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Sierra Club Endorsement

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ENVIRONMENTAL
SCIENCE
AND POLICY
INSTITUTE

Ms. Katie McGinty
Office of Senator Gore
421 Russell Senate Off. Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Katie:

Senator Gore's interview came out well! We used three short spots in the Revelle film tribute. I am sending you a VHS copy to preview. I hope that Senator Gore will want to help us present the film at UCED.

With the media and NGOs criticizing the United States for "dragging its feet" on the treaty, it is appropriate to emphasize that, *were it not for the United States' research program on atmospheric CO₂ initiated by Roger Revelle in the 1950s, there would be no climate treaty this year.* With a treaty now on the table, it is extremely timely for the international community to honor Roger's paramount contribution.

The videotape touches on Roger's many achievements: initiation of carbon dioxide monitoring; founding of the San Diego campus of the University of California; improving agriculture in Pakistan; addressing the population problem and the role of women; and a recent fact-finding mission on agriculture in Africa.

Most importantly, the picture communicates Roger's genuine caring for the peoples of the world and his unique ability to develop and translate scientific understanding to serve both environmental protection and economic development.

The movie, completed less than a week ago, has been professionally produced by Boston Science Communications and the Environmental Science and Policy Institute. My wife, Star, and I will have available at Rio a broadcast quality version (we will bring both 3/4 inch "U.S. format" and 3/4 inch "PAL format"). The videotape runs 22 minutes.

Best regards,

Justin Lancaster

26 May, 1992

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Woods Hole Research Center

Carl Sagan -

~~607~~ 303-443-1480

Annie Druyan

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ent

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4202

M E M O R A N D U M

DATE: July 10, 1992

TO: Justin Lancaster, Environmental Science and Policy
Institute

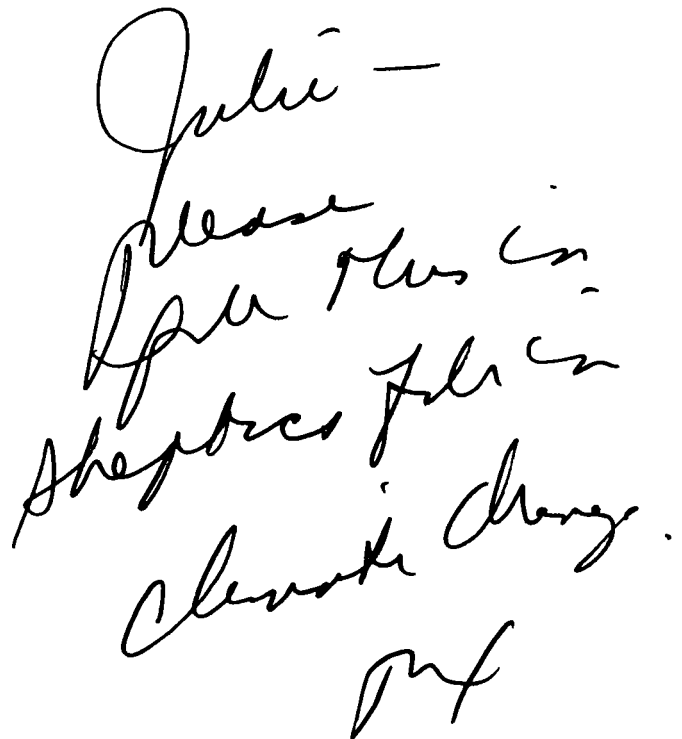
FROM: Katie McGinty, Senator Gore's office

SUBJECT: letter changes

This looks great -- except I would delete the two paragraphs
I have marked.

1. Do not like the implications that we play the
science of global warming differently to
"conservative" and "liberal" audiences.
2. Revelle's name is on the paper -- so he would be
accountable regardless of how much he actually
wrote.

Thanks again,



DRAFT

The New Republic

Dear Editor:

Recently, Gregg Easterbrook leveled an extremely unfair attack upon Senator Gore and his book *Earth in the Balance*, for describing in "affectionate detail [Gore's] association with the late ecologist Roger Revelle." (See Green Cassandras, *The New Republic*, July 6, 1992). Easterbrook suggests that Gore should have noted in his book that, "before his death last year, Revelle published a paper that concludes, 'The scientific base for greenhouse warming is too uncertain to justify drastic action at this time.'" (See *What To Do About Greenhouse Warming: Look Before You Leap*, *Cosmos*, 1991). Easterbrook concluded from this paper that "A lifetime of study persuaded Revelle that carbon emissions should be restricted but are far less hazardous than initially feared." Then, somehow, Easterbrook further blames Gore for Revelle "being eased out as a hero of the movement." This is rather nasty journalistic sleight of hand!

First, Easterbrook's conclusion from the paper he cites is unfounded and belittles the vision of a great scientist. Second, think about it: Senator Gore is *maintaining* Revelle as the hero of the movement! It is Easterbrook who would ease him out! We would like to set a few things straight.

~~It is important to see the *Cosmos* article in context. This was not an article in *Science* or *Nature*. It was going to a large group of Roger's friends, many being scientists, and many being conservative. Roger participated as a favor to his fellow *Cosmos* Club members. He was that kind of friend and colleague.~~

~~Roger Revelle did not write the *Cosmos* paper. S. Fred Singer wrote it, and he added Revelle as coauthor as a courtesy for his reviewing the manuscript and advising on aspects of sea level rise and other research. Revelle's contribution tempered what could otherwise have been a more extreme and less accurate piece by Dr. Singer.~~

It is fair to say that Revelle agreed with the maxim, "look before you leap," but his interpretation of "drastic action" would have differed from his coauthors. He did believe in research as a foundation for understanding, and in understanding as a foundation for action. He did feel it was honest to admit the uncertainties, and that our ignorance could be hiding benefits as well as catastrophes. Yet, he also believed in the precautionary principle. He was all for increasing energy efficiency and the use of renewable fuels, like biomass. He did not consider efforts to begin to reduce carbon dioxide emissions as "drastic." His concern about the seriousness of potential impacts of climate change never diminished. He believed, for instance, that unrestrained global warming posed a threat to the water resources in many areas of the world.

Roger Revelle has long been a hero to those who believe humankind must embrace a new responsibility on this planet. And those of us who learned from him directly about the seriousness of global warming, and who worked most closely with him for many years, have great respect for every "affectionate detail" related by his students and colleagues. We heartily agree with Al Gore that Roger Revelle should remain the hero of the movement.

A final note: Roger Revelle was an oceanographer.

Most sincerely,

Dr. J. Lancaster, Harvard University
Prof. C.D. Keeling, Scripps Institution of Oceanography
Prof. W. Munk, Scripps Institution of Oceanography

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Justin Lancaster
*Executive Director***FAX COVER SHEET**

TO:	Katie McGinty
GROUP:	
TEL:	
FAX:	202-224-0580

Message:

Katie —
I just faxed this
to Keeling and Munk
for their review. Is this
close to what the Senator
has in mind? Best,
Justin

Number of pages including cover sheet 2



7-10-92

Justin - This looks
great - except I would
delete the two paragraphs
I've marked:

① ~~the~~ Don't like the implication
that we play the presence of global
warming differently to "conservative" and
"liberal" audiences.

② Revelle's name is on the paper -
so he would be accountable regardless
of how much he actually wrote.

Thanks again!
Justin.

To: Carl Sagan.

From: Katie McGinty

① Spoke with Annie this morning & she asked that I get this stuff to you. Note that Revelle merely reviewed the sea level rise portions of this article but Singer muscled him into agreeing to be a co-author. Walter Munk is familiar with this history (see attached piece from him).

② Lovejoy's fax - ²⁰²⁻ 786-2304

③ Gallup poll on its way (don't have yet).

Thanks. Al sends
his best!

Katie

Clinton-Gore

FAX COVER SHEET

Sat Jul 02 07:03 am 1983

To: Katy McGinty
Fax #: 2022282611

From: Doug Hall

Fax: 2 pages and a cover page.

Note: Draft surrogate answers on EITB

LET ROGER REVELLE SPEAK FOR HIMSELF

Walter H. Munk
Edward A. Frieman

In the April 1991 issue of the Cosmos Club Journal, Singer, Revelle and Starr published a paper, "WHAT TO DO ABOUT GREENHOUSE WARMING: LOOK BEFORE YOU LEAP." Roger died in July 1991. One year later, in a discussion of Senator Gore's book "EARTH IN BALANCE," Easterbrook notes that Senator Gore failed to mention that "before his death last year, Revelle published a paper that concludes, 'The scientific basis for greenhouse warming is too uncertain to justify *drastic* action at this time.' " (Italics ours; see GREEN CASSANDRAS, *The New Republic*, 6 July 1992.) Easterbrook goes on to say, "A lifetime of study persuaded Revelle that carbon emissions should be restricted but are far less hazardous than initially feared."

S. Fred Singer wrote the paper and, as a courtesy, added Roger as a co-author based upon his willingness to review the manuscript and advise on aspects relating to sea level rise. The whole, it seems to us, is rather less than the sum of its parts, relative to Roger's stance on these issues.

The key is the use of the word *drastic*. Roger's last written statement on the subject was "WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT CLIMATE" presented at the AAAS session, CLIMATE CHANGE: SCIENTIFIC UNCERTAINTIES AND POLICY RESPONSES in New Orleans on 16 February 1990. It outlines a possible set of actions designed to mitigate or delay climatic warming. It includes attempts to modify society's use and mix of fuels. While these may perhaps be not viewed as *drastic*, there is also no evidence that he believed that "emissions ...are far less hazardous than initially feared."

Roger attended a joint meeting of the American Philosophical Society and the Royal Society in London in May of 1991, just a few short months before he died. One of us was present and noted that in a public discussion of foreign climate research he criticized the lack of certain types of measurements he believed necessary to understand the phenomena. Roger's strongly held personal conviction called for *informed activism*, a combination of research and public policy action, a view he held at the time of his death.

Walter H. Munk ('58) is professor of geophysics at the University of California at San Diego, Scripps Institution of Oceanography. He is a member of the National Academy of Sciences.

Edward A. Frieman ('80) is director of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, University of California at San Diego. He is a member of the National Academy of Sciences.

WHAT TO DO ABOUT GREENHOUSE WARMING: LOOK BEFORE YOU LEAP

S. Fred Singer
Roger Revelle
Chauncey Starr

Greenhouse warming has emerged as one of the most complex and controversial environmental and foreign-policy issues of the 1990s.

It is an environmental issue because carbon dioxide (CO_2), generated from the prolific burning of oil, gas and coal, is thought to enhance, by trapping heat in the atmosphere, the natural greenhouse effect that has kept the planet warm for billions of years. Some scientists predict drastic climatic changes in the 21st century.

The scientific base for a greenhouse warming is too uncertain to justify drastic action at this time.

It is a foreign-policy issue because, for a number of reasons, the United States has taken a more cautious approach to dealing with CO_2 emissions than have many industrialized nations. Wide acceptance of the Montreal Protocol, which limits and rolls back the manufacture of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) to protect the ozone layer, has encouraged environmental activists at international conferences the past three years to call for similar controls on CO_2 from fossil-fuel burning.

These activists have expressed disappointment with the White House for not supporting immediate action. But should the United States assume "leadership" in a hastily-conceived campaign that could cripple the global economy, or would it be more prudent to assure first, through scientific research, that the problem is both real and urgent?

We can sum up our conclusions in a simple message: *The scientific base for a greenhouse warming is too uncertain to justify drastic action at this time.*

There is little risk in delaying policy responses to this century-old problem since there is every expectation that scientific understanding will be substantially improved within the next decade. Instead of premature and likely ineffective controls on fuel use that would only slow down but not stop the further growth of CO_2 , we may prefer to use the same re-

sources—trillions of dollars, by some estimates—to increase our economic and technological resilience so that we can then apply specific remedies as necessary to reduce climate change or to adapt to it.

That is not to say that prudent steps cannot be taken now; indeed, many kinds of energy conservation and efficiency increases make economic sense even without the threat of greenhouse warming.

THE SCIENTIFIC BASE

The scientific base for greenhouse warming (GHW) includes some facts, lots of uncertainty and just plain lack of knowledge—requiring more observations, better theories and more extensive calculations. Specifically, there are reliable measurements of the increase in so-called greenhouse gases in the earth's atmosphere, presumably as a result of human activities. There is uncertainty about the strength of sources and sinks for these gases, i.e., their rates of generation and removal. There is major uncertainty and disagreement about whether this increase has caused a change in the climate during the last century. There is also disagreement in the scientific community about predicted future changes as a result of further increases in greenhouse gases. The models used to calculate future climate are not yet good enough because the climate-balancing processes are not sufficiently understood, nor are they likely to be good enough until we gain more understanding through observations and experiments.

As a consequence, we cannot be sure whether the

S. Fred Singer ('57) is professor of environmental sciences at the University of Virginia and served as the first director of the U.S. weather satellite program, among several government positions.

Roger Revelle ('43), professor of science and public policy at the University of California at San Diego, is former director of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography. He is a member of the National Academy of Sciences and last year received the National Medal of Science.

Chauncey Starr ('68) is the president emeritus of the Electric Power Research Institute and former dean of engineering at the University of California at Los Angeles. He is a member of the National Academy of Engineering. Last year he received the National Medal of Technology.

next century will bring a warming that is negligible or a warming that is significant. Finally, even if there are a global warming and associated climate changes, it is debatable whether the consequences will be good or bad; likely some places on the planet would benefit, some would suffer.

GREENHOUSE GASES (GHG)

It has been common knowledge for about a century that the burning of fossil fuels would increase the normal atmospheric content of carbon dioxide (CO_2), causing an enhancement of the natural greenhouse effect and a possible warming of the global climate. Advances in spectroscopy in the last century produced evidence that CO_2 —and other molecules made up of more than two atoms—absorb infrared radiation and thereby would impede the escape of such heat radiation from the earth's surface. In fact, it is the greenhouse effect from naturally occurring CO_2 and water vapor (H_2O) that has warmed the earth's surface for billions of years; without the natural greenhouse effect ours would be a frozen planet without life.

Precise measurements of the increase in atmospheric CO_2 date to the International Geophysical Year of 1957-58. More recently it has been discovered that other greenhouse gases, i.e., gases that absorb strongly in the infrared, have also been increasing—at least partly as a result of human activities. They currently produce a greenhouse effect nearly equal to that of CO_2 , and could soon outdistance it.

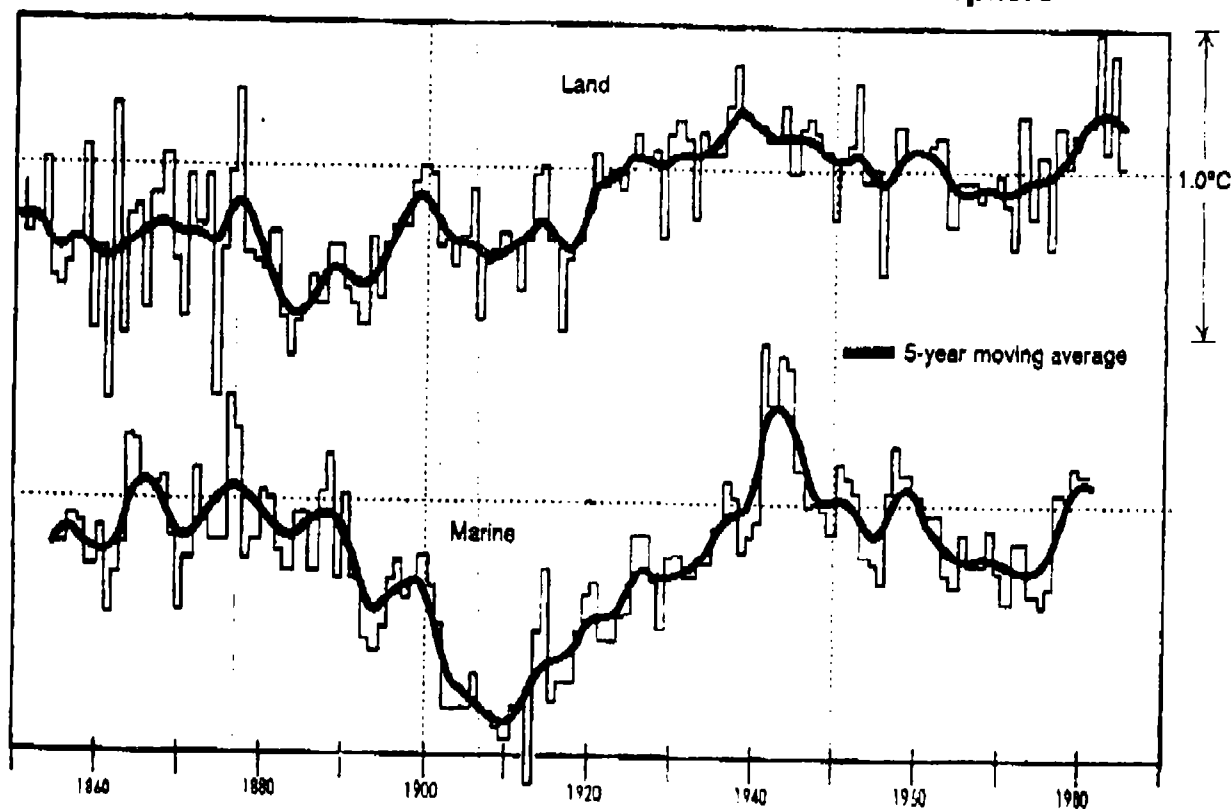
Methane (CH_4) is produced in large part by sources that relate to population growth; among these are rice paddies, cattle, landfills, forest fires, coal mines and oil field operations. Indeed, methane, now 20 percent of the greenhouse gas effect but growing twice as fast as CO_2 , has more than doubled since pre-industrial times; it would soon become the most important greenhouse gas if CO_2 emissions were to stop.

