Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore
FROM: Brooks Yeager, Coordinator
RE: Briefing Packet on Jobs and the Environment
DATE: October 7, 1992

National Advisory Committee

Lee Botts
Joan Campbell
Ben Chavis
Michael L. Fischer
Denis Hayes
Roger P. Hoffman
Jim Maddy
Wilma Mankiller
Gaylord Nelson
Russell W. Peterson
Steven C. Rockefeller
John J. Sheehan
Cathleen Douglas Stone
Susie Tompkins
Bailus Walker, Jr.
Edward O. Wilson
Brooks B. Yeager
Coordinator

George Bush and Dan Quayle are telling the American public that environmental protection and economic prosperity are mutually exclusive. Whether they are talking about ancient forest protection in the Northwest or energy efficiency standards for automobiles, the message is the same: protection and efficient use of natural resources cost jobs.

This is a false choice. Environmental protection helps retain jobs in multi-billion dollar industries such as fishing and tourism. Reducing waste, saving energy and decreasing the use of toxic chemicals helps companies become more efficient, lowers their costs and increases their competitiveness. This helps save jobs and, in many cases, has resulted in the creation of new jobs. In addition, environmental laws have spawned the development of the American environmental technology and services industry which employs approximately 2-3.5 million people nationwide and contributes more than \$130 billion to the economy.

This packet is designed to help you spread the good news about the environment and jobs. Enclosed you will find background information, sample letters to the editor and op-eds, talking points on jobs and environment issues, and a list of green businesses in your state. Please note that the sample letters to the editor and the op-eds should not be sent to your newspapers as enclosed. They should be paraphrased or used as outlines to draft your own letters or op-eds. We stress that a direct and rapid response is the priority here, so please do not feel that you have to produce a perfect journalistic piece. You may want to try to set up a meeting with the editorial board of your newspaper. This will increase the probability that the editors will publish the proposed Op-Ed.

In addition, please note that this is a rough green business list; those on it have not been contacted by us and we do not know if they support Clinton/Gore. However, with additional effort, you may be able to interest them in jobs and environment events or encourage them to write letters to the editor, etc.

There is a very powerful, positive story to be told about jobs and the environment. I urge you to review these materials, get them out to the members of your organization, and use them when you talk with local newspaper, t.v. and radio reporters.

If you have questions, or need further information, please feel free to call Molly, Rebecca or Paul at 202-466-8154.

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JOBS AND ENVIRONMENT

SAMPLE LETTER TO THE EDITOR

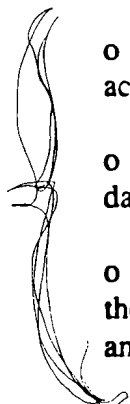
Dear Editor:

Pitting jobs against the environment is a false choice and a cynical distortion of the facts. Both are essential for a healthy economy, healthy workforce, and an enhanced quality of life. Both are critical and, in fact, dependent upon one another.

In continuing to cast these issues as wholesale tradeoffs, an either/or situation, the Bush-Quayle ticket is perpetuating an unnecessary and harmful division between these needs. Even more intolerable, this rhetoric shirks the vital responsibility of providing leadership in encouraging and creating opportunities to pursue these critical and interdependent goals. Instead of promoting a "can do" attitude that prompts community, industry and environmental leaders into action and working together to find solutions with mutual benefits, the Bush administration has chosen to waste time and energy in dividing people in an unproductive debate that prevents focusing on the true needs of this country.

This is not the kind of leadership we need.

The premise that environmental laws destroy jobs is false. Many industries, including fishing and tourism, depend upon protection of our natural resources. All Americans need clean air and water for good health. When our environment is not thriving, neither is our work force.

- 
- o Polluted waters endanger the commercial and recreational fishing industries, which account for more than \$10 billion annually.
 - o Air pollution costs Americans an estimated \$50 billion annually, including lost work days and productivity.
 - o Ocean pollution from sewage and medical waste washed up on East Coast beaches in the summer of 1987 and 1988, cost the New Jersey tourism industry billions of dollars, and those employed at the beaches lost their jobs.

Opportunities exist for creative actions that fulfill environmental and economic needs.

- o The Clean Air Act amendments, if properly implemented, may create 20,000 - 40,000 permanent new jobs.
- o Major U.S. companies, such as Polaroid and Cummins Engines have been proactive in reducing pollution and waste in order to become more efficient and therefore MORE competitive in the marketplace.

- o Companies have used a more proactive environmental position to enjoy a favorable response by consumers, such as Starkists' dolphin-safe tuna (tuna caught without harming dolphin), and IBM's elimination of CFC's, compounds damaging to the atmosphere and which are used in the production of computer chips.

We need leadership that can promote innovation in stimulating the economy AND protecting the environment. In order to seek solutions to challenges, we first need a leader who sees the opportunities. Bill Clinton has vision and has discussed many possibilities.

- o The Clean Air Act amendments propose market-based approaches, that if encouraged, create incentives for companies to reduce emissions in innovative and least cost strategies.
- o Revenue-neutral incentives that give credits to companies that recover a portion of their wastes, funded by penalties on firms that do not, create competition to do better for the company and the environment.
- o A national bottle bill would encourage consumers and producers to recycle, clean up our roadsides and cities, and reduce unnecessary use of natural resources, as well as create jobs.

We do not need four more years of an administration that divides our most precious natural resources, including our people, over the false choice between a healthy economy and a healthy environment. Each is dependent on the other. The country is dependent upon a president who can lead the way and challenging us to do better in achieving economic and environmental goals.

The economy, the environment, the American people need Bill Clinton.

SAMPLE LETTER TO THE EDITOR

A BUSINESS PERSON'S PERSPECTIVE

Dear Editor:

As a business leader, and someone who cares about the economy of, and environment surrounding this community, I refuse to accept the premise that it is in the best interest of my business, my employees, my community and my country that we must sacrifice a clean and healthful environment in order to protect jobs and stimulate the economy. This argument not only is counterintuitive, but given several statistics and facts could just as well apply to my company as any other, the suggestion of such a tradeoff is plain wrong.

My employees and I are constantly looking for ways to improve our business. We have established recycling programs and cut down on unnecessary use of paper and other resources. (Other examples could be outlined here.) These actions have not only made my company more efficient and competitive, but also have improved the environment of the office. In addition, employee morale is up because people are rewarded for innovative ideas and they are more enthusiastic about working for a company that makes a good product and cares about the community and the environment. Many other companies also have taken the initiative in promoting effective business practices that are environmentally wise and benefit people overall.

National level efforts and initiatives continue to demonstrate the interdependence of a healthy economy and healthy environment:

- o The Clean Air Act amendments, if properly implemented, may create 20,000 - 40,000 permanent new jobs.
- o Major U.S. companies, such as Polaroid and Cummins Engines have been proactive in reducing pollution and waste in order to become more efficient and therefore MORE competitive in the marketplace.
- o Companies have used a more proactive environmental position to enjoy a favorable response by consumers, such as Starkists' dolphin-safe tuna (tuna caught without harming dolphins); IBM's elimination of CFC's, compounds harmful to the atmosphere, from their processing of computer parts; and companies promoting their use of recycled paper.

There are many more examples of opportunities and ideas that, if given a chance, can stimulate job growth and help provide a clean and healthful environment. That chance is determined by leadership that sees the opportunities and challenges this country to pursue the possibilities. Bill Clinton has discussed many ideas and possibilities for promoting job growth AND a clean environment.

As a business leader, I am convinced that this administration has not met these challenges, nor do they plan to meet these needs in another four years. George Bush has shown his colors by his dismal record on the environment and a faltering economy. We need a change in leadership. We need Bill Clinton.

SAMPLE LETTER TO THE EDITOR

HOW ENVIRONMENTAL BUSINESSES HELP THE ECONOMY

George Bush has suggested that Americans must choose between environmental protection and economic prosperity.

As a business person working in America's growing environmental industry, I know from experience that this is a false choice.

The United States is home to a diverse and competitive environmental industry. More than 2.5 million people work in nearly 70,000 environmental companies nationwide. Last year, environmental businesses contributed more than \$130 billion to the U.S. economy and are expected to become one of the major employers in the next decade.

Environmental companies are pioneering cutting edge technologies that enable U.S. firms to make quality products while protecting the environment. Companies save money when they use energy wisely, reduce the use of toxic chemicals, recycle waste products, decrease packaging and take other steps to help the environment. Lower costs make American products more competitive overseas. The bottom line: environmental companies are helping American firms stay in business and win in global markets.

Companies like mine are helping build a new American economy--based on economic and environmental good sense. We need to work together to develop new environmental technologies and products that will help people throughout the world live better lives. Bill Clinton and Al Gore understand this new approach. We need their leadership to make it a reality.

Sample Letter to the Editor: Jobs and the Ancient Forest Debate.

To the Editor:

President Bush recently stated that environmental laws such as the Endangered Species Act need to be weakened to save timber jobs in the Pacific Northwest. But this is not the only choice. Saving jobs and protecting old growth forests are not mutually exclusive. It is time to stop passing blame around, and bring all parties together to come up with a solution that satisfies the affected workers and communities and preserves the remaining 10% of our nation's old-growth heritage.

U.S. government scientists report that only by permanently protecting the remaining ancient forests, can species dependant on these forests such as salmon, have a good chance to survive another hundred years. Over 60,000 workers depend on the fishing industry in the N.W., but these jobs are now threatened due in part to the damage caused by logging. Tourism and recreation are booming industries that are also threatened by the loss of these unique ecosystems. Clearly more is at stake here than just timber jobs.

Many economists conclude that most timber jobs are being lost as industry automates and increases efficiency, reinvests in the Southeast US and exports raw logs overseas. From 1979 to 1988, employment in the lumber and plywood sector decreased about 19% (more than 25,000 jobs) as a result of industry automation in Washington and Oregon. This 19% employment drop was accompanied by a 12% increase in production and 6.8% increase in timber harvests. This trend is expected to continue regardless of whether the remaining old-growth forests are saved or cut down over the next decade.

Fortunately, there are some immediate solutions to assure the workers and timber communities a smooth transition to a sustainable, second-growth based economy. The first is to stop the export of raw unprocessed logs overseas. One out of four trees cut in the NW are shipped out of the U.S. at the cost of an estimated 16,000 american jobs. Second, we need to create new jobs to undo the damage caused by twenty years of overcutting. Restoring damaged watersheds, and replanting trees in areas that have thus far failed to regenerate will create jobs and increase the value of our forest resources.

President Bush is clearly offering the timber workers and the American people a false choice between jobs and our environment. The jobs he would save today will be lost tomorrow when the last of the old-growth forests are cut down in 10-15 years. This represents a false hope for the workers that would fail to provide for their future and sacrifice our remaining national forest heritage. The citizens of this country clearly deserve better and I think Bill Clinton offers that choice.

Governor Clinton has proposed to convene a Timber Summit in the first hundred days of his administration that would bring all parties to the table to come up with a comprehensive solution. I applaud his courage to take the responsibility to forge a new consensus, that will preserve our ancient forests and our environmental laws, while ensuring a secure future for our workers.

Sincerely,

SAMPLE OP-ED: THE ENVIRONMENT AND JOB GROWTH: WILL THE U.S. LEAD OR FOLLOW?

It is time to clear the air on jobs and the environment. Policies that protect the environment create jobs, and Governor Clinton will bring together the country with an economic plan that increases jobs while ensuring a better future for us all. Although the present administration has attempted to divide the country with this issue, the fact remains that future economic growth and competitiveness of the United States is completely intertwined with protection of the environment.

The rest of the world has begun the transition of adopting more environmentally sound policies to manage their economies. Already, the industries of Germany and Japan produce goods at a lower cost than U.S. companies. The tough environmental laws of those countries have created lean, efficient corporations who now understand that pollution equals waste: wasted resources, wasted revenue, and wasted profits. As any economist knows, profits allow expansion, and expansion equals new jobs.

The U.S. will not just lose profits and jobs by failing to modernize its industrial base. A \$300 billion world market for environmental technology and services has been projected for the year 2000. If the U.S. does not take the lead in this high growth industry, then the other giants in the field, Germany and Japan, will win the jobs. In 1990, German exports of pollution control equipment exceeded America's by \$3 billion. Even today, the U.S. must import 70% of its air pollution equipment from Europe; most of it from Germany. Manufacturing such equipment at home would have created hundreds of thousands of jobs. Instead, we send billions of dollars and jobs overseas. We must reverse this situation now, or lose the opportunity to other countries that are moving quickly to capitalize on the rapidly growing environmental industry.

*Insert any local examples here or where appropriate. Some possibilities can be found in the talking points.

President Bush has failed to grasp that reducing pollution increases efficiency and creates a competitive manufacturing industry with stable jobs. Nor does he understand that the U.S. can take advantage of the dynamic environmental industry that will experience explosive growth over the next two decades. Instead, the present administration is content with waste instead of efficiency, and inaction instead of initiative. Governor Clinton recognizes that to create and maintain jobs, we must compete with countries like Germany and Japan by polluting less to lower costs. America must reclaim its position as the number one exporter of environmental technology and services. Only Governor Clinton has demonstrated the foresight, resolve and ability to move America back into the lead.

This election represents a turning point for the competitiveness of America in the coming decades. Millions of American jobs are at stake. Electing Governor Clinton to the White House will ensure that the United States leads the world as an economic superpower as we enter the twenty-first century.

SAMPLE OP-ED: MAKING CLEANER CARS: AN ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY FOR US CAR COMPANIES

It is time to clear the air on jobs and the environment. Policies that protect the environment create jobs, and Governor Clinton will bring together the country with an economic plan that increases jobs while ensuring a better future for us all. Although the present administration has attempted to divide the country with this issue, the fact remains that future economic prosperity will be completely intertwined with protection of the environment. In particular, the development of more efficient vehicles now provides American car companies with a new opportunity for strong economic growth.

The rest of the world has begun the transition of adopting more environmentally sound policies to manage their economies. Moving forward to utilize more efficient technologies is especially crucial for U.S. auto manufacturers. New policies of Japanese carmakers illustrates a very aggressive approach to developing more efficient, affordable, and practical cars. Honda has made meeting environmental goals a top priority. "If a maker doesn't build more efficient cars," states Honda's president, "it can't survive." Honda has since withdrawn from Formula One racing to concentrate on meeting the growing demand for more environmentally sound vehicles.

An article in Business Week noted that Detroit car companies usually fight new laws that require innovation such as higher mileage and pollution control, only to later utilize such innovations to keep up with the Japanese. Significantly, the major Japanese car companies are all pushing hard to raise fuel efficiency and reduce emissions. The Japanese regard innovative vehicle technology as an opportunity for an investment that will reap large profits. In a stark contrast, Detroit continues to view improving fuel efficiency and developing alternative energy vehicles as a burden.

A recent study indicates that improving the average fuel economy to 40 m.p.g. would create a net gain of 70,000 jobs by the year 2000. Detroit should wake up to the unprecedented economic opportunities that will flow from the development of environmentally sound cars. Current policies clearly are not working: American auto workers have suffered devastating job losses under the Bush administration. GM alone laid off approximately 74,000 workers in 1992. Refusing to adopt policies to move ahead of the Japanese will only continue this trend. It is time to lead instead of follow!

Mexico City provides us with a prime example of the growing need for environmentally sound cars. In 1989, the city banned half of its cars from the streets in an emergency measure to combat health threatening air pollution. Even now, one fifth of the residents cars are not allowed on the streets on each day of the week in a desperate effort to fight the city's pervasive and oppressive air pollution. Clearly, the first car company to produce affordable high mileage or alternative energy cars will have a huge market in Mexico. The key question: who will it be? Japan or Detroit?

*Insert any local examples here or where appropriate. Some possibilities can be found in the talking points.

President Bush has failed to grasp that reducing vehicle pollution will create a competitive automotive industry with stable jobs. Under a Bush administration, Japan would win the business and the jobs while American auto workers continue to suffer. A Clinton administration will work with Detroit to ensure that the American auto industry can effectively compete with the Japanese and keep the auto worker jobs at home.

This election represents a turning point for the competitiveness of America in the coming decades. Thousands of American auto worker jobs are at stake. Electing Governor Clinton to the White House will ensure that the United States leads as the world's most advanced automotive producer as we enter the twenty-first century.

Cars

* Honda

* ACC → 70,000 jobs by 2000

* Mexico City → high cars

(hand)

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1992

Don't Blame the Owl

The northern spotted owl — once described by President Bush as "that little furry-feathery guy" — is not a particularly popular little guy among timber workers in the Pacific Northwest. Listed as an endangered species in 1990, the owl triggered a series of court cases that halted logging in millions of acres of old-growth forests.

Timber workers are furious. They also vote. Which is why Mr. Bush went to Washington State last week and pledged to mend the Endangered Species Act to give "greater consideration to jobs, families and communities." It is time, he declared, "to put people ahead of owls."

Reasonable people may disagree on whether the Endangered Species Act, one of the nation's toughest environmental laws, gives sufficient weight to the economic costs of preserving biodiversity. But to suggest to frightened loggers that changing the act and sacrificing the owl will save their jobs for very long is disingenuous.

The logging industry is undergoing such radical changes that further clear-cutting can only be a stopgap remedy. Mr. Bush correctly noted, for example, that many milling jobs are lost because raw logs are exported to Japan, not sent to local mills.

There are two other powerful forces he did not mention. One is a major shift in investment capital to the South by the big timber companies. The other is automation. In short, business decisions and market forces have done far more to undermine the workers than the owl.

Blaming the owl trivializes the environmental

stakes and diverts attention from the Administration's failures. The issue is not just the owl but the owl's habitat — magnificent old-growth forests that environmentalists wish to save for future generations and loggers wish to cut for today's generation.

Yet the Administration has done virtually nothing to devise a sensible protection plan for the owl, as mandated by the act. Nor has it proposed measures to retrain displaced workers or help distressed communities. With a concerted effort, the Administration might conceivably save most of the forest and more than a few jobs. But nobody, including Congress, seems to have the stomach for such a task in a political year.

The old-growth forests could disappear completely in 15 years if cutting resumed at pre-1990 levels. What would happen to the loggers then? And what would happen to tourism and recreation — industries that can create sustainable jobs as long as the forests last?

These questions require a political perspective that extends beyond Election Day. To his credit, Governor Clinton has talked, albeit vaguely, about a government-business partnership to reconcile environmental and economic needs. For Mr. Bush, who campaigned in the Pacific Northwest four years ago as the next "environment President," the answer is much simpler: get on with the cutting.

That approach will sacrifice not just the "little furry-feathery guy" but an extraordinary environmental resource with its own job potential.

JOBS AND THE ENVIRONMENT TALKING POINTS: U.S. COMPETITIVENESS

Issue

Do strong environmental policies help or hurt the U.S. economy and U.S. company's competitiveness in the world market?

Clinton/Gore

America cannot have a healthy economy without a healthy environment. Environmental protection can be used as a tool for economic growth.

Bush/Quayle

The incumbents still cling to a jobs versus the environment mentality, as demonstrated by President Bush's attempts to help U.S. industries "compete" by suspending the promulgation of some environmental regulations.

Talking Points

- PEGE
NOTE (X)
- U.S. companies have profitted by implementing environmentally progressive programs.
 - ATT reduced its use of CFCs, and saves \$3 million per year.
 - In Louisiana, Dow invested \$15 million in waste reduction in 1990 and saved \$18 million by mid-1991.
 - DuPont reduced its waste production by two thirds at a Texas plant, and saves \$1 million per year as a result. (Env. and Energy Study Inst., Disc. Paper by J. Romm, 7/21/92)
 - Even with the current gains in efficiency, U.S. companies still lag behind those of other nations. For each dollar of goods sold, U.S. companies generate roughly five times more waste than the Japanese and twice as much as the Germans. (Ibid.)
 - German workers earn an average of \$6.70 more per hour than Americans, yet German products are competitive on the world market because German industry operates more efficiently (and pollutes less) as a result of more stringent regulations. (Bureau of Labor Statistics)
 - [A]nti-environment policies temporarily insulate inefficient producers from the need to innovate and invest in new equipment, while penalizing [the environmental] industry that is arguably the most dynamic element of the entire U.S. economy. (Wall St. J., Silverstein, 5/28/92).
 - Pollution places an unnecessary financial burden on society. Air pollution costs the overall U.S. economy over \$50 billion annually in lost work days and productivity. (American Lung Assoc.)
 - One hundred million people live in areas with unhealthy air. (NYTimes, 7/3/92)
 - Clinton/Gore propose harnessing market forces to stimulate U.S. technological innovation and conserve resources. Their plan will reward consumers and businesses that conserve energy and natural resources, and makes polluters pay for the pollution they create.

JOBS AND THE ENVIRONMENT TALKING POINTS: JOBS CREATION

Issue

Does environmental protection increase or decrease employment in the United States?

Clinton/Gore

Clinton and Gore know that environmental protection can create high paying, high skilled jobs, and have recognized that environmental technology is a growth industry for this country.

Bush/Quayle

Bush and Quayle believe that environmental regulations decrease employment. For example, Quayle's Competitiveness Council has proposed weakening more than 100 Clean Air Act regulations. (Boston Globe, 5/2/91).

Talking Points

- While the U.S. weathered several recessions between 1970 and 1991, the environmental industry experienced an average annual rate of growth of almost 11% per year. (Bezdek, Management Information Services, Background Paper for Symposium, 2/92)
- One estimate indicates that almost 3.5 million jobs rely on the environmental industry. If all the pollution control and abatement firms were one corporation, it would easily rank at the top of the Fortune 500 in sales for 1991. (Bezdek, MIS, 1991).
- About 65,000 to 70,000 U.S. environmental companies collectively earned an estimated \$130 billion in 1991. (Wall St. J., Silverstein, 5/28/92)
- Up to 60,000 jobs will be created by the end of this decade as a direct result of the Clean Air Act, if it is implemented on schedule. (EPA) The Bush administration has already missed numerous statutory deadlines for promulgating required regulations. (DPC Special Report)
- Reforestation and other environmental reclamation activities and small-scale logging operations tend to be highly labor-intensive. (World Watch, Jan./Feb. 1992).
- Polluted waters endanger the commercial and recreational fishing industries, which account for more than \$10 billion annually.
- Ocean pollution from sewage and medical waste washed up on East Coast beaches in the summer of 1987 and 1988, cost the New Jersey tourism industry billions of dollars, and those employed at the beaches lost their jobs.

JOBS AND THE ENVIRONMENT TALKING POINTS: EXPORTS

Issue

Are American environmental companies well positioned to capture a large share of the world's environmental equipment and services market?

Clinton/Gore

Noting that Germany and Japan are moving aggressively to control the lion's share of the world environmental industry, Clinton has stated that the U.S. must be the world's foremost producer and exporter of environmental technology by the end of the decade.

Bush/Quayle

Bush takes a laissez faire attitude towards helping environmental companies capture a share of the world market for environmental equipment and services.

