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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 11, 1992

The Honorable Albert Gore
United States Senate
393 Russell Senate Building
Washington, DC 20510-4202

Dear Al:

Jim Baker wanted me to let you know that he had talked with me about the Rio issues after having a communication from you. He would have called you back, but was on his way to his 40th high school reunion.

Let me also add a discordant note based on your Sunday TV appearance with Mike Deland. I don't usually watch those programs because of our church schedule, but just happened to tune that one in. One of your comments was something to the effect that polluters have a back door to the White House.

Al, that is just untrue. In all the Earth Summit discussions I have chaired over the past several weeks, never has an argument of that nature arisen, and never have any of the "polluters" been in to see me.

It is statements like yours, Al, that cause American citizens to be cynical about their government, and that hurts everyone, including you and all other Members of Congress. All of us need to work harder at being positive about public service and public servants, rather than negative.

Sincerely,



Clayton Yeutter
Counsellor to the President
for Domestic Policy

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Honorable Albert Gore
United States Senate
393 Russell Senate Building
Washington, DC 20510-4202

See pages 5-6

Am Speth

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New York, New York)

For Immediate Release

September 21, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

United Nations
New York, New York

11:02 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Mr. President -- to you, sir, and Mr. Secretary General and distinguished guests. Forty-seven years ago, I was a young man of 21, and like thousands of others of my generation, I'd gone off to war to help keep freedom alive. But forty-seven years ago this month, the war was finally over, and I was looking forward to peace and the chance to begin my life in earnest. Nineteen forty-five, it marked a moment of promise, not just for me, but for all of mankind. A great struggle against dictatorship had been fought and won.

Across the globe we all look forward to a future free of war, a world where we might raise our children in peace and freedom. And this institution, the United Nations, born amidst the ashes of war, embodied those hopes and dreams like no other.

But the hopes and dreams and 1945 remained unfulfilled. Communist imperialism divided the world in two, our hopes for peace and our dreams of freedom were frozen in the grip of Cold War. And instead of finding a common ground, we found ourselves at ground zero. And instead of living on Churchill's broad sunlit uplands, millions found that there was, as Arthur Koestler so chillingly wrote, darkness at noon. And instead of uniting the nations, this body became a forum for distrust and division among nations. And in a cruel irony, the United Nations, created to free the world of conflict, became itself conflict's captive.

I, too, lived through those disputes. I sat where you sit, proudly so, served in this Assembly. And I saw in my time the consequences of the Cold War's hot words on the higher missions of the United Nations. And now, 47 years later, we stand at the end of another war, the Cold War. And our hopes and dreams have awakened again.

Driven by its own internal contradictions and banished by the people's undying thirst for freedom, imperial communism has collapsed in its birthplace. And today, Russia has awakened -- democratic, independent and free. And the Baltic States are free; and so, too, are Ukraine and Armenia and Belarus, and Kazakhstan and the other independent states joining the nations of Central and Eastern Europe in freedom.

The fear of nuclear Armageddon between the superpowers has vanished. And we are proud to have done our part to ensure that our schoolchildren do not have to practice hiding under their desks for fear of nuclear attack as the generation before them.

And I am proud, also, to salute the courageous leaders with nuclear responsibilities -- President Yeltsin, Kravchuk, Nazarbayev, Shushkevich -- who join me in ending the

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superpower standoff that risked nuclear nightmare. This is the first general assembly to seat you as truly independent and free nations. And to you and the leaders of the other independent states, I say: Welcome home; we are now truly United Nations.

With the Cold War's end, I believe we have a unique opportunity to go beyond artificial divisions of a first, second and third world to forge instead a genuine global community of free and sovereign nations. A community built on respect for principle, of peaceful settlements of disputes, fundamental human rights and the twin pillars of freedom, democracy and free markets.

Already the United Nations, especially the Security Council, has done much to fulfill its original mission and to build this global community. U.N. leadership has been critical in resolving conflicts and brokering peace the entire world over. But securing democracy and securing the peace in the century ahead will be no simple task. Imperial communism may have been vanquished, but that does not end the challenges of our age. Challenges that must be overcome if we are finally to end the divisions between east and west, north and south that fuel strife and strain and conflict and war.

As we support the historic growth of democracy around the world, I believe the community of nations and the United Nations face three critical interrelated challenges as we enter the 21st century:

First, we face the political challenge of keeping today's peace and preventing tomorrow's wars. As we see daily in Bosnia and Somalia and Cambodia, everywhere conflict claims innocent lives, the need for enhanced peacekeeping capabilities has never been greater, the conflicts we deal with more intractable, the costs of conflict higher.

And, second, we face the strategic challenge of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction -- truly the fastest growing security challenge to international peace and order.

And, third, we face the common economic challenge of promoting prosperity for all, of strengthening an open, growth-oriented free market international economic order while safeguarding the environment.

Meeting these challenges will require us to strengthen our collective engagement. It will require us to transform our collective institutions. And, above all, it will require that each of us look seriously at our own governments and how we conduct our international affairs. We, too, must change our institutions and our practices if we are to make a new world of the promise of today; if we're to secure a 21st century peace.

With you today, I would like to discuss these three challenges -- peacekeeping, proliferation and prosperity. And I'd like to use this opportunity to begin to sketch how I believe the international community can work together to meet these three challenges, and how the United States is changing its institutions and policies to catalyze this effort.

Let me begin with peacekeeping. The United Nations has a long and distinguished history of peacekeeping and humanitarian relief. From Cyprus and Lebanon to Cambodia and Croatia, the blue beret has become a symbol of hope amid all that hostility. And the U.N. has long played a central role in preventing conflicts from turning into wars, and strengthened peacekeeping capabilities can help buttress these diplomatic efforts.

But, as much as the United Nations has done, it can do much more. Peacekeepers are stretched to the limit while demands for their services increase by the day. The need for

monitoring and preventive peacekeeping, putting people on the ground before the fighting starts, may become especially critical in volatile regions. This is especially the case because of the rapid and turbulent change that continues to shake Eastern Europe and Eurasia.

Across the lands that once were imprisoned behind an Iron Curtain, peoples are reasserting their historical identities that were frozen in communism's catacomb. Where this is taking place in a democratic manner with tolerance and civility and respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms, this new democratic nationalism is all to the good.

But, unfortunately, we need only look to the bloody battles raging in places such as the former Yugoslavia to see the dangers of ethnic violence. This is the greatest threat to the democratic peace we hope to build with Eastern Europe, with Russia and Eurasia; even more so than economic deprivation.

We fully support the efforts of NATO and CSCE and WEU, the CIS and other competent regional organizations to develop peacekeeping capabilities. We are convinced that enhanced U.N. capabilities, however, are a necessary complement to these regional efforts, not just in Europe and Eurasia, but across the globe.

I welcome the Secretary General's call for a new agenda to strengthen the United Nations' ability to prevent, contain and resolve conflict across the globe. And today I call upon all members to join me in taking bold steps to advance that agenda. I, therefore, will be discussing with my colleagues the merits of a special meeting of the U.N. Security Council to discuss the Secretary General's proposals and to develop concrete responses in five key areas.