Nitrous oxide (N_2O) has increased by 10 percent, most likely because of soil bacterial action promoted by the increased use of nitrogen fertilizers.

Ozone (O_3) from urban air pollution adds about 10 percent to the global greenhouse effect. It may decrease in the U.S. as a result of Clean Air legislation but increase in other parts of the world.

CFCs manufactured for use in refrigeration, air

Yearly Average Temperatures in the Northern Hemisphere



Note the major increases before 1938, when greenhouse gas concentrations were low, and the sustained cooling to 1975. Though temperatures remained near record levels during the 1980s, there was no clear upward trend.

Source: Nature 322

conditioning and industrial processes are making an important contribution but will soon be replaced by less-polluting substitutes.

Water vapor (H_2O) turns out to be the most effective greenhouse gas by far. It is not manmade, but is assumed to amplify the warming effects of the gases produced by human activities. We don't really know whether H_2O has increased in the atmosphere or whether it will increase in the future—although that's what all the model calculations assume. Indeed, predictions of future warming depend not only on the amount but also on the horizontal and especially the vertical distribution of H_2O , and on whether it will be in the atmosphere in the form of a gas or as liquid cloud droplets or as ice particles. The current computer models are not complete enough to test these crucial points.

THE CLIMATE RECORD

The issue now is whether the 25 percent increase of CO_2 in the atmosphere, mainly since World War II, calls for immediate and drastic action to limit and roll back global energy use. Taking account of increases in the other trace gases that produce greenhouse effects, we have already gone halfway to an effective GHG doubling—something that cannot be reversed in our lifetime—and, according to the prevailing theory, locked in a temperature increase of about 1.6 degrees Celsius.

But has there been a climate effect caused by the increase of greenhouse gases in the last decades? The data are ambiguous to say the least. Advocates for immediate action profess to see a global warming of about 0.5 degrees C since 1880, and point to record global temperatures in the 1980s and the warmest year on record in 1990. Most atmospheric scientists tend to be cautious, however; they call attention to the fact that the greatest temperature increase occurred *before* the major rise in greenhouse gas concentration. It was followed by a quarter-century decrease between 1940 and 1965 when concern arose about an approaching ice age! Following a sharp increase during 1975-80, there has been no clear upward trend during the 80s despite some very warm individual years and record GHG increases. Similarly, global atmospheric (rather than surface) temperatures measured by Tiros weather satellites show no trend in the last decade.

Scientists Kirby Hanson, Thomas Karl and George Maul of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) find no overall warming in the U.S. temperature record, contrary to the global record assembled by James Hansen of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). Using a technique that eliminates urban "heat islands" and other local distorting effects, they confirm the temperature rise before 1940, followed, however, by a general decline. Reginald Newell and colleagues at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) report no substantial change in the global sea-surface

temperature in the past century; yet the ocean, because of its much greater heat inertia, should control any atmospheric climate change.

Perhaps most interesting are the NOAA studies that document a relative rise in night temperatures in the U.S. in the last 60 years, while daytime values stayed the same or declined. This is just what one would expect from the increase in atmospheric greenhouse gas concentration. But its consequences, as University of Virginia climatologist Patrick Michaels and others have pointed out, are benign: A longer growing season, fewer frosts, no increase in soil evaporation.

It is therefore fair to say that we haven't seen the huge greenhouse warming, of between 0.7 and 2.5 degrees C, expected from the conventional theories. Why not? This scientific puzzle has many suggested solutions:

- The warming has been "soaked up" by the ocean and will appear after a delay of some decades. Plausible—but there is no evidence to support this theory until deep-ocean temperatures are measured on a routine basis, as suggested by Scripps Institution oceanographer Walter Munk. Feasibility tests are currently underway, using a sound source at Heard Island in the South Indian Ocean and a global network

ANOTHER ICE AGE COMING?

Global temperatures have been declining since the dinosaurs roamed the earth some 70 million years ago. About 2 million years ago, a new "ice age" began—most probably as a result of the drift of the continents and the buildup of mountains. Since that time, the earth has seen 17 or more cycles of glaciation, interrupted by short (10,000 to 12,000 years) interglacial or warm periods. We are now in such an interglacial interval, the Holocene, that started 10,800 years ago. The onset of the next glacial cycle cannot be very far away.

It is believed that the length of a glaciation cycle, about 100,000 to 120,000 years, is controlled by small changes in the seasonal and latitudinal distribution of solar energy received as a result of changes in the earth's orbit and spin axis. While the theory can explain the timing, the detailed mechanism is not well understood—especially the sudden transition from full glacial to interglacial warming. Very likely an ocean-atmosphere interaction is triggered and becomes the direct cause of the transition in climate.

The climate record also reveals evidence for major climatic changes on time scales shorter than those for astronomical cycles. During the past millennium, the earth experienced a "climate optimum" around 1100 A.D., when Vikings found Greenland to be green and Vinland (Labrador?) able to support grape growing. The "Little Ice Age" found European glaciers advancing well before 1600 and suddenly retreating starting in 1860. The warming reported in the global temperature record since 1880 may thus simply be the escape from this Little Ice Age rather than our entrance into the human greenhouse.

of microphones, but data over at least a decade will be needed to provide an answer.

• The warming has been overestimated by the existing models. Meteorologists Hugh Ellisäesser (Livermore National Laboratory) and Richard Lindzen (MIT) propose that the models do not take proper account of tropical convection and thereby overestimate the amplifying effects of water vapor over this important part of the globe. Other atmospheric scientists suggest that the extent of cloudiness may increase as ocean temperatures try to rise and as evaporation increases. Clouds reflect incoming solar radiation; the resultant cooling could offset much of the greenhouse warming. Most intriguing has been the suggestion by British researchers that sulfates from smokestacks—the precursors of acid rain—may have played a role in producing an increase in bright stratocumulus clouds.

• The warming exists as predicted, but has been hidden by offsetting climate changes caused by volcanoes, solar variations, or other natural causes as yet unspecified—such as the cooling from an approaching ice age. (Some, like Robert Balling of Arizona State University, consider the warming before 1940 to be a recovery from the “Little Ice Age” that prevailed from 1600 to about 1850; if correct, this would imply no net warming at all in the past century due to GHW.) Each hypothesis has vocal proponents—and opponents—in the scientific community; but the jury is out until better data become available.

MATHEMATICAL MODELS

Indeed, there is much to complain about when it comes to predictions of future climate, but there is really no alternative to global climate models. “Models are better than handwaving,” claims Stephen Schneider of the National Center for Atmospheric Research (NCAR)—but how much better? Half a dozen of these General Circulation Models (GCM) are now running, mostly in the United States. Even though they use similar basic atmospheric physics, they give different results. There is general agreement among them that there should be global warming; but, with an effective GHG doubling, the calculated average global increase ranges between 1.5 and 4.5 degrees C! These predicted values were unchanged for many years, then crept up and have recently dropped back to the lower end of the range. Just during 1989 some of the modelers cut their predictions in half as they tried to include clouds and ocean currents in a better way. Further, there is serious disagreement among the models on the regional distribution of this warming and on where the increased precipitation will go.

The models are “tuned” to give the right mean temperature and seasonal temperature variation, but they fall short of modeling other important atmospheric processes, such as the poleward transport of energy via ocean currents and atmosphere from its source in the equatorial region. Nor do they encom-

pass longer-scale processes that involve the depths of the oceans or the ice and snow in the earth’s cryosphere, nor fine-scale processes that involve convection, cloud formation, boundary layers, or that depend on the earth’s detailed topography.

There are serious disagreements also between model results and the actual experience from the climate record of the past decade, according to

Yet there is hope that research, including satellite observations and ocean data, will provide many of the answers within this decade.

Ellisäesser. Existing models retroactively predict a strong warming of the polar regions and of the tropical upper atmosphere, and less warming in the southern hemisphere than the northern—all contrary to observations. Yet there is hope that research, including satellite observations and ocean data, will provide many of the answers within this decade. Faster computers will also allow higher spatial resolution and incorporate the detailed and more complicated interactions that are now neglected.

IMPACTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE

Assume what we regard as the most likely outcome: A modest average warming in the next century—well below the normal year-to-year variation—and mostly at high latitudes and in the winter. Is this necessarily bad? One should perhaps recall that only a decade ago when climate cooling was a looming issue, economists of the National Academy of Sciences’ National Research Council calculated a huge national cost associated with such cooling. More to the point perhaps, actual climate cooling, experienced during the Little Ice Age or in the famous 1916 New England “year without a summer,” caused large agricultural losses and even famines.

If cooling is bad, then warming should be good, it would seem—provided the warming is slow enough so that adjustment is easy and relatively cost-free. Even though crop varieties are available that can benefit from higher temperatures with either more or less moisture, the soils themselves may not be able to adjust that quickly. But agriculturalists, like Sherwood Idso of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and Yale professor William Reifsnyder, generally expect that with increased atmospheric CO₂—which is, after all, plant food—plants will grow faster and need less water. The warmer night temperatures suggested by Patrick Michaels, using the data of Thomas Karl,

translate to longer growing seasons and fewer frosts. Increased global precipitation should also be beneficial to plant growth.

Keep in mind also that year-to-year changes at any location are far greater and more rapid than what might be expected from greenhouse warming; and nature, crops and people are already adapted to such changes. It is the extreme climate events that cause the great ecological and economic problems: Crippling winters, persistent droughts, extreme heat spells, killer hurricanes and the like. But there is no indication from modeling or from actual experience that such extreme events *would* become more frequent if greenhouse warming becomes appreciable. The exception might be tropical cyclones, which—Balling and Randall Cerveney argue—would be more frequent but weaker, would cool vast areas of the ocean surface and increase annual rainfall. In sum, climate models predict that global precipitation should increase by 10 to 15 percent, and polar temperatures should warm the most, thus reducing the driving force for severe winter-weather events.

We can be putting into effect policies and pursue approaches that make sense even if the greenhouse effect did not exist.

There is finally the question of sea-level rise as glaciers melt—and fear of catastrophic flooding. The cryosphere certainly contains enough ice to raise sea level by 100 meters; and, conversely, during recent ice ages, enough ice accumulated to drop sea level 100 meters below the present value. But these are extreme possibilities: tidal-gauge records of the past century suggest that sea level has risen modestly, about 0.3 meters. But the gauges measure only *relative* sea level, and many of the gauge locations have dropped because of land subsidence. Besides, the test locations are too highly concentrated geographically, mostly on the U.S. East Coast, to permit global conclusions. The situation will improve greatly, however, in the next few years as precise absolute global data become available from a variety of satellite systems.

In the meantime, satellite radar-altimeters have already given a surprising result. As reported by NASA scientist Jay Zwally in *Science*, Greenland ice-sheets are gaining in thickness—a net increase in the ice stored in the cryosphere and an inferred drop in sea level—leading to somewhat uncertain predictions about future sea level. Modeling results suggest little warming of the Antarctic Ocean because the heat is convected to deeper levels. It is clearly important to verify these results by other techniques and also get

more direct data on current sea-level changes.

Summarizing the available evidence, we conclude that even if significant warming were to occur in the next century, the net impact to the entire planet may well be beneficial—with some regions enjoying improved climate, some encountering worse. This would be even more true if the long-anticipated ice age were to come its way.

In view of the uncertainties about the degree of warming and the even greater uncertainty about its possible impact—what should we do? During the time that an expanded research program reduces or eliminates these uncertainties, we can be putting into effect policies and pursue approaches that make sense even if the greenhouse effect did not exist.

ENERGY POLICIES

Conserve energy by discouraging wasteful use globally. Conservation can best be achieved by pricing rather than by command-and-control methods. If the price can include the external costs that are avoided by the user and loaded onto someone else, this strengthens the argument for proper pricing. The idea is to have the polluter or the beneficiary pay the cost. An example would be peak-pricing for electric power. Yet another example, appropriate to the greenhouse discussion, is to increase the tax on gasoline to make it a true highway-user fee—instead of having most capital and maintenance costs paid by various state taxes, as is done now. Congress has lacked the courage for such a direct approach, preferring instead regulation that is mostly ineffective and produces large indirect costs for the consumer.

Improve efficiency in energy use. Energy efficiency should be attainable without much intervention, provided it pays for itself. A good rule of thumb: If it isn't economic, then it probably wastes energy in the process and we shouldn't be doing it. Over-conservation can waste as much energy as under-conservation. (For example, destroying all older cars would certainly raise the fuel efficiency of the fleet, but replacing these cars would consume more energy in their manufacture.) If energy is properly priced, i.e., not subsidized, the job for government is to remove the institutional and other road blocks:

- Provide information to consumers, especially on life-cycle costs for home heating, lighting, refrigerators and other appliances.

- Encourage—but not force—the turnover and replacement of older, less efficient (and often more polluting) capital equipment: Cars, machinery, power plants. Some existing policies that make new equipment too costly go counter to this goal.

- Stimulate the development of more efficient systems, such as a combined-cycle power plant or a more efficient internal-combustion engine.

Use non-fossil-fuel energy sources wherever this makes economic sense. Nuclear power is competitive now, and in many countries is cheaper than fossil-fuel power—yet it is often opposed on environmental

grounds. The problems cited against nuclear energy, such as disposal of spent nuclear fuel, are more political and psychological than technical. To address safety concerns, nuclear engineers are focusing on an "inherently" safe reactor. Nuclear energy from fusion rather than from fission may be a longer-term possibility, but the time horizon is uncertain.

Solar energy, and other forms of renewable energy, should also become more competitive as their costs drop and as fossil-fuel prices rise. Solar energy applications are restricted not only by cost; solar energy is both highly variable and very dilute; it takes a football field of solar cells to supply the total energy allocated to the average U.S. household. Wind energy and biomass are other forms of solar energy, competitive in certain applications. Schemes to extract energy from temperature differences in the ocean have been suggested as inexhaustible sources of non-polluting hydrogen fuel, once we solve the daunting technical problems.

DIRECT INTERVENTIONS

If greenhouse warming ever becomes a problem, there are a number of proposals for removing CO₂ from the atmosphere. Rebuilding forests is widely talked about, but may not be cost-effective; yet natural expansion of boreal forests—those in high-latitude regions—warming climate would sequester atmospheric CO₂. A novel idea, proposed by California oceanographer John Martin, is to fertilize the Antarctic Ocean and let plankton growth do the job of converting CO₂ into bio-material. The limiting trace nutrient may be iron which could be supplied and dispersed economically.

If all else fails, there is always the possibility of putting "venetian blind" satellites into earth orbit to modulate the amount of sunshine reaching the earth. These satellites could also generate electric power and beam it to the earth as originally suggested by

The net impact to the entire planet may well be beneficial—with some regions enjoying improved climate, some encountering worse.

Peter Glaser of A. D. Little. Such schemes may sound farfetched, but so did many other futuristic projects in the past—and in the present, like covering the Sahara with solar cells or Australia with trees.

CONCLUSION

Drastic, precipitous—and, especially, unilateral—steps to delay the putative greenhouse impacts can cost jobs and prosperity and increase the human costs of global poverty, without being effective. Stringent controls enacted now would be economically devastating—particularly for developing countries for whom reduced energy consumption would mean slower rates of economic growth—without being able to delay greatly the growth of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. Yale economist William Nordhaus, one of the few who has been trying to deal quantitatively with the economics of the greenhouse effect, has pointed out that "... those who argue for strong measures to slow greenhouse warming have reached their conclusion without any discernible analysis of the costs and benefits...." It would be prudent to complete the ongoing and recently expanded research so that we will know what we are doing before we act. "Look before you leap" may still be good advice. ■

Post-It™ brand fax transmittal memo 7671		# of pages = 3
To	LARRY MCGINTY	
From	REID WILSON	
Co.		