Talking Points

- "In the future, access to international markets will depend on who has the most environmentally sound technologies. If U.S. companies don't move aggressively, we will see the same conflict in environmental technology that we see today between GM and Honda." (quote by the Managing Director of the Japanese company, JGC Corp in Business Week, 5/11/92).
- [A]nti-environment policies temporarily insulate inefficient producers from the need to innovate and invest in new equipment, while penalizing [the environmental] industry that is arguably the most dynamic element of the entire U.S. economy. (Wall St. J., Silverstein, 5/28/92).
- The Department of Commerce estimates the current global market for environmental goods and services at \$370 billion. (Ibid.) Yet in 1990, U.S. exports of environmental goods and services (\$8 billion) were less than German exports (\$11 billion). (OECD)
- Today over 70% of America's clean air technology is imported from overseas, mainly from Germany. Germany has had perhaps the world's tightest regulations in stationary air pollution control. (OpCit. WSJ)

JOBS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

TALKING POINTS: FUEL EFFICIENCY AND AUTOWORKER JOBS

Issue

Will raising auto fuel efficiency standards increase or decrease jobs for auto workers?

Claim

Raising fuel efficiency standards for U.S. vehicles will result in job losses for American autoworkers.

Response

- Rolling back vehicle efficiency standards "did not save the U.S. auto industry from losing ground to Japan since 1985." (Quote by Joseph Romm)
- GM lost approximately 74,000 jobs in 1992. (OECD)
- A study by the American Council for an Energy-Efficient Economy indicates that improving fuel economy to 40 m.p.g. would lead to a net gain of 70,000 jobs by the year 2000. (Time, Oct. 12, 1992).

Claim

Forcing U.S. auto manufacturers to increase average fuel efficiency standards will inhibit their ability to compete with foreign car manufacturers.

Response

- Nobuhiko Kawamoto, Honda's new president, has made meeting environmental goals a top priority. After taking over last June he made 99 speeches in three months to prep Japanese and overseas employees for the challenge. There's a simple answer to why: "If a maker doesn't build more efficient cars," Kawamoto says, "it can't survive." (Business Week, April 8, 1991)
- [T]oday Honda announced it is withdrawing from Formula 1 in order to transfer the 100 engineers who work on racing engines into other more pressing research and development tasks. The move is one of the most visible symbols of the slowdown afflicting Japan's auto industry, and of the looming demand for more environmentally sound vehicles. (Washington Post, September 12, 1992)
- At a time when sales are shrinking and profits are dropping for Honda and other big automakers, they are gearing up to make cars "greener"--that is, low enough in emissions to meet the stricter standards, such as those that California is imposing, and substantially higher in fuel efficiency. (Ibid.)
- Detroit . . . has portrayed most major changes required of it in the past 20 years as impossible, from higher mileage to pollution control. Then, it has met the challenge anyway, in part to keep up with the Japanese. (Business Week, April 8, 1991)
- Experts figure two or three leading world auto makers will grab the lead in alternative cars-- . . . GM may be in front now. But the Japanese won't lag for long, given their exposure in California, where they have 50% of the market. "Some of the Japanese companies are going to treat this as an opportunity," (Quote in Bus. Week, April 8, 1991 by Daniel Roos, of the Mass. Institute of Technology's International Motor Vehicle Program)
- BMW is spending one-third of its \$845 million annual research budget on meeting new clean-air regulations, including alternative cars. (Ibid.)

JOBS AND THE ENVIRONMENT
TALKING POINTS: FUEL EFFICIENCY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Issue

Will raising auto fuel efficiency requirements help or hurt U.S. national security?

Claim

President Bush claims that the U.S. does not need higher fuel efficiency standards.

Response

- Bush's determination not to increase auto fuel efficiency requirements could increase America's reliance on foreign oil.
- When the Reagan/Bush administration rolled back vehicle efficiency standards in 1985, imports from the Persian Gulf doubled within a year. (Enhancing Econ. Security Through Environmental Leadership, A Discussion Paper by Joseph Romm, publ. by Environmental and Energy Study Institute [EESI], 7/21/92).
- U.S. imports of Persian Gulf oil increased by 500% from 1985 to 1989. (Ibid.)
- The current trade deficit for oil is \$50 billion, roughly half of the total trade deficit. (Ibid.)
- Under the Bush energy plan, the trade deficit in oil alone will reach \$80 billion by the year 2005. (Ibid.)
- The U.S. spends \$60 billion a year on military forces dedicated to the Persian Gulf. This represents a hidden subsidy to Gulf oil amounting to \$100 per barrel. (Ibid.)
- By raising fuel efficiency standards to an average of 40 miles per gallon, the U.S. would save about two million barrels of oil per day--more than we now import from the Persian Gulf, and five times more than the most optimistic projection of oil in the Arctic Reserve. (Ibid.)

Sample Press Release

(DATE)

CONTACT:

AGGRESSIVE ENERGY CONSERVATION WOULD BOOST ECONOMY, STUDY FINDS

According to a new economic study, dramatic boosts in vehicle fuel efficiency, improved appliances, better building insulation, more efficient lighting, and energy savings in manufacturing would boost the U.S. economy, generating 293,000 new jobs by 1995, and nearly 1.1 million new jobs by 2010.

The study, "Energy Efficiency and Job Creation," was co-authored by Howard Geller and John DeCicco of the American Council for an Energy-Efficient Economy in Washington, D.C., and Skip Laitner of Economic Research Associates in Eugene, Ore.

Building on an earlier study, "America's Energy Choices," the researchers looked at how employment and income would be effected by significant reductions in energy consumption, compared to the impact on the economy of "business as usual."

Using sophisticated computer models and dividing the U.S. economy into 25 sectors, they found that:

- An average annual investment of \$46 billion in energy efficiency measures would result in a 20 percent reduction in energy consumption over the next 18 years.

- About 293,000 new jobs would be created by 1995, 471,000 by 2000, and nearly 1.1 million by 2010.

- By itself, a boost in average rated vehicle fuel efficiency from 28 MPG in 1990 to 40 MPG in 2000 and 50 MPG in 2010 would yield 72,000 new jobs by 2000 and 244,000 new jobs by 2010, with 20 percent of the increase coming in the motor vehicle industry.

The researchers said gains in employment and income would result from:

- The shifting of resources out of relatively low labor-intensive energy sectors of the economy to more labor-intensive industries.

- Reductions in consumers' energy bills, which would boost demand for non-energy goods, equipment and services.

According to the researchers, "Most sectors of the economy (would) gain jobs and generate additional income, while a few sectors (would) lose jobs and generate less income" as a result of more aggressive energy-efficiency policies.

"In terms of energy policy objectives," the researchers concluded, "it is unnecessary to choose between either economic benefits and jobs on the one hand or environmental protection on the other."

"We can create more jobs and better protect the environment by adopting policies that enhance energy efficiency."

For Immediate release, Oct. 5, 1992
MIT Study Explodes Jobs vs. Environment Myth

A study released Monday by Massachusetts Institute of Technology Professor Stephen Meyer shows that the health of state economies - in boom and bust times - is only enhanced by strong environmental protection laws.

The study, which surveyed a range of jobs data, economic indicators and environmental regulations between 1970 and 1990, found that the states with the greatest job and economic growth were first to adopt environmental regulations. Conversely, the study also showed that lackluster economic growth in those same states in 1992 was not due to environmental or health and safety regulations, but instead resulted from larger economic factors.

Meyer's study exposes as myth the often-held view that environmental considerations are at odds with economic growth. That conclusion has been the rationale for many White House initiatives, such as the anti-regulation Council on Competitiveness. Instead, the study shows that the obstacles to generating wealth through economic growth are otherwise and more fundamental.

"It asks the question, Is it true that states with stronger environmental policies show poorer economic growth, poorer jobs creation, poorer competitiveness, than states with weaker regulations," Meyer said. "I looked at gross state products, total employment, construction employment, environmental and labor regulations in the 1970s and 80s.

"I expected the results to show no relationship. In fact, what I found was the states with the stronger environmental policies had the stronger labor and jobs growth. It states, categorically, that it isn't true that environmental policies hurt the economy."

In fact, the cost of environmental regulation was a minor factor in the larger forces that shape economic cycles, Meyer said. "The effect is so small that it gets lost in the noise of everything else that's going on."

For more information, Contact: Steven Meyer, 617-253-8078.

BACKGROUND INFO FOR ANCIENT FORESTS AND JOBS

WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES OF LOGGING ANCIENT FORESTS?

Only 10% of this country's ancient forests remain standing. The resultant loss of habitat has driven populations of salmon, the spotted owl and other old growth dependant species to near extinction. This is already having dramatic impact on the fishing industry which is seeing heavy restrictions placed on the salmon catch due to declining stocks. The tourism and recreation industries also are threatened by the loss of these unique ecosystems.

The Pacific Yew tree which is found in old-growth forests is an excellent example of how medicines can be developed from previously unknown sources. The yew tree produces taxol which has proven an effective cancer treatment. By decimating these ancient forests and ecosystems we remove the template for future medical, scientific and biological discoveries: we will have lost forever this part of our natural heritage.

WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES OF REDUCED LOGGING?

Preserving the ancient forests will cost some timber jobs but this is only part of the price of the transition to a more efficient, sustainable second-growth economy that has been in progress for decades. Timber jobs in the PNW have been in steady decline as the industry automates, reinvests in the Southeast U.S., and exports raw logs overseas. From 1979 to 1988, employment in the lumber and plywood sector decreased about 19% (more than 25,000 jobs) as a result of industry automation in Washington and Oregon. This 19% employment drop was accompanied by a 12% increase in lumber and plywood production and a 6.8% increase in timber harvests on all lands in Oregon and Washington. This trend is expected to continue regardless of whether the remaining old-growth forests are saved or cut down over the next decade.

WHAT ARE THE ALTERNATIVES?

To ensure a smooth transition that would see timber jobs reduced through natural attrition rather than by a drastic cutback, Congress must provide economic assistance to timber workers and their families; to timber companies to retool; and technical and financial assistance to communities attempting to diversify their local

economies and other measures, that address the fact that these communities' tax base is largely dependent upon payments from the Federal Treasury.

Investments for the restoration of damaged watersheds could be used to boost employment and to insure our natural resources such as salmon for generations to come. There is also tremendous potential for a retooled timber industry, based on second-growth forests and sustainable management practices, to provide jobs in perpetuity.

Any resolution should address the role lumber exports play in depriving the Northwest of jobs, while our precious national resources are shipped overseas. Currently, 25% of all logs are exported, raw and unprocessed by U.S. mills, costing an estimated 16,000 mill jobs a year. A 1990 Forest Service report concluded that limiting all log exports from the US would more than offset the effect of implementing the government's Interagency Scientific Committee recommendations for protecting the northern spotted owl and its habitat.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

CLEAN CARS SUMMARY

With nearly 600 million motor vehicles on the road throughout the world, the introduction of zero emission vehicles may have the single largest impact on environmental clean-up.

The California Low Emissions Vehicle Program legislates cleaner fuels and cleaner cars beginning in 1994. By 1998, auto manufacturers must meet the 2% penetration level for introduction of ZEVs into the consumer market. In addition, New York and Massachusetts have already adopted California standards and New Jersey and Maine are in the public review process. As a result, every leading auto manufacturer in the world has development programs for flexible/transitional fuels, hybrid vehicles and zero emission vehicles (ZEV). Small numbers of these cars are presently on the road - primarily in demonstration/fleet programs.

There are conflicting opinions about the net benefit of battery operated EVs in reducing air pollution without increasing stationary plant emissions. The EPA is taking a neutral position and the California Air Resources Board (CARB) and the Northeast States for Coordinated Air Use Management (NESCAUM) both see direct advantages.

Funding of the Electric and Hybrid Propulsion Division at DOE was \$37 million in 1979. By 1985, it had been systematically reduced to a low of \$8.4 million. Since then, spending has increased - to a current level of \$42 million. (The U.S. Advanced Battery Consortium has been established bringing together the Big Three and the Electric Power Research Institute to intensify research and development of batteries with longer range, increased power and life and faster recharge. A newly announced Hybrid Vehicle Program will fund assembly-line production of hybrid vehicles. Three grants from DOT/FTA Advanced Transportation Systems/Electric Vehicle Program were recently announced. The FY '93 DOD budget contains a \$25 million defense reinvestment project to introduce EV technology to the Army.) Federal spending has risen over the years, but appropriations must increase if the U.S. is to secure large scale market penetration at home and abroad - we are being outspent by our foreign counterparts.

U.S. auto manufacturers are making major commitments to on-time delivery of clean fuel vehicles. Utility companies are pursuing commercialization programs for infrastructure and public education. To help reduce corporate risk, industry is requesting tax credits and consumer incentives.

Internationally, the U.S. is being met by strong competition from foreign manufacturers who see the California market as just the tip of the iceberg. Substantial research, development and demonstration projects are underway - heavily supported by state funding.

Hydrogen powered fuel cells hold the key to the future. This clean and renewable domestic resource combined with advanced technology will provide emission free transportation as well as realistic applications for locomotive, air and space. Today, the U.S. significantly lags behind international research not because of lack of technical expertise but because of an under-funded federal program needing more attention.

U.S. manufactured clean cars and ZEVs will lower pollution causing emissions, provide energy security benefits, reduce the deficit, and make the U.S. economically competitive in the world market.

202 -
Source: Marcia Zalowitz 397-6185



MEMORANDUM

September 11, 1992

TO: ENVIRONMENTALISTS FOR CLINTON/GORE

FR: BRETT HULSEY, 501-370-2643 *Brett*

RE: INFORMATION KIT FOR THE FALL CAMPAIGN

Thank you for agreeing to be a surrogate speaker and/or state coordinator for Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore.

Your job is to speak on behalf of the campaign, organize others to be involved in the campaign, and keep an eye on Bush activities.

Included in this packet is information on what surrogates and volunteer organizations can do, campaign positions, the Clinton/Gore record, and background on the Bush record.

Please use these discreetly. You may distribute the factsheets only.

In the coming weeks, you should:

1. Reach out to other groups and individuals to be involved in Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore(EFCG).
2. Check in with your state director and ask how you can be most helpful.
3. Hold a press conference announcing the kickoff of EFCG.
4. Write op-ed pieces for local and state papers on how good Bill and Al are for the economy and the environment and how bad Bush is.
5. Alert me of key state issues or locations for possible events.
6. Organize enviros to volunteer for the campaign.
7. Prepare for the national rails-to-trails event on October 3rd and the National Clinton/Gore Cleanup on October 4th. More information will follow.

Please call me or Brooks Yeager at 202-466-8162 if you have any questions.



Dear concerned environmentalists and conservationists:

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Throughout this presidential campaign season, Bill Clinton and Al Gore have repeatedly said: "We're in this together. None of us is alone." That sentiment describes our National Surrogate Program and Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore.

Our goal is to enlist thousands of Americans to speak on behalf of the Clinton/Gore campaign for change in America's future. There are many ways that people can take part in this common endeavor. Here are a few examples:

- (1) A surrogate can speak on behalf of candidates
 - o Scheduled events in their communities.
 - o Participate on panel/debate events.
 - o Writing "op-ed" pieces and letters to the editor for local papers.
 - o Appearing on local TALK Radio programs.
 - o Call in to local radio programs.
 - o Appear on local TV interview programs.
- (2) A surrogate can organize on behalf of the candidates
 - o Identify and enlist 10 new surrogates.
 - o Host a "house-party" to raise money for independent but supportive political groups.
 - o Help organize local rallies and events.
 - o Work with a variety of other constituent groups (e.g. students, pro-choice, labor, farmers, artists) to underscore the Clinton "bring us together" message.
 - o "Take Back the Shopping Malls of America" events.
- (3) A surrogate can do research for the candidates
 - o Send in local newspaper clippings on Bush/Quayle and Clinton/Gore to (501) 399-3796.
 - o Identify key "site visits" for Clinton/Gore.
 - o Keep your state operation and Little Rock, posted of local political events.
- (4) A surrogate cannot
 - o Make policy, if you don't know, say so.

STATE OPERATIONS

STATE	DIRECTOR	PHONE	FAX
Alabama	Sarah Summerville	205/328-4828	328-5404
Alaska	Bill Sheffield	907/563-8683	561-8683
Arizona	Chris Phillips	602/254-4059	254-4438
Arkansas	Mary Anne Salmon	501/372-1992	372-2292
California	LA John Emerson	310/659-2546	659-1034
	SF Marsha Scott	415/923-1992	923-0919
Colorado	Fred DuVal	303/861-2629	861-2624
Connecticut	Jennifer Davis	203/236-7521	236-6946
Delaware	David Boundy	302/996-5680	996-5684
DC	Sterling Henry	202/682-1253	737-4620
Florida	Tim Phillips	813/875-1992	870-0172
Georgia	Nancy Parrish	404/897-1992	892-6053
Hawaii	Rick Egged	808/536-2258	586-2377
Idaho	Jon Foster	208/383-0069	383-9575
Illinons	Lowell Junkins	312/587-1992	587-1070
Indiana	Jim Blasingame	317/236-0815	236-0804
Iowa	Dan Smith	515/280-3133	280-3449
Kansas	Craig Hughes	913/235-9292	235-0800
Kentucky	David Wofford	502/695-4828	695-9475
Louisiana	Carol Spear	504/343-4045	346-1268
Maine	Bill Marshall		
Maryland	Emily Smith	410/783-9200	659-0926
Massachusetts	Elaine Guiney	617/457-3535	457-3544
Michigan	Steve Weiss		
Minnesota	Mitchell Schwartz	612/224-3126	224-3157
Mississippi	Lisa Walker	601/352-9292	353-3240
Missouri	Julie Gibson	314/961-1111(temp)	
Montana	Doug Mitchell	406/443-0632	443-0878
Nebraska	Eric Dodd	402/393-8131	393-8977
Nevada	Andreas Gonzalez	702/732-1712	732-1377
New Hampshire	Ricia McMahon	603/228-9293	228-0386
New Jersey	Rich Gannon	908/545-4444	545-1214
New Mexico	Ray Martinez	505/243-0250	243-0593
New York	Kevin Thurm	212/888-1992	755-2887
North Carolina	Bob Geolas	919/833-1192	829-5636
North Dakota	Marty Beockel	701/255-6561	255-6586
Ohio	Mark Longenbaugh	614/341-6930	341-6939
Oklahoma	Bill McDonnell	405/236-2455	236-0324
Oregon	Amy Chapman	503/224-1992	222-6308
Pennsylvania	Celia Fischer	215/546-9200	546-6957
Rhode Island	Jeff Beatrice	401/	421-1001
South Carolina	Hayward Bannister	803/929-0050	929-0441
South Dakota	Matt O'Neal	605/330-2722	330-2724
Tennessee	Jim Hall	615/327-9779	327-9759
Texas	Robin Rorapaugh	512/478-VOTE(8683)	478-1191
Utah	Scott Matheson	801/	582-4451
Vermont	Jennifer O'Connor	802/658-1992	658-5492
Virginia	Joe Grapensberger	804/644-1966	343-3642
Washington	Jay Pearson	206/	233-9024
West Virginia	Jeff Forbes	304/344-9292	345-1640
Wisconsin	Jon Kaplan	414/257-4085	258-8542
Wyoming	Brian Sharratt	307/322-9211	322-9500



M E M O R A N D U M

August 25, 1992

TO: Stephanie Solien
National Political Director

FROM: Christine A. Varney
Chief Counsel

RE: Volunteer Constituent Organizations

There are several restrictions applicable to volunteer constituent group activities on behalf of the Clinton/Gore Campaign. The Campaign is prohibited from accepting any contributions of any goods or services, from any individual, organization or vendor. Thus, constituent groups need to take care not to engage in any activity which would result in an impermissible contribution. The general rule for the Campaign is that anything that could be paid for must be paid for. The general rule for volunteer constituent groups is that no expense may be incurred without prior campaign approval.

Volunteer constituent groups that are affiliated with the Campaign, i.e., not independent expenditure groups, should follow the same guidelines as all volunteers:

1. An individual may volunteer his or her own uncompensated services to the Campaign without limits.
- * Volunteers may not work for the Campaign on time that is compensated by their employers.
 - * Occasional, isolated activities during normal hours is permissible. Such activity is generally deemed to be no more than one hour per week or four hours per month.

2. A volunteer may incur up to \$1,000 in unreimbursed transportation expenses for any single election, including the general election campaign, and \$2,000 total per year on behalf of all political committees. Such costs are not considered contributions to the Campaign.

3. Food and lodging expenses incurred in connection with volunteer services are not considered contributions.

As these constituents groups are volunteers associated with, and acting on behalf of the Campaign, you may closely coordinate with them on any activities they are undertaking. However, care should be taken not to confuse volunteer constituent groups with independent expenditure groups or membership organizations. Independent expenditure groups may not, under any circumstances, coordinate, consult or cooperate with the Campaign. Any coordination, consultation and cooperation with an independent expenditure group will result in an impermissible contribution being made by the allegedly independent expenditure group to the Campaign. Membership organizations have their own set of rules which allow the organization to communicate partisan views to its membership. The rules governing membership communications are complex and membership groups should consult counsel prior to making any expenditures.

It is also important to remember that under no circumstances should the Campaign be providing camera-ready art to any group.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions.

CLINTON • GORE ON PROTECTING OUR ENVIRONMENT

For all its rhetoric, the Bush Administration has been an environmental disaster. The President has ignored the threat of global warming and the depletion of the Earth's ozone layer, undermined enforcement of the Clean Air Act, supported drilling in Alaska's precious Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, abandoned his "no net loss" wetlands policy, and opposed efforts to increase recycling. The United States ought to lead the world in fighting for environmental protection, but George Bush has been dragging his feet abroad and ignoring his promises at home.

It's time for a change. Bill Clinton and Al Gore will give America a real environmental policy. They believe that environmental protection is fundamental to America's national security — and that we must reject Bush Administration attempts to force a false choice between environmental protection and economic growth. A Clinton/Gore Administration will challenge Americans and demand responsibility at every level — from individuals and families to corporations and government agencies — to do more to preserve our world.

THE CLINTON/GORE PLAN

Reduce pollution and solid waste

Preserve America's natural beauty and key resources

Use market forces to encourage environmental protection

Exert American leadership for a healthier world

Improve energy efficiency

THE CLINTON/GORE PLAN

The time for complacency is over. We need to take swift and aggressive action to turn our nation around, and make America a leader in the fight to save the planet.

We must renew our commitment to leave our children a better nation — a nation whose air, water, and land are unspoiled; whose natural beauty is undimmed; and whose leadership for sustainable global growth is unsurpassed.