One: Robust peacekeeping requires men and equipment that only member states can provide. Nations should develop and train military units for possible peacekeeping operations and humanitarian relief. And these forces must be available on short notice at the request of the Security Council and with the approval, of course, of the governments providing them.

Two: If multinational units are to work together, they must train together. Many nations -- for example, Fiji, Norway, Canada and Finland -- have a long history of peacekeeping. And we can all tap into that experience as we train for expanded operations. Effective multinational action will also require coordinated command-and-control and interoperability of both equipment and communications. Multinational planning; training; field exercises will be needed. These efforts should link up with regional organizations.

And, three: We also need to provide adequate logistical support for peacekeeping and humanitarian operations. Member states should designate stockpiles of resources necessary to meet humanitarian emergencies, including famines, floods, civil disturbances. And this will save valuable time in a crisis.

And four: We will need to develop planning, crisis management, and intelligence capabilities for peacekeeping and humanitarian operations.

And five: We must ensure adequate, equitable financing for U.N. and associated peacekeeping efforts.

As I said, we must change our national institutions if we are to change our international relations. So let me assure you: The United States is ready to do its part to strengthen world peace by strengthening international peacekeeping.

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For decades, the American military has served as a stabilizing presence around the globe. And I want to draw on our extensive experience in winning wars and keeping the peace to support U.N. peacekeeping.

I have directed the United States Secretary of Defense to place a new emphasis on peacekeeping. Because of peacekeeping's growing importance as a mission for the United States military, we will emphasize training of combat, engineering and logistical units for the full range of peacekeeping and humanitarian activities.

And we will work with the United Nations to best employ our considerable lift, logistics, communications and intelligence capabilities to support peacekeeping operations. And we will offer our capabilities for joint simulations and exercises to strengthen our ability to undertake joint peacekeeping operations. There is room for all countries, large and small, and I hope all will play a part.

Member states, as always, must retain the final decision on the use of their troops, of course. But we must develop our ability to coordinate peacekeeping efforts so that we can mobilize quickly when a threat to peace arises, or when people in need look to the world for help.

I have further directed the establishment of a permanent peacekeeping curriculum in U.S. military schools. Training plainly is key. The United States is prepared to make available our bases and facilities for multinational training and field exercises. One such base, nearby, with facilities is Fort Dix. America used these bases to win the Cold War. And today, with that war over, they can help build a lasting peace.

The United States is willing to provide our military expertise to the United Nations to help the U.N. strengthen its planning and operations for peacekeeping. And we will also broaden American support for monitoring, verification, reconnaissance and other requirements of U.N. peacekeeping or humanitarian assistance operations.

And, finally, the United States will review how we fund peacekeeping and explore new ways to ensure adequate American financial support for U.N. peacekeeping and U.N. humanitarian activities. I do believe that we must think differently about how we ensure and pay for our security in this new era.

While the end of the Cold War may have ended, the superpower nuclear arms competition, regional competition, weapons of mass destruction continue. Over 20 countries have or are developing nuclear, chemical or biological weapons and the means to deliver them. At a time when the United States and its former adversaries are engaged in deep historic cuts in our nuclear arsenals, our children and grandchildren will never forgive us if we allow new and unstable nuclear standoffs to develop around the world.

We believe the Security Council should become a key forum for nonproliferation enforcement. The Security Council should make clear its intention to stem proliferation and sanction proliferators. Reaffirming assurances made at the time the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty was negotiated, I proposed that the Security Council reassure the non-nuclear states that it will seek immediate action to provide assistance in accordance with the charter to any non-nuclear weapons state party to the NPT that is a victim of an act of aggression or an object of threat of aggression involving nuclear weapons.

And I also call for the indefinite renewal of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty when it is reviewed in 1995. I believe we must explore ways that we can strengthen linkages

between these suppliers' clubs, the nuclear suppliers group, Australia group and the missile technology control regime, and specialized U.N. agencies. Here, I would like to note UNSCOM's productive efforts to dismantle the Iraqi weapons of mass destruction program and the International Atomic Energy Agency's continuing good work.

But as the U.N. organizations adapt to stop proliferation, so, too, must every member state change its structures to advance our nonproliferation goals.

In that spirit, I want to announce my intention today to work with the United States Congress to redirect the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, known to some of you as ACDA, to refocus its talents on providing technical support for nonproliferation, weapons monitoring and destruction, and global defense conversion.

Under the direction of the Secretary of State, ACDA should be used not only in completing the traditional arms control agenda, but, just as importantly, in providing technical assistance on our new security agenda.

Even as we work to prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, we must be realistic and guard ourselves against proliferation that has already taken place. And, therefore, we're working toward a cooperative system for defense against limited ballistic missile attacks. And we fully intend to have other nations participate in this global protection system.

And while expanded peacekeeping capabilities and improved nonproliferation efforts will be critical for building and enduring peace, shared economic growth is the long-term foundation for a brighter future, well into the next century. And that's why I stated yesterday, during a moment of international uncertainty that the United States would be strongly engaged with its global partners in building a global economic, financial and trading structure for this new era. At the same time I urge that our global responsibilities lead us to examine ways to strengthen the G-7 coordination process. And I affirmed America's support for European integration that opens markets and enhances Europe's capability to be our partner in the great challenges that we face in this new era.

While the exact form of integration is, of course, for Europeans to determine, we will stand by them. Economic growth is not a zero-sum process. All of us will benefit from the expanded trade and investment that comes from a vibrant, growing world economy.

And to ensure that the benefits of this growth are sustained and shared by all, fair and open competition should be the fuel for the global economic engine. And that's why the United States wants to complete the Uruguay Round of the GATT negotiations as soon as possible and to create a network of free trade agreements beginning with the North American Free Trade Agreement. At the same time we need to recognize that we have a shared responsibility to foster and support the free market reforms necessary to build growing economies and vibrant democracies in the developing world and in the new democratic states. This should be done by promoting the private sector to build these new economies, not by fostering dependency with traditional government-to-government foreign aid.

Since World War II, foreign assistance often served as a weapon in the Cold War. Obviously, we will still use critical foreign assistance funds to meet legitimate security needs. And as our humanitarian operations in Somalia and northern Iraq, Bosnia and the former Soviet Union will testify, we will continue our robust humanitarian assistance efforts to help those suffering from manmade and natural disasters.

But foreign aid, as we've known it, needs to be transformed. The notion of the handout to less-developed countries needs to give way to cooperation in mutually productive economic relationships. We know that the more a nation relies on the private sector and free markets, the higher its rate of growth. The more open to trade, the higher its rate of growth. And the better a country's investment climate, the higher its rate of growth.

To move from aid, what I would call "aid dependency," to economic partnership, we propose to alter fundamentally the focus of U.S. assistance programs to building strong, independent economies that can become contributors to a healthy, growing global economy.

Now, that means that our new emphasis should be on building economic partnerships among our private sectors that will promote prosperity at home and abroad, also. And working with our Congress, I will propose a top-to-bottom overhaul of our institutions that plan and administer foreign assistance, drastically reducing the bureaucracy that has built up around government-based programs; streamlining our delivery systems; and strengthening support for private sector development and economic reform.