TO: Board, Political Committee, RVP Forum, Conservation and Communications Staff, Chapter Staff, Michael

FR: Reid Wilson

RE: Presidential Campaign Update #1

September 10, 1992

This is the first of what is planned to be daily updates on the Sierra Club's involvement in the presidential campaign. Each day, Stacy Ritter in the DC office will put together an update and send it to all of you so that as many people as possible within the Club know what we are doing in the campaign, know how the campaign is going, and know what specifically they can do to help. This daily update will also sometimes include important information about key House and Senate races.

This is Vol. 1, No. 1. Please send me any suggestions for how to improve this document for the next 54 days. This document will have several different topics each day - campaign news, candidate and surrogate schedules, things people should do to help in the states, polling and state targeting, key Senate and House race updates.

NEWS

Carl Pope, Tim Wirth, Mike Deland, and a conservative economist appeared on McNeil-Lehrer last night to discuss the environmental records and platforms of Bush and Clinton. Carl and Wirth did a great job of saying that Bush cannot be trusted on the environment -- he's broken all his promises.

Last Friday the Sierra Club held official endorsement press conferences for Clinton and Gore. Club President Tony Ruckel and Arkansas Club leader Mary Weeks spoke at the event outside Little Rock with both candidates present. The event was covered on CNN and ABC but not CBS or NBC. It ran on radio stations everywhere. And, most major papers had a picture from the event and mentioned the endorsement in their wrap-up of that day's campaign activity. In addition to the Little Rock event, the Club held approximately 40 other events in 30 states the same day. The Clinton campaign was extremely impressed with the Club's ability to organize that many events so quickly. The campaign was very happy and grateful. Clinton referred to our endorsement as "coveted" and both he and Gore had great things to say about the good work the Club does. Thanks go to everyone who helped organize and speak at events. Great work!!!!

Bush yesterday called on federal agencies to speed up the harvesting of dead and dying trees (salvage) by scaling back the required environmental review of salvage logging operations. The action allows loggers to take up to 1 million board feet in a single harvest after conducting only the simplest of

environmental assessments.

CANDIDATE AND SURROGATE SCHEDULES

(Note: Please call me as soon as humanly possible whenever you hear that Clinton, Gore, Bush, Quayle, EPA Admin. Reilly, Council on Environmental Quality Chairman Deland, Interior Secretary Lujan, Energy Secretary Watkins, or any other campaign environmental surrogate for either side is coming to your state. The Clinton/Gore campaign is depending on the Sierra Club to let them know in advance when the Bush/Quayle campaign is doing environmental events around the country. This is so they can organize immediate responses on the ground to the bad guys' events.)

Clinton

9/10 - Arkansas 9/11 - Arkansas; South Bend, IN 9/12 - Arkansas; Middleburg, VA 9/13 - Arkansas 9/14 - Portland, OR; San Jose, CA

Gore

9/10 - Lexington, KY; Durham, NC; Washington, DC 9/11 - DC 9/12 - 9/14 - To be announced (TBA)

Bush

9/10 - Detroit, MI 9/11 - Joplin, MO; Virginia Beach, VA 9/12 - DC; Charleston, SC 9/13 - 9/14 TBA 9/19 - Albuquerque, NM Week of 9/21 - California, Oregon Approx. 10/14 - Portland, OR

Quayle

9/10 - 9/11 - DC; 9/12 - Cape Canaveral, Miami, FL; DC 9/13 - DC 9/14 - Salt Lake City, UT; Boise, ID; Billings, MT

As you can see, both Bush and Clinton will be in the Pacific Northwest September 14. Both are expected to talk about old growth forests and jobs.

PLEASE CALL ME IF YOU KNOW OF OTHER EVENTS COMING YOUR WAY, BOTH FOR CANDIDATES AND ENVIRONMENTAL SURROGATES

POLLING AND STATE TARGETING

Here's an early look at how a lot of pundits are rating the states in the fight for electoral college votes:

Lean or Solid Clinton:

CA OR WA MN WI MA RI WV TN AR NY IL IA DC MD HI

Toss-up:

MI OH PA NC KY LA CO CT ME VT NJ NM MO TX MT

Lean or Solid Bush:

ID WY AZ UT IN NH FL GA VA AL MS SD ND KS NE AK

SC NV OK DE

A national nightly tracking poll said that 33% of registered voters agree most with the Republican party's view on the environment and 53% agree most with the Democrat party's view on the environment.

The same poll of 1000 registered voters (250 a night over four nights, 9/3-9/8) gave Clinton a 50-40 lead over Bush. From 9/2-9/7 it was 48-42 Clinton, and from 9/1-9/6 it was 49-43 Clinton.

WHAT YOU SHOULD DO TO HELP

1) Call me if you haven't already to tell me how your endorsement press conference went, and send me all your newsclips from the event.

2) Call me if you know of any candidate and surrogate events coming up in your state.

3) This one is critical. Work with other Sierrans in your state to pull together as soon as possible a meeting of key environmentalists in the state. We should be leading the organizing effort in every state to form "Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore." Invite leaders from Audubon, Wilderness Society, National Wildlife Federation, NRDC, Greenpeace, the PIRGs, Clean Water Action, Ducks Unlimited, Trout Unlimited, and anyone and everyone else you can think of. Please do this as soon as humanly possible. The campaign is depending on the Club, because of our organizing ability (and tax status and PAC), to pull together individuals from other groups to form statewide "Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore" steering committees.

The purposes of these committees is to get free press attention (responding to Bush/Quayle attacks, generating letters to the editor, radio call-in shows, op-ed articles, press conferences), to involve as many environmentalists as possible in the campaign to help turn out the vote for Clinton/Gore, and to provide scheduling ideas to the campaign (events that combine jobs and environment).

The campaign urgently wants these committees organized and the state campaigns are ready and willing to work with you to plot and implement strategy.

Please call me if you want to organize such a meeting in your state and we haven't talked yet.

My number is 202-675-7906.

Thank you. Stay tuned for tomorrow's edition.

Reid all changes are in -
I need to proof once again -
We will fid-ex - and fax to our
organization

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DO NOT SHARE WITH THE PRESS

MEMORANDUM

9/2/92

TO: Staff and Volunteers Involved with Clinton Endorsement Events

FR: Reid Wilson, Political Director

RE: Questions you might get from reporters, and suggested answers

This memo includes a long list of questions that you might get asked at your press conferences and answers we suggest you paraphrase. For those questions that involve Bill Clinton and Al Gore, the campaign has said these answers work

Q: How many times previously has the Sierra Club endorsed a presidential ticket?

A: Once. In 1984 we endorsed Mondale/Ferraro over Reagan/Bush. We did not endorse against Bush in 1988, in part because of his positive environmental promises, which he has since broken.

Q: What was the process by which the Club decided to endorse?

A: Starting in early 1992, members of the National Political Committee and political staff began surveying Club volunteers regarding possible activities in the race. This consultation resulted in a unanimous recommendation in July by the National Political Committee to endorse Clinton. The Board of Directors then also voted unanimously in July to endorse the Clinton/Gore ticket. Both the National Political Committee and the Board of Directors are comprised of volunteers Club members from around the country.

Q: Bush/Quayle says Bill Clinton and Al Gore are environmental extremists. What do you say?

A: Bush and Quayle don't know what they're talking about. They are the real extremists in the race. They are attacking Clinton and Gore because they have little positive to say about their own record. They are far outside the mainstream of public opinion in this country. In a July poll conducted by Dick Wirthlin, Ronald Reagan's former pollster, 77% said that there "does not necessarily have to be a choice between ... economic growth and environmental quality." 80% say that "protecting the environment is so important that requirements and standards cannot be too high." Yet Bush and Quayle continue to give breaks to industries that foul the air, dirty the water, and rip apart the land. That is what is extreme.

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING INITIALS: rw DATE: 2/15/18

2012-0761-f

Q: Bush/Quayle also says that Clinton and Gore are very different on the environment and don't agree with each other. What do you say?

A: On national environmental issues, Clinton and Gore are quite similar, and fit right into the American mainstream. They both support a 40 mpg automobile fuel efficiency standard. They both support a renewed emphasis on energy conservation, energy efficiency, and renewable energy sources. They both support a real "no net loss" of wetlands. They both support wilderness designation for the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. They both support a sensible plan to protect both old growth forests and jobs in the Pacific Northwest. They both support increased funding for international family planning programs. They both support international efforts to curb rainforest destruction. They both believe the U.S. should be a global leader, not a global obstacle, to strong environmental agreements and treaties.

Q: Aren't you really just a partisan organization, supporting only Democrats?

A: Absolutely not. We are a bipartisan organization. We support candidates who are good on the environment, regardless of party. We endorse Republican candidates for the U.S. House and Senate and other races all the way down to City Councils. We wish we could endorse more Republicans at the national level, but many in the party have deserted their Teddy Roosevelt roots.

Q: Clinton's overall environmental record is not all that great according to many AR Sierra Club members. If that's so, how can you endorse him?

A: Sierra Club members are enthusiastically endorsing Gov. Clinton today outside Little Rock. They know he is superior to George Bush. They have supported his efforts (see below).

Q: What good things has Bill Clinton done to protect the environment in Arkansas?

A: In 1979, in his first term as Governor, Clinton had the foresight to create a state Department of Energy to develop renewable energy resources, give grants for solar energy projects, and promote energy conservation. He also created a State Lands 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.

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

* Today, over 92% of Arkansas rivers and streams are safe for swimming; over 93% are fishable; 100% of Arkansas' lakes are fishable and swimmable.

* 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.

* Clinton 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.

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

* 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.

* Clinton just received the Arkansas Wildlife Federation's highest award.

INCINERATION

Q: Didn't Governor Clinton fail to show leadership in stopping the incineration of dioxin waste at Jacksonville?"

A: It was Governor Clinton who first sued Vertac in 1979 to get the dioxin pollution stopped and the wastes cleaned up.

* Governor Clinton was instrumental in getting the Vertac plant closed, and in securing the \$11 million set aside for cleanup.

* It has taken 11 years to determine the legal responsibility for the environmental damage at Vertac to study all remedy alternatives.

* The EPA has final authority over the Vertac cleanup. Although the state has studied every proposed alternative to incineration, incineration is the only solution that EPA would approve.

*The EPA will not consider on-site storage as a solution, and the agency has placed a ban on all land disposal of dioxin wastes.

* Working with the EPA, the state examined several technologies for the disposal of the waste drums and concluded that it would be too hazardous to transport the waste to another site for treatment.

* The EPA chose incineration as the only proven and demonstrated method to destroy the waste.

FOREST PRACTICES

Q: Isn't Clinton's record on forest practices in Arkansas weak?

A: Governor Clinton has personally opposed clear-cutting since 1979. In July, 1990 he worked with the Forest Supervisor of the Ouachita National Forest to withdraw 150,000 acres of the forest from clear-cutting.

* Governor Clinton has no authority over timber practices either in national forests or on private land, but he has worked to end clear-cutting in both areas.

*The President is responsible for management of all federal forests. It is George Bush who has allowed clear-cutting in Arkansas' national forests. George Bush's forest policies have been disastrous; his administration has offered up a plan which will devastate the old growth forests of the Pacific Northwest.

* Clinton has asked that uneven-aged management replace even-aged management, such as clear-cutting, in order to sustain the forests and avoid severe economic hardship on communities in Western Arkansas that are dependent on the timber industry.

*The amount of forested land in Arkansas reached its lowest point in the 1970's at about 16 million acres. From 1978 to 1988 the decline reversed and now about 17.2 million (51% of the state's land mass) is forested. Still, in 1989, Clinton initiated "Plant the Future"; the goals of this reforestation program are to plant an additional 10 million trees each year for ten 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.

POULTRY INDUSTRY/ANIMAL WASTE

Q: How can you defend Clinton's record on the poultry industry in Arkansas?

1. "In Green Forest (Carroll County), wastes from the industry tainted drinking water."

- * This statement completely ignores state efforts that have resolved this issue.
- * Governor Clinton declared a state of emergency on October 18, 1984 and released \$40,000 in the Disaster Assistance Fund as soon as it was determined that water wells in the vicinity of Green Forest were contaminated.

- * The state has worked closely with the EPA to improve the city's wastewater treatment system and to require pretreatment of all wastes from the poultry plant before those wastes entered the waste water plant.

- * On July 8, 1992 the Environmental Protection Agency gave an Environmental Excellence Award to the Green Forest Wastewater Treatment Plant.

2. "Clinton has allowed the poultry industry to pollute streams in the White River Basin with fecal matter, and has been slow to correct the situation."

- * The damage to streams in Northwest Arkansas accumulated in the 1960s and 1970s, before Clinton ever took office, and has increased little since. When the state determined agriculture run-off threatened to endanger streams in the area, Clinton appointed an Animal Waste Task Force to recommend action.

3. "Clinton didn't introduce legislation in the 1991 session concerning animal waste".

- * The sole reason for not including animal waste in the 1991 legislative session is that the Animal Waste Task Force appointed by Governor Clinton in May 1990 simply did not have enough time to prepare recommendations prior to the convening of the Legislature in January 1991.

- * The primary focus of the 1991 session was solid waste, and it took over 20 months to prepare the solid waste legislation.

- *Mandatory management requirements for liquid animal waste were approved by the Task Force in December, 1990, and are undergoing public review for adoption this year.

GREEN INDEX

Q: The Green Index says that Arkansas' environmental programs are among the worst in the country.

A: The Green Index used outdated, incomplete, and misleading information in its so-called "analysts". For example, the Green Index..

– ranked California, where over 90 percent of the people in major population centers breathe unclean air, higher in air quality policies than Arkansas, where 100 percent of the people breathe air which meets all federal air quality standards. Why? California has lots of laws; Arkansas has lots of good air.

– ranked Alaska, which had the worst non-compliance record with the Safe Drinking Water Act in the country, ahead in water quality of Arkansas, which was one of only three states where not one single community water system was in significant non-compliance.

*The Arkansas Times, taking note of such paradoxes, observed that the Index was "plagued by bizarre anecdotal twists" which amounted to a "bunch of malarkey." (October, 1991).

*It's true, the Green Index ranked Arkansas 43rd in per capita spending on air pollution. That's because Arkansas doesn't have an air pollution problem. Arkansas is one of five states in the nation meeting all federal standards under the Clean Air Act.

Q: What promises has Clinton made on the environment?

A: First, Bill Clinton made no promises directly to the Sierra Club in order to get our endorsement. However, during the course of the campaign, he has made a number of positive statements which indicate his commitment to environmental protection. He supports a 40 mpg fuel economy goal, wilderness designation for the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, real protection for wetlands and the ancient forests of the Pacific Northwest, incentives and requirements for nationwide recycling, and increased funding for international family planning programs. And, he rejects the false notion advanced by President Bush that protecting the environment somehow hurts the economy. Finally, he chose Al Gore, one of the nation's leading environmental advocates, to be his running mate.

Q: Why do you believe what Clinton says? Haven't you learned anything from the experience of George Bush breaking his environmental promises?

A: We are always careful about what candidates say on the environment. But Governor Clinton has been extremely specific about his pledges — far more than Bush was in 1988. He has not backed down. He chose Al Gore, a clear signal of his environmental commitment. And, when he's elected, we will work with him to uphold his pledges.

Q: Will the Sierra Club give the campaign money?

A: Because Clinton/Gore accepted federal funding to finance their campaign, we are prohibited by federal election law from contributing money to the campaign.

Q: What kinds of things will you do to help the Clinton campaign win?

A: We will help form "Environmentalists for Clinton/Gore" grassroots organizations in as many states as possible. We will communicate about the endorsement to our 600,000 members. We will be ready to respond to attacks from Bush and Quayle at both the national and state level. We will turn out our volunteers on behalf of the ticket. We stand ready to expose Bush's continuing cynical attempts to portray himself as an environmentalist.

Q: What is the first thing you want Clinton to do if elected? And what other priorities do you want him to work on?

A: Right now all we're working on is getting him elected. Assuming he does get elected, we will work with the transition team to create a sensible environmental agenda for the first 100 days and beyond, including both appointments and policies.

Q: Will environmental issues matter at all in this election given that the economy is in such bad shape?

A: The environment is already a potent political issue this year. Hardly a day goes by in the newspaper without an article comparing Bush and Quayle's statements with Clinton and Gore's. The fact is that many of the most important states in the electoral college are characterized by a high degree of concern for the environment - CA, OR, WA, WI, IL, MN, MA, NC, FL, MD, NJ, NY, etc. The candidates will speak to environmental issues in those states because the issue is important to voters. Also, polling shows that voters who live in suburbs are disproportionately more concerned about environmental problems than other voters. The 1992 elections will be the first in which a majority of votes are cast in the suburbs. Finally, polling also shows that the environment is disproportionately important to so-called "swing voters," those not wedded to either party. Candidates focus their time and money on this 20% of the electorate, and smart candidates will appeal to these voters on the environment because that's what they care about.