Four goals:

- Reduce solid and toxic waste, and air and water pollution to ensure we leave our nation cleaner and healthier.
- Preserve places of natural beauty and ecological importance — such as our national parks, wilderness areas, old-growth forests, and wetlands — so that we can pass on America's natural splendor to our children.
- Shatter the false choice between environmental protection and economic growth by creating a market-based environmental protection strategy that rewards conservation and "green" business practices while penalizing polluters.
- Exert international leadership to advance our own nation's interest in a healthier global environment, a stable global climate, and global biodiversity. Reduce American and worldwide use of fossil fuels and airborne chemicals that destroy the ozone layer and work to keep our world's delicate environment in balance.

Reduce pollution and solid waste

- Create and expand markets for recycled products by providing revenue-neutral tax incentives which favor the use of recycled materials whenever possible.
- Create a solid waste reduction program which gives credits to companies that recover a portion of the waste they generate and penalizes companies that fail to do so. Less efficient companies would be forced to buy waste credits from more efficient companies, creating a strong profit incentive for reducing solid waste.
- Pass a new Clean Water Act with standards for "non-point-source" pollution and incentives for our firms, farmers, and families to develop ways to reduce and prevent polluted run-off at its source; launch a national education campaign to encourage all citizens to drastically reduce their contributions to "non-point-source" pollution made by household chemicals, lawn products, and pesticides.
- Reform and ensure proper enforcement of the EPA Superfund so that taxpayer money goes toward cleaning up toxic waste instead of paying legal bills. Currently, almost half of all federal Superfund appropriations go to pay lawyers' fees — while 22,000 Superfund sites threaten the health of citizens and communities across America.
- Support legislation that allows ordinary citizens to sue federal agencies that ignore environmental laws and regulations designed to preserve our environment — so government bureaucrats are made accountable for proper and effective environmental law enforcement.
- Support efforts to mandate public reporting on toxic chemicals used and

We need to adopt an aggressive market-based national strategy to cut pollution and decrease the generation of solid waste. We also need to take more effective measures to clean up pollution and waste which have already harmed our environment.

Every year millions of American families vacation in national parks, from Yosemite to Yellowstone. Those people deserve an Administration that cares as much about America's parks as they do.

produced by companies, and require those companies to develop plans for reducing their toxic chemical use.

- Crack down on environmental crime by holding companies and polluters responsible for their behavior. Corporations that deliberately violate environmental laws will pay the price — and polluters will be sent to jail where appropriate.

Preserve America's natural beauty and key resources

- Preserve our ancient forests for their scientific and ecological importance.
- Make the "no net loss" wetlands pledge a reality, base wetlands policy on science instead of politics by working with the National Academy of Sciences and other members of the scientific community to devise appropriate policies. Our wetlands act as a natural filter for much of the water America drinks, and make up one of our most important and fragile natural habitats.
- Rededicate the agencies that manage our national parks and wilderness lands to a true conservation ethic; expand our efforts to acquire new parklands and recreational sites with funds already available under the federal Land and Water Conservation Fund.
- Designate as a wilderness area the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and stop the crusade for new offshore drilling.

Use market forces to encourage environmental protection

- Place greater emphasis on preventing and reducing pollution before it happens, so we won't have to spend so much on cleaning it up after the fact. We can do that without big bureaucracies and public spending — by harnessing market forces, integrating environmental incentives into daily production decisions of big firms, and making polluters pay.
- Harness market forces to reward consumers and businesses that conserve, and penalize polluters and inefficient energy users.
- Create revenue-neutral tax incentives to encourage the use of alternative fuels like natural gas, and renewable energy sources like hydro-electricity, solar power, and wind power.

Exert American leadership for a healthier world

- Provide real international leadership to protect the world's delicate environmental balance.
- Limit U.S. carbon dioxide emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000 and accelerate the phase-out of substances that deplete the ozone layer.
- Call on major banks and multinational institutions to negotiate debt-for-nature swaps that allow developing nations to reduce their crippling debt

The world faces a tremendous threat from global climate change, ozone depletion, and out-of-control and unsustainable population growth. We have seen seven of the hottest years in history over the last decade. The world's rainforests are disappearing at the rate of one football field each second. These and other developments clearly threaten our own interests — not just with the possibility of rising sea levels — but also through higher cancer rates, crop failures, and depletion of worldwide resources that we depend on for pharmaceuticals and other vital products. We must lead the world, not follow.

burdens by setting aside precious lands.

- Restore U.S. funding for the United Nations' population stabilization efforts, and allow U.S. foreign aid to support international family planning services.
- Explore partnerships and joint ventures with developing countries to preserve and protect rainforests while accelerating important medical and agricultural research and development.

Improve energy efficiency

- Accelerate our progress toward more fuel-efficient cars, and raise the CAFE standards for automakers to 40-45 miles per gallon.
- Increase U.S. reliance on natural gas — which is inexpensive, clean-burning and abundant, and can reduce carbon dioxide emissions — by issuing an executive order to purchase natural gas-powered vehicles for the federal automobile fleet, following Texas' lead.
- Invest more in the development of renewable energy sources; encourage the use of new energy sources like wind and solar power, and new methods to make better use of the resources we already have.
- Stop spending 60 percent of the Department of Energy's budget on nuclear weapons, with nuclear power and fossil fuels receiving most of the rest.
- Convert some of our Cold War military spending to civilian purposes, like funding light rail systems, which can speed travel, save fuel, and provide transportation for people less able to afford it.
- Improve America's overall energy efficiency by 20 percent by the year 2000 by making energy conservation and efficiency central goals in every policy field — in planning communities, designing offices, developing transportation and regulating utilities.
- Sustain efforts to improve the efficiency of coal operations through development and use of clean coal technologies.

THE RECORD

Natural resources

- Arkansas received 14 Environmental Excellence Awards from Region 6 of the Environmental Protection Agency in July 1992 for wastewater pretreatment and treatment programs; for non-point source treatment programs; for recycling, waste reduction and solid waste management programs.
 - Arkansas is one of only a few states meeting all federal standards under the Clean Air Act.
 - In 1988 Arkansas developed what are considered to be some of the most progressive water quality standards in the nation. These regulations prevent point source pollution in the highest quality waters of the state — those streams, rivers, and lakes that have high recreational, scenic, and habitat values. One-hundred percent of Arkansas' lakes have been determined to be fishable and swimmable. To address Arkansas' most serious water quality problem, nonpoint pollution by animal wastes, Governor Clinton created a task force which has approved new management requirements and is developing additional legislation for the next session.
 - Bill Clinton was endorsed by the Sierra Club in 1990.
 - Arkansas has been ranked in the top ten states for efforts in wetlands protection and energy research.
 - Governor Clinton helped create the Plant the Future program which aims to plant an additional 10 million trees each year for 10 years, and to establish a "no net loss" policy for forest land.
 - Encouraged the State Department of Education to emphasize environmental issues in all aspects of the curriculum. An Environmental Education Trust Fund also was created in 1991 at the Department of Pollution Control and Ecology.
 - Expanded Protected Lands. Since 1983, 31 new natural areas have been added to the state's System of Natural Areas, three state parks have been established, four new wildlife management areas have been created, and 30 separate tracts of land have been added to the state park system. The Natural and Cultural Resource Trust Fund, established by Clinton in 1987, provides about \$3 million a year to protect natural areas and restore historic structures.
 - In 1985 received the President's Public Service Award from the Nature Conservancy for "being a creative leader over the last six years in Arkansas land preservation work."
 - Created a state Land Bank, providing an initial \$1 million to preserve natural areas, purchase state park lands and wildlife management areas, and establish the Arkansas Natural and Rivers Commission. Arkansas has been ranked among the top 10 states for efforts in wetland protection and energy research spending.
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- Senator Gore strengthened the Clean Air Act of 1990 to increase monitoring of carbon dioxide emissions and prevent polluters from establishing "dead zones" around sources of pollution that remove people but not pollution.
 - Senator Gore was a leader in the successful efforts to kill provisions that would have allowed

drilling in the pristine Arctic National Wildlife refuge.

- Led efforts to eliminate below-cost timber sales and forest road subsidies.

Solid waste

- Governor Clinton banned the disposal of batteries, unshredded tires, and yard wastes in landfills. He required the state to expand its purchasing of recycled materials, and has established a goal of recycling 25% of the state's solid waste by 1995 and 40% by the year 2000.
- Established trust funds for recycling grants and waste tire management.
- Created two new divisions at the Department of Pollution Control and Ecology, a Recycling Division and a Marketing Board for recyclables. Finally, state law now mandates that every Arkansan shall have an opportunity and place to recycle.
- In 1980, the U.S. EPA and the State of Arkansas identified 314 open dumps in the state; since then, Governor Clinton has either closed or placed every one of them under litigation.
- Governor Clinton pushed through a measure to give the state authority to deny operating permits to companies with bad environmental records in this and other states. Increased criminal penalties and doubled civil penalties for violating the state's environmental laws and regulations.
- Senator Gore wrote legislation to encourage recycling and strengthen markets for recycled products by providing tax incentives for the purchase of "re-manufacturing" equipment and by strengthening markets for recycled products.

Hazardous waste

- Governor Clinton helped establish a hazardous waste program among the first approved by the EPA and later used as a model by the National Governor's Association.
- Passed a Chemical Right-to-Know Law: Clinton helped create the right of public employees to know about hazardous chemicals in the workplace.
- Empowered Citizens: Clinton put more citizen control into the state Pollution Control and Ecology Commission, and passed a law declaring that any lawsuit settlement which restricts a person's right to disclose the existence of an environmental hazard is contrary to public policy and void.
- Senator Gore authored the "Environmental Justice Act" to confront the "environmental racism" that puts minorities in low-income communities at excessive risk from environmental threats. The legislation would identify the most threatened communities and target assistance -- including health surveys and community grants -- to people in those communities.
- Sponsored legislation which prohibits "back hauling", a practice in which trucks carrying hazardous material in one direction are loaded with food products for return trips, often with inadequate cleanup from hazardous loads.
- Cosponsored the original Superfund Act which now is law. It resulted from hearings chaired by Senator Gore which revealed illegal dumping of billions of pounds of hazardous chemical waste.

- Sponsored an amendment passed in the Senate's 1992 Energy Bill to accelerate government efforts to procure the most energy efficient products. The amendment also provides grant money to states for energy efficiency and conservation initiatives.
- Led efforts to retain funding in the 1991 Interior Bill for research and development joint ventures designed to improve use of solar and other renewable forms of energy.
- Authored a provision of the Clean Air Act that would prioritize energy efficiency in urban planning and transportation efficiency.

Global leadership

- Senator Gore authored, introduced, and gained passage of a resolution stating that Antarctica should be preserved as a global ecological commons. Republicans, Democrats and leaders around the world have embraced the proposal.
- As Chairman of the U.S. Senate Delegation to the Earth Summit, Senator Gore worked to secure meaningful measures to protect the global environment. He has led efforts to initiate and support programs to arrest global warming, protect the earth's forests and oceans, enhance biodiversity, and conserve resources.
- Sponsored the creation of the Strategic Environment Research Program, which promotes cooperation between military and civilian scientists and researchers to advance efforts to understand the global environment. Gore also sparked efforts that for the first time will make available to civilian scientists data about the earth collected by U.S. intelligence agencies.
- Gained Senate passage of a measure to speed the phase-out of ozone-depleting chemicals, forcing the Bush administration to finally act in accordance with the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990.

CLINTON • GORE ON NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY

For twelve years, the Republicans in Washington have undermined our national security and cut short our economic growth because they haven't had a national energy policy. In the last decade, 8,000 of our independent oil and gas producers have closed their doors; 300,000 Americans have lost their jobs. Of 4,500 domestic drilling rigs operating in the United States in 1981 when Ronald Reagan and George Bush took office, less than 700 remain in operation today. We've fallen behind our competitors in energy efficiency and are in danger of leaving future generations of Americans in a precarious position of overwhelming debt and dependence.

America needs a new national energy policy that enables Americans to control America's energy future. Instead of coddling special interests whose fortunes depend on America's addiction to foreign oil, the Clinton/Gore national energy policy promotes national security, energy diversity, economic prosperity, and environmental protection.

It's time to make the right energy choices.

THE CLINTON/GORE PLAN

Increase energy efficiency and conservation

Increase natural gas use

Expand the use of renewable energy sources

A safe, environmentally sound energy policy

Increase energy efficiency and conservation

- Increase corporate average fuel economy standards from the current 27.5 miles per gallon to 40–45 miles per gallon.
- Develop and implement revenue-neutral market incentives that reward conservation and penalize polluters and energy-wasters.
- Adopt transportation strategies and highway spending programs that encourage car-pooling, high-efficiency highway technology, and mass transit by including conservation incentives in the federal matching fund program.
- Promote changes in utility regulation to make energy efficiency profitable for both utilities and customers.
- Strengthen federal programs to encourage energy-efficient housing, and to encourage state and local governments to adopt building codes that encourage conservation by calling for thicker walls and windows, new compact florescent bulbs, more efficient insulation and new low-cost housing construction that could cut domestic energy consumption by 25 percent using measures that would pay for themselves in 5 to 7 years.
- Increase energy efficiency in every federal agency and set standards to insure that federal grants, contracts, and projects support America's national conservation goals.

Increase natural gas use

- Implement policies to expand markets for natural gas in every sector — homes, businesses, industry, electrical generation, and transportation.
- Speed development and certification of new natural gas pipelines to get natural gas to market, with special emphasis on areas not currently adequately served by natural gas.
- Convert the enormous federal vehicle fleet to natural gas.
- Use federal research and development dollars to develop new natural gas applications.

Expand the use of renewable energy sources

- Create a civilian advanced research agency that will support civilian research and development of renewable technologies and renewable fuel programs.
- Reorient the mission of hundreds of national laboratories, moving from defense R&D to more work on commercial renewable energy projects.
- Change the tax code to create greater incentives for renewable energy use.
- Give incentives to utilities to adopt "least cost planning," which factors environmental, social and economic costs into fuel-use decisions. Least-cost planning is currently employed by utility companies in 17 states.

A safe, environmentally sound energy policy

- Oppose increased reliance on nuclear power. There is good reason to believe that we can meet future energy needs — with conservation and the use of alternative fuels — without having to face the staggering costs, delays and uncertainties of nuclear waste disposal.
- Oppose federal excise gas tax increases. Instead of a back-breaking federal gas tax, we should try conservation, increased use of natural gas, and increased use of alternative fuels.
- Prohibit drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska: work to expand the ANWR to include the 1.5 acre Arctic Coastal Plain while ensuring that Native Americans are able to use these lands for traditional subsistence hunting and fishing. Increased energy efficiency and the use of natural gas currently available in the lower 48 states can easily negate the need for ANWR drilling.

The Record

- In Governor Clinton's first term in 1979, he created a state Department of Energy which emphasized renewable resource development, reduced institutional barriers to energy conservation and encouraged the development of new energy sources.
- Established an Alternative Fuels Commission.
- Arkansas ranks 10th in the nation in energy research spending.

- Gore amendments enacted by the Senate as part of the 1992 energy bill:
 - Help small businesses increase their energy efficiency and cut their energy bills by establishing energy diagnostic centers where engineering students and their professors can work with small businesses.
 - Accelerate the government's efforts to procure the most energy efficient products and to provide grant money to states to fund energy efficiency and conservation initiatives.
 - Require the Tennessee Valley Authority of conduct least-cost planning analyses of energy supply and demand requirements.
 - Provides assistance to states to develop energy conservation and renewable energy initiatives.

- Senator Gore was a leader in the successful efforts to kill provisions that would have allowed drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

- Led efforts in the 1991 Interior Appropriations for solar and renewable joint venture programs.

- Senator Gore introduced legislation to involve America's national labs in developing and disseminating energy efficient technologies and practices.

Remarks of Governor Bill Clinton

*Drexel University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

Earth Day — April 22, 1992

Twenty-two years ago today, thousands of Americans marched and met and spoke out across the country to raise a new concern onto our nation's agenda: the protection of America's environment. That first Earth Day in 1970 awakened our nation to the ticking of a different kind of biological clock — a clock that measured the careless degradation of America's air, water, land and natural resources.

Many of you here were not even born yet. And it's worth recalling the whirlwind of change and progress that followed that day. Within two years, our nation created the Environmental Protection Agency, passed the Clean Air, Clean Water, and Endangered Species Acts, and banned DDT. For my generation, it was a heady, hopeful experience.

Two decades later, all those efforts seem dwarfed by the enormity of old and new threats to our communities, our resources, and our planet.

We restricted open dumping into our rivers, but now we see used hypodermic needles washing up on our beaches.

We banished lead from our gas tanks, but still find it concentrated where the children of our cities live and play.

We pinpointed the nation's toxic waste dumps, but have only cleaned up a handful.

We confronted the acid rain killing our trees, but not the rush of development that is wiping out wetlands at home and rainforests abroad.

We stopped building nuclear power plants, but now see our addiction to fossil fuels wrapping the earth in a deadly shroud of greenhouse gasses.

We opened our eyes to the threats posed by oil-soaked beaches, smoggy skies, and burning rivers; yet we still struggle to comprehend less apparent dangers, such as an invisible hole in a distant ozone layer that allows unseen rays to plant the microscopic seeds of cancer.

The question that falls to your generation is this: will the march that began 22 years ago move forward, or will we stand in place?

Over the past generation, much has changed in our thinking. Children now teach their parents to sort their garbage. Colleges like Drexel train young people in environmental engineering. A Big Mac at McDonald's comes in a recyclable cardboard container in a recycled paper bag.

Yet while the thinking of most Americans has changed, the thinking of our recent leaders has not. For more than a decade, we've had no national energy strategy, no environmental strategy, no economic strategy to capture the markets of the future with new technologies that are energy-efficient and environmentally sound.

Within the past decade, climate change, ozone depletion, and other global environmental problems have emerged as threats to our very survival. Dependence on foreign oil has been the cornerstone of

our energy policy, and oil imports now make up half our trade imbalance. The collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War have created new markets and a new urgency for environmental cleanup. We have an unprecedented opportunity to protect the earth and make our economy grow.

Too often, on the environment as on so many issues, the Bush Administration has been reactive, rudderless, and expedient. Under George Bush and Ronald Reagan, presidential leadership on the environment has become an endangered species.

George Bush promised to be the Environment President, but a photo op at the Grand Canyon is about all we have to show for it.

He made Boston Harbor a prop in his negative campaign in 1988, but four years later has done precious little to help clean it up.

He promised "no net loss" of America's precious wetlands, then tried to hand half of them over to developers.

He invoked Teddy Roosevelt's devotion to preserving our natural heritage, then called for opening the Arctic wilderness to oil drilling.

He talked about the need for an energy policy, then went to Detroit on the eve of the Michigan primary to promise American automakers that he wouldn't raise fuel efficiency standards for American cars.

He called for an international summit on the environment but now is singlehandedly blocking an historic meeting in Rio de Janeiro of a hundred nations to control global warming.

And just yesterday, I read in the paper that he wants to make another attack ad, this time about problems along the White River in Arkansas. We're fighting the battle to clean up the White River, and I welcome the President's attention.

So, Mr. President, when you return from Rio, I hope you'll visit Northwest Arkansas and the White River. I'll show you what the problems are and what progress we've made. I'll show you rivers you can fish in, and streams kids can swim in.

And if you really want to clean up the problem, I'll make an agreement with you. We'll outline federal and state responsibilities — and we'll get results. Our people are tired of the politics of blame. But this is no Boston Harbor. If you want to place blame, you'll have to shoulder some.

Let me be clear. I don't believe President Bush is bent on destroying the environment. But his views were shaped in another era, when the world faced other threats, and economic growth and environmental protection were seen as mutually exclusive.

I've spent the last decade as Governor of a poor state, fighting to keep jobs and make up for the lost time. I know how much our people are hurting after the longest recession and slowest economic growth in the last 50 years.

In the '80s, I also faced the old short-term tradeoffs between jobs and the environment, made tougher by cutbacks in federal aid and the lack of clear policies in some areas which allowed states to be played off against one another. In this context, I've made the choice for jobs in a poor state without enough jobs or federal help for environmental protection and cleanup.

But over the years I've learned something that George Bush and his advisers still don't understand, to reject the false choice between economic growth and environmental protection. Today, you can't have a healthy economy without a healthy environment, and you don't have to sacrifice environmental protection to get economic growth.

Our competitors know that you can't have one without the other. One of the reasons German workers make 25% more than the average American worker is that their economy uses half the energy to produce the same amount of goods. Japanese companies enjoy a 5% competitive advantage in the global marketplace because of higher energy efficiency. Our competitors are rushing to develop new environmental technologies that will enable them to capture the markets of the future. Only the United States is heading toward the 21st Century without a long-term strategy to achieve sustainable economic growth.

The Bush Administration doesn't understand that perpetuating the false choice between environmental protection and economic growth is bad for the environment and bad for the economy. Our lakes will be dirtier and our air will be more dangerous because George Bush put Dan Quayle in charge of the Competitiveness Council, a group which lets major polluters in through the back door at the White House to kill environmental regulations they don't like. And the most disturbing thing is, they call that competitiveness.

Over the long run, the Bush Administration isn't doing American business any favors by pretending that energy efficiency and improved environmental protection are at odds with economic growth. If we're going to compete and win in the world economy, if we want to improve our quality of life as well as our standard of living, we need to learn to use environmental protection as a tool for economic growth.

That is what I've tried to do in Arkansas. As Governor, I've worked hard to pursue both environmental quality and economic growth. In my first term, I took on one of my state's strongest special interests when I tried to focus our utilities more on conservation than construction of new power plants. Today that approach is called "least cost planning," and nearly half the states use it to conserve resources and save ratepayers money. Back then, the name didn't exist and the utilities fought it tooth and nail. By the end of the '80s they had come around, and Arkansas consumers and businesses will save lots of money in the future.

We did other things, too. We set up one of the nation's first state-level paper recycling programs,

helped establish nearly 40 new wildlife preserves and parks to protect our rivers, forests, wetlands, and prairies, and created a new statewide reforestation program that has planted 25 million trees in the last two years. We've provided Arkansas business a 30% tax credit for installing waste reduction and recycling facilities — a measure that is protecting Arkansas's environment and creating Arkansas jobs.

There was a time in this country when environmental protection was viewed as at best a necessary burden for industry to bear. Today that idea just isn't true. Technology has changed; the stakes have changed; and it's time for our thinking to change, too. In today's economy, there doesn't have to be a tradeoff between growth and environmental protection. We now have the tools and the need to choose both.

What we need today is a New Covenant for Environmental Progress. That covenant is built on a renewed commitment to leave our children a better nation — a nation whose air, water, and land are unspoiled; whose natural beauty is undimmed; and whose leadership for sustainable global growth is unsurpassed. This new covenant will challenge Americans and demand responsibility at every level — from individuals, families, communities, corporations, and government agencies — to do more to preserve the quality of our environment and our world.