The Agency for International Development, AID, another institution born during the Cold War, needs to be fundamentally and radically overhauled. Promoting economic security, opportunity and competitiveness will become a primary mission of the State Department.

Our assistance efforts should not be charity. On the contrary, they should promote mutual prosperity. Therefore, using existing foreign affairs resources, I will propose creating a \$1-billion growth fund. The fund will provide grants and credits to support U.S. businesses in providing expertise, goods and services desperately needed in countries undertaking economic restructuring.

And I will also support significantly increasing the programs of the Export-Import Bank to ensure that U.S. products and technology promote investment in worldwide economic growth. The United States will work with its global partners, especially the G-7 nations, to enhance global growth at this key point in world history as we end one era and begin another. None of us can afford insular policies. Each of us must contribute through greater coordinated action to build a stronger world economy.

Ladies and gentlemen, I realize that what I've outlined today is an ambitious agenda. But we live in remarkable times -- times when empires collapse, ideologies dissolve and walls crumble; times when change can come so fast that we sometimes forget how far and how fast we've progressed in achieving our hopes for a global community of democratic nations.

And in the face of today's changes, with the loss of so much that was familiar and predictable, there is now a great temptation for people everywhere to turn inward and to build walls around themselves. Walls against trade, walls against people, walls against ideas and investment, walls against anything at all that appears new and different.

As the Berlin Wall fell, these walls, too, must fall. They must fall because we cannot separate our fate from that of others. Our peace is so interconnected, our security so intertwined, our prosperity so interdependent that to turn inward and retreat from the world is to invite disaster and defeat. At the threshold of a new century we can truly say a more peaceful, more secure, more prospering future beckons to us. And for the sake of our children and our grandchildren, and for the sake of those who perished during the Cold War, and for the sake of every

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man, woman and child who kept freedom's flame alive even during the darkest noon, let us pledge ourselves to make that future real. And let us pledge ourselves to fulfill the promise of a truly United Nations.

Thank you and may God bless you all. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

11:31 A.M. EDT

UNCED — Buchanan vs Bush

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MINNEAPOLIS (AP) -- Minnesota Republican leaders want Patrick Buchanan -- if he won't take their advice to get out of the race -- to spend his time here focusing on Congress and leaving President Bush alone.

Nothing doing, says the defiant GOP challenger.

"They asked me not to get in in the first place. We didn't take their advice then; we're not taking it now," Buchanan said as he began a three-day visit to Minnesota.

The conservative commentator met briefly on Tuesday with state party Chairman Bob Weinholzer, who issued a statement asking Buchanan to withdraw and support Bush.

"We are hoping Mr. Buchanan is here to do battle with the Democrats," said Weinholzer, state co-chairman of the Bush campaign. "If he insists on staying in, (we ask) that he focus on Congress and go after them."

Buchanan did one thing the GOP leaders wanted: He aimed at least some of his fire at Congress.

Buchanan was sharply critical of Congress at a news conference but also said administration policies are outdated and Bush is a "man of yesterday."

"He is locked into the patterns and ideas of yesterday, and tomorrow is coming right down the road at us," he said. "There's a whole new world order."

Buchanan said voters are "fed up with broken promises, with unbalanced budgets, with \$500 billion dollar S&L scandals, with secret pay raises in the middle of the night, with check-kiting schemes."

"They want a vehicle to say, 'We're fed up with both political establishments and we want change in America' and I can be a vehicle of that protest," Buchanan said.

Buchanan attacked foreign aid and called for cutting \$15 billion, especially funds for Israel and Egypt.

He also criticized plans to bail out the former Soviet Union and offered debt relief as an alternative. The president was unveiling his long-awaited aid package to the former Soviet republics today.

Buchanan also urged Bush to avoid the "Earth Summit" June 1-12 in Rio de Janeiro, saying carbon dioxide limits being urged would strike a "crippling blow to the American economy."

"We think if I can keep this campaign going, we can get a lot more out of Mr. Bush," he said. "I think we can get him to use the line-item veto, we can get him to index capital gains, we can get him to stay home from that Rio summit."

Bush has said he would refuse to go along with a blanket cut in carbon dioxide emissions, which some researchers say causes global warming.

U.S. CITIZENS GROUPS CHALLENGE GOVERNMENT TO STOP SABOTAGING EARTH SUMMIT PROCESS

"Never intended to negotiate in good faith", say citizens groups.

**For Immediate Release
APRIL 2, 1992**

**For Further Information
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New York -- Today, U.S. citizens groups joined with their counterparts from around the world in condemning the lackluster performance of governments in the Earth Summit negotiations. As the fourth and final Preparatory Committee Meeting (PrepCom) for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED, otherwise referred to as the Earth Summit) draws to a close, the negotiations are headed toward an inconclusive finish leaving the Summit's productivity murky. The U.S. has contributed to the PrepCom's disappointing conclusion by adopting a defensive negotiating posture designed to keep its commitments and obligations to the bare minimum.

"From the beginning," said Bill Pace, from the Center for the Development of International Law, "the U.S. has adopted minimalist agendas on almost every issue within the UNCED process. Their efforts to stall the process have succeeded beyond our most pessimistic expectations. All of the U.S. citizens groups represented here share a common sense of embarrassment about the actions of the Administration and hope that it reconsiders its decision to destroy rather than to lead the Earth Summit process."

While maintaining that it has only the best intentions for the UNCED process, the U.S. has consistently objected to making any specific political or economic commitments within Agenda 21.

"While the U.S. is willing to embrace sweeping feel-good generalizations about environment and development issues", said Dianne Dillon-Ridgley, National Board Member of the YWCA, "it strenuously resists at every juncture specific commitments and actions that would in fact yield the kinds of results that are implicit in their rhetoric."

To ensure that the delegation didn't waver in its task to block progress on all but the most peripheral aspects of Agenda 21, the White House commanded delegates to adhere to a ten point defensive strategy. Within the delegation's briefing, the admonition for vigilance against these terms were phrased as the "Ten Commandments."

The "Ten Commandments" include:

- Don't accept the precautionary principle;
- Don't accept the transfer of technology;
- Don't accept requests for new financial resources;
- Don't accept U.S. liability for the environmental problems of developing nations;
- Don't make any commitments;
- Don't accept the need for environmental impact assessments;
- Don't accept the need for dispute resolution;
- Don't ever mention the word military;
- Don't accept the need for new institutions; and
- Don't accept the need for new financial assessments.

"It's clear that the U.S. never intended to negotiate in good faith," said Barbara Bramble, Director of the International Program of the National Wildlife Federation. "The emergence of the 'Ten Commandments' simply confirms our belief that the U.S. has treated these negotiations as an exercise in damage control and not an opportunity to break with the past and chart a new path to a sustainable, equitable future."

U.S. citizens groups agree that there is still time for the Bush Administration to heed the advice and wishes of the American public and make the most of the historic opportunities presented at the Earth Summit. If the Bush Administration could see its way past its own ideological blinders, it would see the sustained value, in both economic and environmental terms, of supporting measures that include: targets and timetables to reduce CO2 emissions and other greenhouse gases; the reform of all international economic institutions to make them more democratic and transparent in their decision-making; a code of conduct regulating the testing of biotechnology products; and creating a national strategy to maximize resource use efficiency and reduce over-consumption and waste.