Q: George Bush claims that he is an environmentalist and that he understands the need for balance between the environment and the economy. What is your response to that?

A: This is another example of George Bush talking out of both sides of his mouth. He wants to be perceived as being good on the environment so that he can win votes, but he doesn't want to alienate his friends in industry. So, he says he cares about the environment yet advocates policies that foul the water, air, and land. This is hypocrisy. George Bush's environmental policies are not balanced at all. He has weakened the Clean Air Act, proposed to eliminate protection for half of America's wetlands, supported a drill-America-first energy policy that neglects conservation, renewables, and efficiency, offered a plan which would devastate old growth forests, opposed a modest EPA recycling program, and abdicated U.S. world leadership on the environment at the Rio Summit.

Q: Does the Sierra Club support Gore's carbon tax?

A: The Sierra Club does not have an official position on the carbon tax. We do believe that we must try new mechanisms to reduce pollution at the source, and we believe that those responsible for polluting should bear the cost. Reducing output of carbon will limit the harmful effects of air pollution and curb global warming. Senator Gore believes that pollution should be taxed before the incomes of middle class Americans are taxed. He supports a trade-off of tax breaks for the middle class that would negate any impact on American families.

Q: The auto industry says that requiring cars to get 40 mpg, as you and Clinton and Gore advocate, would shut down the American auto industry. What's your response?

A: They're wrong — just as they were in 1974, when they claimed it was impossible to raise CAFE standards to 27.5 mpg by 1985. First, they base their assumptions on a faulty study by the Motor Vehicle Manufacturers Association which assumes that all jobs of all workers at plants that currently produce cars that get less than 40 mpg would be "at risk." That's not credible. Second, if American auto companies do not produce fuel efficient cars, our foreign competitors will, and will gobble up the U.S. market for these vehicles, which will cost American jobs. Also, the technology currently exists to make U.S. cars much more fuel efficient, and the money saved over time by consumers from decreased gasoline costs would more than make up for any increase in vehicle price.

Q: Bush says that Clinton and Gore's extremism will put Americans out of work, that doing too much to protect the environment will hurt the economy. What do you say?

A: They're wrong again. Clinton and Gore recognize that we must have environmental safety to have a strong economy. You can't have one without the other. They understand that other countries are expanding into markets for new cleaner technologies and that the U.S. is falling behind. They want to lead American industry into those new technologies so that we can create jobs here at home. They understand that energy efficient businesses save money that can then be used to reinvest in growth in the company. And they understand that the dramatically increased health care costs from a dirty environment are devastating to the economy and our people.

Q: Bush now says that Clinton used to be bad on the environment, but now he has changed his stripes and is extreme. How do you respond to that?

A: George Bush should make up his mind about how he wants to attack Bill Clinton on the environment. Bush waffles as much on his lines of attack as he does on his own policies. He has said Clinton is not good enough on the environment. He has said Clinton is too good on the environment. Bush seems to want to have it both ways, just as he has done with his policies: photo-ops to convince voters he cares about the environment, and then decisions and actions that devastate the environment.

Q: Would you have endorsed Clinton if he had not chosen Gore as his running mate?

A: Yes.

Q: You endorsed Mondale in 1984. What does that say about your political judgment?

A: It confirms it. As we believed he would, Ronald Reagan presided over an all-out attack on the environment during his eight years in office. Our air, water, and land would be cleaner today were it not for the Reagan-Bush policies. We endorsed Walter Mondale because he was clearly superior on the environment. That's why we're endorsing Governor Clinton now. He is clearly superior to Bush. That's all there is to it.

Q: In which states are you holding press events today?

A: CA OR WA CO MD NC MI WI NJ CT ME KS FL TX GA LA MN MA AL NY IL IA
OK PA NM OR OH UT MO AZ VT IN NH.

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

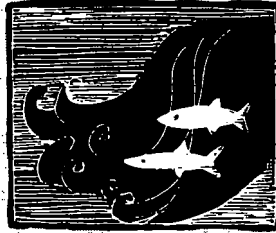
L Laurels for George Bush's support of the 1990 Clean Air Act wilted under the continuing attempts by the White House's Council on Competitiveness to cripple the law's implementation. To his credit, Bush resisted efforts to water down the law's acid-rain-control provisions, and doubled the EPA's enforcement budget.

President Bush's "no net loss of wetlands" campaign pledge was rendered meaningless by his administration's proposal that such areas simply be redefined, effectively eliminating protection for half the country's wetlands. Up for reauthorization this year, the Clean Water

Act (which encompasses wetlands protection) is bound to be stymied by the heavy hand of the Competitiveness Council.

In 1990 the Bush administration forced the EPA to drop a proposed requirement that municipalities recycle 25 percent of the solid waste in areas served by incinerators; its National Energy Strategy proposed a seven-fold increase in incineration.

Clean air



Wetlands and clean water

While the environment has long taken a back seat to economic issues in Arkansas, in 1991 Bill Clinton won approval of tougher anti-pollution laws, the first big package of environmental measures that he had pushed since his first term in the late 1970s. He has pledged support for the Clean Air Act; his state is one of only four that meet all federal air-quality standards.

Bill Clinton has condemned the administration's attempt to rewrite wetlands laws. His own clean-water record (dealing primarily with rivers in his home state) is mixed. He has long courted the powerful Arkansas poultry industry, which has severely polluted rivers in the northwestern portion of the state. By most accounts, the state's attempts to tackle the problem have been weak. But Clinton's administration did develop new water-quality regulations in 1988, and even critics say he's been tougher on the state's chicken barons than any previous governor.

Solid waste and recycling

While Bill Clinton supports his state's plan to incinerate dioxin-contaminated waste from an abandoned herbicide factory, the Clinton platform on waste is otherwise solid: a moratorium on the construction of new garbage and hazardous-waste incinerators; economic incentives for recycling and source reduction; mandatory diversion of recyclable material from landfills and incinerators; a national bottle bill; and tax incentives for manufacturers that use recycled material. Arkansas has established a goal of recycling 25 percent of its waste by 1995 and 40 percent by 2000.

AMERICA'S WILDS

George Bush continues Ronald Reagan's policy of recommending timber cuts at unsustainable levels in U.S. forests; only litigation or its own scientific reports have forced the White House to scale back its plans.

U.S. forests



Endangered Species Act

The Bush administration overrode the Endangered Species Act this year to permit logging on 1,700 acres of federal land in Oregon that is home to the threatened northern spotted owl. Simultaneously, Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan announced a "preservation plan" for parts of the Pacific Northwest that would protect only about half the acreage mandated by the act and the courts.

George Bush supports oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, even though its output could only meet the country's needs for 200 days at best.

Arctic refuge

Bill Clinton supports "the basic outline" of Sierra Club-supported bills now in Congress, which would provide nearly total protection for ancient forests while also protecting workers. Though old-growth forests are not an issue in Arkansas, Clinton has shown a lack of leadership concerning clearcutting in his home state. In 1986 he took no position on a Forest Service plan to allow clearcutting on virtually all marketable timber in Ouachita National Forest.

Bill Clinton supports the Endangered Species Act, and says that—unlike President Bush—he would have signed the international biodiversity treaty at the Earth Summit, protecting plant and animal species worldwide.

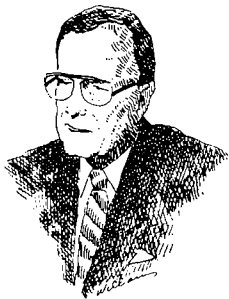
Bill Clinton supports wilderness designation for the refuge.

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Where They Stand

George Bush vs. Bill Clinton

On the Environment



ENERGY AND GLOBAL WARMING

GEORGE BUSH'S energy plan adopts the oil industry's agenda for increased oil production, failing to include substantive incentives or requirements for renewables or energy-efficiency measures.

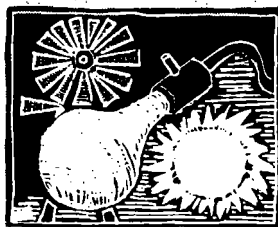
While Bush enacted a ten-year moratorium on oil drilling off the Florida Keys, Massachusetts, and parts of California, the administration still calls for drilling in sensitive areas elsewhere.

At every international conference for the last three years, the United States has resisted efforts to limit annual emissions of worldwide greenhouse gases at 1990 levels by the year 2000. At the Earth Summit in Rio this year, Bush refused to sign an international climate treaty until it was purged of specific targets and timetables, a move that rendered the agreement meaningless. The U.S. was the only developed nation to oppose precise goals.

The Bush administration opposes raising the corporate average fuel-economy rating of new automobiles from 27.5 miles per gallon to 45, the single biggest step the United States could take to reduce emissions of gases that cause global climate change.

George Bush's National Energy Strategy calls for dramatically increasing the country's reliance on nuclear power. In addition, the president proposed limiting public input into the licensing process.

Renewable energy and conservation



Stabilizing carbon dioxide emissions

Fuel economy

Nuclear energy

BILL CLINTON wants to ban new offshore drilling, expand the use of natural gas, create tax incentives for renewable energy sources, redirect federal weapons funding to renewables and light rail, and mandate percentages of recycled materials required for specific products.

Bill Clinton says he supports the Rio treaty's original goal. In addition, he would "give serious consideration" to a 20- to 30-percent reduction in CO₂ emissions by 2005 and "would consider supporting" a carbon tax to discourage emissions, as long as its revenues were used to offset existing taxes. Clinton's running mate, Senator Al Gore, led a congressional delegation to the Summit, and is a strong proponent of U.S. participation in a cooperative global effort to protect the planet.

Clinton supports the higher federal standard, and would institute "revenue-neutral" measures such as rebates for purchasers of fuel-efficient cars, to be paid for by a tax on gas-guzzlers.

Bill Clinton promises to "avoid increased reliance" on nuclear energy.

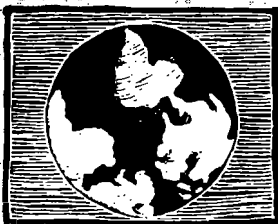
INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Anti-abortion candidate George Bush continues the Reagan policy of denying that uncontrolled population growth is an environmental problem. He halted support for the United Nations Population Fund and maintained the so-called Mexico City policy, under which any private organization receiving U.S. funds for family planning cannot use the money to provide abortion services or related information.

Just before the Rio conference, George Bush announced plans to increase funding for world forests by \$150 million. However, the United States refused to support a strong forest treaty at the Summit, and has been widely criticized for failing to protect its domestic forests.

George Bush backs both the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the North American Free Trade Agreement, which would remove trade barriers between nations but might also induce companies to open factories in countries that have less-stringent environmental laws.

Population policy



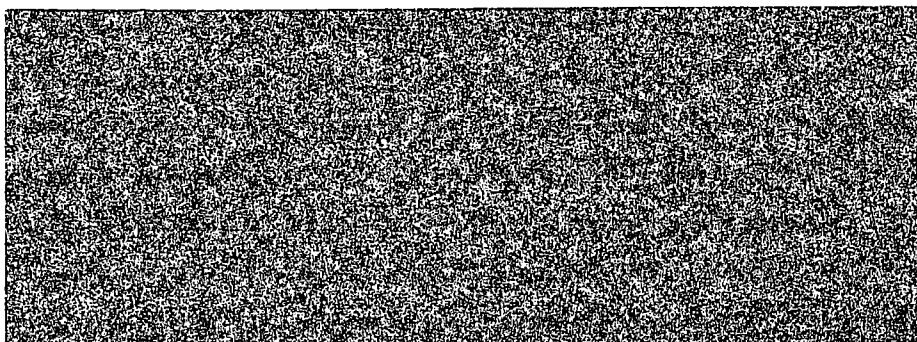
International forest protection

International trade

Pro-choice candidate Bill Clinton supports funding the U.N.'s population program and reversing the Mexico City policy. Clinton says, "The rapidly increasing human population poses the single greatest threat to ecosystems and the quality of life on Earth."

Bill Clinton has called on banks and multilateral institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to negotiate debt-for-nature swaps, which allow developing nations to reduce debt burdens without plundering rainforests and other resources.

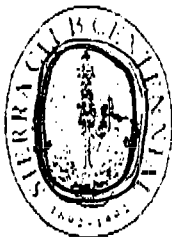
Bill Clinton has said that he would support free-trade agreements only if they guarantee adequate environmental and health safeguards.



SIERRA CLUB

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

SIERRA
CLUB



408 C Street, N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002 202-547-1141

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL

To: Katie M.

From: Reid

of Attached Pages: 3 Date: _____

Notes: _____

Sierra Club, DC Office FAX Number: (202) 547-6009



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

Statement by Sierra Club President H. Anthony Ruckel September 4, 1992

The Sierra Club, the nation's oldest environmental and conservation organization, today enthusiastically endorses Governor Bill Clinton and Senator Al Gore for President and Vice President.

Only once before in our hundred-year history has the Sierra Club taken sides in a presidential campaign. We endorse now because the environmental vision and record of Bill Clinton and Al Gore are clearly far superior to those of George Bush and Dan Quayle. George Bush has failed the American people. He's not the environmental president; he's an environmental disaster. Bill Clinton offers environmental progress and change.

We endorse Bill Clinton and Al Gore because the stakes are so high for American families; the health of America's children and grandchildren is on the line. This is truly a crossroads election — it will determine whether America moves boldly forward to clean up our problems and protect our special places or remains mired in the environmentally destructive politics of the past.

George Bush's presidency has produced a long, dismal line of broken promises. He said, "I'm an environmentalist," and promised to protect wetlands, fight the greenhouse effect, pass a national recycling plan, support a strong Clean Air Act, and be a "Teddy Roosevelt environmentalist." He has broken every single promise. On the one issue for which Bush at first deserved some credit, the Clean Air Act, the ink wasn't dry before he turned around and put Dan Quayle in charge of dismantling the law behind the public's back.

George Bush tells us he is the candidate we can trust. But how can we possibly trust him when his record is littered with broken promises? It's simple: George Bush cannot be trusted on the environment. He didn't even mention the word "environment" in his convention acceptance speech.

But perhaps even worse than Bush's string of broken promises is his use of the environment as an economic scapegoat. He blames environmental laws for skyrocketing unemployment and a sagging economy. Under George Bush the environment and the economy have both gotten worse. He has set up a false choice. He knows it, we know it, and the American people know it.

In a July poll by Richard Wirthin, Ronald Reagan's former pollster, nearly eight out of 10 Americans said that there "does not necessarily have to be a choice between ... economic growth and environmental quality."

Bill Clinton has put together an impressive pro-environment and pro-economy platform. It is marked by forward-thinking proposals to clean up pollution and preserve wild places for future generations. In a key decision, Governor Clinton chose Al Gore to be his running mate and sent a clear signal of his strong environmental commitment.

Statement by Sierra Club President
H. Anthony Ruckel
Page Two

Bill Clinton understands that new jobs and markets are created by environmental cleanup, and development of new, cleaner technologies and alternative sources of energy. Bill Clinton believes that we must invest in environmental protection to stimulate the economy and create jobs. He knows we either invest in those markets or lose the jobs to our competitors. George Bush does not. He blames the environment for his failed economic policies.

That's why it's time for change.

Bill Clinton believes that we must reorder our energy priorities to promote efficiency, conservation, and renewable energy sources. George Bush does not. He sticks his head in the sand with a drill-America-first policy.

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Bill Clinton believes that we must protect America's wetlands to support wildlife, safeguard water quality, and maintain the sport and commercial fishing industries. George Bush does not. His administration proposed to open half of America's wetlands to exploitation.

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Bill Clinton believes that we must move aggressively to recycle products and reduce the amount of waste we send to overflowing garbage dumps. George Bush does not. He's broken his own promise to create a national recycling strategy.

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George Bush is not about change. He is all about preserving a failed status quo. He directed an incredibly short-sighted policy that has helped his friends in industry but hurt you and me. Let's stop it. Let's defeat George Bush at the polls in November.

The American people know that we can and must successfully tackle our environmental problems. What has been absent is the presidential will and leadership to make it happen.

George Bush's environmental commitment extends only as far as his own image; it's only good for a 30-second sound bite. For four years he's engaged in a cynical attempt to make people think he shares their commitment to environmental protection. He has elevated to an art form the use of photo-opportunities to disguise the real picture. He's traveled to Lake Michigan, the Grand Canyon, Sequoia National Park, Utah wilderness, and even to Rio for pretty pictures. All to fool the public. It's a policy of deception and destruction, but Americans are on to his charade. We've watched him. We see the yawning gap between his rhetoric and his record.