A new covenant for environmental progress will have three priorities: exerting new American leadership to protect the global environment; preserving the quality of our environment here at home; and finding ways to promote innovation and growth consistent with firm environmental goals.

The first part of a new covenant for environmental progress must be for the U.S. to exert international leadership for the health of the planet. The Cold War is over, and we have entered a new era in which threats to our security are less evident, but no less dangerous, than before. As Senator Gore has dramatized in his recent book, *Earth in the Balance*, if we do not find the vision and leadership to defeat the unprecedented new threats of global climate change, ozone depletion, and unsustainable population growth, then those threats may defeat us instead.

This June, the nations of the world will meet in Rio to negotiate reductions in their output of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gasses; to end the destruction of the ozone layer; and to find rules for sustainable development to ensure that our species does not outlive its welcome on this planet. Nearly a hundred heads of state have firmly committed to attend. But yesterday, the President said he can't decide whether or not to go.

We've seen eight of the hottest years in history in the last decade. The world's rainforests are disappearing at the rate of one football field a minute. An ozone hole is growing over Kennebunkport. And the leaders of nearly every nation on earth are waiting while the President of the United States makes up his mind whether to act.

I say this is one foreign trip George Bush can't afford to miss.

If the President does decide to go, simply showing up in Rio is not enough. Unless he makes the U.S. a leader against global warming and removes the obstacles he has thrown in the way of a climate change treaty, nothing will come of the Rio meeting. President Bush should commit the U.S. to limit U.S. carbon dioxide emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000; and to join in new efforts to protect the planet's biodiversity and preserve its forests. As Senator Gore says, this is now our most important global environmental challenge.

In a Clinton Administration, the U.S. will take the lead in promoting sustainable development. We'll call on major banks and multilateral institutions like the IMF and the World Bank to negotiate debt-for-nature swaps that allow developing nations to reduce their crippling international debt burden by setting aside precious lands. We should explore establishing the international equivalent of the Nature Conservancy, a fund contributed to by developed nations and pharmaceutical companies to purchase easements in the rainforests for medical research. These easements and the profits from new drugs could make not developing the forests more profitable than tearing them down.

We can also lead the quest for sustainable development by supporting efforts to stem global population growth. As Al Gore has noted, it took mankind 10,000 generations to reach a population of 2 billion. Yet we will likely see that number triple in my lifetime. The earth's resources and delicate eco-systems are straining and breaking under this unsustainable burden. President Bush was once a strong supporter of efforts to limit global population growth, and it is shameful that he blocked our contributions to those efforts to appease the anti-choice wing of his party. A Clinton Administration will restore U.S. funding for the U.N.'s population stabilization efforts, and allow U.S. foreign aid to support Planned Parenthood.

But we cannot lead the fight for environmental progress abroad unless we do more here at home. The U.S. constitutes just five percent of the world's population, yet we consume over a quarter of its oil. We need to reduce our oil consumption and increase our energy efficiency dramatically if we are to lead the fight against global warming, sharpen our competitive edge in trade, and reduce our vulnerability to cutoffs in the availability of foreign oil.

For the past 11 years, we have had no national energy policy. In a Clinton Administration, we'll have an energy policy the day I take office:

- We'll accelerate our progress toward more fuel-efficient cars, and seek to raise the average goal for automakers to 45 miles per gallon.

- We'll increase our reliance on natural gas, which is inexpensive, clean-burning and abundant, and can reduce our carbon dioxide emissions. I'll start with an executive order to purchase natural gas powered vehicles for the federal fleet, following the lead of Gov.

Ann Richards in Texas.

- We'll push for revenue-neutral incentives that reward conservation and make polluters and energy-wasters pay. California, for example, has proposed giving purchasers of fuel-efficient cars rebates paid for by a special fee on those who buy gas-guzzlers.

- We'll invest more in the development of renewable energy sources. Federal funding for renewables has dropped from \$850 million to \$114 million in the last decade. There's no reason why 60 percent of the Department of Energy's money should still be going to nuclear weapons, with nuclear power and fossil fuels getting most of the rest. We'll encourage the use of new energy sources like wind and solar, and have new ways to get better results out of the sources we already have. In a Clinton Administration, we will designate as wilderness the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and stop the crusade for new drilling off our coasts.

- As part of an effort to convert some of our Cold War military spending to civilian purposes, we'll use research and development funds to develop light rail, which can speed travel, save fuel, and provide transportation for people less able to afford it.

- Finally, we'll make energy conservation and efficiency central goals in every field of policy — in designing our offices, planning our communities, designing our transportation systems and regulating our utilities. My goal is to improve America's overall energy efficiency by 20 percent by the year 2000.

We also need a policy to prevent pollution. Since 1970, we've made great strides in controlling pollution "at the pipe" — regulating how much could be dumped and where. Now we need to expand our efforts earlier in the process and move from control to prevention.

One of our most urgent challenges is to reduce the amount of solid waste we generate. A Clinton Administration will find new ways to prevent pollution in the first place:

- We'll create a system of tradeable credits that will reward companies that recover a greater portion of their waste and penalize those that don't.

- We'll create incentives for firms and government to recycle, and use federal purchasing power to create markets in recycled materials.

- We'll pass a national bottle bill to encourage recycling by creating small deposits on all glass and plastic bottles.

To improve the quality of our water, we need to turn greater attention to the polluting effect of water running off our agricultural fields, city streets, and suburban developments. We need a new Clean Water Act with standards for non-point-source pollution and incentives that will unleash the creative and technological potential of our firms, farmers, and families to reduce and prevent polluted run-off at the source.

We also need to strengthen our efforts on toxic wastes. The Superfund program has been disastrously mismanaged. We've spent \$13 billion to clean up only 80 of the 1200 deadliest dump sites — with much of the money squandered on legal fees and cost overruns to contractors who bought Rolex watches and art for their walls.

The Superfund program was a historic breakthrough in 1980. In my first term, Arkansas was the first state in the country to have an EPA-approved hazardous waste management program. Superfund enabled us to contain the most immediate risks, and provided a powerful deterrent against toxic dumping. Now those of us who care about the environment must take the lead to explore every possible improvement that might get more sites cleaned up sooner for less, without letting responsible parties off the hook.

We also need to improve America's resources by preserving our natural heritage for future generations. As President, I will protect our old growth forests and other vital habitats, and make the "no net loss" promise on wetlands a reality. I'll rededicate the agencies that manage our national parks and wilderness lands to a true conservation ethic. And I'll expand our efforts to acquire new parklands and recreational sites with the funds already available under the federal Land and Water Conservation Fund. Every year, millions of American families vacation in national parks, from Yosemite to Yellowstone. They deserve an administration that cares about America's parks as much as they do.

All of our efforts to improve the nation's resources ultimately depend on enforcement and public awareness. In a Clinton Administration, we'll stop shortchanging EPA's enforcement efforts, and ensure that we hold companies and polluters responsible for their behavior. When corporate executives deliberately violate environmental laws, they must pay the price.

The third priority I want to speak about today is the need to bring powerful market forces to bear on America's pollution problems. Many of our environmental efforts in the past were based on a "command and control" approach to regulation that told firms how much pollution to produce and what kind of technology to use. While that approach produced important successes, it sometimes stifled innovation by locking firms into a specific kind of equipment, and increased regulatory costs and burdens by taking such a detailed and inflexible approach.

I believe it is time for a new era in environmental protection which uses the market to help us get our environment back on track — to recognize that Adam Smith's invisible hand can have a green thumb. While we need to maintain tough guidelines and goals for reducing pollution, charging companies for their pollution would give them a daily incentive to find progressively cleaner technologies and manufacturing processes. In certain settings, this results-oriented approach can cut compliance costs, shrink regulatory bureaucracies, enlist corporate support, take environmental policy away from the

specialists and lobbyists, and open it up more to the general public.

But freeing up our companies to find cost-effective pollution control methods is not the only step we need to take. It is time we recognized that environmental technology will be one of the most vital and profitable economic sectors of the 21st Century. The market for environmental technology and services is already around \$200 billion a year, and developing nations will need to install a trillion dollars' worth of energy technology over the next 15 years.

Unfortunately, we're losing that battle. In 1980, the U.S. had three quarters of the world sales of solar technology. By 1990, German and Japanese competition had cut our share to 30 percent. We need to recognize that green economics is a booming business. And as President, I'll ensure that the nation that pioneered the environmental movement will be the world's foremost producer and exporter of environmental technology and services by the end of this decade.

...

As I travelled across this country campaigning for President, I have been struck by the yearning I see among Americans of all backgrounds, incomes, and colors to be united again in common purpose. If there is one thing that has united Americans across dozens of generations, it is the feeling we have for this rich and expansive land. Our forebears were passionate about it. They were farmers and pioneers, who made these two billion acres we call America the canvas of their dreams.

That stubborn, protective love of the land, which flows like a mighty underground current through our national character, is what burst to the surface of American life on April 22, 1970. And it was the well-spring for one of the most important marches for progress we have known in our time.

For over a decade, that progress has been arrested. And for too many of those years, we have walked backwards. Too many times we were told that trees cause pollution and that sunglasses are the best answer to the ozone problem. And far too many times we were divided against ourselves, falsely told to choose between our quality of life and our standard of living. I believe now it is time to move past the false choices, unite our nation again, and resume our progress for the land we cherish, the values we share, and the one earth we have.

A generation ago, conservationist Aldo Leopold wrote that, "History consists of successive excursions from a single starting point, to which man returns again and again to organize yet another search for a durable set of values." One of the starting points for America will always be our devotion to our natural heritage. And today I ask you to join me in beginning an excursion from that starting point anew. Thank you.



PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT

Arkansas has some of the purest air and water in the nation, and incomparable natural beauty. Outdoor recreational opportunities -- hiking, canoeing, camping -- abound, and no state has a higher percentage of its population who hunt, fish and otherwise enjoy and appreciate their natural resources. Arkansas offers its citizens and visitors 48 state parks, 69 wildlife management and wildlife refuge areas, 52 natural areas, two national forests enclosing more than 3 million acres, and the nation's first national river. To protect this treasure and insure its availability to future generations, Clinton has taken vigorous environmental steps from the first administration to the present.

-- In 1979, in his first term as Governor, Clinton had the foresight to develop renewable energy resources, give grants for solar energy projects, and promote energy conservation. He also created a state Land Bank, providing an initial \$1 million to preserve natural areas, purchase state park lands and wildlife management areas, and he established the Arkansas Natural and Scenic Rivers Commission. Also in 1979, Arkansas' Hazardous Waste Management Act made Arkansas the first state to have a hazardous waste program approved by the EPA. Clinton's plan was used as a model at the National Governor's Association.

-- In the two most important indicators of environmental quality, air and water, Arkansas ranks among the nation's leaders.

- * Arkansas is one of only five states meeting all federal standards under the Clean Air Act.

- * In 1988 Arkansas developed what are considered to be some of the most progressive water quality standards in the nation. These regulations prevent point source pollution in the highest quality waters of the state - those streams, rivers and lakes that have high recreational, scenic and habitat values. Today, over 92% of Arkansas rivers and streams are safe for swimming; over 93% are fishable; 100% of Arkansas' lakes are fishable and swimmable. To address one of Arkansas' water quality problems, nonpoint source pollution by animal waste, Clinton created a task force which is developing new management requirements and recommendations for additional legislation for the next session.

-- Arkansas ranks among the top 10 states for its environmental efforts in wetlands protection and energy research spending according to a recent (July 1992) survey by City and State magazine. According to City and State, which compared the states based on information provided by some 400 agencies in all 50 states, Arkansas ranked 28th in the nation in overall environmental policies.

-- Also, public and private agencies in Arkansas received 14 Environmental Excellence Awards from Region 6 of the Environmental Protection Agency in July 1992 for wastewater pretreatment and treatment programs; for non-point source treatment programs; for recycling, waste reduction and solid waste management programs.

Here are some of the many environmental programs in Arkansas accredited to Clinton's gubernatorial leadership:

- * **Reforming Solid Waste Management:** Utilizing both legislation and executive order, Bill Clinton put Arkansas squarely on the side of recycling and re-use. He banned the disposal of batteries, unshredded tires, and yard wastes in landfills. He required the state to expand its purchasing of recycled materials, and has established a goal of recycling 25% of the state's solid waste by 1995 and 40% by the year 2000. He established trust funds for recycling grants and waste tire management. He created two new divisions at the Department of Pollution Control and Ecology, a Recycling Division and a Marketing Board for recyclables. Finally, state law now mandates that every Arkansan shall have an opportunity and place to recycle.

- * **Taking on Polluters:** Governor Clinton pushed through a measure to give the state authority to deny operating permits to companies with bad environmental records in this and other states. He also severely increased criminal penalties and doubled civil penalties for violating the state's environmental laws and regulations. This legislation was recognized by the Center for Policy Alternatives with a "Best Bets" award for environmental achievement in 1991.

- * **Passing Chemical Right-to-Know Law:** Clinton helped create the right of public employees to know about hazardous chemicals in the workplace.

- * **"Plant the Future":** the goals of this program are to plant an additional 10 million trees each year for 10 years, to establish a "no net loss" policy for forest land, and to increase the state's forested acreage from 17.2 million to 18 million acres by the year 2000.

- * **Empowering Citizens:** Clinton put more citizen control into the state Pollution Control and Ecology Commission, and passed a law declaring that any lawsuit settlement which restricts a person's right to disclose the existence of an environmental hazard is contrary to public policy and void.

• Promoting Environmental Education: Governor Clinton encouraged the State Department of Education to emphasize environmental issues in all disciplines of the curriculum. An Environmental Education Trust Fund also was created in 1991 at the Department of Pollution Control and Ecology.

• Closing Open Dumps: In 1980, the U.S. EPA and the State of Arkansas identified 314 open dumps in the state. Since then, Governor Clinton has either closed or placed under litigation every one of them. The state is continuing to close illegal dumps whenever they are found.

• Encouraged renewables: Clinton established an Alternative Fuels Commission. Arkansas now ranks among the top ten producers of alternative energy.

• Expanding Protected Lands: During Bill Clinton's administration over 31 new natural areas have been added to the state's System of Natural Areas, four state parks have been established, five new wildlife management areas have been created, and over 80 separate tracts of land have been added to the state park system. The Natural and Cultural Resources Trust Fund, established by Clinton in 1987, provides about \$3 million a year to protect natural areas, improve state park lands, and restore historic structures. In 1995 Governor Clinton received the President's Public Service Award from The Nature Conservancy for "being a creative leader over the last six years in Arkansas land preservation work."

• In August 1992, Governor Clinton was presented a special award by the Arkansas Wildlife Federation in recognition of his environmental achievements in Arkansas.

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Governor Bill Clinton: The Arkansas Record

Bill Clinton makes government work for people. In his twelve years in office, Arkansas has become a national model for creating jobs, improving education, and helping families. Arkansans have elected Clinton five times, making him the longest-serving governor in the country. In 1991 America's governors voted Clinton "the most effective Governor in the nation."

Economic Growth. While George Bush has taken the world's richest nation and ruined its economy, Bill Clinton has turned one of America's poorest states into a model of growth and opportunity. He has revived the Arkansas economy and created high-wage, high skills jobs by strengthening the state's manufacturing and industrial base, expanding opportunity in export markets, nurturing the business climate, improving worker skills, and retraining workers. Arkansas has led all surrounding states in economic growth for several years, and has created manufacturing jobs at ten times the national rate. For the year ending June 1992, Arkansas' job growth rate was the highest in the nation, and Arkansas' total personal income growth in the first quarter of 1992 was the strongest in the nation -- 2 1/2 times the national rate.

Balanced Budgets and Low Taxes. Bill Clinton has balanced twelve budgets in a row. Arkansas has the second lowest state and local tax burden per capita in the nation. He removed the sales tax from prescription drugs and increased the Homestead Property Tax Exemption. Since then, the eligibility limit for this exemption has been significantly raised and the age requirement lowered to 62. There have been 47 permanent tax reductions under Governor Clinton, including a 1991 measure reducing state income taxes for one-third of all Arkansas taxpayers. Ninety percent of the tax revenues raised during Governor Clinton's tenure have gone to education and highway programs -- important investments in the people and infrastructure of Arkansas.

Better Schools. Bill Clinton is recognized as a national leader in education reform. He has established a school choice program and increased teacher salaries; fought for statewide testing for students and competency tests for teachers; established a tough new curriculum; and improved parental involvement. Under a new program, students who drop out of school for no good reason lose their driver's licenses, and parents who refuse to attend a parent-teacher conference or who allow their children to be chronically truant can be fined. Governor Clinton's reform efforts have paid off. Arkansas now boasts the highest high-school graduation rate in the region; sends 34 percent more students to college than it did ten years ago; and -- bucking national trends -- has increased scoring on standardized tests.

Safe Streets and Neighborhoods. Because Governor Clinton cares about people who play by the rules, he is tough on those who don't. He has strengthened anti-drug laws and created rigorous "boot camps" to instill discipline in non-violent, first-time offenders, and state prisoners are expected to pay for at least part of the cost of their incarceration through prison-operated farms and industries. Governor Clinton has built more prisons while keeping the costs of operating Arkansas prisons to the lowest in the nation. He has helped the Arkansas police develop one of the most sophisticated communications systems of its kind, and Arkansas became the first state with a Police Corps program of college scholarships to police officers and young people in exchange for service in law enforcement. And he has developed one of the best victim assistance programs in the country.

Equal Opportunity for All. Governor Clinton has empowered people who were long excluded. He has named more African Americans and more women to state boards, commissions and judicial posts than all other governors in Arkansas' history. And throughout his tenure, Governor Clinton's staff has been at least one half female and about one-fourth African American. He created the Division of Minority Business Development, which with other state agencies, provides financial assistance and advice to minority businesses and he supported creation of a special loan fund to provide financial assistance targeted for rural minority businesses. In 1987 he required every state agency to develop and implement a sexual harassment policy.

Friend of the Farmer. Governor Clinton has worked for Arkansas' agricultural community to promote new markets, strengthen farm finance, and revitalize rural communities. He created a special program to assist farmers and lenders achieve a mutually agreeable solution for debt payment problems, and in 1985 Arkansas became the first state to authorize state-chartered banks to write off bad debts over a 10 year period. Governor Clinton established a special loan fund to assist agricultural coops in marketing their produce, and implemented a program designed to assist beginning farmers in acquiring agricultural land at low interest rates. The National Farmers Union, representing 250,000 members nationwide, has endorsed Governor Clinton, marking the first time in the organization's history that it has endorsed a presidential candidate.

Friend of the Veteran. Governor Clinton has strongly supported Arkansas veterans through budgets and initiatives of the Department of Veterans Affairs and the Arkansas Veterans' Home. He appointed the first Vietnam veteran as Department Director and he has supported veterans preference in state hiring. He has shown unwavering support of the County Veterans Service Officer program, the backbone of a statewide veterans' assistance program. This program is an important factor in Arkansas ranking first, nationwide, three years in a row in per capita reimbursement of veterans by the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs. Governor Clinton has spoken out against the defilement of the American flag and signed legislation providing penalties for those who would burn or deface the flag. Working with veterans' organizations he began a Flag Education Program that has reached over 50,000 Arkansas fifth graders in the past two years. When Arkansas' veterans returned from Desert Storm, Governor Clinton welcomed them home with the third largest parade in the nation.

New Hope for Arkansas' Children. Governor Clinton has worked tirelessly to help Arkansas' children. Since 1978 he has cut the infant mortality rate in half. He has vastly expanded preventive treatment of pregnant mothers and young children. In a major innovation, Clinton has also brought parents and children together by creating America's largest statewide Home Instructional Program for Pre-School Youngsters. And against much opposition, he has fought for school-based health clinics and against teen pregnancy. Clinton's hard work earned him one of ten spots on the bipartisan National Women's Political Caucus "Good Guy" list in 1988.

Opportunity and Responsibility. As governor, Bill Clinton has fought to reward work and demand responsibility. He helped write the Family Support Act of 1988, the major national reform of welfare. The program he established in Arkansas, Project Success, in one year alone helped almost 10,000 people find work. Clinton has also led the Arkansas Child Support Enforcement Unit in cracking down on deadbeat dads. The Unit has received national recognition, and in 1991 collected \$41 million in delinquent payments — 20 percent more than in 1990.

Better Health Care. Governor Clinton has worked to protect the health of every Arkansan. Clinton fought for the "Health Care Access Law," greatly expanded rural health programs including a special program to locate physicians in rural communities, and developed a strong state employees health insurance program. He formed the first working group of governors to develop a policy position on AIDS, and repeatedly called for AIDS education and prevention efforts at the state and federal levels. Under Clinton, Arkansas has established confidential voluntary HIV testing in every county and two anonymous testing sites.

The Environment. Under Bill Clinton's leadership, Arkansas has become one of only five states to meet all federal standards under the Clean Air Act, and the first state whose hazardous waste program was approved by the Environmental Protection Agency. Governor Clinton has strengthened environmental regulations and cracked down on polluters including a measure providing state authority to deny operating permits to companies with bad environmental records. And Arkansas has implemented severe increases in criminal and civil penalties for violations of state environmental laws. In 1988 Arkansas developed what are considered to be some of the most progressive water quality standards in the nation, and in the two most important indicators of environmental quality, air and water, Arkansas ranks among the nation's leaders.

Protection for Older Arkansans. Since he was Attorney General, Governor Clinton has fought to protect the rights of the elderly. He imposed stricter regulations on nursing homes, removed the sales tax for prescription drugs, and created the Advocates for the Elderly Program to provide legal assistance to older Arkansans. He has created the ElderChoices program, allowing funds once available only for nursing home care to be used for personal care, home care or adult day care, so senior citizens can stay out of nursing homes if they choose. Governor Clinton increased the Homestead Property Exemption twice, and lowered the age of eligibility to 62. He led the nation's governors in fighting to stop unfair terminations of Social Security disability benefits and imposed a moratorium on terminations in Arkansas.

PARTIAL
LIST
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TALKING POINTS BILL CLINTON AND AL GORE: PUTTING PEOPLE FIRST

- It's time for a change. It's time to give middle-class Americans what they deserve: good jobs, quality health care, world-class education and safe neighborhoods.
- For more than a decade, Republicans in Washington have cut taxes for the rich and raised taxes on everyone else. Bill Clinton wants to give tax relief to the middle class and make the very wealthiest 2% pay their fair share.
- Today Americans are working harder for less money and less in return.
- Bill Clinton and Al Gore will put people first for a change. They believe that America can only prosper if we invest in our most precious resource. It's our people. Putting People First isn't just the name of their National Economic Strategy. It is their fundamental idea: invest in people to make America work again.
- This election is a choice between George Bush's election year promises and Bill Clinton's economic plan.
- Bill Clinton and Al Gore want to get past the tired old solutions of left and right. Their ideas aren't liberal. They aren't conservative. They are new. They are different. They will work.
- Bill Clinton and Al Gore want to create opportunity and demand responsibility. They know there isn't a government program for every problem. But they're ready to use the power of the Presidency to help the American people.
- It's time to make Washington work for ordinary Americans again. Bill Clinton and Al Gore will create a revolution in government by beating back the special interests, reforming campaign finance laws, and dramatically cutting administrative waste.
- Bill Clinton wants Americans to hope again. George Bush just wants us to fear. But Americans are tired of the politics of division, denial, and deception. We want leaders who are willing to take responsibility. Bill Clinton and Al Gore are. They have a detailed plan -- a real plan -- to get the country moving again.
- George Bush and Dan Quayle divided Americans from each other for political profit. Bill Clinton and Al Gore will unite Americans for the good of the country.