"The U.S. delegation has been hamstrung by the extreme laissez-faire ideology of the Bush Administration", said Gareth Porter, International Program Director of the Environmental and Energy Study Institute, "which has shaped U.S. policies on a wide range of issues preceding UNCED, from toxic chemicals to debt to energy. Thus, its role as spoiler in the UNCED process comes as no surprise."

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Working together on the United Nations
Conference on Environment and Development, Brazil, 1992

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

U.S. STRATEGY HURTS U.S., GLOBAL INTERESTS, SAY CITIZEN GROUPS

New York, N.Y.--April 2. As the final round of preparatory negotiations on the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development comes to a close, governments, and that of the U.S. In particular, are being criticized by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for their inaction across the board.

"The Bush Administration has failed to acknowledge that sustainable development applies to both industrialized and developing countries," says Environmental Defense Fund international counsel Scott Hajost. "While the U.S. has made some positive contributions on the role of NGOs, access to information, and freshwater issues, its role has been anything but visionary. The level of U.S. leadership stands in stark contrast to that it provided for the 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Environment."

"The US is not exempt from these negotiations," notes Liz Barratt-Brown, of the Natural Resources Defense Council. "But the U.S. position is that the commitments entered into in Rio will apply only to other countries." In fact, commitments at the Earth Summit would affect US policy in a beneficial way."

The key commitment that nations are looking for in Rio is the signing of a climate change convention with legally binding targets and timetables for limiting emissions of CO2 and other greenhouse gases. While the Bush Administration claims that it wants to sign a climate change convention, it rejects a convention with legally binding obligations, proposing instead vague voluntary goals. "President Bush's abdication of any leadership on the Earth Summit and his inaction on global warming have become an international environmental embarrassment," says Dan Becker, director for energy and global warming, Sierra Club. Studies show that dramatic increases in energy efficiency, conservation and use of renewable sources of energy would enhance U.S. competitiveness, according to Becker.

Commitments on the issues in Agenda 21, the program of action to establish goals and programs for the conversion of economies to more environmentally sustainable patterns, would also have positive repercussions for the U.S.

However, instead of negotiating action programs, the U.S. is making sure that Agenda 21, a non-legally binding document, will have no repercussions on U.S. policy. The U.S. has moved to strike out the entire chapter dealing with radioactive wastes and the chapter addressing patterns of consumption. It has moved to kill any reference to military activities, to commitments of any kind--let alone targets and timetables for action--to concessional transfer of environmentally sound technology, to liability for environmental damages, and even references to price distortions.

Environmental Defense Fund - Friends of the Earth - Audubon - National Wildlife Federation
Natural Resources Defense Council - Sierra Club

c/o Audubon, 555 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E.; Washington D.C. 20003 (202) 547-8009 fax (202) 547-9022

"Such 'damage control' is evidence of a policy that is dictated by sectoral interests such as the military and certain industries," says Jim Barnes, director of international programs at Friends of the Earth-US. "The Bush Administration has failed to develop any forward-looking plan to steer the United States in a world of fast changing economic, security and environmental challenges. Meanwhile, we are facing a global emergency, as evidenced by the out-of-control depletion of the ozone layer, the unprecedented loss of natural species, and continued poverty of most of mankind."

With nothing to negotiate on policy changes and by maintaining the status quo, the U.S. reduces the Earth Summit negotiations to a haggling on funding--a losing proposition from the start, according to CAPE'92. There is abundant evidence that simply increasing funding for development assistance and environmental activities is no solution if it is not accompanied by policy reforms in both industrialized and developing countries.

The U.S. carries much of the responsibility for the low performance of PrepCom4, according to CAPE'92. There is room for change, however, at the next and final round of negotiations on climate change in New York in April, and at intersessional meetings before Rio, as pressure both by governments abroad and citizens within the U.S. mounts on the Bush Administration.

The six US environmental organizations that form the Consortium for Action to Protect the Earth '92 (CAPE'92) are seeking more constructive position from the U.S. Many other US groups, including over 500 organizations that have joined the US Citizens Network on UNCED, are also putting pressure on the White House, Congress and state and local representatives. "The Bush Administration has failed to listen to the voice of millions of citizens, who belong to public policy, religious, development, environment and other groups," notes Fran Spivy-Weber, director of Audubon's International program. "People will find a way to be vocal about the Earth Summit issues on Earth Day, and as the Earth Summit nears," she adds.

Contacts:

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**The Secretary of State's Advisory Committee
for the 1972 U.N. Conference on the Human Environment**

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Robert Anderson
Chairman of the Board
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Mrs. Bruce B. Benson
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Laurance Rockefeller, Chairman
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Fitzhugh Green**
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Christian A. Herter, Jr.**
Special Assistant to the
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Department of State

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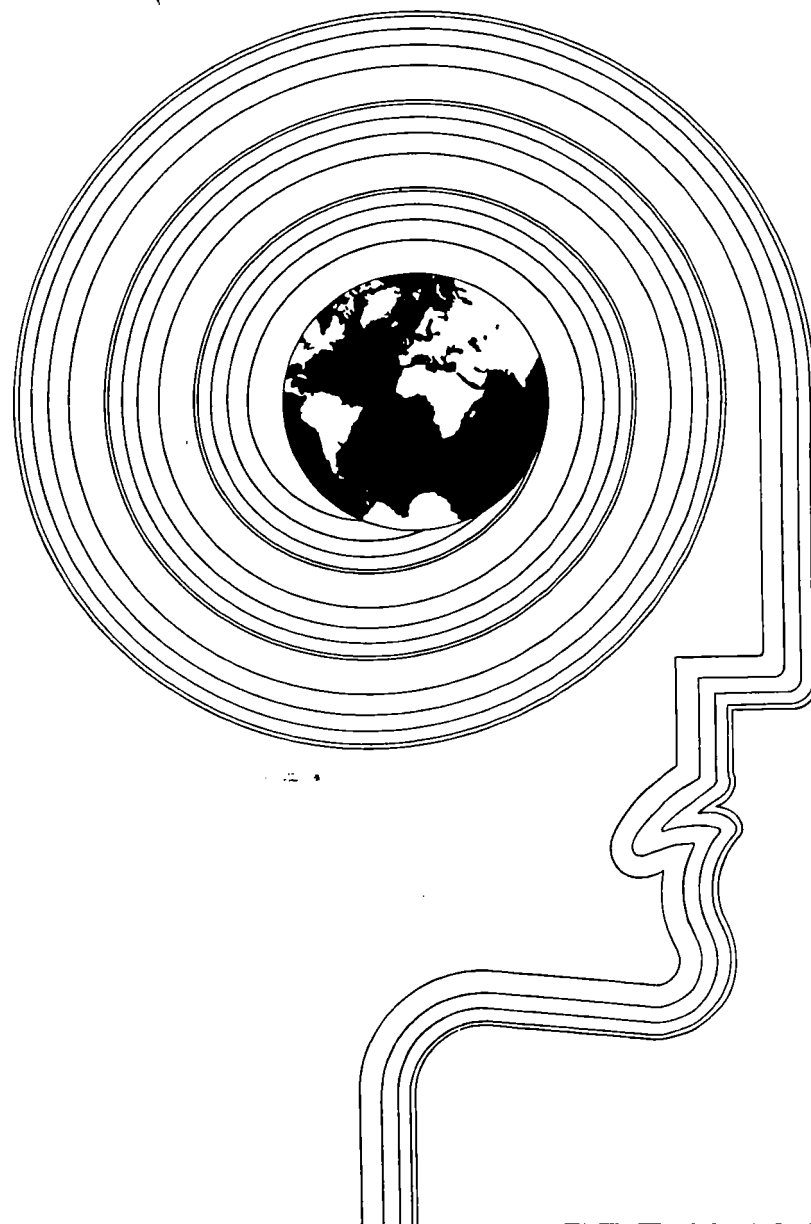
*Did not participate in final deliberations.