With no positive record of their own, George Bush and Dan Quayle are trying to paint Bill Clinton and Al Gore as "environmental extremists." But Bush and Quayle have it backwards! They are the real extremists in this campaign. It is extreme to poison water, radical to foul air, outside the mainstream to rip open land.

Statement by Sierra Club President
H. Anthony Ruckel
Page Three

There is another point I want to make. George Bush says he's for "family values." The claim rings hollow. He gave permission to Dan Quayle to gut clean air rules, permitting much greater amounts of air pollution to be spewed into communities. Children and the elderly are the first victims. Does poisoning our young and our old reflect family values? We don't think so, and neither do the American people.

Our efforts to elect Bill Clinton and Al Gore do not end with our endorsement today. They're only just beginning. We're kicking off our campaign today with press conferences announcing this endorsement in 25 states.

We will seek to educate millions of Americans -- starting with our 600,000 members and hopefully reaching to every American family -- about the dramatic differences between Bill Clinton and George Bush on the environmental problems that face them.

We will use the unprecedented enthusiasm for this ticket at the grassroots level to turn out support across the country. And we stand ready to expose George Bush's continuing efforts to masquerade as an environmentalist.

We call on Americans to join us in creating a better future by electing Bill Clinton and Al Gore. They represent the best hope for our children and grandchildren.

On Election Day, we're finally going to have an "environmental president." That is the day the American people will send Bill Clinton to the White House.

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To: Doug
From: Katie
Re: Themes for Sierra Club Endorsement
Date: 9-2-92

In addition to the main Arkansas endorsement event, events are also being planned in the following states:

Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Indian, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, Massachussetts, Maryland, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, North Carolina, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, Vermont (possible) and Kentucky (possible).

These events are in various stages of planning. We have little/no details at this time. I understand, however, that the local Sierra Club chapters have been in touch with campaign representatives in the various states.

We will be emphasizing several themes in the Arkansas event. IT IS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT THAT THESE THEMES BE RE-ITERATED AND RE-ENFORCED IN THE LOCAL EVENTS.

The messages:

- o If there was doubt about this before, there can be no longer: George Bush is NOT the environmental President.
- o Bill Clinton has a strong record on the environment in Arkansas and Al Gore has lead the fight for sound environmental policies on Capitol Hill; together, they will be a strong stewards of our nation's natural resources and will regain for America a leadership role on international environmental issues.
- o Bush is forcing a false choice in saying we have to choose between jobs and the environment.
- o A clean and healthy environment is critical to the health and safety of workers and to the well-being of our children.

In the Arkansas event, we will carry these themes throughout the speeches that will be made. In addition, we will prepare press packs that will identify and include quotes from local environmental, labor, and business leaders as well as teachers/children's advocates on these themes. An effort will also be made to have these folks in attendance to respond directly to the press. TO ENSURE CONSISTENCY OF MESSAGE, THIS ARRANGEMENT SHOULD BE REPLICATED TO THE GREATEST EXTENT POSSIBLE IN THE OTHER PARTICIPATING STATES.

Suggested Talking Points

- o Four years ago, George Bush told us that he'd be an "Environmental President". He promised to preserve our nation's wetlands; to preserve our parks and forests; to battle our solid waste problems by encourage recycling; to battle the greenhouse effect with the "White House effect."
- o In the four years since, he's broken every promises. Today it is impossible to use the words "Environmental President" and George Bush in the same sentence without laughing -- or crying.
- o If there was any lingering doubt, we are here today to send the message loud and clear -- "Read OUR lips, Mr. President, you have been an environmental disaster!"
- o We want pollution prevention -- you've delivered nothing but pollution protection.
- o Your agenda allows polluters to poison our air and water. Your agenda calls for subsidizing the destruction of our ancient forests, for opening our wilderness; our coasts; even our national parks to oil drilling and mining; and for dredging and paving our remaining wetlands.
- o President Bush is now saying that he will "do whatever it takes" to get elected. Nowhere is he proving that more than in his actions on the environment and in the rhetoric he's using to try to divide us.
- o He's trying to stir up fear that somehow a clean and vibrant environment will cost Americans their jobs. Really, he's trying to use the environment -- and those of us who really do care about it -- as scapegoats for his own disastrous economic record -- the worst in fifty years.
- o The truth is that sound environmental policies are a precondition of economic growth, not a brake on it. Protecting the environment means investing in the future and in a growing economy that will produce new jobs and increase productivity.
- o It also means protecting the health and ensuring the safety of our workers. Mr. Bush says he cares, but at the same time he and Dan Quayle have opposed, delayed, or stripped the hear out of every effort to increase worker protection. They're cutting deals for their friends behind close doors while 50 - 100,000 workers are dying each year from on-the-job exposure to dangerous substances like asbestos, benzene and formaldehyde.

o These are environmental issues; safety issues; labor issues; and moral issues.

o Bill Clinton and Al Gore will chart a different course. In Arkansas, wetlands, caves, rivers, and prairies have been protected due to Bill Clinton's aggressive land protection program. And when Bill Clinton signs an environmental law -- he makes sure its enforced. He created the Arkansas' state authority for enforcing state and federal environmental laws and increased the penalties for violations. As a result, Arkansas has one of the best records for water permit compliance in the nation. And the state's hazardous waste plan -- the first in the nation to be approved by EPA -- has been a model for other states to follow. While George Bush was killing EPA's efforts to increase recycling, Governor Clinton was creating a new recycling division; offering tax credits for the purchase of recycling and waste reduction equipment by companies; and creating a trust fund for cleaning up landfills.

o In his years on Capitol Hill, Al Gore has been a leader on the environment. Through his investigations, we first learned about the toxic pollution industries were dumping in our backyards -- in Toone, Tennessee; at Love Canal. Senator Gore also led the effort to clean up those problems and is one of the primary authors of Superfund. He has also been a leader in calling our attention to the global environmental problems we face -- global warming and ozone depletion - - and in identifying the many economic opportunities we will have if lead the world community in finding solutions to these problems.

To: Katie McGinty
From: Lenny Glynn
2 September 1992

Bush "hit" on environment/jobs/workers for Gore

Four years ago, Mr. Bush promised that if he were elected, he'd be an "Environmental President". He promised to preserve our nation's wetlands, to help clean up Boston Harbor, to act against global warming and to protect the ozone layer that protects us from deadly cancer-causing rays.

Mr. Bush said he'd be a "Teddy Roosevelt" environmentalist a leader who cared about our fast-disappearing ancient forests.

In the four years since, he's broken everyone of those promises -- as he has so many others.

Today, it's impossible to use the words "Environmental President" and George Bush in the same sentence without laughing -- or crying.

It leaves the same bad taste in the mouth as "Read My Lips" or "The Education President".

Because behind Mr. Bush's mask -- and behind closed doors -- this "Environmental President" has been pushing a disastrous environmental agenda, carried on in as much secrecy as possible.

Mr. Bush's environmental agenda allows polluters to continue poisoning our air and water, endangering citizens and workers in the pursuit of short-term profit.

Mr. Bush's agenda calls for subsidizing the destruction of our ancient forests, for opening our wildernesses and our coasts -- even our national parks -- to oil drilling and mining.

Mr. Bush has simply re-defined half of our wetlands out of existence at the stroke of a bureaucrat's pen, so they can be paved over for strip malls.

This hidden agenda breaks every promise Mr. Bush made when campaigning four years ago. Every promise.

But that really should be no surprise. Finding a promise Mr. Bush actually keeps is like finding one lost tree frog in the Amazon rain forest!

Mr. Bush has a political life-cycle as predictable as a migrating grouse or a hibernating bear: every four years he wakes up and makes a long series of promises. Then, if he's elected, he either goes back to sleep -- does nothing to follow-through -- or worse still, does exactly the opposite of what he promised.

This time, Mr. Bush says that he will "do whatever it takes" to get elected.

Nowhere is he proving that more than in his actions on the environment and in the rhetoric he's using to divide our people.

Mr. Bush is trying to stir up fear that somehow a clean, safe, beautiful environment will cost Americans their jobs.

Mr. Bush is using the environment, and those of us who love it, as the scapegoats for his own disastrous economic record -- the worst in fifty years.

He can't help himself. He's been playing the 'blame game' for so long he's forgotten how to take responsibility for anything. He blames Congress, the Democrats, the media. Now he's blaming salmon and caribou and back-packers and mountain climbers.

The false choice Mr. Bush is posing between a clean environment and jobs is as foolish as Ronald Reagan's fantasy that trees, not smokestacks, cause air pollution.

It's nonsense. And the Bush record shows it.

This president who's spend his time in office secretly gutting our environmental laws has also overseen the loss of 1.2 million American manufacturing jobs.

He has the worst record on job creation in two generations. Twice as many people have gone broke as gotten jobs since he took office. All his cutting of environmental rules didn't help them!

In fact, this whole twelve years of Republican dumping on the environment has seen millions of other high-wage manufacturing jobs disappear without a whimper of concern from the Reagan-Bush White Houses.

Now, Mr. Bush claims to be the champion of American workers against what he calls environmental "extremists".

But who really are the environmental extremists?

Is it those of us who love the land and water and air and want to pass them on to our children as pure as we recieved them?

Is it those of us who believe that both workers and citizens and our children share a common interest in safe industries, safe drinking water, and natural beauty?

Or are the real extremists sitting in the White House, in the Oval Office, or in Dan Quayle's secret Council on Competitiveness?

That's where the wealthy polluters -- and Republican campaign contributors -- go to cut deals that free them to poison our air and water -- behind our backs, out of sight.

I say the real environmental extremists are George Bush, Dan Quayle and their allies, who think they can turn back the clock, open public lands to unrestricted exploitation, drill for oil in the pristine wilderness of Alaska, drain maybe half the Everglades, slash down our last virgin forests for quick, unsustainable profits -- and give the clear-cutters a government subsidy to do it!

There are the extremists: Mr. Bush, Mr. Quayle, and their rich, rapacious pals!

And who is the real champion of the American worker?

Certainly not Mr. Bush, who's hibernated while hundreds of thousands of jobs are lost.

Certainly not this President who tries to convince workers that they have no interest in a healthy environment -- clean air to breathe, clean water to fish and swim in with their kids.

Mr. Bush doesn't even realize that workers need a clean environment to work in. It's not just workers' jobs but their lives themselves that are at stake.

Every year, 10,000 American workers are killed on the job -- nearly 30 a day. Yet Mr. Bush has consistently opposed efforts to step up job-site protection.

50,000 to 100,000 workers die each year from on-the-job exposure to dangerous substances like asbestos and benzene and formaldehyde. That's about 25 men and women just during the time of this event today.

In the past six years, along the Gulf Coast of Texas and Louisiana, we've seen a series of unsafe oil and chemical refineries explode like a string of firecrackers: killing 159 people, injuring 2,200, causing \$3 billion in damage and forcing whole towns to evacuate.

This is an environmental issue and a safety issue and a labor issue and a moral issue!

Yet Mr. Bush and Dan Quayle oppose, delay, or strip the heart out of every effort to increase worker protection -- and they do it behind closed doors.

Believe me, if something is streaming out of a plant or factory that threatens the health or lives of people living downstream or downwind -- you can be sure that the workers in that plant are running even higher risks of exposure.

But Mr. Bush, who claims to care about workers' jobs, does nothing to protect their lives.

Instead he tries to say the environment doesn't matter to our workers -- as if they don't drink our water and breathe our air and love to take their kids to our forests and parks.

He says that environmental rules are strangling industry -- so's he's suspended them for months and promises no new rules for a year.

But according to his own Labor Department, Mr. Bush's moratorium on new rules will cost 1,170 workers their lives if he carries it on a full year -- because safety and environmental rules that could save them won't be enacted.

There is no contradiction between environmental action and job protection and creation. They go together.

To the contrary, the whole trend of world development is to cleaner, more efficient industrial processes. It's toward cars that get far more miles to the gallon, toward tougher standards for air and water quality, toward energy efficiency and conservation.

The United States can be proud that we started the world moving in this direction, more than 20 years ago -- on Earth Day,

But the global movement to save the environment has its own momentum now. It's moving with the force of a great glacier. It's going to sweep dirty, dangerous, and inefficient producers away.

Countries that don't move fast and take the lead in the emerging environmental industry are going to lose more than the beauty of their environment, their health and their children's -- they're going to lose their jobs.

George Bush just doesn't understand this.

Those who win the competition for the lean, green efficient technologies of tomorrow are not only going to breathe sweeter-smelling air, swim in clean, cool streams, and wonder at the beauty of their forests -- they're going to win millions of new jobs and have fat wallets to pack when they go camping!

That's the future. Our rivals know it. Our consumers know it. The Sierra Club knows it. Our best businessmen and smartest labor unions know it.

Bill Clinton and I know it.

But George Bush just doesn't get it!

There's a ad where Lee Iacocca says: "In this business, you can either lead, follow, or get out of the way."

But when it comes to understanding the role of a clean environment in saving and creating jobs, Mr. Bush can't lead, he won't even follow. It's time for him to get out of the way!

There's a giant chorus swelling across this country -- of workers and environmentalists and businessmen and women. They're singing that old Woody Guthrie tune, 'this land is your land, this land is my land. This land was made for you and me.'

Mr. Bush can't hear the music. He doesn't know the words. That's his loss. But I have to say, in sorrow and in honest anger, "It's time for him to go."



Press Release

SIERRA CLUB

Embargoed Until :
September 4, 1992

CONTACT: Contact:
Reid Wilson: 202/675-7906
Roni Lieberman: 202/675-7903
Paul Larmer: 415/923-5526

SIERRA CLUB ENDORSES CLINTON Lauds Arkansas Governor as Candidate of Change Blasts Bush's Abysmal Environmental Record

San Francisco-- The Sierra Club today enthusiastically endorsed Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and Tennessee Sen. Al Gore for President and Vice President. Volunteer activists for the 100-year-old environmental organization made the announcement in more than 20 cities throughout the United States.

"It is time for America to put someone we can trust in the White House," said Sierra Club President H. Anthony Ruckel. "Bill Clinton has put together an impressive environmental platform to clean up pollution, lessen our excessive addiction to fossil fuels and protect wild places for future generations."

Sierra Club officials pointed to George Bush's abysmal environmental record as an additional reason for the endorsement. "For the past four years we have read George Bush's lips say, 'I am an environmentalist' while we have watched his hands shred the environmental safety net that protects people and the environment," said Ruckel. "George Bush promised the American people that he would protect wetlands, fight the greenhouse effect, pass a national recycling law, protect our lungs from air pollution and be a Teddy Roosevelt environmentalist. He has broken every single promise. We cannot trust George Bush."

The 600,000-member environmental organization praised Clinton's commitment to progress on environmental issues and reconfirmed the excellent choice made in running mate Al Gore. "Bill Clinton's key environmental decision was to put Al Gore at his side," Ruckel said. Senator Gore has an outstanding record of environmental protection that is light years ahead of the record of Dan Quayle, who has been the President's hatchet man on environmental policy.

Clinton is committed to addressing global environmental issues such as those presented at the Rio Earth Summit. He advocates protection for our remaining wetlands and ancient forests and seeks to designate Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge as wilderness.

Among his priorities is a commitment to increase energy conservation and efficiency and to develop renewable and alternative sources of energy to create jobs, reduce our dependency on oil and combat the danger of global climate change.

"Bill Clinton believes that we must invest in environmental protection to stimulate the economy and create jobs. George Bush does not," said Ruckel. "Instead Bush blames the environment for his failed economic policies."

(more)

Clinton Endorsement
September 4, 1992
Page 2-2-2-2

"Bush and Quayle have taken to calling Clinton and Gore environmental extremists. That's because they've got no positive record of their own to talk about. Bush and Quayle are the real extremists in this campaign -- they've allowed the fouling of our air and water and the exploitation of our land.

"After 12 dark years of environmental ignorance and broken promises in the White House, America is ready for a new era of environmental enlightenment," said Ruckel. "Electing the Clinton/Gore ticket is the first step in that direction."

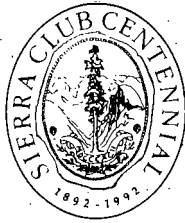
The Sierra Club called for change in the White House. Ruckel said, "George Bush is not about change. He is all about preserving a failed status quo. We must elect Bill Clinton and Al Gore to protect our air, water and land for future generations."

Sierra Club volunteers will be working at the grassroots level during the fall campaign to expose the Bush administration's appalling environmental record and mobilize Clinton supporters across the country.

The Sierra Club is a non-profit member-supported conservation organization dedicated to the protection of the natural environment. Founded in 1892, the Club is celebrating its Centennial.