"TAX-AND-SPEND LIBERAL"

Attack: Bill Clinton is just another liberal tax-and-spender.

Response: When the Republicans talk about tax-and-spend, they are taxing our patience and spending our money. Bill Clinton is a new kind of Democrat. He knows there isn't a government program for every problem. He knows our first priority has to be a strong economy.

This election isn't about labels; it's about putting the power of the presidency to work for working Americans.

ARKANSAS RECORD

Attack: Bill Clinton is the failed governor of a small state.

Response: In 1991, Clinton's fellow governors named him the "most effective governor in the nation." Under his leadership, Arkansas leads the nation in job growth, has the second lowest per capita tax burden, and has drastically improved high school graduation rates and college attendance rates. Bill Clinton has taken a poor state and lifted it up. George Bush took a great nation and drove it down.

ENVIRONMENT

Attack: Bill Clinton and Al Gore's "environmental extremism" will cost millions of jobs.

Response: George Bush has set up a false choice between protecting the environment and creating jobs. In fact, we can't have a strong economy unless we have a healthy, clean environment. Bill Clinton and Al Gore will work for both.

HEALTH CARE

Attack: Bill Clinton's health care plan has a hidden payroll tax and will nationalize health care.

Response: Wrong. The plan will subsidize small employers and sharply reduce costs by taking on the insurance industry, the drug companies, and the health care bureaucracies. It will simplify health procedures and preserve what's best in our system. It will not impose a payroll tax, and it will not take over or eliminate private doctors and companies. The plan will change the rules insurance companies play by to create real competition and limit prices.

GUN CONTROL

Attack: Bill Clinton wants to take guns away from law-abiding citizens.

Response: That's nonsense. Bill Clinton is a hunter himself, and he recognizes the constitutional right to bear arms. Like Ronald Reagan he favors the Brady Bill to stop handguns from falling into the hands of criminals.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
August 17, 1992

Contact: George Stephanopoulos
(501) 399-3921

The 1992 Republican Platform: An Annotated Version

If you're looking for the 1992 Republican Party Platform in a bookstore, check the aisle on the far right. It is a platform with universal appeal...as long as you're an extremist.

It is also a fairly clumsy effort to rewrite current history. To assist you in untangling it, we've annotated the rhetoric of this platform with the reality of the last four years of George Bush's presidency. A few examples:

RHETORIC: *"We will oppose any attempt to increase taxes."*

REALITY: President Bush signed the second-largest tax increase in history.

RHETORIC: *"Americans receive the finest medical care in the world."*

REALITY: Some Americans do. But as of 1990, more than 60 million Americans had inadequate health insurance, including 35 million without any at all.

RHETORIC: *"The engines of growth in a free economy are small businesses and jobs."*

REALITY: During the Bush years, there have been more than twice as many individual bankruptcies as jobs created.

This platform contains no new ideas to get our economy moving, no new ideas to create jobs. It offers four more years of "more of the same."

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for basic research, supporting investment in emerging technologies, improving education in science and engineering, enhancing tax credits. [45]

REALITY: Since 1980, only 25 percent of new Federal investment in R&D has been spent on civilian research -- with 3 out of every 4 dollars going straight into defense-related research. [CB0, Summary and Analysis of the President's Budget 1993]

REALITY: Civilian R&D has increased by only 1 percent in real terms since 1980, while defense-related R&D during the same period has experienced 71 percent real growth. [CB0, Summary and Analysis of the President's Budget 1993]

RHETORIC: *We will continue to fill the Pacific rim with American exports, negotiating trade agreements with other Asian economies, and will complete our efforts -- such as the Structural Impediments Initiative with Japan -- to reduce barriers to American goods and services. And we will continue to negotiate the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative with Latin America as a first step in creating a hemispheric free trade zone. [49]*

REALITY: Under George Bush's presidency, the U.S. trade deficit with China grew by over 350%, from 3.4% billion in 1988 to \$12.7 billion in 1991. [Shearson Lehman Brothers; DSG]

REALITY: Average annual trade deficits under George Bush (\$92.5 billion) and Ronald Reagan (\$91.9 billion) are nearly four times that under President Jimmy Carter (\$24.6 billion). Since 1980, the U.S. compiled a cumulative trade deficit of more than \$1 trillion. [The Economic Report of the President, Council of Economic Advisors]

* RHETORIC: *When actions are required to protect an endangered species, we recognize that jobs can be lost, communities displaced and economic progress for all denied. Prior to the implementation of a recovery plan for a species declared to be endangered, we will require the Congress to affirm the priority of the species on the endangered list and specific measures to be taken in any recovery plan. These acts should not rest with the rubber stamp of a bureaucrat. [65]*

REALITY: 1988 Platform: We will fight to protect endangered species and to sustain biological diversity worldwide.

REALITY: The Industrial Biotechnology Association (IBA), representing some of the largest biotechnology firms in the country, has already given President Bush's campaign at least \$455,575 in hard and soft money during the 1991-92 election cycle through corporate soft money and individual contributions by company board members. [Federal Election Commission records]

REALITY: The Council helped block administration support for the Rio Biodiversity Treaty "primarily because the administration wants to protect the U.S biotechnology industry,"

which has been a key contributor to the Bush-Quayle reelection campaign. [Washington Post, 6/6/92 and 6/8/92]

 **RHETORIC:** *With regard to wetlands, following our principle that environmental protection be reasonable, land that is truly wet should not be classified as a wetland. Protection of environmentally sensitive wetlands must not come at the price of disparaging landowner's property rights. [65]*

REALITY: This plank is a complete flip-flop from President Bush's 1988 position.

Then, Bush said: "Wetlands are a vital environmental and recreational resource -- and they are at risk... We have been losing wetlands... Much of the loss comes from inevitable pressure for development; and many of our wetlands are on private property. But we must act... private and public sectors together... to find ways to conserve wetlands. I believe this should be our national goal. No new net loss of wetlands." [Bush Statement, 8/31/88]

 **RHETORIC:** *We have made the United States the world's leader in environmental progress. [71]*

REALITY: Bush refused to sign the Biodiversity Treaty and had his top aides gut an agreement to limit carbon dioxide emissions -- even though his own EPA called an energy industry report that an agreement could create \$137 billion in energy savings and 175,000 by 2010 "pretty much in line with Administration position and not an unreasonable scenario". [NYT, 5/13/92, WSJ, 5/27/92]

REALITY: The Competitiveness Council has proposed more than 100 weakening changes in Clean Air Act regulations. [Boston Globe, 5/2/91; U.S. News and World Report, 5/19/92]

REALITY: Industries that benefitted from weakened regulations in the Clean Air Act lobbied the Competitiveness Council and contributed more than \$2 million to Bush and the RNC between 1987-1991. [Public Citizen, 3/92]

RHETORIC: *We support the continued exclusion of homosexuals from the military as a matter of good order and discipline. [93]*

REALITY: In 1991, the Defense Department released a study which challenged the long-standing military doctrine that homosexuals pose a security risk, concluding that gay men and lesbians were no more likely to spy against the government than heterosexuals. [Washington Post, 10/10/91]

REALITY: Defense Secretary Dick Cheney himself has dismissed the security-risk argument as "a bit of an old chestnut." [Star Tribune, 8/2/92]

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FLIP FLOPS AND BROKEN PROMISES

As a service to the American public and the media, we present here a representative sampling of George Bush's flip-flops and broken promises. This account is by no means inclusive.

PART I - FLIP FLOPS

1. ABORTION -- CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT:

FLIP: "I do not want to amend the Constitution to override the decision of the Supreme Court." [News Conference, 2/17/80]

FLOP: "America needs a human life amendment." [Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, 1/23/89]

2. ABORTION -- LITMUS TEST:

FLIP: In the 1988 campaign, Bush stated that his opposition to abortion is "not a litmus test that everybody has to agree with." [AP, 9/10/88]

FLOP: When Antonia Novello was nominated by Bush for Surgeon General, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater confirmed that her anti-abortion stance was a prerequisite for getting the job: "We don't hire people that don't support our policies. That is a hard and fast rule." [AP, 11/1/89]

3. ABORTION -- ROE V. WADE:

FLIP: "I happen to think it [Roe v. Wade] was right." [Rolling Stone, 3/20/80]

FLOP: "I think the Supreme Court's decision in Roe v. Wade was wrong and should be overturned." [Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, 1/23/89]

4. ABORTION -- SENDING WOMEN TO JAIL:

FLIP: "Staking out a new position, Bush said during the debate that while he had not 'sorted out the penalties' that might be imposed if abortion became illegal, 'there's got to be some penalties to enforce the -- enforce the law -- whatever they may be.'" [Boston Globe, 9/27/88]

FLOP: After Bush thought about the issue overnight, campaign chairman Baker said, "...he would not wish to see a woman labeled as a criminal, not withstanding his view in favor of right to life." [Boston Globe, 9/27/88]

5. ABORTION -- TITLE X:

FLIP: In Congress, Bush sponsored the bill creating the Title X federal family planning program. [George Bush on Title X and Family Planning by Planned Parenthood]

17. DEFENSE – SEAWOLF SUBMARINE:

FLIP: Without naming him, Bush accused Clinton of pandering to defense industry workers in Connecticut when Clinton expressed his support for the Seawolf submarine program in March 1992. Bush's FY 1993 budget eliminated funding for the program and proposed rescinding funds for two subs that Congress had already approved. [Boston Globe, 3/24/92; Hartford Courant, 2/1/92]

FLOP: While Bush was announcing his recommendation to stop building the Seawolf, the Navy ordered 13 Seawolf contractors to continue work on the project. NBC News cited unnamed Navy officials who said Clinton was "correct" when he said it was "wasteful" to cancel the contracts. Pentagon officials "swear the decision was not political" and say it will save taxpayers money to let some of the contracts continue. [NBC News, 4/1/92]

18. ECONOMY – REAGANOMICS:

FLIP: Bush called Reagan's economic program "voodoo economics" and "economic madness". On Reagan's claim that he could cut taxes and gain additional revenue, Bush said, "Well, I just don't believe it." [L.A. Times, 4/11/80]

"This Reagan program of a tax cut may be good politics in the short run because we are so overtaxed, but it would be a disaster in human and economic terms." [AP, 3/28/80]

FLOP: "It's a very sensible program which the best economists... in the country support," Bush said. [UPI, 10/20/80]

19. ECONOMY – RECESSION:

FLIP: September, 1990: "I don't think that nationally we're in a recession." [WP, 11/1/91]

FLOP: February, 1991: "We're in a recession, there's no question about that." [WP, 2/7/91]

FLIP: November, 1991: "But this is not a recession. It is not." [Federal News Service, 11/8/91]

20. ENVIRONMENT – OFFSHORE OIL DRILLING:

FLIP: As a former owner of an offshore drilling company with close ties to the oil industry -- a major contributor to his election campaigns -- Bush was a strong supporter of the Reagan-Watt energy program which opened the entire outer-continental shelf to drilling. Bush twice supported Reagan's veto of the Clean Water Act. [Chic. Trib., 12/27/87; NYT, 4/24/90]

FLOP: *June 1988*: In California, just before the Republican primary, Bush announced his support for a moratorium on the sale of oil leases in Northern California until further study of the environmental risks. "We must be assured that the national treasure of the California coastline will not be harmed... the government ought to defer [lease sales] off the coast of California," Bush said. [LAT, 6/6/88; AP, 6/5/88]

FLIP: *August 1988*: In Texas two months later, Bush said: "On the subject of offshore drilling, I'm for it and my opponent is not." [Washington Post, 9/18/92]

21. EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT:

FLIP: Bush said he supported the ERA while campaigning with Reagan. "I support it [the ERA]. Gov. Reagan does not. And I support Gov. Reagan." [Washington Post, 10/22/80]

FLOP: "I am committed to equal rights for women. I believe that we can and do ensure equal rights for women more effectively through state and federal statutes tailored to meet the specific needs of women -- but I do not support the ERA." [Bush statement, 1/1/88]

22. FOREIGN POLICY -- BUSH KNOWLEDGE OF CONTRA RESUPPLY:

FLIP: In a "60 Minutes" interview, then Vice President Bush said he knew "nothing" of Oliver North's operations in the National Security Council overseeing the contra resupply mission.

FLOP: Later in that interview, Bush said he did not have any knowledge in "terms of details." [Christian Science Monitor, 3/23/87]

23. FOREIGN POLICY -- BUSH ROLE IN IRAN-CONTRA:

FLIP: First, Bush said of the Iran-Contra mission that he had "no role in it." [Washington Post, 5/31/88]

FLOP: Days later, Bush issued a statement saying, "I was aware of our Iran initiative." [Washington Post, 5/31/88]

24. FOREIGN POLICY -- OVERTHROWING SADDAM:

FLIP: On February 15, 1991, Bush said, "There's another way for the bloodshed to stop and that is for the Iraqi military and the Iraqi people to take matters into their own hands and force Saddam Hussein, the dictator, to step aside." Bush also signed a secret intelligence finding authorizing the CIA to aid rebel factions in Iraq, around the time he was publicly urging the Iraqi people to overthrow Hussein. [Baltimore Sun, 4/4/91]

PARTIAL
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(Continued)

PART II - BROKEN PROMISES

"If you wish to be a success in the world, promise everything, deliver nothing."

- Napoleon, quoted by Bush-Quayle campaign on Lie of the day Sheet

1. AIDS RESEARCH

PROMISE: In 1988, Bush promised that, "We must do all we can to stop the spread of AIDS in this country...We must commit the resources and the will to find a cure." [Bush 1988 Position Paper]

BROKEN: The bipartisan National AIDS Commission -- appointed by Bush -- blasted the Administration's efforts against the AIDS epidemic as "tragically insufficient" and charged that the administration "is not prepared to undertake sufficient new actions."

Bush appointee and Vice Chair of the AIDS Commission, Dr. David Rogers, commented, "Sadly, the problem starts at the top." [Boston Globe, 6/26/92]

2. BANKING & FINANCE -- PROSECUTING S&L CROOKS:

PROMISE: Bush promised: "These cheats have cost us billions and they will pay us back with their dollars and they will pay us back with years of their lives." [Speech to U.S. Attorneys]

BROKEN: Then-Attorney General Thornburgh said, "We'd be fooling ourselves to think that any substantial portion of these (S&L) assets is going to be recovered." In fact, the average jail time for white collar S&L crooks is 1.9 years -- one-fifth the average sentence meted out to armed robbers. [Inside Job, p. 283; Public Citizen]

3. BUDGET -- BALANCING THE BUDGET:

PROMISE: Bush vowed to submit a balanced budget within 100 days of taking office. [National Journal, 1/26/80]

BROKEN: Neither Bush nor Reagan ever submitted a balanced budget.

According to the Administration, the deficit will hit \$333 billion this year -- more than double its level when Bush took office and four times its level when Reagan-Bush took office. [OMB; CBO]

11. EDUCATION – HEAD START:

PROMISE: "I will expand funding for Head Start... so that all eligible 4-year-olds can take advantage of it." [1988 Position Paper]

BROKEN: Bush's FY 1993 budget only proposes Head Start funding for 779,000 eligible 4-year-olds – which is 110,000 short of the 889,000 eligible 4-year-olds and which excludes the 820,000 eligible 3-year-olds and 255,000 eligible 5-year-olds. Overall, Bush would serve only 40% of eligible children. [House Budget Committee Analysis of Bush Budget, p. 164]

Last year, Bush proposed funding for only 58% of eligible 4-year-olds. [National Journal, 2/9/91]

12. EDUCATION – PELL GRANTS:

PROMISE: "I want to make a college education affordable. For families without resources to save, I support maintaining work study, Pell grants for low-income students, and income contingent funds." [1988 Bush-Quayle Position Paper]

BROKEN: Bush's FY 1993 budget would cut about 400,000 students from Pell Grants. [Analysis of Bush FY 1993 - U.S. House Budget Committee, p. 163]

BROKEN: In his FY 1992 budget, Bush proposed cutting off Pell grants for 400,000 students from families with incomes over \$200,000. [Chicago Tribune, 2/21/91]

13. ENVIRONMENT – BOSTON HARBOR:

PROMISE: "My opponent's solution to this pollution: Delay. Fight. Anything but clean up. Well, I don't call that leadership, and I certainly don't call that competence... We need a president who will clean up America's environment. My friends, I am that man." [Bush Speech, 9/1/88]

BROKEN: Although Boston Harbor still ranks as the nation's dirtiest harbor and Republican governor William Weld has requested \$1 billion in federal funding, EPA Administrator William Reilly announced that "most of the [cleanup] burden will be local". [Boston Globe, 5/23/92; UPI, 4/20/92]

14. ENVIRONMENT – CLEAN AIR ACT:

PROMISE: Bush pledged to a group of environmentalists that he was committed to making the clean air bill as tough as possible. Bush noted that the threat to the environment was a "freight train coming down the track." [New York Times, 6/9/89]

BROKEN: That same day, Bush promised a business group that he would avoid seeking standards that would be overly expensive to meet. [New York Times, 6/9/89]

BROKEN: Later, Bush threatened to veto any bill whose cost to polluters exceeded \$19 billion. [New York Times, 1/20/90]

BROKEN: The Competitiveness Council has proposed more than 100 weakening changes in Clean Air Act regulations. [Boston Globe, 5/2/91; U.S. News and World Report, 5/20/91]

BROKEN: Bush decided to allow companies to increase toxic emissions above levels authorized on their operating permits without public notification -- a move EPA Administrator William Reilly said defied the Clean Air Act of 1990. Bush sided with Dan Quayle and his Competitiveness Council, who had argued that public reviews would delay worthwhile changes in manufacturing and might cause companies to move plants overseas. [NYT, 5/20/92; Baltimore Sun, 5/20/92; Chicago Tribune, 5/19/92]

BROKEN: Industries that benefitted from weakened regulations in the Clean Air Act lobbied the Competitiveness Council and contributed more than \$2 million to Bush and the RNC between 1987 and 1991. [Public Citizen, 3/92]

15. ENVIRONMENT -- GREENHOUSE EFFECT:

PROMISE: "Those who think we're powerless to do anything about the 'greenhouse effect' are forgetting about the 'White House effect'. I intend to do something about it." [Bush Statement, 8/31/88]

PROMISE: "We must have a clear commitment to emissions reductions, on a clear timetable." [Environmental Policy Statement, 1988]

BROKEN: Bush agreed to attend the Rio Conference only after his top aides negotiated a treaty that refrained from setting specific timetables for limiting emissions of carbon dioxide and other gases. Bush's own EPA refuted his contention that stringent requirements would result in an economic loss for the U.S., acknowledging that a new report by 3 energy industry associations -- projecting \$137 billion in energy savings and 175,000 new jobs by 2010 -- was "pretty much in line with the Administration position and not an unreasonable scenario". [New York Times, 5/13/92; WSJ, 5/27/92]

file - Clinton for 10

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AM-IN--Clinton-Environmentalist, Bjt,430<
Hoosier Environmentalist Advising Clinton<

GARY, Ind. (AP) An Indiana environmental activist has been tapped to serve on a national advisory committee working with Bill Clinton's presidential campaign.

Lee Botts, who lives in Porter County, is one of 17 members of a committee advising the Democratic nominee and his running mate Al Gore on environmental issues.

"They just called me up," Botts said. "I'm honored and flattered."

The committee was formed by Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore, a Washington, D.C.-based volunteer group organizing support for the Democratic ticket. Other members include Denis Hayes, executive director of the first Earth Day in 1970, and Michael Fischer, executive director of the Sierra Club.

Botts, who represents the Great Lakes region on the panel, said the committee will help the candidates respond to environmental issues that include protection of endangered species, global warming and wetlands.

"I'm not a big-time scientist," she said. "I like to think of myself as an activist. I can bring that perspective to the

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committee."

In the late 1960s, Botts founded the Lake Michigan Federation, a multistate organization studying the conservation of the lake. Former President Jimmy Carter named her to head the Great Lakes Basin Commission in 1978.

She also has worked for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, the city of Chicago, and as a consultant for a study of toxic contamination in the Great Lakes by the National Academy of Sciences and the Royal Society of Canada.

In 1987, she was honored by the United Nations Environmental Program as one of 500 people worldwide who had made a difference for the environment.

Botts said she first met Clinton in 1979, when she joined a fight against a proposed hazardous waste incinerator in Arkansas, where Clinton is now governor.

She said people who are truly concerned about the environment have no option but to support the Clinton-Gore ticket in November.

Botts recalled President Bush's 1988 vow to become the "environmental president."

"He made that speech at Boston Harbor, but he also made a speech on the shore of Lake Erie. I was outraged," she said, adding that as vice president Bush had founded a committee that

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advocated the weakening of environmental laws. The committee, now headed by Vice President Dan Quayle, is the Council on Competitiveness.

"Environmental issues are not separate from other issues in society," Botts said. "You can't be concerned about the well-being of people without being concerned about the environment."

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The Associated Press<

CLINTON • GORE ON PROTECTING OUR ENVIRONMENT

For all its rhetoric, the Bush Administration has been an environmental disaster. The President has ignored the threat of global warming and the depletion of the Earth's ozone layer, undermined enforcement of the Clean Air Act, supported drilling in Alaska's precious Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, abandoned his "no net loss" wetlands policy, and opposed efforts to increase recycling. The United States ought to lead the world in fighting for environmental protection, but George Bush has been dragging his feet abroad and ignoring his promises at home.

It's time for a change. Bill Clinton and Al Gore will give America a real environmental policy. They believe that environmental protection is fundamental to America's national security — and that we must reject Bush Administration attempts to force a false choice between environmental protection and economic growth. A Clinton/Gore Administration will challenge Americans and demand responsibility at every level — from individuals and families to corporations and government agencies — to do more to preserve our world.

THE CLINTON/GORE PLAN

Reduce pollution and solid waste

Preserve America's natural beauty and key resources

Use market forces to encourage environmental protection

Exert American leadership for a healthier world

Improve energy efficiency

THE CLINTON/GORE PLAN

The time for complacency is over. We need to take swift and aggressive action to turn our nation around, and make America a leader in the fight to save the planet.

We must renew our commitment to leave our children a better nation — a nation whose air, water, and land are unspoiled; whose natural beauty is undimmed; and whose leadership for sustainable global growth is unsurpassed.