For further information on U.S. preparations for the conference, write to Slaton C. Blackiston, Jr., Executive Secretary, SCI/EN, Room 7819, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520. (Telephone: 202-632-9425.)

STOCKHOLM AND BEYOND

**Report of the
Secretary
of State's
Advisory
Committee
on
the
1972
United
Nations
Conference
on
the
Human
Environment**

May 1972



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4. Educational, Informational, Social, and Cultural Aspects of Environmental Issues, Chauncey G. Olinger, Jr.
5. Development and the Environment, Carl B. Harris
6. Institutional Arrangements, Milner Ball
Secretary, Mrs. Vivian Lewis

HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.
TENNESSEE

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

April 27, 1972

The Honorable William P. Rogers
Secretary of State

Dear Mr. Secretary:

In my capacity as Chairman of your Advisory Committee on the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, it gives me great pleasure to transmit the Committee's final recommendations in the following report. This report represents the fruition of a year-long effort by the 27-member Committee to actively involve the interested public in our government's preparations for Stockholm.

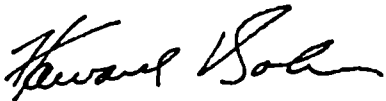
Our primary vehicle for soliciting this citizen input has been a series of regional public hearings conducted over the past year. The first hearing was held in Miami last July, followed by one in Washington last November, and then six others held during March in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Denver, Houston, and Washington. Over 300 invitations were sent to a broad range of interests requesting citizens to either testify at a hearing or submit written statements and over 170 people accepted our invitations.

Another 300 people submitted their views in writing in lieu of an appearance at a hearing. The transcripts of the hearings as well as the written responses accompanying this report reflect the diverse sources of information which the Committee enlisted. Scientists, doctors, lawyers, labor leaders, industrialists, environmental activists, and private citizens, while differing in their strategies for mankind's survival, wholeheartedly agreed to the need for bold collective action on behalf of the common environment all nations share. There was further unanimity of opinion on the significance of involving the American public in this country's domestic and foreign policy-making, especially at a time when the average citizen feels increasingly removed from the day-to-day proceedings of Government. Although I realize that we are not the first Advisory Committee to assist your

Department in formulating official policy, I feel that in one respect we have established an important precedent that bears repeating. This is the release by your Department of draft conventions and draft United States positions for public scrutiny prior to their being tabled in an international forum. The release of the draft conventions on Ocean Dumping, Endangered Species, Islands for Science, and World Heritage Trust served to illustrate that government and a concerned citizenry can indeed form a mutually beneficial partnership. While not specifically recommending the continuation of this advisory committee, I wish to emphasize the significance of establishing some form of citizens advisory mechanism to bridge the gap between government and its constituency.

I would like to call your attention to the prompt and gracious efforts of the Rockefeller, McClellan, and Ford Foundations, which provided funding for staff; and the University of Georgia Law School and the Environmental Protection Agency, which lent staff members to the effort. Needless to say, your able Assistant for Environmental Affairs, Mr. Christian A. Herter, Jr. made an invaluable contribution to the Committee's efforts.

Sincerely,



Howard H. Baker, Jr.
Chairman

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

RECD MAY 3

May 1, 1972

Dear Howard:

The report of the Advisory Committee on the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment is most gratefully received. The report is exemplary evidence of the successful work of the Committee due in large measure to your extensive personal participation and the strong and effective leadership contributed to this endeavor. Each member of the Committee deserves our thanks for his personal participation. The Committee staff is to be congratulated for its untiring efforts and the high quality of its work.

The involvement of the American public in the preparatory process required by the United States Government to effectively participate in an international Conference such as planned for Stockholm is, I agree, most important. Your Committee has set a most useful precedent. I also concur in the suggestion that a mechanism for continuing consultation in this area between the Government and the public is most desirable.

Please accept my most heartfelt thanks for a job well done. We look forward to your participation on the United States Delegation to the Conference, and I feel sure you will bring to the Stockholm deliberations the wealth of information and advice developed by the Committee.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely,



William P. Rogers

The Honorable
Howard H. Baker, Jr.,
United States Senate.

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The papers in this document
are expressions of opinion by the drafters.
They do not necessarily represent U.S. Government policy.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE PUBLICATION 8657
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SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Stockholm is the world community's first comprehensive attempt to respond to the awesome global environmental degradation we face. This challenge, like most that modern man has confronted, has caught us almost totally unaware. Just as wars have found us ill-equipped to cope with development of new methods of mass destruction, modern technology, the darling of Western civilization, is now under increasing attack for its detrimental side-effects on the environment. Computer simulations predict a rapid decline in the world's standard of living, if not an end to human existence as we know it. Energy demands rise while the world's finite resources approach exhaustion—some within our lifetime. Pollution threatens to make the common resources—air, water and land—unusable for future generations. These newly recognized crises compound the suffering of two-thirds of the world's population condemned to poverty, inadequate housing, disease, and malnutrition.

While these problems are viewed as almost insurmountable by many, we do not share their pessimism. We are encouraged by the actions of the United States and the world community in preparation for the Stockholm Conference. We believe that these actions evidence a growing change in values and priorities—indeed a change in our perception of ourselves in relation to the global environment.

We must see ourselves not only as victims of environmental degradation but as environmental aggressors and change our patterns of consumption and production accordingly.

We must accept the responsibility of stewardship for the resources of the earth.

We must channel the growth of technology to produce not further environmental problems but new solutions.

We must help end the deprivation of peoples in the world.

Those of us in the developed world should set an example by putting our own environmental house in order while learning from others

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 23, 1992

V. Clinton

al
Dear Senator Gore:

Thank you for your letter of May 13 to the President regarding the issue of biodiversity at the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development.

As you are aware, the U.S. decided not to sign the proposed Biodiversity Convention at the Rio because of extraneous provisions having nothing to do with protecting the world's species. As currently written, it could lead to new regulations governing the biotechnology industry and would require the U.S. to provide funding for developing countries outside agreed upon mechanisms.

Thus, for sound reasons, the U.S. declined to sign the Convention. However, as the President indicated in Rio, the U.S. will exceed the Convention's requirements for conservation of biodiversity. We have an unmatched recording in this area and we intend to build on it.

Thank you for sharing your views with us.