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SIERRA CLUB



408 C Street, N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002 202-547-1141

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September 4, 1992

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But perhaps even worse than Bush's string of broken promises is his use of the environment as an economic scapegoat. He blames environmental laws for skyrocketing unemployment and a sagging economy. Under George Bush the environment and the economy have both gotten worse. He has set up a false choice. He knows it, we know it, and the American people know it.

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(more)

"When we try to pick out anything by itself, we find it hitched to everything else in the universe." *John Muir*
National Headquarters: 730 Polk Street, San Francisco, California 94109 (415) 776-2211

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There is another point I want to make. George Bush says he's for family values. The claim rings hollow. He gave permission to Dan Quayle to gut clean air rules, permitting much greater amounts of air pollution to be spewed into communities. Children and the elderly are the first victims. Does poisoning our young and our old reflect family values? We don't think so, and neither do the American people.

Our efforts to elect Bill Clinton and Al Gore do not end with our endorsement today. They're only just beginning. We're kicking off our campaign today with press conferences announcing this endorsement in 25 states. We will seek to educate millions of Americans -- starting with our 600,000 members and hopefully reaching to every American family -- about the dramatic differences between Bill Clinton and George Bush on the environmental problems that face them. We will use the unprecedented enthusiasm for this ticket at the grassroots level to turn out support across the country. And we stand ready to expose George Bush's continuing efforts to masquerade as an environmentalist.

We call on Americans to join us in creating a better future by electing Bill Clinton and Al Gore. They represent the best hope for our children and grandchildren. On Election Day, we're finally going to have an "environmental president." That is the day the American people will send Bill Clinton to the White House.

#

To: Al, Marla
From: Katie
Re: Sierra Club Endorsement
Date: 9-3-92

Below I outline the themes that will be addressed by each speaker and the messages that we want to deliver with this event. I understand that Jacquie is preparing a logistical memo for you and Marla is working up talking points for you from some materials I have sent her. Jacquie is also including in your materials the Clinton enviro record AS PRODUCED BY THE CAMPAIGN IN LITTLE ROCK. I did not want to do this myself because this has been done very carefully and precisely by Clinton staff. While you should not be answering for Clinton's record in any event, you should read these materials very carefully in the event that you would have to address this issue. (Note, however, that no Q & A has been scheduled.)

For your information, I am attaching a draft copy of Sierra Club President's remarks and the folder of information they are distributing to their members who are organizing events around the country. Note on the Q&A sheet that is included in these materials, the last answer identifies the list of states in which events will be held. I am told that Tennessee is not on that list because the local Sierra Club leader is on vacation.

I. Order of speakers and themes each will hit:

- o MARY WEEKS -- grandmother and local Sierra Club activist -- will praise Clinton's enviro record in Arkansas and then will introduce you. 3-5 minutes.
- o YOU will then speak on (1) your personal commitment to the environment; (2) Clinton's commitment (briefly); (3) Bush-bash; (4) jobs and the environment. 10-15 mins.
- o MARY WEEKS will introduce Sierra Club President, Tony Ruckel.
- o TONY RUCKEL will then do a "why we hate Bush/why we support Clinton-Gore". 8-10 mins.
- o CLINTON will speak about (1) his own personal commitment to the environment; (2) your commitment (briefly); (3) Bush failure (briefly); (4) jobs and the environment (briefly).

As is probably evident from this outline of the themes each speaker will address, there are several objectives that we want to accomplish here:

- o If there was any lingering doubt, Bush is NOT the environmental President.

- o Clinton is not an environmental pariah. To the contrary, he has accomplished alot for the environment in Arkansas and he will be a strong steward of our nations resources.

- o Bush is promoting a false choice in saying that we have to choose between jobs and the environment.

- o A clean and healthy environment is critical to the health and safety of workers and to the well-being of our children.

The emphasis in your remarks should be mostly on Bush and on the jobs/environment false choice. Idea here is to allow Clinton to take the high ground -- this is mostly an opportunity for him to establish clearly his personal feelings with regard to protecting the environment and the course he'd like to chart as President. Bush should be an after-thought in Clinton's remarks -- worthy only of noting in passing. It is therefore on you to make it clear what Bush is all about. You need not dwell on your own personal commitment to the environment since it is well known, EXCEPT THAT YOU SHOULD EXPRESS IT IN ORDER TO MAKE CLEAR THAT YOUR CONCERN FOR THE PLANET IS REALLY A COMMITMENT TO THE HEALTH AND WELL-BEING OF OUR CHILDREN, TO WORKERS, AND TO THE VITALITY AND COMPETITIVENESS OF US INDUSTRY.

To further drive home the jobs/environment theme, there will be several Arkansas businessmen in the audience (recyclers, etc.) that the Governor will recognize. I have also asked that labor leaders and, if possible, teachers/children's advocates be in the audience and recognized. In addition, I have asked that quotes from these folks re-inforcing our messages be included in the press materials and that they be available and prepped to handle questions from the press. I have been told that this will be done.

Complementary events are being held in some 30 states. Details on these events are still being worked out and in most states, the events are just coming together. I therefore have little information on what will be happening. However, at Doug's suggestion, I prepared a memo that spells out the themes we want sounded in these events and that suggests talking points. Doug has given that memo to David Wilhelm so that it can be distributed to the various local campaign offices.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
September 4, 1992

CONTACT: Jess Sarmiento
304-344-9292

Clinton-Gore Plan is Good For the Economy and the Environment

Fairmont -- Members of the United Mine Workers of America and West Virginia Sierra Club today met to speak out on the advantages of Bill Clinton's safe, reliable and environmentally sound energy policy.

Governor Clinton and Al Gore have an energy plan which includes coal. They will help make the coal industry more competitive and stronger through their support of clean coal technology and create jobs by enforcing national environmental standards.

State Senator Eugene Claypole, who is also District 31 President of the UMWA strongly endorses Bill Clinton for President.

"I think Bill Clinton is the answer to the problems labor has encountered during the Bush and former Reagan Administrations. We have had a tremendous loss of jobs throughout this nation and throughout the coal industry," said Claypole.

A Clinton-Gore Administration will work in partnership with the coal industry to help it achieve the technologies it needs to be more competitive.

Bill Clinton believes that nuclear power is not the solution to our nations energy problems. Under the past Republican Administrations, the federal government has continued to favor nuclear energy and funding for nuclear research and development while holding back on research and development for clean coal technologies.

Jim Kotcon, West Virginia State Chair for the Sierra Club believes that West Virginia needs the strong national leadership that an environmental minded president could bring.

"Clinton-Gore will be a tremendous change for the West Virginia environmental community. Their enforcement of regulations by the EPA would go a long way toward protecting the health and environment for West Virginia citizens," said Kotcon.

He continued, "West Virginia environmental resources have too long suffered at the hands of the unresponsive Administrations of the last twelve years."

--more--

"It's time to put someone we can trust in the White House," said Sierra Club President H. Anthony Ruckle. The National Sierra Club endorses Bill Clinton today.

"After twelve dark years of environmental ignorance and broken promises in the White House, America is ready for a new era of environmental enlightenment," said Ruckle. "Electing Clinton-Gore is the first step in that direction."

Claypole said, "We're looking forward to Bill Clinton being President and bringing forth an end to the problems we have in regards to the economy, and restore jobs within the coal industry."

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Flip-Flops and Photo Ops

The “Environmental Presidency” of George Bush



SIERRA
CLUB

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Washington, DC 20002

730 Polk St.
San Francisco, CA 94109

JK 516 C 1

Four Men & A Planet

02-08063

THE SIERRA CLUB does not make a habit of endorsing presidential candidates; in our 100-year history, we have done it only once before. ★ The second such commitment is made here: The Sierra Club enthusiastically supports the election of Governor Bill Clinton and Senator Albert Gore as president and vice-president in 1992. We take this step deliberately, in sober response to the urgent necessity of putting a stop to the ongoing environmental disaster that George Bush's administration not only represents but, in a very real sense, has itself become. ★ Bill Clinton offers the prospect of vastly improved environmental stewardship by the United States. That the Arkansan is abundantly supplied with good, green intentions is clear from his selection of Al Gore—perhaps the Senate's staunchest environmentalist—as his running mate. In addition, the Clinton campaign has put together a solid program on a wide range of critical issues, from energy policy and lands protection to pollution prevention and recycling. ★ Does a Clinton presidency thereby promise the millennium? We are not so naive: There is a limit to what any president can accomplish merely by dint of good intentions. The forces undergirding the United States' appalling environmental posture will not simply disappear on Inauguration Day 1993. Nor has the Democratic Party been somehow immunized against the influence of industrial PACs and other agents of stasis. President Clinton will find himself ringed on all sides by voices urging him to make few substantial changes in the status quo: for reasons of short-term economic recovery, or simply out of fear of change itself. ★ Thus, even as we lend them our support, we respectfully remind both candidates that more will be required of them than avowals and promises. At a time of almost overwhelming global crisis, we need not just honest effort but measurable success. In pursuit of this success, Clinton will confront a set of challenges that will make this already grueling election campaign seem like a fish fry in retrospect. ★ Because, unlike the imposter currently resident in the White House, a *real* environmental president must turn a deaf ear to the apostles of greed; must work with a Congress equally vulnerable to the blandishments of those interests; must overcome the antipathy and inertia of the federal agencies charged with protecting our land, water, wildlife, and air; must, in short, oversee a revolution in attitudes and policies that is not merely overdue but, after more than a decade of Reagan/Bush neglect, nearly chimerical. ★ We are encouraged by the stand Bill Clinton has taken on the environment so far in the '92 campaign. We are heartened by Senator Gore's nomination, and recommend his book *Earth in the Balance* to all who think a politician must be by definition incapable of serious reflection on environmental affairs. We believe that both men will work diligently to address the issues most important to us (see below), and on the strength of that belief will ourselves work hard for their election—as if the quality of our lives, our health, and the health of the planet depended on it.—*the editors*

ILLUSTRATION BY VICTOR JUHASZ



HOW DO THE
PRESIDENTIAL
CANDIDATES
STACK UP ON
THE CRITICAL
ENVIRONMENTAL
ISSUES OF
THE DAY?



ENERGY AND GLOBAL WARMING

RENEWABLE ENERGY AND CONSERVATION ★ George Bush's energy plan adopts the oil industry's agenda for accelerated oil production, failing to include substantive incentives or requirements for renewables or energy-efficiency measures. While Bush enacted a ten-year moratorium on oil drilling off the Florida Keys, Massachusetts, and parts of California, the administration still calls for drilling in sensitive areas elsewhere. ★ Bill Clinton wants to ban new offshore drilling, expand the use of natural gas, create tax incentives for renewable energy sources, redirect federal weapons funding to renewables and light rail, and mandate percentages of recycled materials required for specific products.

STABILIZING CARBON-DIOXIDE EMISSIONS AT 1990 LEVELS ★ At every international conference for the last three years, the United States has resisted efforts to limit annual emissions of worldwide greenhouse gases at 1990 levels by the year 2000. At the Earth

Summit in Rio this year, Bush blocked an international climate treaty until it was purged of specific targets and timetables, a move that rendered the agreement meaningless. The U.S. was the only developed nation to oppose precise goals. ★ Clinton says he supports the Rio treaty's original goal. In addition, he would "give serious consideration" to a 20- to 30-percent reduction in CO₂ emissions by 2005 and "would consider supporting" a carbon tax to discourage emissions, as long as its revenues were used to offset existing taxes. Clinton's running mate, Senator Al Gore, led a congressional delegation to the Summit, and is a strong proponent of U.S. participation in a cooperative global effort to protect the planet.

FUEL ECONOMY ★ The Bush administration opposes raising the corporate average fuel-economy rating of new automobiles from 27.5 miles per gallon to 45, the single-biggest step the United States could take to reduce emissions of gases that cause global climate

change. ★ Clinton supports the higher standard, and would institute "revenue-neutral" measures such as rebates for purchasers of fuel-efficient cars, to be paid for by a tax on gas-guzzlers.

NUCLEAR ENERGY ★ George Bush's National Energy Strategy calls for dramatically increasing the number of U.S. nuclear power plants, and Congress has approved his proposal to limit public input during the licensing process. ★ Bill Clinton promises to "avoid increased reliance" on nuclear energy.

INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

POPULATION POLICY ★ Anti-abortion candidate George Bush continues the Reagan policy of denying that uncontrolled population growth is an environmental problem. He halted support for the United Nations Population Fund and maintained the so-called Mexico City policy, under which any private organization receiving U.S. funds for family planning cannot use the money to provide abortion services or related information. ★ Pro-choice candidate Bill Clinton supports funding the U.N.'s population program and reversing the Mexico City policy.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE ★ George Bush backs both the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the North American Free Trade Agreement, which would remove trade barriers between nations but might also induce companies to open factories in countries that have less-stringent environmental laws. ★ Bill Clinton has said that he would support free-trade agreements only if they guarantee adequate environmental and health safeguards.

INTERNATIONAL FOREST PROTECTION ★ Just before the Rio conference, George Bush announced plans to increase funding for world forests by \$150 million. However, the United States refused to support a strong forest agreement at the Summit, and has been widely criticized for failing to protect its domestic forests. ★ Bill Clinton has called on banks and multilateral institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to negotiate debt-for-nature swaps, which allow developing nations to reduce debt burdens without plundering rainforests and other resources.

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

CLEAN AIR ★ Laurels for George Bush's support of the 1990 Clean Air Act wilted under the continuing attempts by the White House's Council on Competitiveness to cripple the law's implementation (see "Ambushed From Within," page 43). To his credit, Bush resisted efforts to water down the law's acid-rain-control provisions, and doubled the EPA's enforcement budget. ★ While the environment has long taken a back seat to economic issues in Arkansas, in 1991 Bill Clinton won approval of tougher anti-pollution laws, the first big package of environmental measures that he had pushed since his first term as governor in the late 1970s. He has pledged support for the Clean Air Act; his state is one of only four that meet all federal air-quality standards.

WETLANDS AND CLEAN WATER ★ President Bush's "no net loss of wetlands" campaign pledge was rendered meaningless by his administration's proposal that such areas simply be redefined, effectively

eliminating protection for half the country's wetlands. Up for reauthorization this year, the Clean Water Act (which encompasses wetlands protection) is bound to be stymied by the heavy hand of the Competitiveness Council. ★ Bill Clinton has condemned the administration's attempt to rewrite wetlands laws. His own clean-water record (dealing primarily with rivers in his home state) is mixed: He has long courted the powerful Arkansas poultry industry, which has severely polluted rivers in the northwestern portion of the state. By most accounts, the state's attempts to tackle the problem have been weak. But Clinton's administration did develop new water-quality regulations in 1988, and even critics say he's been tougher on the state's chicken barons than any previous governor.

SOLID WASTE AND RECYCLING ★ In 1990 the Bush administration forced the EPA to drop a proposed requirement that municipalities recycle 25 percent of the solid waste in areas served by incinerators; its National Energy Strategy proposed a seven-fold increase in incineration. ★ While Bill Clinton supports his state's plan to incinerate dioxin-contaminated waste from an abandoned herbicide factory, the Clinton platform on waste is otherwise solid: he proposes a moratorium on the construction of new garbage and hazardous-waste incinerators; economic incentives for recycling and source reduction; mandatory diversion of recyclable material from landfills and incinerators; a national bottle bill; and tax incentives for manufacturers that use recycled material. Arkansas has established a goal of recycling 25 percent of its waste by 1995 and 40 percent by 2000.

AMERICA'S WILDS

ARCTIC WILDERNESS ★ George Bush supports oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, even though its output could only meet the country's needs for 200 days at best. ★ Bill Clinton supports wilderness designation for the refuge.

U.S. FORESTS ★ George Bush continues Ronald Reagan's policy of recommending timber cuts at unsustainable levels in U.S. forests; only litigation or its own scientific reports have forced the White House to scale back its plans. ★ Bill Clinton supports "the basic outline" of Sierra Club-supported bills now in Congress, which would provide nearly total protection for ancient forests while also protecting workers. Though old-growth forests are not an issue in Arkansas, Clinton has shown a lack of leadership concerning clearcutting in his home state. In 1986 he took no position on a Forest Service plan to allow clearcutting on virtually all marketable timber in Ouachita National Forest.

ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT ★ The Bush administration overrode the Endangered Species Act this year to permit logging on 1,700 acres of federal land in Oregon that are home to the threatened northern spotted owl. Simultaneously, Secretary of the Interior Manuel Lujan announced a "preservation plan" for parts of the Pacific Northwest that would protect only about half the acreage mandated by the act and the courts. ★ Bill Clinton supports the Endangered Species Act and says that—unlike President Bush—he would have signed the international biodiversity treaty at the Earth Summit, protecting plant and animal species worldwide. ■



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

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

To: PAM At: SEN. GORE
Fax #: 228 2611 Date: 10/21
From: NANCY # of pages (incl. cover):
Description:

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

To: Kate

Al's low LCV score is indeed
because of absences. We missed 5 votes -
ancient forests, grazing fees, mining law reform,
SWDA, and nuclear testing. But we got a
perfect 100 on the other votes.