Four goals:

- Reduce solid and toxic waste, and air and water pollution to ensure we leave our nation cleaner and healthier.
- Preserve places of natural beauty and ecological importance — such as our national parks, wilderness areas, old-growth forests, and wetlands — so that we can pass on America's natural splendor to our children.
- Shatter the false choice between environmental protection and economic growth by creating a market-based environmental protection strategy that rewards conservation and "green" business practices while penalizing polluters.
- Exert international leadership to advance our own nation's interest in a healthier global environment, a stable global climate, and global biodiversity. Reduce American and worldwide use of fossil fuels and airborne chemicals that destroy the ozone layer and work to keep our world's delicate environment in balance.

Reduce pollution and solid waste

- Create and expand markets for recycled products by providing revenue-neutral tax incentives which favor the use of recycled materials whenever possible.
- Create a solid waste reduction program which gives credits to companies that recover a portion of the waste they generate and penalizes companies that fail to do so. Less efficient companies would be forced to buy waste credits from more efficient companies, creating a strong profit incentive for reducing solid waste.
- Pass a new Clean Water Act with standards for "non-point-source" pollution and incentives for our firms, farmers, and families to develop ways to reduce and prevent polluted run-off at its source; launch a national education campaign to encourage all citizens to drastically reduce their contributions to "non-point-source" pollution made by household chemicals, lawn products, and pesticides.
- Reform and ensure proper enforcement of the EPA Superfund so that taxpayer money goes toward cleaning up toxic waste instead of paying legal bills. Currently, almost half of all federal Superfund appropriations go to pay lawyers' fees — while 22,000 Superfund sites threaten the health of citizens and communities across America.
- Support legislation that allows ordinary citizens to sue federal agencies that ignore environmental laws and regulations designed to preserve our environment — so government bureaucrats are made accountable for proper and effective environmental law enforcement.
- Support efforts to mandate public reporting on toxic chemicals used and

We need to adopt an aggressive market-based national strategy to cut pollution and decrease the generation of solid waste. We also need to take more effective measures to clean up pollution and waste which have already harmed our environment.

Every year millions of American families vacation in national parks, from Yosemite to Yellowstone. Those people deserve an Administration that cares as much about America's parks as they do.

produced by companies, and require those companies to develop plans for reducing their toxic chemical use.

- Crack down on environmental crime by holding companies and polluters responsible for their behavior. Corporations that deliberately violate environmental laws will pay the price — and polluters will be sent to jail, where appropriate.

Preserve America's natural beauty and key resources

- Preserve our ancient forests for their scientific and ecological importance.
- Make the "no net loss" wetlands pledge a reality; base wetlands policy on science instead of politics by working with the National Academy of Sciences and other members of the scientific community to devise appropriate policies. Our wetlands act as a natural filter for much of the water America drinks, and make up one of our most important and fragile natural habitats.
- Rededicate the agencies that manage our national parks and wilderness lands to a true conservation ethic; expand our efforts to acquire new parklands and recreational sites with funds already available under the federal Land and Water Conservation Fund.
- Designate as a wilderness area the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and stop the crusade for new offshore drilling.

Use market forces to encourage environmental protection

- Place greater emphasis on preventing and reducing pollution before it happens, so we won't have to spend so much on cleaning it up after the fact. We can do that without big bureaucracies and public spending — by harnessing market forces, integrating environmental incentives into daily production decisions of big firms, and making polluters pay.
- Harness market forces to reward consumers and businesses that conserve, and penalize polluters and inefficient energy users.
- Create revenue-neutral tax incentives to encourage the use of alternative fuels like natural gas, and renewable energy sources like hydro-electricity, solar power, and wind power.

Exert American leadership for a healthier world

- Provide real international leadership to protect the world's delicate environmental balance.
- Limit U.S. carbon dioxide emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000 and accelerate the phase-out of substances that deplete the ozone layer.
- Call on major banks and multinational institutions to negotiate debt-for-nature swaps that allow developing nations to reduce their crippling debt

The world faces a tremendous threat from global climate change, ozone depletion, and out-of-control and unsustainable population growth. We have seen seven of the hottest years in history over the last decade. The world's rainforests are disappearing at the rate of one football field each second. These and other developments clearly threaten our own interests — not just with the possibility of rising sea levels — but also through higher cancer rates, crop failures, and depletion of worldwide resources that we depend on for pharmaceuticals and other vital products. We must lead the world, not follow.

burdens by setting aside precious lands.

- Restore U.S. funding for the United Nations' population stabilization efforts, and allow U.S. foreign aid to support international family planning services.
- Explore partnerships and joint ventures with developing countries to preserve and protect rainforests, while accelerating important medical and agricultural research and development.

Improve energy efficiency

- Accelerate our progress toward more fuel-efficient cars, and raise the CAFE standards for automakers to 40-45 miles per gallon.
- Increase U.S. reliance on natural gas — which is inexpensive, clean-burning and abundant, and can reduce carbon dioxide emissions — by issuing an executive order to purchase natural gas-powered vehicles for the federal automobile fleet, following Texas' lead.
- Invest more in the development of renewable energy sources; encourage the use of new energy sources like wind and solar power, and new methods to make better use of the resources we already have.
- Stop spending 60 percent of the Department of Energy's budget on nuclear weapons, with nuclear power and fossil fuels receiving most of the rest.
- Convert some of our Cold War military spending to civilian purposes, like funding light rail systems, which can speed travel, save fuel, and provide transportation for people less able to afford it.
- Improve America's overall energy efficiency by 20 percent by the year 2000 by making energy conservation and efficiency central goals in every policy field — in planning communities, designing offices, developing transportation and regulating utilities.
- Sustain efforts to improve the efficiency of coal operations through development and use of clean coal technologies.

THE RECORD

Natural resources

- Arkansas received 14 Environmental Excellence Awards from Region 6 of the Environmental Protection Agency in July 1992 for wastewater pretreatment and treatment programs; for non-point source treatment programs; for recycling, waste reduction and solid waste management programs.
 - Arkansas is one of only a few states meeting all federal standards under the Clean Air Act.
 - In 1988 Arkansas developed what are considered to be some of the most progressive water quality standards in the nation. These regulations prevent point source pollution in the highest quality waters of the state — those streams, rivers, and lakes that have high recreational, scenic, and habitat values. One-hundred percent of Arkansas' lakes have been determined to be fishable and swimmable. To address Arkansas' most serious water quality problem, nonpoint pollution by animal wastes, Governor Clinton created a task force which has approved new management requirements and is developing additional legislation for the next session.
 - Bill Clinton was endorsed by the Sierra Club in 1990.
 - Arkansas has been ranked in the top ten states for efforts in wetlands protection and energy research.
 - Governor Clinton helped create the Plant the Future program which aims to plant an additional 10 million trees each year for 10 years, and to establish a "no net loss" policy for forest land.
 - Encouraged the State Department of Education to emphasize environmental issues in all aspects of the curriculum. An Environmental Education Trust Fund also was created in 1991 at the Department of Pollution Control and Ecology.
 - Expanded Protected Lands. Since 1983, 31 new natural areas have been added to the state's System of Natural Areas, three state parks have been established, four new wildlife management areas have been created, and 30 separate tracts of land have been added to the state park system. The Natural and Cultural Resource Trust Fund, established by Clinton in 1987, provides about \$3 million a year to protect natural areas and restore historic structures.
 - In 1985 received the President's Public Service Award from the Nature Conservancy for "being a creative leader over the last six years in Arkansas land preservation work."
 - Created a state Land Bank, providing an initial \$1 million to preserve natural areas, purchase state park lands and wildlife management areas, and establish the Arkansas Natural and Rivers Commission. Arkansas has been ranked among the top 10 states for efforts in wetland protection and energy research spending.
-
- Senator Gore strengthened the Clean Air Act of 1990 to increase monitoring of carbon dioxide emissions and prevent polluters from establishing "dead zones" around sources of pollution that remove people but not pollution.
 - Senator Gore was a leader in the successful efforts to kill provisions that would have allowed

drilling in the pristine Arctic National Wildlife refuge.

- Led efforts to eliminate below-cost timber sales and forest road subsidies.

Solid waste

- Governor Clinton banned the disposal of batteries, unshredded tires, and yard wastes in landfills. He required the state to expand its purchasing of recycled materials, and has established a goal of recycling 25% of the state's solid waste by 1995 and 40% by the year 2000.
- Established trust funds for recycling grants and waste tire management.
- Created two new divisions at the Department of Pollution Control and Ecology, a Recycling Division and a Marketing Board for recyclables. Finally, state law now mandates that every Arkansan shall have an opportunity and place to recycle.
- In 1980, the U.S. EPA and the State of Arkansas identified 314 open dumps in the state; since then, Governor Clinton has either closed or placed every one of them under litigation.
- Governor Clinton pushed through a measure to give the state authority to deny operating permits to companies with bad environmental records in this and other states. Increased criminal penalties and doubled civil penalties for violating the state's environmental laws and regulations.
- Senator Gore wrote legislation to encourage recycling and strengthen markets for recycled products by providing tax incentives for the purchase of "re-manufacturing" equipment and by strengthening markets for recycled products.

Hazardous waste

- Governor Clinton helped establish a hazardous waste program among the first approved by the EPA and later used as a model by the National Governor's Association.
- Passed a Chemical Right-to-Know Law: Clinton helped create the right of public employees to know about hazardous chemicals in the workplace.
- Empowered Citizens: Clinton put more citizen control into the state Pollution Control and Ecology Commission, and passed a law declaring that any lawsuit settlement which restricts a person's right to disclose the existence of an environmental hazard is contrary to public policy and void.
- Senator Gore authored the "Environmental Justice Act" to confront the "environmental racism" that puts minorities in low-income communities at excessive risk from environmental threats. The legislation would identify the most threatened communities and target assistance -- including health surveys and community grants -- to people in those communities.
- Sponsored legislation which prohibits "back hauling", a practice in which trucks carrying hazardous material in one direction are loaded with food products for return trips, often with inadequate cleanup from hazardous loads.
- Cosponsored the original Superfund Act which now is law. It resulted from hearings chaired by Senator Gore which revealed illegal dumping of billions of pounds of hazardous chemical waste.

- Sponsored an amendment passed in the Senate's 1992 Energy Bill to accelerate government efforts to procure the most energy efficient products. The amendment also provides grant money to states for energy efficiency and conservation initiatives.
- Led efforts to retain funding in the 1991 Interior Bill for research and development joint ventures designed to improve use of solar and other renewable forms of energy.
- Authored a provision of the Clean Air Act that would prioritize energy efficiency in urban planning and transportation efficiency.

Global leadership

- Senator Gore authored, introduced, and gained passage of a resolution stating that Antarctica should be preserved as a global ecological commons. Republicans, Democrats and leaders around the world have embraced the proposal.
- As Chairman of the U.S. Senate Delegation to the Earth Summit, Senator Gore worked to secure meaningful measures to protect the global environment. He has led efforts to initiate and support programs to arrest global warming, protect the earth's forests and oceans, enhance biodiversity, and conserve resources.
- Sponsored the creation of the Strategic Environment Research Program, which promotes cooperation between military and civilian scientists and researchers to advance efforts to understand the global environment. Gore also sparked efforts that for the first time will make available to civilian scientists data about the earth collected by U.S. intelligence agencies.
- Gained Senate passage of a measure to speed the phase-out of ozone-depleting chemicals, forcing the Bush administration to finally act in accordance with the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990.

CLINTON • GORE ON NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY

For twelve years, the Republicans in Washington have undermined our national security and cut short our economic growth because they haven't had a national energy policy. In the last decade, 8,000 of our independent oil and gas producers have closed their doors; 300,000 Americans have lost their jobs. Of 4,500 domestic drilling rigs operating in the United States in 1981 when Ronald Reagan and George Bush took office, less than 700 remain in operation today. We've fallen behind our competitors in energy efficiency and are in danger of leaving future generations of Americans in a precarious position of overwhelming debt and dependence.

America needs a new national energy policy that enables Americans to control America's energy future. Instead of coddling special interests whose fortunes depend on America's addiction to foreign oil, the Clinton/Gore national energy policy promotes national security, energy diversity, economic prosperity, and environmental protection.

It's time to make the right energy choices.

THE CLINTON/GORE PLAN

Increase energy efficiency and conservation

Increase natural gas use

Expand the use of renewable energy sources

A safe, environmentally sound energy policy

THE CLINTON/GORE PLAN

Increase energy efficiency and conservation

- Increase corporate average fuel economy standards from the current 27.5 miles per gallon to 40-45 miles per gallon.
- Develop and implement revenue-neutral market incentives that reward conservation and penalize polluters and energy-wasters.
- Adopt transportation strategies and highway spending programs that encourage car-pooling, high-efficiency highway technology, and mass transit by including conservation incentives in the federal matching fund program.
- Promote changes in utility regulation to make energy efficiency profitable for both utilities and customers.
- Strengthen federal programs to encourage energy-efficient housing, and to encourage state and local governments to adopt building codes that encourage conservation by calling for thicker walls and windows, new compact florescent bulbs, more efficient insulation and new low-cost housing construction that could cut domestic energy consumption by 25 percent using measures that would pay for themselves in 5 to 7 years.
- Increase energy efficiency in every federal agency and set standards to insure that federal grants, contracts, and projects support America's national conservation goals.

Increase natural gas use

- Implement policies to expand markets for natural gas in every sector — homes, businesses, industry, electrical generation, and transportation.
- Speed development and certification of new natural gas pipelines to get natural gas to market, with special emphasis on areas not currently adequately served by natural gas.
- Convert the enormous federal vehicle fleet to natural gas.
- Use federal research and development dollars to develop new natural gas applications.

Expand the use of renewable energy sources

- Create a civilian advanced research agency that will support civilian research and development of renewable technologies and renewable fuel programs.
- Reorient the mission of hundreds of national laboratories, moving from defense R&D to more work on commercial renewable energy projects.
- Change the tax code to create greater incentives for renewable energy use.
- Give incentives to utilities to adopt "least cost planning," which factors environmental, social and economic costs into fuel-use decisions. Least-cost planning is currently employed by utility companies in 17 states.

A safe, environmentally sound energy policy

- Oppose increased reliance on nuclear power. There is good reason to believe that we can meet future energy needs — with conservation and the use of alternative fuels — without having to face the staggering costs, delays and uncertainties of nuclear waste disposal.
- Oppose federal excise gas tax increases. Instead of a back-breaking federal gas tax, we should try conservation, increased use of natural gas, and increased use of alternative fuels.
- Prohibit drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska: work to expand the ANWR to include the 1.5 acre Arctic Coastal Plain while ensuring that Native Americans are able to use these lands for traditional subsistence hunting and fishing. Increased energy efficiency and the use of natural gas currently available in the lower 48 states can easily negate the need for ANWR drilling.

The Record

- In Governor Clinton's first term in 1979, he created a state Department of Energy which emphasized renewable resource development, reduced institutional barriers to energy conservation and encouraged the development of new energy sources.
- Established an Alternative Fuels Commission.
- Arkansas ranks 10th in the nation in energy research spending.

- Gore amendments enacted by the Senate as part of the 1992 energy bill:
 - Help small businesses increase their energy efficiency and cut their energy bills by establishing energy diagnostic centers where engineering students and their professors can work with small businesses.
 - Accelerate the government's efforts to procure the most energy efficient products and to provide grant money to states to fund energy efficiency and conservation initiatives.
 - Require the Tennessee Valley Authority of conduct least-cost planning analyses of energy supply and demand requirements.
 - Provides assistance to states to develop energy conservation and renewable energy initiatives.

- Senator Gore was a leader in the successful efforts to kill provisions that would have allowed drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

- Led efforts in the 1991 Interior Appropriations for solar and renewable joint venture programs.

- Senator Gore introduced legislation to involve America's national labs in developing and disseminating energy efficient technologies and practices.



To: ~~David Holwood~~ Katy. McBraty

Of:

Fax number:

From:

Brooks Yeager

Number of pages (including cover):

5

Message:

September 24, 1992

Memo

To: Brett Hulsey, Stephanie Sollien

cc: Doug Hall, Katie McGinty, Chris Dorval, David Harwood

From: Brooks Yeager, Coordinator
Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore

Re: A potential package of specific Great Lakes environmental events for your consideration.

After discussing our ideas for a package Great Lakes events with Stephanie and Katie McGinty, I have made some further calls and have a set of specific possibilities that I believe are worth pursuing. (Some of these events overlap with ideas that Brett has already done considerable work on).

Ideally, these events would be aimed at the Michigan media markets, with echoes in NW Ohio. They could be done jointly with Rep. John Dingell, which would help validate the message with blue collar Democrats. I have had initial conversations with top Dingell staff (John Orlando, Dick Frandzen) on both the "environmental crime" and "sportsmen" possibilities (#s 1, 2). The possible set of events is described briefly below; questions, background, and further actions on each are provided later in this memo.

1. A joint appearance to announce Governor Clinton's proposal to "get tough on environmental crime." This would feed off the Dingell Committee investigation into the Bush DOJ's scuttling of key criminal indictments in the environmental area;
2. A joint appearance with "Sportsmen for Clinton/Gore," of which we hope Dingell will be co-chair; either with the present CEO of Michigan United Conservation Clubs (Tom Washington), or, if not possible, with past Presidents of MUCC (perhaps at Erie MetroPark);
3. A "Great Lakes Water Quality" event, at which Governor Clinton or Senator Gore could focus attention on the abject failure of the Bush Administration to grapple with toxic contamination in the Lakes (such as, for instance, mercury); this could be done with Senator

Levin and could be aimed jointly at sportsmen who fish in the lakes and at the more general public;

4. A "Why hasn't Bush cleaned this up" hazardous waste event, at which either Governor Clinton or Senator Gore visit a superfund site which should have been cleaned-up years ago and use the backdrop to attack the Administration's glacial pace at cleaning up abandoned toxic waste dumps; and

5. (possible addition) An "environmental justice" event, at which Governor Clinton visits a minority neighborhood that has experienced unusual pollution or other environmental difficulty, and speaks to the issue of environmental justice as a way of reaching out to and exciting the black constituency.

The nice thing about this package of events is that it could be scheduled as part of a two-day swing in the key midwest region. Taken together, they use the environmental issue to raise fundamental questions about the Bush presidency (of lack of leadership, fairness, and trust), and help align Clinton with the concerns of average Americans on these issues.

More details and political notes on each:

1. Getting tough on environmental crime: Dingell's subcommittee has conducted well-publicized investigation of a series of cases in which the Department of Justice has scuttled prosecutions or indictments of corporate environmental crimes, in the process angering EPA and states attorneys. This investigation, coupled with Bush's botching of the Exxon Valdez settlement, offers a great backdrop for a proposal to toughen DOJ's environmental prosecution efforts. It is also possible that this hit could be coupled with a Crystal River visit as a combined assault on the Bush Administration's coddling of rich corporate friends who get special loopholes from environmental enforcement.

The proposal which we have discussed this with Steve Sims, Dingell's Deputy Counsel, is: that, as President, Clinton will a) name a top environmental lawyer to head up the Environmental Crimes Section of Justice (the current chief is a Wall Street type); b) beef up the expertise of the ECS so it can provide real litigation resources to the U.S. attorneys; and c) end the unusual 'veto' authority which has

been used by the Bush ECS to block environmental prosecutions undertaken by U.S. attorneys.

Action needed: the proposal outline should be shared with CG policy staff so they can confirm any details with Dingell's staff. I can provide connections if necessary. A Michigan site for a joint announcement needs to be chosen, could be coupled with either the superfund or clean water visits; would have to be worked out with Dingell's folks.

2. "Sportsmen for Clinton/Gore" event: Dingell's top staff are interested in this possibility. However, they first wanted to know Governor Clinton's position on gun control. I have communicated the campaign paper to them. Mary Mara of NWF Action is also working on this.

Action needed: I suggest that Stephanie S. call John Orlando, Dingell's AA, to try and sew up a commitment. His D.C. # is 225-6352.

3. Great Lakes Clean Water event: This could be blended with the Clean Water endorsement that Brett is already planning, or it could be done separately. If you want to use the issue of the failure of the Bush Administration to put forward water quality standards for the Great Lakes states, it would be good to coordinate with Senator Levin, as he is author of the law that required EPA to produce the standards (they are now a year late). This could also be coupled with a focus on the issue of mercury contamination, on which Clean Water Action has done a major report.

Action needed: Brett is already talking to Phil Clapp of Clean Water Action. Brett could also hook up with Senator Levin's folks to arrange a joint appearance if this is considered a good idea.

4. "Why hasn't Bush cleaned this up?" hazardous waste event: The failure to clean-up superfund sites presents opportunities for events throughout the Great Lakes region. Dramatic site-visit possibilities are present in Michigan, Illinois, and Ohio, among other sites. Additionally, there is evidence that Reilly and EPA have "cooked the books" in order to make it look like more sites are being cleaned up than is actually the case.

Action needed: Researchers working with us have compiled site information that can be made available to the campaign. These possibilities would need to be run past state CG directors or the scheduling team; perhaps Chris Dorval could look at the information and take it from here?

5. Environmental Justice event: Governor Clinton could use a well-placed visit to a minority neighborhood afflicted by pollution or waste problems as a way of visibly reaching out to the minority community and showing concern for their futures. In such an event, talking about "getting tough on environmental crime," and "Bush's failure to clean up hazardous wastes" can also be expected to resonate well.

Action needed: Ben Chavis, who is on our advisory board, has offered to ID possible sites for such an event. Noel Gerson, of our staff, is following up with Charles Lee, of Chavis's staff.

Conclusion: Please let me know what further work you would like us to do to push these efforts along. Thanks.

Environmentalists For



National Advisory Committee

Lee Botts
Joan Campbell
Ben Chavis
Michael L. Fischer
Denis Hayes
Roger P. Hoffman
Jim Maddy
Wilma Mankiller
Gaylord Nelson
Russell W. Peterson
Steven C. Rockefeller
John J. Sheehan
Cathleen Douglas Stone
Susie Tompkins
Bailus Walker, Jr.
Edward O. Wilson
Brooks B. Yeager
Coordinator

To: Bob Bauman

Jeremy Rossner

Mark Clupka

Clay Peters

Katie McGinty

David Harwood

From: Rebecca Calahan Klein

Pls. review attached letter and
call with comments!

Thanks —

Rebecca

MEMORANDUM

TO: Brooks Yeager, Molly Olson, Noel Gerson, Paul Brierre
CC: Bob Baum, Jeremy Rossner, Mark Chupka,
Katie McGinty, Clay Peters and David Harwood

FROM: Rebecca Calahan Klein
RE: Environmental Business Activities
DATE: September 25, 1992

During the past week, Jeremy Rossner, Noel Gerson, Paul Brierre and I have been working on identifying potential environment/jobs events and environmental business leaders and economists who may be willing to speak out on environment/jobs issues.