Sincerely,

Brent
Brent Scowcroft

The Honorable Albert Gore, Jr.
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

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

For Immediate Release

June 12, 1992

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

Assembly Hall
Riocentro Conference Center
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

3:19 P.M. (L)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MORE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MORE

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

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

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

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

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

END

3:28 P.M. (L

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

June 1, 1992

BUSH ADMINISTRATION ENVIRONMENTAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS
IN SUPPORT OF UNCED

FACT SHEET

On June 12, 1992, President Bush will participate, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, with the leaders of over 100 nations in the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). In his address today at Goddard Space Center in Greenbelt, Maryland, the President outlined the record of United States achievements in protecting the environment and proposed a four point plan of cooperation moving forward from UNCED.

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

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

The President noted that the United States had long been at the forefront of international environmental protection efforts. He pointed out that the U.S. has built a solid record of

achievement in many of the areas to be considered at UNCED. What follows is a more detailed description of that record.

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

A.) ATMOSPHERE

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

- Specific U.S Measures Contained in the Action Agenda:
- The 1990 Clean Air Act: The Act, proposed and signed into law by President Bush, will reduce emissions of greenhouse gases and other atmospheric pollutants, including volatile organic compounds, carbon monoxide, and nitrogen oxides. In addition, by capping sulfur dioxide emissions at 10 million tons below 1980 levels and allowing utilities full freedom of choice in how to achieve the reductions, the Act creates a powerful conservation incentive for U.S. electric utilities, which will reduce carbon dioxide emissions.
- America the Beautiful Reforestation Program: The President has proposed to plant one billion trees per year across the U.S. Trees sequester carbon dioxide and thus serve as a sink for greenhouse gases.
- The National Energy Strategy (NES): First proposed by President Bush in February 1991, the NES includes actions to: increase utilization of natural gas - which releases less carbon dioxide per unit of energy; increase efficiency in coal use; facilitate the safe use of nuclear energy; increase the use of solar power and other alternative energy sources; and encourage utilities and consumers to produce and use electricity efficiently. Legislation incorporating major elements of the NES has passed both the Senate and the House, and the Administration has moved ahead administratively with more than 90 NES measures that do not require legislation.
- Residential, Commercial, and Industrial Energy Efficiency: The Bush Administration is pursuing, through existing authority, several measures to encourage more efficient lighting, building design, heating and cooling, and appliances. For example, more than 500 companies have already signed up for EPA's "Green Lights" program -- which will bring more energy efficient lighting to over two billion square feet of office space, more than the total office space in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Dallas and Detroit combined. The Administration proposes to expand similar programs to office computers, industrial motors, and commercial building heating and cooling.
- In addition, the Department of Energy (DOE) has promulgated rules improving efficiency standards for energy-consuming home appliances such as dishwashers and washing machines. Energy auditing programs are being expanded to aid smaller companies in identifying and implementing options for low-cost energy saving investments.

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

B.) FORESTS

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

Subsequently, the U.S. published a comprehensive set of forestry principles. The U.S. is working to obtain their adoption at UNCED.

- "Forests for the Future": The President today announced a new initiative to conserve and enhance the earth's forests. This initiative proposes to double worldwide international forest conservation assistance to \$2.7 billion from \$1.35

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

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

C.) OCEANS

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

- Driftnet Fishing Ban: The United States led a successful effort for UN adoption of a resolution to ban large-scale driftnet fishing by the end of 1992.
- Fisheries Development: Through the national fish hatcheries, the U.S. produces annually over 200 million fish from over 50 species such as Atlantic Salmon, Pacific salmon and steelhead, lake trout and striped bass.
- Oil Spill Prevention: At the Paris G-7 Summit in 1989, President Bush offered proposals that resulted in the 80-nation Convention on Oil Spill Preparedness and Response. In 1990, the President signed the Oil Spill Pollution Act, which requires double hulls on new tankers and improves oil spill response capabilities.
- National Marine Sanctuaries: The U.S. is home to nine marine national parks, which harbor a wide diversity of plants and animals. President Bush has more than doubled these areas to over 5,000 square nautical miles.
- Coastal Protection: The President established a moratorium on offshore oil and gas development until after the year 2000 for 99 percent of the California coast, the entire coasts of Washington, and Oregon, and much of the southern Florida and New England coasts.
- Water Pollution Control: The President proposed and secured \$300 million in FY 1992 to accelerate construction of secondary sewage treatment plants in the largest American coastal cities which do not now have secondary treatment, including: Boston, New York, Los Angeles, San Diego, Seattle, and Baltimore. The President has proposed an additional \$340 million in FY 1993 to continue this effort.
- Ban on Ocean Dumping: The Bush Administration secured agreements to ban ocean dumping of sewage sludge and industrial wastes. As a result of these agreements, all ocean sludge dumping will cease by June of this year. The Administration also established a pilot tracking system to prevent the dumping of medical waste.

D.) BIODIVERSITY

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

The U.S. is disappointed that the draft biodiversity convention is seriously flawed and therefore has concluded,

after a thorough review, that the U.S. will not be able to sign the convention as it now stands. The convention as drafted contains provisions that go beyond legitimate biodiversity protection goals. It also does not contain acceptable language, as the climate change convention does, establishing the role of the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) in providing financial assistance. In addition, the draft convention would retard the development of new technology to meet future needs by providing inadequate protection of intellectual property rights, and implying that biotechnology development is unsafe.

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

threatened or endangered species are now in place, compared to less than 50 in 1981.

- The President signed into law the North American Wetlands Conservation Act, which will protect the flyways of migratory birds in the U.S. and Canada. In 1991 and 1992, the U.S. will spend \$140 million on the North American Waterfowl Management Plan.

E.) WASTES

- Basel Convention: The Bush Administration signed and proposed needed legislation to implement the Basel Convention, which prevents the illegal export and dumping of hazardous waste. The United States exports less than one percent of the hazardous waste generated within its borders.
- Hazardous Waste Cleanup: The Bush Administration has dramatically accelerated cleanup progress under the EPA's Superfund program. Emergency cleanups have been undertaken to protect human health and the environment at more than 2,300 sites nationwide, and extensive clean-up is underway or completed at more than 400 of the most complex sites. Last year, following the President's directive that polluters should pay for cleanup, the Federal government secured a record \$1.4 billion in private party commitments to clean up hazardous wastes. In each of the last three years, Congress has cut President Bush's budget request for cleanups under the Superfund program.
- Voluntary Toxic Reductions: Under the Bush Administration, the EPA has instituted an innovative program in which companies agree to reduce releases and off-site transfers of 17 highly toxic chemicals by 33 percent in 1992 and 50 percent by 1995. Over 700 firms have signed up for this "33/50" program, committing to reduce more than 300 million pounds of lawful emissions of the 17 priority chemicals.
- Cleaning Up Federal Facilities: The Bush Administration has tripled funding to clean up facilities owned and operated by the Federal Government, in order to ensure that they are brought into compliance with environmental laws that apply to private sector facilities. For DOE atomic weapon sites alone, the President has increased funds devoted to cleanup and compliance activities from \$1.8 billion in FY 1989 to \$5.5 billion in FY 1993.
- Recycling: President Bush signed Executive Order to encourage recycling and waste reduction, as well as procurement of goods made with recycled materials, at all Federal Agencies.