P

Exhibition on Environmental Protection and Control Technology include: assessing environmental threats to social and economic development, examining advances in pollution control technologies, acting as a forum for exchange of knowledge, and promoting industrial operation in environmental protection and control technology (10/4).

===== SOCIETY AND POLITICS =====

*9 LCV SCORECARD: "HEROES AND ZEROES"

The League of Conservation Voters released today its 22nd annual scorecard, which rates U.S. lawmakers on their environmental records. The national averages, based on 16 votes in the House and 12 in the Senate, were 42 percent for the House, 44 percent for the Senate. Republicans in the House were at 17 percent, and GOPers in the Senate averaged 19 percent. House Dems scored 57 percent and Senate Dems 63 percent. Regional averages for House/Senate: West Coast (48/38), Rocky Mountains (34/20), Southwest (24/22), Midwest (42/46), Middle Atlantic (52/67), Southeast (29/32) and New England (77/74).

GORE: Among individual rankings, Tennessee Sen. Al Gore, Dem VP candidate, saw his 1992 ranking drop to 58 percent. His score during the 1989-90 Congress was 95 percent, and during the 1991-92 Congress, 66 percent.

LCV'S "HEROES" (all Dems except where noted): SENATE (100%)
-- Lieberman (CT), Kennedy (MA), Wellstone (MN), Metzenbaum (OH),

For all
see how
the
this

Because
of Absences?

1992 SENATE VOTE DESCRIPTIONS

In the Senate, environmental protection and conservation legislation did not fare well in the second half of the 102nd Congress. The energy bill, in particular, fell short on conservation measures and public health protection in terms of safeguards on nuclear energy use. We have included three votes on these issues.

As with the House of Representatives' work on the energy bill, much of the Senate work was done in committee and can not be reflected in this **Scorecard**. Environmentalists do applaud the Senate for not recommending drilling in the pristine Arctic National Wildlife Refuge as part of its energy proposal.

On other biodiversity and public lands issues, the Senate voted against legislation which would protect ecosystems along the coastline of Florida from drilling and against legislation to protect the Outer Continental Shelf from demonstrated, destructive drilling. The Senate also voted for very weak and environmentally unsound forest and wilderness protection legislation for Montana.

Unlike the House of Representatives, the Senate failed to raise subsidized grazing fees on public lands. The Senate also failed to reform the 1872 Mining Law, under which public lands and the minerals unearthed are practically given away to the mining industry. Finally, although the House of Representatives passed landmark legislation in 1991 to protect the California Desert, the legislation reached an impasse in the Senate. We have included cosponsorship of the California Desert Protection Act as a measure of Senators' commitment to preserve the desert and its fragile ecosystems.

Environmentalists do commend the Senate for decisively rejecting a measure to open up the Ancient Forests to excessive and destructive "salvage" logging practices.

The Senate did not take a lot of action concerning pollution and public health; we have included in the **Scorecard** a vote to gut the Safe Water Drinking Act which the Senate narrowly rejected.

At the time this edition of the **Scorecard** went to print, the Senate had yet to act on population stabilization legislation.

The Senate, too, leaves a lot of unfinished business for the 103rd Congress to address.

ENERGY AND GLOBAL WARMING

1 INDUSTRIAL ENERGY CONSUMPTION

American industries consume 25 quadrillion BTU's annually, much of which could be saved through conservation and utilization of more efficient technologies. Senator Richard Bryan (D-NV) offered an amendment to the Senate energy bill to require the Secretary of Energy to establish voluntary energy savings targets for energy-intensive industries and to initiate an industrial energy-use reporting program for large and medium-sized companies. The final component of the

amendment requires the Department of Energy to provide competitive grants to industry trade associations for education and training programs in order to promote achievement of the voluntary savings targets.

Environmentalists support this amendment because of the enormous potential for cost-effective energy efficiency improvements in the industrial sector. The new energy savings targets in conjunction with the grants program could save 1 quadrillion BTU's per year by 2010 with a net economic savings of \$25 billion between 1993 and 2010.

The vote is on Senator Bennett Johnston's (D LA) motion to table (kill) the Bryan amendment. Motion to table agreed to 58-40 on February 19, 1992. **NO** is the pro-environment vote.

2

NUCLEAR SAFETY

Senator Joseph Biden (D DE) proposed an amendment to the energy bill that would have established an independent Nuclear Safety Investigations Board, modeled after the National Transportation Safety Board, to investigate nuclear accidents and other significant safety-related incidents. In 1990 and 1991, there were at least 16 such significant events at nuclear facilities.

The Biden amendment sought to correct a structural problem in the nuclear regulatory system that requires the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) to sit in judgment of itself. The NRC, which licenses atomic reactors and certifies their safety, cannot act as an independent investigator when one of the plants turns out to be unsafe. (The proposed board would not have increased NRC's budget.)

The vote is on Senator Bennett Johnston's (D LA) motion to table (kill) Senator Biden's amendment. The Johnston motion was agreed to 63-35 on February 19, 1992. **NO** is the pro-environment vote.

3

PUBLIC HEARINGS FOR NUCLEAR REACTORS

All of the nation's current nuclear reactors were built under a two-step licensing process — affected citizens could request public hearings before construction, and again before an operating license was granted. Public participation frequently brought to the attention of the regulators problems that they had missed, and the plants were made safer as a result.

The "one-step licensing" provision of the Senate energy bill (S 2166) takes away citizens' rights to hold post-construction public hearings. Senators Bob Graham (D FL) and Wyche Fowler (D GA) proposed a compromise amendment that, while not returning to a full two-step system, would have preserved the right to safety hearings on significant issues that had not been considered before reactor construction.

The vote was on Senator Bennett Johnston's (D LA) motion to table (kill) the Graham-Fowler amendment. The motion to table was agreed to 52-43 on February 6, 1992. **NO** is the pro-environment vote.

BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

4 MONTANA WILDERNESS BILL

The Montana National Forest Management Act (S 1696), introduced by Montana Senators Conrad Burns (R) and Max Baucus (D), designates only 1.1 million of six million acres of Montana's undeveloped national forest lands as wilderness. Montana's forest lands and wilderness are home to grizzly bears and other threatened or endangered wildlife. Environmentalists feel strongly that the lands should be preserved and protected. In contrast, the lands covered by S 1696 are not the areas most at risk of development.

S 1696 would "release" 4 million acres of roadless wilderness areas for logging, mining, oil drilling, road construction and other uses. Moreover, the bill does not provide adequate protection for the water resources within the wilderness areas. The bill also limits judicial review of forest management decisions concerning the use of non-wilderness lands; this is of particular concern to environmentalists because it would prevent the public from challenging agency decisions allowing logging and other activities.

Environmentalists assert that the Montana National Forest Management Act does not adequately protect Montana's forest lands. S 1696 was adopted, 75-22 on March 26, 1992, **NO** is the pro-environment vote.

5 FLORIDA COASTLINE PROTECTION

In the Senate's deliberation on the national energy policy (S 2166), consideration was given to implementing longer-term moratoria on offshore oil and gas drilling in the nation's ecologically sensitive Outer Continental Shelf (OCS). Environmentalists argue that the nation's energy needs can not and should not be met by increased drilling at the expense of fragile marine ecosystems. Florida's coastline, in particular, has become a key battleground in the offshore drilling debate.

Senator Bob Graham (D FL) offered an amendment to the energy bill to provide for a moratorium through January 1, 2000, for new offshore leasing anywhere off the coast of Florida. The Graham amendment would also have required repurchase of existing oil and gas leases off the Florida Keys and Everglades from the oil companies.

The vote is on Senator Bennett Johnston's (D LA) weakening amendment, which did not include protection for the coasts of southern Florida. Senator Johnston's amendment also substantially undermined the repurchase provisions. The Johnston amendment was adopted 53-45 on February 19, 1992, **NO** is the pro-environment vote.

6 OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF

Senator Bob Graham (D FL) offered an amendment to the energy bill which would require the Secretary of the Interior to cancel a lease for oil and gas exploration of the Outer Continental Shelf if it has resulted in serious harm or posed a serious threat to the environment or national security. The Graham amendment also would have strengthened the role of coastal states in federal offshore drilling decisions.

The vote is on Senator Bennett Johnston's (D LA) motion to table (kill) Senator Graham's amendment to protect the Outer Continental Shelf. The Johnston motion to kill the Graham amendment was agreed to 51-47 on Feb. 19, 1992. NO is the pro-environment vote.

7 CALIFORNIA DESERT PROTECTION ACT

The California Desert Protection Act (S 21), introduced by Senator Alan Cranston (D CA), would enlarge both Death Valley National Monument and Joshua Tree National Monument and would designate them as National Parks. It would create a 1.5 million acre Mojave National Park and would establish Bureau of Land Management (BLM) wilderness areas encompassing more than four million acres. These measures would protect California's shrinking and threatened desert ecosystems.

The desert lands protected by S 21 contain extraordinary variety and scenic beauty, all of which is extremely fragile and highly susceptible to permanent damage from activities such as off-road vehicle use, mining and grazing. Areas covered by S 21 vary from towering mountain ranges to extensive sand dunes. These lands contain thousands of archaeological sites and tremendous biological diversity, providing habitat for more than 2,000 species of wildlife and plants, including the threatened desert tortoise and the rare desert bighorn sheep. The protection afforded by S 21 is urgently needed to retain a portion of the desert in its natural condition for future generations.

The House of Representatives passed similar legislation by an overwhelming majority at the end of 1991. The League has included cosponsorship of S 21, the California Desert Protection Act as a pro-environment action. Currently, 27 Senators have cosponsored S 21.

B ANCIENT FORESTS AND ENDANGERED SPECIES

The Ancient Forests of the Pacific Northwest provide unique habitat for more than 200 species of fish and wildlife. The trees themselves—cedar, fir, pine, hemlock, spruce and magnificent redwoods—range from 200 to 1,000 years old; and some stand over 350 feet tall. Scientists estimate that at the current logging rates, America's rich heritage of Ancient Forests will be virtually eliminated in less than 20 years. Most of the logging is on public lands and is subsidized by American taxpayers.

The Ancient Forests are a fragile, interconnected ecosystem; basic biology states that dying trees on the forests' floor decompose to provide nutrients for growing animals and plantlife. Excessive "salvage" logging, clearing the forests of all diseased, burned, or dead trees, breaks the lifecycle of the forests irreparably. Environmentalists view such "salvage" logging attempts as legislative loopholes, which may severely damage the delicate balance of the ecosystem by allowing destructive removal of a key biological component of the Ancient Forests.

The vote is on Senator Brock Adams' (D WA) motion to table (kill) Senator Slade Gorton's (R WA) amendment to the Interior Appropriations bill to allow salvage timber sales in the northern spotted owls' habitat. The Gorton amendment would override protections provided for

wildlife and the environment by the Endangered Species Act, the National Forest Management Act and the National Environmental Policy Act. The Adams motion to kill the Gorton amendment was agreed to, 60-35, on August 6, 1992. YES is the pro-environment vote.

9

GRAZING FEES

For decades, the two percent of US livestock producers who graze their cattle on public lands in the West have paid ridiculously low fees to American taxpayers (\$1.92 per Animal Unit Month (AUM)). A report issued by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and the US Forest Service states that the grazing fee receipts fell \$52 million short of meeting the costs for the two agencies' programs. Moreover, overgrazing of land severely impacts the environment by damaging soils, degrading habitat for wildlife and ruining streams and riparian areas that are crucial for fish populations and biological diversity. Thus, taxpayers in effect are paying a privileged few to ruin close to 270 million acres of taxpayer-owned rangelands.

Senator Jim Jeffords (R VT) proposed an amendment to raise grazing fees by 25% to \$2.40 per acre. As a compromise, Senator Jeffords amended his proposal by limiting the increase in fees to only large ranches with more than 500 head of cattle. The Jeffords amendment would have broadened the use of fee receipts to help cover all costs of the BLM and Forest Service grazing programs and to help restore the tens of millions of acres of rangelands and thousands of miles of streams and riparian areas damaged by decades of overgrazing. Finally, the amendment would have abolished BLM's single-use grazing advisory boards, as previously directed by Congress, and turn their activities over to BLM's multiple-use advisory boards.

The vote is on Senator Robert Byrd's (D WV) motion to table (kill) the Jeffords amendment to raise livestock grazing fees on public lands. The motion to table was agreed to 50-44 on August 6, 1992. NO is the pro-environment vote.

10

1872 MINING LAW REFORM

The archaic 1872 Mining Law has sanctioned the degradation and giveaway of publicly-owned land for decades. Enacted over a century ago to promote development of the West, the law has remained in effect due to the heavy lobbying efforts and financial contributions from corporations. The mining industry can buy Western land for as little as \$2.50 an acre and mine it without any meaningful federal environmental quality standards or reclamation requirements.

Mining companies have unearthed billions of dollars worth of hardrock minerals and do not pay any royalties for the minerals they extract from the public lands. Moreover, the corporations have left the clean-up of the land, estimated at \$11 billion, to American taxpayers.

For several years, Senator Dale Bumpers (D AR) has introduced an amendment which would suspend the issuance of patents to mining claims for one year, while the Senate overhauls the 1872 Mining Law.

This year, Senator Harry Reid (D NV) introduced an industry-backed substitute to the Bumpers patenting moratorium, which permitted mining claimants to purchase claims for the

value of the surface. In other words, mining companies would be able to acquire public lands worth billions of dollars for only a few hundred dollars in some cases. The amendment was apparently designed to thwart efforts for a more comprehensive reform of the archaic mining statute.

The vote is on Senator Bumpers' move to table (kill) Senator Reid's substitute amendment. The move to table was rejected 44-52 on August 3, 1992. YES is the pro-environment vote. The Reid substitute was then approved by the Senate.

POLLUTION AND PUBLIC HEALTH

11 SAFE DRINKING WATER ACT

Senator Pete Domenici (R NM) offered an amendment to the VA-HUD-Independent Agencies Appropriations bill to suspend much of the Safe Drinking Water Act (SDWA). The Domenici amendment would eviscerate existing national standards for over 50 toxic and cancer-causing chemicals in all public drinking water systems in the United States. The amendment would eliminate the standards for PCBs, dioxin, nitrates and dozens of other harmful chemicals.

The amendment was proposed even though no hearings were held on it and despite opposition from a bipartisan group of Senators from the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, which has jurisdiction over the SDWA. This measure would leave regulatory agencies with an outdated and ineffective measure of potability to apply to tap water, suspending not only regulations, but also the right of all Americans to clean drinking water.

However, Senators Frank Lautenberg (D NJ), John Chafee (R RI) and David Durenberger (R MN), with the support of many other Senators on the Environment and Public Works Committee, introduced a second-degree alternative amendment to Senator Domenici's moratorium bill. The Lautenberg-Chafee-Durenberger compromise would: (a) require a comprehensive review of the costs and benefits of the drinking water law; (b) give small systems a break on several monitoring requirements; and (c) delay the issuance of the new drinking water rules for radon and several other radioactive contaminants to allow time for further study.

The vote is on Senator Domenici's motion to table (kill) the compromise amendment to the Domenici amendment. The Domenici motion was defeated 43-53 on September 9, 1992. NO is the pro-environment vote. The Domenici amendment as amended by the Lautenberg-Chafee-Durenberger amendment was subsequently adopted by voice vote.

12 NUCLEAR TESTING BAN

Nuclear explosions were banned in all environments except underground by the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963. Most environmentalists have long believed that any military technology benefits from continued testing underground are outweighed by the risks of radioactive contamination and nuclear weapons proliferation.

SENATE VOTES 1992

	1 ENERGY USE	2 NUCLEAR SAFETY	3 NUCLEAR REACTOR	4 WILDERNESS	5 FLORIDA COAST	6 OUTER CONTINENTAL SHELF	7 DESERT PROTECTION	8 ANCIENT FORESTS	9 GRAZING FEES	10 MINING LAW REFORM	11 SAFE DRINKING WATER	12 NUCLEAR TESTING	LCV SCORES		
													% 1992	% 1991-92	% 1989-90
NORTH DAKOTA															
BURDICK (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	?	?	?	0	30	50
CONRAD (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	17	32	36
OHIO															
GLENN (D)	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	75	74	55
METZENBAUM (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100	97	91
OKLAHOMA															
BOREN (D)	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	42	36	22
NICKLES (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3	4
OREGON															
HATFIELD (R)	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	42	34	73
PACKWOOD (R)	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	25	19	59
PENNSYLVANIA															
SPECTER (R)	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	50	45	64
WOFFORD (D)	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	67	76	
RHODE ISLAND															
CHAFEE (R)	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	58	69	46
PELL (D)	-	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	83	92	95
SOUTH CAROLINA															
HOLLINGS (D)	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	42	54	59
THURMOND (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3	27
SOUTH DAKOTA															
DASCHLE (D)	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	58	56	64
PRESSLER (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	8	14	50
TENNESSEE															
GORE (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	?	?	?	?	58	66	95
SASSER (D)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	50	52	68
TEXAS															
BENTSEN (D)	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	50	43	50
GRAMM (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	10	4
UTAH															
GARN (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	7	13
HATCH (R)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	?	-	?	0	7	8

Now that the Cold War has ended and the Soviet Union has disintegrated, the primary justification for continuing nuclear weapons testing has abruptly shifted from staying ahead in the arms competition to "enhancing nuclear weapons safety." However, current weapons are already designed to be safe against an accidental nuclear explosion, and in the 45-year history of the nuclear arms race, despite numerous accidents involving nuclear weapons, no such explosion has ever occurred.