Events

Noel and Paul have taken the lead in identifying potential events in the target states that highlight jobs/environment themes. A consolidated list of selected "hot" events is now available. A larger state-by-state events lists will also be available for use by the state campaign offices and Environmentalists for Clinton-Gore chapters.

Letters on Environment/Jobs Issues

Jeremy is working with John Hague to identify "green"economists who might be willing to write an editorial or a letter for placement in major papers which focuses on the development of a new economy which recognizes the importance of environmental protection and efficient use of resources in the economy.

I am working to organize a group of environmental business CEO's from across the country who would be willing to speak out on environment/business issues. As a first step, we are trying to put together a letter for their signature which could also be run in major national newspapers. I will also help get these folks in touch with the state Clinton-Gore organizations and suggest that they work together on local environmental business events. Please review this letter and call me at 202-624-5259 or 202-332-3790 with comments. Thanks.

*Molley - Comments**Feb -***DRAFT--ENVIRONMENTAL BUSINESS LETTER**

SOME PUBLIC OFFICIALS HAVE SUGGESTED THAT AMERICANS MUST MAKE A CHOICE BETWEEN ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY.

AS LEADERS IN AMERICA'S GROWING ENVIRONMENTAL INDUSTRY, WE KNOW FROM EXPERIENCE THIS IS A FALSE CHOICE.

THE UNITED STATES IS HOME TO A DIVERSE AND COMPETITIVE ENVIRONMENTAL INDUSTRY. MORE THAN 2.5 MILLION PEOPLE WORK IN 70,000 ENVIRONMENTAL COMPANIES NATIONWIDE. LAST YEAR, ENVIRONMENTAL BUSINESSES CONTRIBUTED MORE THAN \$130 BILLION TO THE U.S. ECONOMY AND IS EXPECTED TO BECOME ONE OF THE MAJOR EMPLOYERS IN THE NEXT DECADE.

WE ARE PIONEERING THE TECHNOLOGIES THAT ENABLE U.S. FIRMS TO MAKE QUALITY PRODUCTS WHILE PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT. COMPANIES SAVE MONEY WHEN THEY USE ENERGY WISELY, REDUCE THE USE OF TOXIC CHEMICALS, RECYCLE WASTE PRODUCTS, DECREASE THE AMOUNT OF PACKAGING AND TAKE OTHER STEPS WHICH HELP THE ENVIRONMENT. LOWER COSTS MAKE AMERICAN PRODUCTS MORE COMPETITIVE OVERSEAS. THE BOTTOM LINE: WE ARE HELPING AMERICAN FIRMS STAY IN BUSINESS AND WIN.

WE ARE BUILDING A NEW AMERICAN ECONOMY-- BASED ON ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL GOOD SENSE. WE CALL UPON OUR NATIONAL LEADERS TO STOP DIVIDING THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON THIS ISSUE. WE URGE THEM TO ABANDON THEIR OLD IDEAS AND BEGIN TO HELP THE COUNTRY POSITION ITSELF TO DEVELOP NEW ENVIRONMENTAL TECHNOLOGIES THAT WILL HELP PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD LIVE BETTER LIVES.

SINCERELY,

CEOS OF ENVIRONMENTAL BUSINESS FIRMS

9/29/92

MEMO

TO: Katie McGinty

FROM: Brooks

Katie:

Tonight's MacNeill-Lehrer appearance is a golden chance to hit Bush's cynical use of the environmental issue -- particularly in view of Schneider's piece on stripmining national parks, and the Administration's announcement today that it is withdrawing the hazardous waste redefinition.

Suggest strongly that Senator Gore hit Bush tonight on this:

- 1. Bush is cynically using a false environment v. jobs choice to divide Americans in the midwest and the NW; in each case, he has helped create the crisis and is now seeking to profit from it without really caring what happens to auto workers or timber families;**
- 2. At the same time, he is preparing a "January surprise". If he gets reelected, he will change the nation's environmental rules in ways that are so outrageous that he dares not make them public during the campaign. Specifically, he plans to release a rule, already prepared at the Interior Department, that would allow coal companies to stripmine in national parks and national forests, or force the public to buy them out to prevent it; and he will re-issue a rule, just withdrawn under pressure by EPA, that will allow corporations and waste haulers to dispose of up to 50% of America's hazardous wastes with no more care than common garbage.**
- 3. Significantly, these rules changes are being put forward by administration political appointees who are consistently placing politics above environmental protection even while being paid by the taxpayers -- Don Clay at EPA is an organizer of Environmentalists for Bush/Quayle, and Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan has been quoted as pushing the Administration to embrace the radical right-wing's agenda for accelerated resource development of federal lands.**

September 18, 1992

Memo

To: Katie McGinty, Brett Hulse

From: Brooks Yeager, Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore

cc: Reid Wilson, Sierra Club, Richard Mintz, Clinton/Gore California

Re: Reilly's defeats, with citations added.

Brett had asked me to provide citations for our factsheet on Reilly's major policy defeats during the Bush Administration. This is a slightly revised rundown, with citations added. It should be useful in preventing Reilly from being an effective advocate of the Bush "environmental presidency."

**BILL REILLY'S POLICY DEFEATS:
IT'S TOUGH BEING A FIGUREHEAD IN AN ANTI-ENVIRONMENTAL
ADMINISTRATION**

1. Wetlands: While at the Conservation Foundation, Reilly convened the Wetlands Roundtable that produced the "no net loss" goal that Bush later promised ('88) and then welshed on. ("Protecting America's Wetlands: An Action Agenda; The Final Report of the National Wetlands Policy Forum." Conservation Foundation, 1988.) In '89, Reilly worked with the Corps to propose a wetlands manual that would have helped fulfill the pledge. He was reversed completely with the issuance of the '91 proposed manual, which would have defined half of America's wetlands out of existence. VP Quayle and DOT Secty. Skinner had big roles in this controversy. (Washington Post, Nov. 2, 1991.)

2. Clean Air implementation: After signing the Clean Air Act that Reilly had helped champion, President Bush sided with the Quayle Council and overruled Reilly to issue a rule allowing companies to emit up to 240 tons of cancer-causing air pollution without public notice or comment. (New York Times, July 4, 1992, P.7.) Significantly, Reilly objected vehemently that the Administration rule would be illegal, and was supported by a Justice Department opinion that was later rewritten at the President's direction. (Washington Post, June 27, 1992, P. A6.)

In December 1990, the Quayle Council forced EPA to eliminate a widely supported ban on the combustion of lead batteries at incinerators. The rule would have dramatically reduced the release of airborne lead from incinerators, a serious threat to the health of children. This decision was overturned by a Federal Court this past summer. (State of New York v. Riley, D.C. Circuit, July 14, 1992. Case 91-1168.)

3. Global Warming: Reilly and EPA have consistently advocated constructive, if limited, U.S. action on climate change. But they have been blocked internally at every turn, first by Sununu and later by DOE, Yeutter, Boskin, and others. (Wall Street Journal, March 27, 1992.) Although President Bush did sign the climate change treaty, he did so only after his negotiators had diluted the treaty's most important proposed goal, the stabilization of carbon dioxide emissions from the industrialized countries. (Washington Post, June 15, 1992, P. A1.) His statements during the negotiations show that, unlike our trade competitors in Japan and Germany, he entirely failed to see the economic potential for U.S. companies to market energy efficiency services and renewable energy technology that will accompany international efforts to prevent global warming.

4. Alternative Fuels: During House Energy & Commerce debate on the Clean Air Act, Reilly supported aggressive mandates for alternative fuels. Reilly's support for a strong alternative fuels mandate was directly undercut by Sununu, who informed the Committee that he opposed the same amendment that Reilly said the Administration supported. (New York Times, Oct. 12, 1989.)

5. Rio: The most famous example of the Administration's ongoing hostility to Reilly came during the Rio Conference. Reilly sent a confidential memo to Bush urging the possibility of a Brazilian-brokered compromise that would allow the U.S. to sign the biodiversity treaty. The memo was leaked (probably by VP Quayle's staff), deeply embarrassing the U.S., Bush, Reilly, and the Brazilians. Reilly later compared the experience to "having his cord cut while bungee jumping." (Washington Post, June 6, 1992.)

September 28, 1992

Memo

To: Brett Hulsey, Katie McGinty, Stephanie Sollien, Dan Sakura, Bob Boorstin, Chris Dorval, Reid Wilson
From: Brooks Yeager, Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore
Re: Attack opportunity: Bush's attempt to allow strip-mining of national parks and forests

Today's NYT carries a front-page story by Keith Schneider that says the Bush Department of the Interior has prepared a rule, to be made final after the election, that would have the effect of allowing stripmining in national parks and forests. This offers a terrific opportunity to attack the Bush record of neglect of our most cherished natural resources, and of his consistent pandering to corporate interests over the well-being of the public.

Basically, the proposed rule would overthrow what has been the interpretation, for 14 years, of the Congress's intent in the 1977 surface Mining Act to prohibit stripmining of national parks, national forests, church and graveyards, and private dwellings. Under the proposed rule, whenever a mining company owned mineral interest underneath a park or national forest, the only way to prevent stripmining would be condemn and buy out the mineral rights. This could cost the taxpayers up to \$800 million -- just to protect parks they already own and enjoy!

The new rule would apply primarily in the East (because that is where most of the split-estate park and forest lands are), but could also have application elsewhere. According to the National Wildlife Federation, it could apply to:

- * over one million acres of public parks and sites on the National Register of Historic Places;
- * 33 units of the National Park System;
- * 24 units of the National Wildlife Refuge System
- * almost one million acres of national forests, including 270,000 acres in West Virginia and 58,000 acres in Utah;

* as much as 45 million acres of land within 300 feet of homes, churches, schools, cemeteries and public, all of which Congress intended to be protected.

What's even more interesting about this is that the Interior Department is holding the rule and plans to issue it after the election -- they claim that they are completing an EIS, but in reality, they are afraid of the public reaction. If this is how they intend to take care of our national parks and forests, they should be.

I have attached a background piece on other parks issues that can be used to put this Bush initiative in context.

BACKGROUND: PARKS IN PERIL -- THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S SORRY RECORD

Bush Administration spokesmen claim that President Bush has been a good steward of our parks and public lands -- that he has added over 1.5 million acres of new park lands and wildlife refuges. But these easy claims belie a four-year record of neglect and political interference that has weakened the Park Service and damaged some of our nation's most cherished natural resources:

The Bush Record:

Under the Bush Administration, the management of America's national parks and public lands has been increasingly dominated by politics. The ability of the Park Service to protect and maintain the nation's national parks -- our crown jewels -- has been compromised, and the parks themselves are showing the damage. The Forest Service, which is supposed to be a multiple use agency, has been forced to place logging above all other uses -- foresters who fail to reach their timber goals are reassigned or forced out of the Service. The majority of national wildlife refuges are threatened by incompatible uses, and some are threatened by contamination and lack of water. Although some new park and refuge lands have been added, the Administration has consistently requested one third or less of the authorized expenditure for new parks and refuges.

1. The Bush Administration has failed to defend our national parks and the Park Service:

A. The Bush Administration has allowed the deterioration of our parks and park facilities:

Our national parks are the crown jewels of America and the envy of the world. Tourists come from every land to see them. Yet, under the Bush Administration, they have been allowed to decay, and the professionals of the Park Service have been hamstrung or even punished for trying to defend them.

In an audit earlier this year, the Interior Department Inspector General concluded that the national park system had a backlog of unmet maintenance requirements in excess of \$1.8 billion; noted that "some national historic buildings were temporarily closed to the public because of advanced deterioration, while other historical buildings may be lost to future generations," and charged that maintenance funds had been used for administrative and nonmaintenance purposes.

B. The Bush Administration has placed politics above park protection:

The morale of many of our best Park Service professionals is at an all-time low -- a result, not just of lack of resources, but of White House sanctioned political interference with the parks. The overall deterioration of the Park system was noted in the October, 1991, "Vail Report," the product a historic meeting of Park Service managers:

"We believe there has been significant erosion of the traditional culture and sense of family that has long characterized the National Park Service;... that the professional skills and educational level of its work force are declining and new recruits are less competitive than they were a decade ago;... that there has been substantial criticism of financial management practices and procedures; and that there have been increasing attempts by political superiors to meddle in the assignment of mid-level career professionals." ("Our National Parks: Challenges and Strategies for the 21st Century," National Park Service 75th Anniversary Symposium, Vail, Colorado, October 1991)

The most egregious case of this interference is the story of the "Yellowstone Vision Document" and of Loraine Mintzmyer, the highest ranking woman in the Park Service, who was its principal drafter.

In 1985, Congress, responding to the threat of increased development and higher levels of resource use in the six national forests and other public lands surrounding Yellowstone National Park, formed an interagency "Greater Yellowstone Coordinating Committee", and tasked it to study the area's ecosystem, and to coordinate agency management practices to protect the area's environment. Ms. Mintzmyer, at the time director of the Rocky Mountain Region for the Park Service, was co-chair of the coordinating committee, and led the preparation of the draft "Yellowstone Vision Document", which was designed to provide the foundation for a better management system.

However, the Yellowstone region's Republican powers, including Sens. Alan Simpson, Malcolm Wallop, and Rep. Ron Marlenee, vehemently argued against any restriction on resource development in the Yellowstone area, and voiced their objections directly to the White House and top Interior officials. Ms. Mintzmyer was told, by a high-ranking political appointee in Interior, that the White House considered the vision document "a political disaster", and was instructed to oversee a radical re-write, and was specifically instructed "to retain the appearance that the document was the product of professional and scientific efforts by the agencies involved, but that the reality would be that the document would be reversed based on these strictly political concerns". Shortly thereafter, Ms. Mintzmyer was transferred from her post, a transfer that she understood to be a demotion, and resigned from the Park Service.

C. The Bush Administration opposed four of the seven park units added by Congress in the last four years:

Among the additions opposed by the Bush Administration: the Niobrara Wild and Scenic River in Nebraska, the Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site in Missouri, and the Weir Farm National Historic Site in Connecticut. The Bush Administration also opposes two key proposed additions to the National Park System: the E. Mojave National Park and Death Valley Monument additions proposed as part of Senator Cranston's California Desert Bill, and the Tallgrass Prairie National Monument, which would represent the most significant natural land type currently missing from the Park system.

D. The Administration has consistently requested appropriations for land acquisition through the Land and Water Conservation Fund at a third or less of the annually authorized expenditure. Without aggressive leadership, Congress, which consistently appropriated more than the amounts requested by the Reagan Administration, has sometimes appropriated less than the Bush Administration request, with the result that the backlog of unspent moneys in the LWCF grows each year and currently totals over \$8 billion. (Note: the failure to lay the foundation for a strong and growing park system contradicts a Bush '88 campaign promise: that he would consider and act on the recommendations of the President's Commission on the Outdoors, headed by then Tennessee Governor Lamar Alexander. The Commission recommended permanently endowing a land acquisition fund for the Parks and refuge system -- although such an endowment was proposed in 1989 in Mo Udall's American Heritage legislation, it failed to achieve strong Administration support and has languished in Congress.

2. The Bush Administration has failed to protect our national wildlife refuges from incompatible uses:

Despite an internal USFWS study showing that incompatible activities such as mining, off road vehicle use, and military practice bombing are damaging 63% of the nation's 471 national wildlife refuges, the Bush Administration has opposed legislation (by Senator Graham and Rep. Studds) to improve the management of the refuge system. The administration has also failed to stop the damage through administrative means. In one particularly spectacular case, against the advice of field professionals, the administration has allowed the Navy to continue practice bombing of the Copalis National Wildlife Refuge in Washington state.

THE NEW YORK TIMES NATIONAL MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1992

U.S. SET TO OPEN NATIONAL FORESTS FOR STRIP MINING

GAIN FOR COAL COMPANIES

Administration Plans to Save Some Public Land by Buying the Rights to Minerals

By KEITH SCHNEIDER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 27 — The Bush Administration is about to complete a policy change that will open millions of acres of national parks and forests to strip mining for coal unless the Government buys the mineral rights from the families and energy companies that own them.

The policy change, in the form of a new Interior Department regulation that is due to become final shortly after Election Day, would give coal companies authority to mine a mother lode of coal that now lies beneath 40 million acres of parks, preserves and protected lands in 24 states. The area is roughly 16 percent of the nation's reserves.

Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan Jr. says that in order to prevent strip mining in 19 national parks, recreation areas and wildlife refuges that contain coal the agency will buy the mineral rights from the owners.

Different Estimates of Value

Mr. Lujan's aides said the coal reserves beneath these lands were worth just \$11 million. But the coal industry and the National Wildlife Federation, an environmental group, said the Government would have to pay hundreds of millions of dollars to prevent mining in the national parks.

Last year, in one case alone, the United States Claims Court in Washington ordered the Interior Department to pay at least \$150 million to a coal company barred from mining a protected area in Wyoming.

"It could be a bonanza for the coal industry," said L. Thomas Galloway, a Washington lawyer who specializes in environmental cases and an expert on strip-mining regulations. "They don't want to mine in the national parks. It would be too much of a public-relations disaster. But if they threaten to, the way this rule is set up, the Government would have no other choice but to pay them."

Ending 15 Years of Protection

The new regulation, which has been in preparation for more than a year, would eliminate protections that Congress approved for these lands when it passed the Federal strip-mining law 15 years ago. The law bars mining in national parks and national forests and on millions of acres of private lands, except to those who hold a "valid existing right" to the coal.

But Congress never defined that term, and the Interior Department's efforts to do so have twice been struck down by a Federal District judge in Washington. As a result the Government adopted an unofficial policy that gave any coal owner who had sought to mine the coal up to the day the law was established, on Aug. 3, 1977, valid existing rights.

But a growing number of other Federal judges around the country have since ruled that this definition, never

formally adopted, violates the Fifth Amendment which prohibits the Government from taking property without just compensation.

The new regulation, in effect, adopts these more recent court rulings as Government policy. "We view this new policy as an affirmation of the Fifth Amendment and a correct interpretation of the surface-mining law," Steven Goldstein, the chief spokesman for the Interior Department, said today.

The issuance of the final rule, expected in November, awaits the completion of an environmental-impact statement by the Interior Department.

The department says the public lands with the richest coal reserves are in eight national forests in Ohio, Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Virginia and West Virginia.

The practice of strip mining in these public lands, in which layers of dirt and rock are blasted away to get at coal seams that often are 100 feet or more below the surface, largely ended in the 1980's under the Government's old interpretation of the strip-mining law.

In addition, hundreds of thousands of acres of state parks and wildlife refuges are likely to be opened for strip mining in Texas, Oklahoma, Illinois and Ohio.

For months, President Bush has pressed for changes in environmental regulations, and he succeeded in relaxing restrictions on filling wetlands, cutting timber, exploring for oil, and mining copper, uranium and other minerals on Federal land.

Bush Advocates a Balance

In a recent campaign appearance in Washington State, Mr. Bush said his development policy was vital to the American economy and balanced the interests of working people and conservationists. For their part, the Democrats' team, Gov. Bill Clinton and Senator Al Gore, say the Administration is sacrificing the nation's natural heritage for the short-term benefit of industry.

Mr. Goldstein said there was no political motivation behind the rule on strip mining. "Often times good policy is good politics," he said, "but that was not the motivation for this new rule."

Introduced in a little-noticed entry in the Federal Register on July 18, 1991, the rule is a departure for the Bush Administration, which angered the en-

ergy industry in 1989 by withdrawing a similar regulation proposed by the Reagan Administration to allow strip mining in national parks and national forests.

In doing so, the Bush Administration stepped into a long-running policy struggle over valid existing rights, the term Congress left undefined when it passed the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act in 1977.

Who Owns Mineral Rights

Mineral rights in public parks, forests and other lands are usually held not by the Government but by families and energy companies. The reason is that when the Government establishes a park or refuge or forest, it typically saves money by buying only what is on the surface. Anything below ground remains in the hands of the previous landowner, and the rights to it can be sold to others.

After passage of the 1977 law, the Carter Administration tried to define valid existing rights as those that were held by any mineral owner who had a permit to mine the coal.

But in 1980 that definition was struck down by Federal District Judge Thomas A. Flannery in Washington, who said it was too strict. He ruled that authority to mine should also be given to mineral owners and lease holders who had made a good-faith effort to gain them before the law was passed.

Judge Flannery's opinion in effect became the Government policy for defining valid existing rights in most coal-mining states.

But with increasing frequency, other Federal judges have ruled that the policy still infringed on the right of families and coal companies to develop their holdings. Prompted by these decisions, the Interior Department worked up its new definition of valid existing rights.

Other Fights on Strip Mining

There have been many battles over the years over the right to dig strip mines in national forests and on other public lands. But in recent months the debate has been thrown into sharp relief in southern Ohio, where coal has been mined since the early years of the century from hills that are thick with ash and oak.

In the Wayne National Forest, a plan by the Belville Coal Company to mine 7,200 acres has drawn attention in the Interior Department and the White House. The company's owner, 58-year-old Thomas J. Belville, who rose from a hardscrabble childhood and a high school education to help found Lawrence County's largest coal company, is also an active Republican and a Bush supporter.

MINE OWNERS GO TO COURT

Mr. Belville acknowledges that his political connections helped him in December 1988, when the Interior Department determined that he had the valid existing right to strip-mine more than 11 square miles of the national forest that may contain 15 million tons of coal.

But he was flabbergasted a year later when the department reversed

'It could be a bonanza for the coal industry,' a lawyer said.

the earlier decision, withdrew the right and prohibited the mining. "That was my thank-you for being so loyal to George Bush," he said.

Mr. Belville responded by filing a lawsuit in the Claims Court in Washington and two more in Federal District Court in Cincinnati asserting that what the Government did was illegal under the Constitution and the strip-mining law. The lawsuits are being closely followed by the coal industry because the legal precedents set here are likely to have implications in other states.

Mr. Belville won the two District Court lawsuits last year, including one in which the Federal judge said the Government had no authority to take away Mr. Belville's right to strip mine

coal he owned or controlled. The Government is appealing both decisions. The Government also is seeking to settle the Claims Court suit by giving Mr. Belville the right to begin strip-mining 40 acres of the national forest.

Mr. Belville's opponents, including hunters and lumber companies, argue that strip mining represents the last wasteful stage of an industrial revolution that has run its course in Ohio and other Appalachian coal states, including Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky.

Can Land Be Reclaimed

"After mining, there is real doubt that there is a future sustainable economic practice available for that land," said Judith Dumke, a botanist and resident of Chesapeake, Ohio. "Most reclaimed land from strip mining produces little timber and is worthless as grassland. I have no animosity to Tom Belville. He does his best with reclamations. But we're still dealing with marginal soil types. After it's mined, it's not going to produce jobs."