F.) AGRICULTURE AND LAND MANAGEMENT

- Agricultural Subsidies: High levels of agricultural subsidies degrade the environment by encouraging the excessive use of nitrogenous fertilizers. The U.S. cut agricultural subsidies by 25 percent in the 1990 Farm Bill. Since 1986, the annual level of outlays for commodity subsidies has fallen from \$26 billion to approximately \$12 billion.
- Conservation Reserve Program (CRP): Under the CRP, the U.S. is withdrawing approximately 40 million acres of highly erodible land from production over the course of ten years. Under this program, the government pays the landowner annual rent and a portion of the costs of installing alternative ground cover.
- Parks, Forests, and other Public Lands: Since 1989, the President had doubled funding for parks, wildlife, and outdoor recreation programs under his America the Beautiful initiative.

The program includes:

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

G.) PUBLIC PARTICIPATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL ASSESSMENT

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

H.) FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

- The U.S. has been the world's major contributor of international assistance for many years. Total U.S. assistance for economic, environmental, humanitarian, and development purposes now totals over \$11 billion.
- In FY 1992, the U.S. is providing an estimated \$579.5 million dollars specifically for international environmental financial assistance.
- Global Environment Facility: The U.S. and other OECD countries agree that the GEF should be the principal mechanism for providing financial assistance to developing countries to meet the incremental costs of projects that would provide global environmental benefits in addressing

problems in areas such as climate change, biodiversity, oceans, and ozone depletion. The U.S. has contributed \$150 million (over 3 years) in parallel financing and has pledged \$50 million to the Core Fund of the GEF.

- Montreal Protocol Fund: The U.S. is contributing \$50 million over 3 years to the Interim Multilateral Fund, established under the Montreal Protocol to help developing countries meet the incremental costs of complying with the agreement. The U.S. is the first and largest contributor to this fund.
- Mexican Border Plan: In support of its efforts to secure a North American Free Trade Agreement, the Bush Administration has worked to coordinate and strengthen joint U.S.-Mexico environmental programs. The Administration developed an environmental action plan for the border area. The Administration secured \$103 million in FY 1992 for activities in support of this plan, and has requested \$201 million for these activities in FY 1993.
- Brazil Rain Forest Pilot Program: The Bush Administration has committed \$5 million in additional funding for this pilot program, agreed to at the Houston and London G-7 summits, to protect the Brazilian rainforest. In addition, the U.S. provides approximately \$15 million in existing bilateral funds for this purpose.
- Country Studies: The U.S. will provide \$25 million to developing nations over a 2 year period for climate change "Country Studies". The money will help these nations implement reporting obligations under the framework climate convention.
- Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI): Under the EAI, the President has provided in FY 1991 \$34 million and proposed in both FY 1992 and FY 1993 \$100 million for environmental purposes. Under this program, participating countries in Latin America can create environmental funds in their own currency from the interest on debt reduced by the United States.
- Eastern European Assistance: The Bush Administration has provided assistance to establish central and the East European Environment Center in Budapest, Hungary. The Center seeks to strengthen the capabilities of non-government organizations to help address problems such as pesticide disposal, lead in drinking water, and other problems. In addition, the U.S. initiative to reduce Poland's debt obligations has allowed the establishment of the Polish Environmental Foundation.

- U.S.-Asia Environmental Partnership: Late last year, the President announced the establishment of this partnership, an unprecedented coalition of U.S. and Asian governments, businesses, and community groups working to improve Asia's environment, with an emphasis on technology cooperation.
- Multilateral Development Lending: The U.S. worked successfully for the adoption of a directive that requires strengthened environmental impact assessments by multilateral development banks.

J.) RESEARCH

- The U.S. Global Change Research Program (USGCRP): The U.S. has supported the world's most advanced program of global change research. Since 1989, the U.S. has invested over \$2.6 billion in research to improve our understanding of critical earth systems such as climate, oceans, and atmosphere. For FY 1993, the President has requested \$1.4 billion for this program. The U.S. investment represents over half the annual amount spent on global change research by the entire world.
- Mission to Planet Earth: The cornerstone of the USGCRP is NASA's Mission to Planet Earth, a coordinated system of space observations, science, data processing, and modelling to better understand the earth's environmental systems. The first NASA launch of a Mission to Planet Earth satellite occurred last September, when the shuttle Discovery deployed the Upper Atmosphere Research Satellite (UARS), which is providing data on the content of the ozone layer and the effects of the eruption of Mount Pinatubo on global climate. Under this program, the U.S. will launch or participate in 30 additional missions over the next six years.
- Earth Observing System (EOS): The EOS program, the centerpiece of Mission to Planet Earth, consists of a series of instruments, to be launched in the late 1990s, that will make simultaneous, global-scale observations of climate and related environmental variables. At President Bush's direction, the EOS program was restructured in 1991.
- Through the use of advanced technology and reduced complexity, these satellites will be acquired more quickly and at less cost than previously planned providing earlier data in order to assist the policymaking process. The EOS restructuring was consistent with the emphasis of the President and the new NASA Administrator Dan Goldin on obtaining "faster, cheaper, and better" results from the space program. Last week, the President signed a directive establishing the space-based global change observation

system, which provides a comprehensive policy framework for all Federal space-based observation systems.

- Stratospheric Ozone Depletion: It was U.S. science, under the USGCRP, which allowed scientists to understand and observe changes in atmospheric chemistry which are leading to the depletion of stratospheric ozone. NASA results obtained under the USGCRP led to the announcement in February 1992 that the U.S. would speed up its timetable for phasing out the production of CFCs and other ozone-depleting substances.
- Regional Institutes for Global Change: President Bush, during the 1990 White House Conference on Science and Economics Related to Global Change, invited the countries of the world to join the U.S. in developing three regional research institutes on global change. On May 13, 1992, the U.S. and ten other countries of the Americas, signed an agreement establishing one of these institutes, the Inter-American Institute for Global Change Research.
- Energy Efficiency and Alternative Energy Research: The President's proposed FY 1993 budget includes over \$900 million in research and development funds for energy-related technologies that increase the use of alternative sources of energy and increase energy efficiency. This includes research into electric and hybrid vehicles, high speed rail and magnetic levitation technology, fuels from biomass, photovoltaics, and industrial and building energy efficiency. Since 1989, President Bush has increased funding for conservation and renewable energy R&D at DOE from \$324 million to \$616 million per year.
- Data Sharing: The Bush Administration is committed, as national policy, to the principle of full and open sharing of all global change data at the lowest possible cost. The President stated today that the United States would propose at Rio this policy of making global change data available to scientists and researchers from around the world. As a measure of this policy, the United States plans to distribute at UNCED, at no cost, thousands of computer disks with over a billion bytes of greenhouse effects data. In addition, the U.S. will open this year a Global Change Research Information Office, which will disseminate information on global change to governments, businesses, scientists, and institutions from all interested nations.