Environmentalists believe that there are far more cost-effective methods to reduce the public's exposure to cancer-causing agents than spending billions of dollars building so-called "safer" nuclear weapons. The scatter of plutonium in an accident involving a nuclear warhead is one of the least likely public exposure risks. Further reducing the public's environmental and occupational exposure to lead, benzene and cadmium, for example, would be a far more effective use of a billion dollars than further refinements in nuclear weapons safety.

The vote is on the Mark Hatfield (R OR) - Jim Exon (D NE) - George Mitchell (D ME) amendment to the Senate version of the FY 93 Energy and Water Appropriations bill. The amendment provides for a nine-month test moratorium, followed by a three and one-quarter-year period during which up to 15 nuclear test explosions, limited to nuclear safety and reliability of existing weapons, would be permitted, and an end to all underground nuclear tests after September 30, 1996, unless the Commonwealth of Independent States conducts a nuclear test after this period. The amendment was adopted 68-26 on August 3, 1992. YES is the pro-environment vote.

KEY: + INDICATES A PRO-ENVIRONMENT VOTE, - INDICATES A VOTE AGAINST THE ENVIRONMENT, ? INDICATES AN ABSENCE, I INDICATES THAT A MEMBER WAS INELIGIBLE TO VOTE. AN ABSENCE (?) COUNTS AS A NEGATIVE VOTE UNLESS OTHERWISE SPECIFIED IN THE TEXT.

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News Digest

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Dollar Resumes Its Fall Despite Bank Purchases

The dollar fell sharply again, continuing its drop into record-low territory despite attempts by central banks to boost its value. The dollar's slide helped push down stock and bond prices for the second straight day. But gold climbed. The dollar hit a record low against the German mark, fell against the British pound and rose against the yen. — See story / this page

Dollar Pressures Bonds

The bond market retreat accelerated under pressure from the falling dollar and heavy pending new Treasury supplies, including two note sales of \$25.5 billion commencing today. The key 30-year U.S. issue fell 1½ points, boosting its yield to 7.5%. Other average rates were provided in the weekly T-bill auction of 3.14% for six months and 3.24% for six months. — See story / page 10

Stocks Retreats Another 26

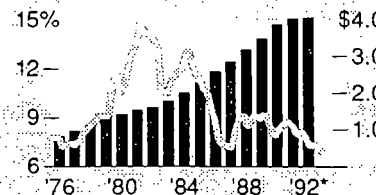
Stock prices continued to tumble along with the dollar and bonds. Program trading remained a factor. The Dow Jones industrial average fell another 25.93 points to 3228.17, giving it its two-day loss to 77 points. Lines overwhelmed advances by 4-to-1. Economically sensitive sectors such as autos, metals and chemicals were among the weakest. — See story / page 7

Britain Almost Forced To Raise Interest Rates

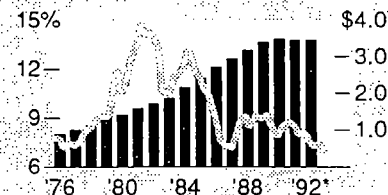
Big Borrowers

Total U.S. indebtedness (in trillions, right scale) — personal, business (nonfinancial) and government — with yields on 10-year Treasury notes

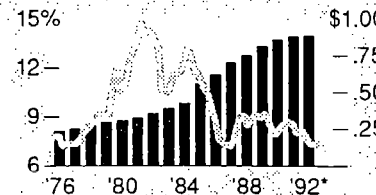
Household



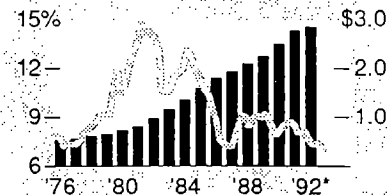
Business



State/Local Government



Federal Government



Source: Federal Reserve Board

Investor's Business Daily

DEBT SQUEEZE: Borrowing by businesses, households and state and local governments has slowed markedly in recent years, but borrowing by the federal government has continued to surge. Interest rates, as measured by the 10-year Treasury yields, have fallen sharply despite the surge in federal government indebtedness.

Big Manufacturers See Upturn Staying Anemic

U.S. automobile, oil and other leading corporations expect no quick upturn in business conditions and are betting the American economy will putter along in coming months. As a result, corporate leaders faced with tight-fisted U.S. consumers and slack conditions overall are turning more cautious in spending for production

WASHINGTON & WORLD

■ Bill Clinton conceded that the Republicans appear to be gaining in the presidential campaign polls, while President Bush campaigned in New Jersey to spotlight a \$10 billion proposal for job training. Bush announced the jobs plan at a vocational training center. — See story / page 5

■ Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore fired back at Republican assaults on

AL GORE, THE ENVIRONMENTALIST Is He A 'Radical' Or Just A Forward Thinker?

By Michael Fumento

"I don't think Al Gore can be accused of being a radical on the environment." So says House Speaker Thomas Foley, D.-Wash.

Not everyone agrees with that. Since Foley made that comment in defense of Gore at a press conference July 9, the Bush campaign and others have accused Clinton's running mate of extremism on environmental issues.

Bush-Quayle senior adviser Charles Black calls Gore "one of the most radical environmentalists anywhere in the Congress."

The editor of the libertarian magazine "Reason," Virginia Postrel, calls Gore a "radical out to remake American society."

Fred Smith, of the free enterprise-oriented Competitive Enterprise Institute of Washington, calls Gore a "green theocrat."

Smith wrote recently that, "although the press have scrambled to portray Mr. Gore as an environmental 'moderate,' a close look shows he is quite radical."

But is the use of the "R word" really fair?

Gore has certainly not shied away from using radical turns of phrase.

Upon his nomination for the vice presidency, Gore stated, "Now we can

lead an environmental revolution." In writing, he has proclaimed the need for a "wrenching transformation" of society.

Environmental activists praise Gore. At the same time, they acknowledge that his views on the environment differ from those of Congress.

League of Conservation Voters associate director Ali Webb said, "He is out in front of the parade. He is so far beyond his Senate colleagues that he is all by himself."



Al Gore

politicians to be a bit freer in talking about what some might see as radical solutions to the problems."

The Bush campaign and other Gore opponents have sought proof of Gore's extremism by scouring his 1992 book, "Earth in the Balance," which is currently on The New York Times list of bestsellers.

The book has generally been well-received by the press, with The New

York Times reviewer, for example, saying, Gore's "colleagues on Capitol Hill, for starters, should read this perspicacious, heartening book and harken to its message."

Even the unfavorable reviews tend to concede that the book is thoughtful and well-written. They note with approbation that it appears to have been written by the senator himself, rather than a ghostwriter — as is the case with most books ostensibly by politicians.

Yet, even the favorable reviews sometimes grant that the book, especially toward the end, seems to have a vein of weirdness.

A memo sent last week from a staffer at the Democratic National Committee to the Clinton campaign looked at the book as a possible campaign issue with the opposition.

The memo said Gore is potentially vulnerable because, looking at two sections of the book, one could argue: "He has no sense of proportion: He equates the failure to recycle aluminum cans with the Holocaust — an equation that parodies the former and dishonors the latter."

Gore has also been criticized for his analysis of the world's worst oil spill, which occurred in the Persian Gulf during Operation Desert Storm. Gore wrote, "If the oil had not been spilled, it would have been joined with other oil used for fuel and converted into carbon dioxide. And that would contribute to

Continued on Next Page

AL GORE, THE ENVIRONMENTALIST

From page 1

climate change."

Said John Baden, chairman of the Foundation for Research on Economics and the Environment, "That seems to be a remarkably insensitive and uninformed reaction. It trivializes this act of wanton economic barbarism."

Gore often employs imagery from World War II to make his point. In particular, he has made repeated references in his writings comparing environmental devastation to the Holocaust and to Kristallnacht (the destruction of German-Jewish stores in 1938).

University of Virginia environmental scientist Patrick Michaels writes in a soon-to-be-published book, "Sound and Fury," that such analogies are "repugnant to one with many relatives who experienced that trauma" of the Holocaust.

Some Gore critics say that despite this, "Earth in the Balance" on the whole is a moderate-sounding book, but some background is required to show some problems with Gore's positions.

For example, Gore's book calls global warming "the most dangerous of all" threats to the environment. Gore cites as his original inspiration for that belief the work of the late Roger Revelle, who had been the director of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography.

But Gore doesn't point out that

before his death last year, Revelle published a paper that concluded "The scientific base for a greenhouse warming is too uncertain to justify drastic action at this time. There is little risk in delaying policy responses."

Likewise, Gore cites the work of NASA scientists Roy Spencer and John Christy to state, "In March 1990, the average recorded temperature throughout Siberia was an astonishing 18 degrees Fahrenheit higher than any previous March on record."

But he doesn't say that worldwide data collected over the last 12 years by these two scientists using supersensitive satellite readings have shown just a tiny increase in global temperatures. The change translates to only half a degree Fahrenheit by the middle of the next century, and that increase itself has not been steady.

"It's hard to come to any definite conclusions" based on this data, Spencer told *Investor's Business Daily*, "except that we haven't yet observed clear evidence of global warming."

Gregg Easterbrook, an environmental reporter for the liberal New Republic magazine and for *Newsweek*, observed in a recent article that increasingly, Gore's "environmental oratory is out of control."

Wrote Easterbrook, "Lately, Gore and the distinguished biologist Paul

Ehrlich have ventured into dangerous territory by suggesting that journalists quietly self-censor environmental evidence that is not alarming, because such reports, in Gore's words, "undermine the effort to build a solid base of public support for the difficult actions we must soon take."

A hint of this may be found in Gore's book, when he writes of scientists whose "views (on global warming) sometimes carry far too much weight," and that, "The news media must take some responsibility for this quandary."

He goes on to assert that, "In this case, when 98% of the scientists in a given field share one view and 2% disagree, both viewpoints are sometimes presented in a format in which each appears equally credible."

But Easterbrook notes that a recent survey of climatologists by the environmentalist group Greenpeace found that 47% do not believe that there will be a point "in the future, at which continued business-as-usual policies run a serious risk of instigating a runaway greenhouse effect."

Instead, Gore repeatedly states that drastic action, though expensive, must be undertaken immediately to stop global warming. "We must act boldly, decisively, comprehensively, and quickly, even before we know every last detail about the crisis," he wrote.

Easterbrook commented: "Skeptical debate is supposed to be one of the strengths of liberalism. It's eerie to hear liberal environmentalists asserting that views they disagree with ought not to be heard."

Gore, in fact, put such practices into effect when he refused to appear last January on Cable News Network's "Larry King Live" interview show opposite atmospheric scientist and global warming critic S. Fred Singer. Gore's publicist said he "could not appear under those circumstances." A week later Gore did the show, sans Singer.

One aspect of Gore's perspective that his critics find very disturbing is that he doesn't simply see environmental issues as an important thing, he seems to see them as *the* thing.

Gore's declaration that, "We must make the rescue of the environment the central organizing principle for civilization," has become a lightning rod for criticism.

Former presidential candidate and conservative commentator Patrick Buchanan declared last week at the Republican convention, "Wrong, Albert. The central organizing principle of this republic is freedom."

CEI's Smith said that line from the book, and others, offset what appears to be in many other places an affirmation of the value of the free-enterprise system.

Said Smith: "The book in its core is extremely anti-market, anti-free enterprise... It's much like reading Marx and Engels. He very much understands

capitalism. He says capitalism is fantastic but can't solve environmental problems."

The CEI compiles ratings of senators from the current Congress on tax issues. Ranked on a sliding index of "taxophobes" and "taxoholics," only one Senator, Alan Cranston, D-Cal., is ranked lower than Gore as a taxoholic — and Cranston is retiring after the current session.

The National Taxpayers Union ranks Gore as the worst offender in the Senate for 1989 and 1990 in terms of roll-call votes for increased government spending. For 1991, in the same rankings, he improved somewhat to seventh-worst in the Senate.

That leads some to worry how he'll pay for his environmental agenda.

Said Smith, "Gore sees taxation as a valuable tool in reshaping the world to fit his green vision."

The DNC memo to the Clinton campaign mentioned above said this is a weak spot of the book, saying Gore opponents could use his book to argue: "All he wants to do is raise a lot of taxes, including carbon taxes (taxes on fossil fuels), pollution charges, a 'Virgin Materials Fee,' and a gasoline tax."

Not everyone is against Gore's proposals. A book published earlier this year written by Jeremy Rifkin and Carol Rifkin give Gore the best score in Congress.

Jeremy Rifkin, president of the Foundation for Economic Trends in Washington, seems to think he has found a kindred spirit in Gore.

He has said of "Earth in the Balance,"

"If we are to take this analysis and blueprint seriously, it portends a revolutionary change in political outlook in the 21st century."

A fierce opponent of biotechnology and author of a controversial recent book blaming beef consumption for many of the world's environmental problems, Rifkin is considered perhaps the single person most identified with the "small is beautiful" movement that considers technology evil and advocates a return to an agrarian society.

Rifkin calls himself a "time rebel" at war with modernity, and the Democrats appear to see Gore as vulnerable to being labeled the same.

The DNC memo warned that one argument that could be used against him is that: "He is a Luddite who holds the naive view that technology is evil and wants to abolish automobiles."

The Luddites were a group of workers in 19th century Britain who smashed labor-saving textile machinery in protest over slumping wages and lost jobs. Such an argument may not sell well with business, which the Clinton-Gore ticket has actively wooed.

Regardless of Gore's views, however, he will only be vice president, a position that traditionally has little power other than that of succeeding the incumbent in case of death or incapacitation. The odds of Gore having to succeed the youthful Clinton appear to be remote.

Still, says CEI's Smith, "Just as Bush was the regulatory overseer for Reagan and Quayle is for Bush, it is quite possible Gore will be given this role in a Clinton presidency. It's quite possible Clinton would assign Gore ipso facto ecological czar powers."

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Preston Focuses On Third World Poverty

From page 1

Fund, to help get Western Europe back on its feet.

In the 1950s, the emphasis switched to project-based development. Today it has 158 nation members. It lends money for projects like bridges and hydroelectric plants.

The bank also makes "structural loans." They amount to an infusion of cash in exchange for promises of policy reform, like reining in the deficit or

tion that resembles an investment bank.

"He brought the company back to life," said George Salem, banking analyst at Prudential Securities Inc. "It was something of a high-class dinosaur in the early 1980s. It had a bleak long-term future."

With the Latin debt crisis of the 1980s under control, the World Bank today faces one of its greatest challenges ever: financing redevelopment in the former communist countries of Eastern Europe

reshaping the World Bank, he is playing it close to the vest. There's talk that Preston has commissioned a formal study to re-examine the bank's mission. But most recent presidents have done the same thing, with mixed results.

This spring, London's Financial Times asked Preston about the bank's future.

No clear answer emerged. But Preston did say, "We have no monopoly on brains. Although we sometimes have"

went out with the affection of bank personnel and senior management," said Salem.

"He came with a brilliant reputation as perhaps the best commercial banker in the world," Orr said.

"He's running the World Bank with a very firm hand," Orr continued. "I've heard dozens of times from different people that his management style is to give subordinates a lot of authority and latitude and expect great things from them. He comes down hard on them if they fail."

Morgan was born in New York City. He graduated from Harvard in 1921.

IBM, TCI Reportedly Are Close To Pact On Information System

NEW YORK (AP) — IBM is near agreement with Tele-Communications Inc., the nation's largest cable TV operator, to form a two-way information delivery system serving homes and businesses, industry executives said yesterday.

The computer giant also is continuing talks with Time Warner Inc. about

nation's second-largest cable system, has been seeking the investment to help pay down its huge debt. The media company would benefit from the IBM cable venture as a new outlet for its magazines, TV shows and films.

Talks on the IBM investment are continuing, the executives said, speak-