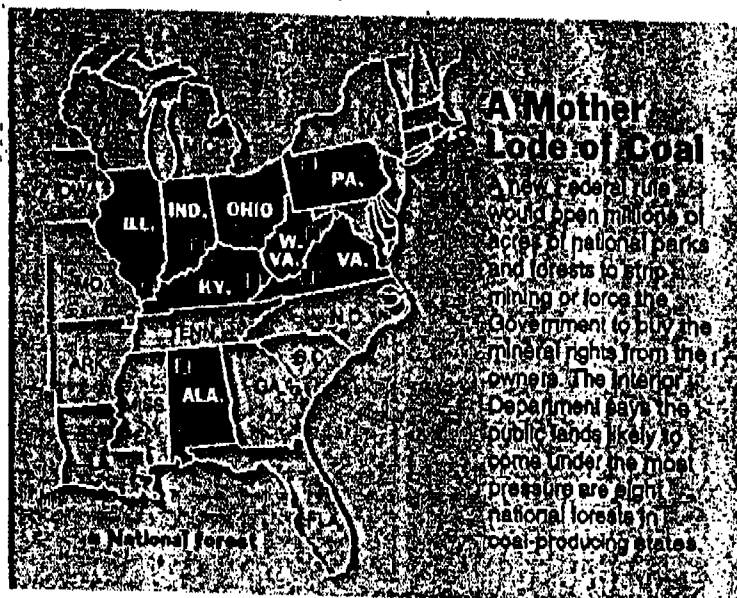
Mr. Belville asserts that strip mines can be reclaimed and turned into rolling grasslands that can be used as

pastures or habitat for wildlife.

Representative Nick J. Rahall, a West Virginia Democrat who is chairman of the House Interior Subcommittee on Mining and Natural Resources, said the Administration's proposal would open too much public land to development and violated the intent of the strip mining law.

Mr. Rahall has proposed an amendment to the Energy Bill, now under discussion by a House-Senate conference committee, that would invalidate the Administration's rule and restore the definition of valid existing rights that has been used by the Government and most coal mining states since 1980.

Mr. Rahall, however, said, the amendment was under attack by the coal industry and Republican members of the conference committee and may not survive in Congress or the courts. "I'm quite sure that if the public knew how much of the nation's most beautiful lands were threatened with strip mining, they would not stand for what the Administration is doing," he said. "But the Interior Department has done a good job at keeping this quiet, and I'm not sure we're going to be able to stop it."



Thomas J. Belville, owner of the Belville Coal Company in Ohio, has sued the Federal Government for reversing its earlier decision allowing him to strip mine more than 11 square miles of a national forest.

MEMORANDUM

To: Clinton Campaign
From: Brooks Yeager (202-785-8683) and Jeremy Rosner (202-547-0001)
Date: September 10, 1992
Re: Offensive Strategy on the Environment

This memo suggests a strategy to enable the campaign to make better use of environmental issues in making its overall political case. While we understand that the environment is not the most important issue in this campaign (maybe no more than 5% of voters will vote just on this basis), we still feel the campaign so far has mostly been on defense on this issue, regarding jobs vs. environment, and has not done nearly enough to exploit the issue offensively, as a way to make such central points as 1) Bush is passive, Clinton will get America moving; 2) Bush is for powerful interests, Clinton is for average Americans; and 3) Clinton/Gore are a different kind of Democrat from the old tax-and-spend, culturally-fringe variety. The memo suggests a priority list of specific events that will help make such points. The memo is the product of a 9/6 strategy discussion coordinated by Brooks Yeager. Other participants were: Bob Baum, David Harwood, Gene Karpinski, Molly Olsen, Bill Roberts, and Jeremy Rosner.

Using the Environment for Political Offense

In 1988, Bush used the environment (Boston Harbor) to make a political points -- that Dukakis had no positive record as an executive -- not to win a substantive argument about who had a better environmental plan. That political use of the environment is what's been missing on our side, while Bush/Quayle continue to use it effectively to make two political points: 1) Clinton (like Dukakis) lacks any positive executive record; 2) Gore's environmental policies prove these guys are old liberals.

We can't simply play on their turf and answer the jobs vs. environment argument (although we must continue responding to attacks). We need to start using the environment in ways that make our political argument. We suggest three:

1. Getting America Moving: "Bush/Quayle have no plan to get America moving again (on jobs, health, etc.); Clinton/Gore do." Bush's passivity on health-related environmental challenges, particularly as reflected in the slow pace of cleanup of toxic sites, is a metaphor for his general passivity on domestic challenges. We think the health benefits of environmental protection are a good trump to the job fears raised by Bush/Quayle.

This emphasis on their passivity is better than suggesting they're out to wreck the environment; as a 9/6 NYT editorial made clear, that's not credible, since they can boast a few accomplishments. Similarly, this emphasis is better than a mere "trust" attack on Bush's broken environmental promises, since Bush's broken environmental promises are not as commonly known as "read my lips."

In order to use environmental issues to make a "get America moving" case, it is important to stress issues on which Clinton can take actions right away, and below we suggest such steps as convening special task forces on the Great Lakes, naming a special environmental prosecutor, etc.

2. **Whose Side?:** "Clinton/Gore are fighting on behalf of average-income Americans; Bush/Quayle are on the side of the powerful special interests." The environment offers great vignettes of "the people" versus the powerful interests. Unfortunately, Bush/Quayle are getting the jump on this angle, by suggesting Clinton/Gore environmental plans, pushed by culturally-fringe and economically-comfortable "greenies", will kill blue-collar jobs.

The way to take back the "class" implications of the environment, which naturally cut in our favor, is to stress the sides of the environment that most people relate to: health impacts from toxics, and recreational activities such as hunting, fishing, camping, and hiking in the national parks and elsewhere. Millions of Americans believe they are directly threatened by toxic waste dumps and polluted drinking water. Tens of millions of Americans hunt, fish, camp, or hike, and about three quarters of these have household incomes under \$50,000. Americans also make over 100 million visits to our national parks each year, view these parks with proprietary fervor, and almost all can tell about a recent time when a visit was marred by overcrowding or ill-kept facilities.

The campaign should also focus more on finding environmental events with identifiable powerful "bad actors." Current hits on the Competitiveness Council are a good start, but we can do much more: toxic dump events, highlighting egregious polluters through a call for a special environmental prosecutor, and the Crystal River hit, all described below.

3. **Different kind of Democrats:** "Clinton/Gore are a new kind of Democrat who won't make the old Dem mistakes of tax-and-spend, anti-business, etc." One way to show Clinton/Gore offer a new kind of Dem leadership is to stress what's new about their environmental approach: a greater emphasis on market-based, low-bureaucracy policies, which represent somewhat of a break with Democratic orthodoxy, and which can reduce business compliance costs, spur greater innovation on clean technologies, and minimize regulatory bureaucracies (more on this will follow from David Roe/EDF and others). Clinton/Gore can also stress their willingness to revisit programs such as Superfund, and to reform them, as necessary, in order to get them working faster and better.

While this point is not as important as the previous two, it should still be a part of every Clinton/Gore environmental speech and event. In addition, we should begin a staff-level effort to bring this side of the Clinton/Gore environmental record into play with opinion leaders, as discussed in the next section.

Recommendations on specific events

Based on the strategy described above, we recommend that the following events be worked into the schedule for Clinton and Gore over the next two months:

1. **Toxics**. An excellent hit would be a tour of one or more (in different media markets) egregious toxic waste sites in the industrial belt, preferably with an emphasis on the threat to families, through a visit at a local school or family home. A first cut at possible sites will follow (e.g., PA, NJ, OH; maybe also NY, MI, and IL). The substantive points on these events would be: 1) inaction: Reagan/Bush/Quayle moved too slow and have hardly cleaned any of these sites up; health: the result is direct threats to the health of middle America; 3) Clinton action: we will get the clean ups moving, do a better job of managing Superfund, and appoint a new "special prosecutor" in Justice whose sole duty is to go after the polluters (during his campaign for governor, Florio made a similar promise that has proved both substantively and politically successful; this angle is becoming especially salient this year given Dingell's hearings on Justice's failures on environmental prosecution); 4) New Dems: we are also not afraid of taking a fresh look at Superfund and changing it where necessary to get it working better.

2. **Great Lakes**. This is "the Revenge of Boston Harbor": there are dozens of "Boston Harbors" around the Great Lakes, which Reagan/Bush/Quayle did almost nothing to clean up. We believe the Great Lakes are especially important for midwest average-income swing voters, because this is where they take their vacations, and Clinton can argue that Reagan/Bush/Quayle have let this national treasure rot. A hook might be the administration's failure to meet deadlines on Clean Water rules that were set under legislation from Sen. Levin, and he could participate. One or more events on the lakes could make the case. A list of possible sites will follow. On this tour, the substantive stress would be: 1) inaction: after 12 years, these lakes -- the pride of the midwest -- are still too dirty, with adverse impacts to health, business, and recreation; 2) Clinton action: Clinton could propose, for example, creation of a cabinet level task force to oversee restoration of the Great Lakes, through stepped up Clean Water Act enforcement, and perhaps other steps; 3) New Dems: Clinton might also call for a new market-based effort, tradeable permits between point and non-point pollution, as part of the regional effort to bring the lakes back.

3. **Crystal River**. Jeremy Rosner and Bob Dreher have written up materials describing this site in upper MI, where the White House overruled objections from the Regional EPA office in order to let a developer build a golf course that threatens a canoeing/fishing river as well as an adjacent national park. We think it's an ideal event, since it gets the debate away from environment vs. jobs, and onto average Americans' recreation needs vs. the profits and elitism represented by a luxury golf course. Moreover, it's in a key state and region, with potentially superb visuals. On substance, Clinton can use this event to stress his ideas on wetlands and clean water.

4. **National Park event.** We'd recommend an event at Yellowstone, or perhaps some other well-known national park in the west. Yellowstone is especially attractive because: 1) it is the most famous park, and is so closely linked with visions of middle-America's vacationing; 2) one of the most serious problems in the Bush record -- punishing park service staff for flagging problems about management and planning -- relates to this park (see materials in the environmental briefing book); 3) historic links to Teddy Roosevelt and his mantle of Republican conservationism. Yosemite or other parks might also work. It will be important to deal with (or sidestep) some of the very local issues that tend to spring up around most park sites (e.g., management of specific species, specific proposed additions, etc.).

5. **Market-Based Initiatives.** Finally, we think it is worth some staff level effort to get opinion makers to recognize that Clinton/Gore are emphasizing market-based initiatives. This could include: 1) ed boards: we could deploy supportive economists and businessmen to stress this angle with ed boards; and 2) endorsements: we should try to line up public endorsements or open letters to business-related papers or magazines by businessmen and economists, which say that the jobs vs. environment choice is false, and/or that Clinton/Gore are taking the right approach -- for both jobs and the environment -- by stressing market-based approaches.

Conclusion

Each of these proposed efforts requires staff work, to select sites and get the substance in shape. But this can be done fairly quickly once the basic plan is approved. There are downsides on some of them: Bush can argue that he has taken some actions on the Great Lakes and toxics; the toxics tour raises questions about Clinton on the Vertac Superfund site in AR; etc. But we believe these are all manageable, and would not prevent these hits from being positive for the campaign. In all, we believe that this strategy can get Clinton/Gore off of defense on the environment and turn the issue into a powerful way of making the campaign's positive political case.

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FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION SHEET

DATE: 9/9/92

FILE: WPdocs\Gore.909

TO: Senator Albert A. Gore, Jr. of Carthage, TN

FAX #: ~~501-372-1992~~ 2292
202-224-0580, phone 202-224-4944
2611

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET) 1

MESSAGE: Dear Senator Gore: *You could have had this sooner but your office belligerently refused to give me your new DC FAX #.*
In my last FAX to you on 8/8 I urged you to support Bob Dole's Civilian Conservation Corps bill to get inner city kids off the streets. I closed that message with my concern that large, uncaring industries freely pollute our land, air and water. The Republican cry that trying to limit pollution will cost thousands of jobs and hurt industry is pure boloney. You and Bill Clinton and your advisors need to answer these attacks by citing that recycling effluents actually saves money and that any process installed to recycle (rather than treating) even toxic waste will usually pay for itself in one to two years.

The US Army demonstrated this fact at several munitions plants (including the TNT lines at Radford, VA). By recycling, rather than filtering waste water they reduced water consumption from the Radford River by over 90%, at 1/10 the cost required to build a treatment plant, and in the process recovered 2000 pounds of acid per day for reuse.

Second, requiring higher gas mileage than American cars presently achieve is NOT going to put American auto workers out on the street UNLESS GM, Ford & Chrysler refuse to get off their duff & compete with Japanese car designers who consistently achieve better mileage than our bean counters will even let our competent engineers TRY to achieve. If they can do it, we certainly can because our engineers are smarter and more innovative - if management will only let them and supports them.

Good luck. Feel free to call upon the professional engineers in your midst (like me) to provide you technical input, ideas and support.

Very truly yours,

How do you expect to keep informed in timely fashion when small records refuse to give out your FAX # & insist we use the mails? I can always send it to the White House - but I'd rather not.

John Larry Baer P.E.



To: KATIE MCGINTY

Of:

Fax number:

From: META SCHRENK

Number of pages (including cover):

Message: NOTE: THIS IS A DRAFT VERSION

1707 LS+AW
1013 flr.

For Immediate Release
September 22,1992

Contact: Brooks Yeager
Molly Olson
(202)466-8154

ENVIRONMENTALISTS FOR CLINTON/GORE

Washington, D.C....Fifteen leading environmentalists from across the country today announced the formation of **Environmentalists For Clinton/Gore**. The fifteen, led by such nationally known conservation advocates as Russell Peterson and Cathleen Douglas Stone, will act as the advisory committee for a network of prominent environmental leaders to support the Clinton/Gore ticket.

"Governor Clinton and Senator Gore recognize that the quality of the environment and the adequacy of its resource base are among this country's greatest national assets -- assets with economic as well as many other beneficial dimensions," said Bailus Walker, Jr., Immediate Past President of the American Public Health Association.

"We are dealing with a major social, ecological, and economic challenge unlike any other in our history. It is a challenge that begs for the kind of dedicated, inspirational leadership provided by Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill in their pursuit of victory in the Second World War," said Gaylord Nelson, former U.S. Senator and "Father of Earth Day."

The advisory committee includes a diverse group of community, business, and religious leaders such as Denis Hayes, Ben Chavis, Michael Fischer, Wilma Mankiller, and Gaylord Nelson.

"The record is clear," said Dr. Benjamin Chavis, Executive Director of the Commission for Racial Justice, "Bush and Quayle have failed to protect the environment. Clinton and Gore have worked diligently to protect the environment and to protect communities from pollution."

"We must have a healthy environment for our children and grandchildren. The leadership of Bill Clinton and Al Gore will preserve, protect, and defend the natural beauty of the earth that we enjoy today and must save for tomorrow," said Michael Fischer, Executive Director of the Sierra Club.*

Roger Hoffman, Chief Operating Officer of Green Bay Packaging, commented, "Governor Clinton played a key role in getting recycling started in the state of Arkansas.... Clinton represents a good balance, putting the environment first, but recognizing the needs of business -- to prosper and provide jobs.**

The advisory committee plans to work to inform thousands of environmental grassroots leaders and the broader American public of the issues in the campaign.

The offices of Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore are located at 1707 L Street, N.W., Suite 1030, Washington, D.C. 20036, and can be reached at (202)466-8154.

* Mr. Fischer and Mr. Hoffman were unable to attend the press conference, but can be reached for further comment at (415)923-5610 and (302)428-0736, respectively.

Schedule
Tuesday, Sept. 22

- 9:30 Advisory Committee assemblies in EFCG offices.
 1707 L Street, Suite 1030
- 10:00 1150 18th Street, 8th floor: side room available.
- 10:30 Press Conference
 coffee, juice, etc. served
 attendance:
- 11:15 Meeting with Senator Wirth in side room.
 attendance:
- 12:30 Lunch in side room.
 catered salads, fruit, etc.
 attendance: about 15 people

pls
file w/
bios for e/G

Environmentalist For



To: REID WILSON
BRETT HULSEY
KATIE MCGINTY
~~DAVID HARWOOD~~

Of:

Fax number:

From: BROOKS

Number of pages (including cover): 3

Message:

The bios here are drafts.
I haven't approved all of them
yet with Brooks. Please let me
know ASAP if anything needs to
1

For Immediate Release
September 22,1992

Contact: Brooks Yeager
Molly Olson
(202)466-8154

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**ENVIRONMENTALISTS FOR CLINTON/GORE:
NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE**

Rev. Joan Brown Campbell

In her work as General Secretary of the National Council of Churches, Rev. Campbell provides spiritual leadership and administrative oversight to the Council in its work toward greater unity among the churches and toward peace and justice in the U.S. and around the world. She has also served as Executive Director of the U.S. Office of the World Council of Churches, and as Executive Director of the Council for Action in Public Education, and has published works on topics as diverse as peace, racism, women's rights, poverty, apartheid, and the Middle East.

Rev. Dr. Benjamin Chavis, Jr.

Dr. Chavis is one of the founders of the emerging environmental justice movement. He is a national civil rights leader with over 30 years of professional experience as an advocate for social justice, and is currently the Executive Director of the Commission for Racial Justice of the 1.6 million-member United Church of Christ, in Cleveland, Ohio. Dr. Chavis is also Vice President of the National Council of Churches in the U.S.A.

Michael Fischer

Mr. Fischer is Executive Director of the **Sierra Club**, the 600,000 member national environmental organization founded by John Muir. Mr. Fischer is recognized for his leadership in directing the programs of the Sierra Club to be of relevance and service to communities of color. Mr. Fischer has served as Executive Director of both the North Central Regional Coastal Commission and of the Statewide California Coastal Commission. While acting as Chief Deputy Director of Governor Edmund G. Brown's Office of Planning and Research he authored An Urban Strategy for California.

Denis Hayes

Mr. Hayes is Chairman of the Board of Directors of **Green Seal**, an organization dedicated to informing, educating and mobilizing

consumers on behalf of the environment. From 1977 to 1980, he headed the federal government's Solar Energy Research Institute. A prominent leader in the field of energy policy, Mr. Hayes authored the solar energy book, Rays of Hope, which is available in six languages. Mr. Hayes' name is synonymous with "Earth Day." Twenty years ago he was the Executive Director of the first Earth Day and was the International Chairman of the 1990 Earth Day. Mr. Hayes currently writes a regular environmental column for USA Today Weekend.

Roger Hoffman

Mr. Hoffman, Chief Operating Officer of **Green Bay Packaging**, is one of the founders of the National Office Paper Recycling Project, and a recipient of one of President Bush's "Environment and Conservation Challenge" Awards. He is Chairman of the Great Lakes Waste Paper Work Group, a regionally-focused recycling effort.

Wilma Mankiller

Diane MacEachern

Ms. MacEachern is the author of the best-selling Save Our Planet: 750 Everyday Ways You Can Help Clean Up The Earth. She was integrally involved in the planning and execution of Earth Day 1990. Her column, "Tips for Planet Earth" is nationally syndicated, and she has also written on the environment for Family Circle and Good Housekeeping. Ms. McEachern is currently writing an environmental dictionary and a community organizing handbook, and runs **Vanguard Communications**, a media firm that specializes in energy and environmental issues.

James D. Maddy

Mr. Maddy serves as both the Executive Director of the **League of Conservation Voters**, which publishes the annual National Environmental Scorecard, and the President of The American Political Network, publishers of the Political Hotline and Greenwire. In the past Mr. Maddy has focused on energy and the environment in his post as Assistant to Governor Jay Rockefeller, and as Executive Director of the Western Governors' Association.

Gaylord Nelson

Former U. S. Senator Gaylord Nelson (D-WI) is the "Father of Earth Day." As founder in 1970 of the annual observance to focus national attention on the problems of the environment, Mr. Nelson has fought to protect America's natural resources. During his tenure on Capitol Hill Mr. Nelson authored legislation to preserve the 2,000 mile Appalachian Trail and establish a nationwide system of hiking trails, co-sponsored the 1964 Wilderness Act, and created the St. Croix Wild and Scenic Riverway.

Russell W. Peterson

Mr. Peterson, former President and Chief Executive Officer of the **Audubon Society**, is now President of the International Council for Bird Preservation and Goodwill Ambassador for the United Nations Environment Programme. He serves additionally on the Executive Committee of the Population Crisis Committee, as Director of the Alliance to Save Energy, as a member of Governor Cuomo's Environmental Advisory Board, and as a member of the Advisory Board of Pace University School of Law. Mr. Peterson has worked as Chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality, was Vice-Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the U.N. World Population Conference in Bucharest in 1974, and from 1969 to 1973 was Governor of the State of Delaware.

Jack Sheehan

As the Director of the United Steelworkers' of America Legislative Department, Jack Sheehan has led efforts on occupational and environmental health, consumer affairs, industry restructuring, and the enactment of OSHA, MSHA and ERISA. Throughout his 40 years with the Steelworkers, Mr. Sheehan has played a major role in the legislative and lobbying arm of one of the most powerful labor unions in America. He also currently sits on the board of the Johns Hopkins Health Advisory Committee, National Clean Air Coalition and the American Lung Association.

Cathleen Douglas Stone

Ms. Stone is a partner in the Boston law firm of Foley, Hoag & Eliot. She has a corporate and administrative law practice with special emphasis on administrative and environmental law. Her corporate

board memberships include the New York Mercantile Exchange and the Greater Boston Area Chamber of Commerce. She is on the Advisory Committee of The Center for National Policy, and serves on the Women's Economic Forum in Boston.

Bailus Walker, Jr., Ph.D, MPH

Dr. Walker is Immediate Past President of the American Public Health Association and currently serves on the National Academy of Sciences Commission to study the future of public health in the United States. As head of the Occupational Health Standards Program of the Department of Labor Dr. Walker was instrumental in the development of the nation's first policy for the classification and regulation of potential occupational carcinogens. During the late 1980s Dr. Walker focused his work on the health effects of crowd control chemicals and environmental effects of violence and low-intensity warfare.

E. O. Wilson

Dr. Wilson is an eminent Harvard biologist who holds two Pulitzer Prizes for his book On Human Nature and The Ants. His most recent book, The Diversity of Life, chronicles the origin of the earth's millions of species and documents the current environmental dilemma and has been characterized as the most important environmental book in two years. Dr. Wilson holds numerous awards for his 50 years of dedication to the field. He currently sits on the Board of Directors of the New York Botanical Garden.

Tim Wirth, Chair

Joan Campbell

Ben Chavis

Michael L. Fischer

Denis Hayes

Wilma Mankiller

Diane MacEachern

Gaylord Nelson

Russell W. Peterson

Robert Redford

Jack Sheehan

Cathy Douglas Stone

Edward O. Wilson

Bailus Walker, Jr.

Dave -
is this how he
wants his name listed?

pls. make a few
Errors for C/G