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

- A.) U.S. Commitment to the Environment: The President pointed out that the United States currently spends more than any other nation in controlling pollution and protecting the environment: over \$100 billion per year, or about two percent of U.S. Gross National Product (GNP). Over the last decade, the United States has spent over three-quarters of a trillion dollars on pollution control.
- B.) U.S. Leadership: The President noted that the United States has been far ahead of many other nations in recognizing environmental problems and taking action to solve them.
- Pollution control on automobiles: In 1975, the United States began requiring catalytic converters on new automobiles. The European Community will implement this requirement later this year.
 - Ban on CFC use as spray can propellants: In 1978, the U.S. banned CFC spray can propellants as a non-essential use for which there were acceptable substitutes. The U.S. was one of the first nations to implement such a ban.
 - The United States subsequently played a leadership role in concluding the Vienna Convention, signed in 1985, which established a framework to respond to the depletion of the ozone layer. Then Vice President Bush personally intervened in 1987 to help reach agreement on the original Montreal Protocol, which called for a 50 percent cut in CFC production. President Bush proposed in 1989 to phase out CFC production completely as part of the London Amendments to the Protocol, which were signed in 1990. The United States enacted legislation implementing this phaseout by the end of 1999. Earlier this year, President Bush announced that the U.S. was unilaterally accelerating the phaseout of CFCs and several other ozone depleting substances to the end of 1995.
 - Phase-out of lead in gasoline: In 1975, the U.S. began phasing out the use of leaded gasoline. Today, 99 percent of U.S. cars burn only unleaded fuel, and ambient concentrations of lead in the air have been reduced by 97 percent. Unleaded gasoline is still not widely available in Europe, although several countries are exploring differential pricing of leaded gasoline as a means to reduce emissions.
- C.) Air Pollution Reductions:
- Since 1970, U.S. air emissions of lead have been reduced by 97%; emissions of particulate matter have been reduced by

59%; emissions of sulfur dioxide have been reduced by 25%; emissions of carbon monoxide have been reduced by 41%; emissions of volatile organic compounds have been reduced 29%.

- Since 1970, U.S. "carbon intensity", or carbon emissions per unit of GDP, has been reduced by approximately 30 percent.
- From 1970 to 1990, the U.S. has reduced sulphur dioxide emissions (SO₂) by over 7 million metric tons, particulate emissions by 11.7 million tons, total carbon monoxide (CO) by about 40 million tons per year, total hydrocarbons (VOCs) by about 6.3 million tons and lead (Pb) by about 200 million tons per year.

D.) Water Pollution Reductions:

- Since 1972, the U.S. has invested more than \$128 billion in federal, state and local funds to construct municipal wastewater treatment facilities.
- Since 1973, municipal and industrial water discharges of total suspended solids have been reduced from almost 10 million tons per year to about two million tons per year.
- Since 1972, the amount of oxygen-demanding pollutants leaving the nation's sewage plants has decreased by roughly 46 percent. Without rapid improvements in sewage treatment, it would have doubled.

E.) Habitat and Natural Resource Protection:

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 27, 1992


Dear Senator Gore:

The President has asked me to respond to your undated letter on recommendations for G-7 action on environmental and related concerns.

I believe that the Earth Summit was a success in many ways, thanks to the leadership of President Bush and the fine work done by William Reilly. I would like to recap the Administration's successes in that regard as well as highlight future action planned by the Administration.

The President went to Rio with several objectives in mind. He wanted to share with other nations the benefits of innovations that have helped us achieve the cleanest air and water in the industrialized world. And he was determined to promote a new kind of environmentalism that sees market economies as the key to protecting the earth. The outcome was that the United States joined more than 100 countries in taking historic steps to improve the environment and expand economic opportunity.

The results were clear. We reached at Rio an agreement to slow deforestation and improve stewardship of all the world's forests which serve, among other things, as a home to more than half of the world's plant and animal species and as a cooling influence on the earth's climate. Our Forests for the Future Initiative, which proposes to double worldwide forestry assistance to developing countries to \$2.7 billion annually, won the support of many nations. This proposal promotes a market-based approach that encourages developing countries to treat forests as potential economic assets, not obstacles to economic development. Specifically, the President's proposal intends to lead a coordinated worldwide effort of halting the loss of the earth's forests by the end of the decade and to accelerate international progress toward a global forest agreement. It will expand partnerships between investor countries who will provide assistance and recipient countries who will propose projects to conserve and sustain the world's forests.

The climate change treaty, signed by the United States and 146 other countries was a success in our view. It was not "watered down" by the U.S. We worked to make the agreement more comprehensive and action-oriented.

We argued successfully that nations should prepare detailed action plans that specify what steps they will take in response to potential climate changes and quantify the projected results. Towards this goal, the U.S. has committed \$25 million and other support for these country study action plans that would specifically aid developing countries inventory their emissions, assess technological factors relevant to climate change, and develop national action plans. So far, only the United States and the Netherlands have completed and begun to implement such action plans. Ours will reduce net greenhouse gas emissions by 7-11 percent below projected levels for the year 2000, without imposing unwarranted costs on American workers.

In accomplishing this successful outcome, we opposed arbitrarily confining the agreement to just one greenhouse gas, carbon dioxide, because that approach was not workable or adequately protective of the environment. We fought for a comprehensive approach which incorporates all greenhouse gases, as well as forests and other "sinks" that trap those gases.

In addition, the President committed the U.S. to share our scientific knowledge and data on climate change and environmental research and to lead in a program of continued research.

The President also proposed an extensive program of technology cooperation among the U.S. and other nations. The objective is to promote the diffusion and use of environmentally sound technologies and practices. These actions will encourage nations to use free markets and free international trade as the major agents for adapting and diffusing environmentally sound technologies to achieve economic growth while protecting and restoring the environment.

Included in the President's proposal are a Technology Cooperation Corps using the expertise of U.S. businessmen and women, support for developing country climate change country studies, and an Environmental Training Institute to share U.S. environmental advances with others. The program also includes four U.S.-Japan Environmental Centers in East Asia, Energy Efficiency Centers in Eastern Europe and Russia, a program for "Assisting Deployment of Energy Practices and Technologies" (ADEPT) in the developing countries and in Eastern Europe, and the "America's 21st Century" program in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The aim of these programs is to mobilize U.S. agencies; U.S. business, industrial, and other private groups; and their host country counterparts to promote and accelerate the adaptation, transfer, and use of environmentally sound technologies and practices.

Nations also agreed on a broad agenda for action on issues ranging from management of oceans, mountains and deserts to control of toxic chemicals and increased public participation in decision-making.

Despite these and other successes, critics have complained about the United States' position on biodiversity. But I would dispute these complaints.

No nation matches our commitment to preserve and protect species at home and abroad. We lead the world in creating new wildlife refuges, seeking to ban driftnet fishing, and pioneering the use of debt-for-nature swaps to protect the environment.

However, the President was unable to sign the proposed treaty because it would have weakened protections on intellectual property. The treaty also contained completely unworkable provisions with respect to the Global Environment Facility (GEF) -- provisions that were markedly different from the GEF financing provisions in the Climate Change Framework Convention and the agreement on the workings of the GEF itself that had previously been agreed by dozens of nations.

America's record on responsible action to protect the environment is second to none. Thanks to the commitments we won in Rio, the G-7 Summit reaffirmed the collective goal of its participants to implement promptly the Earth Summit agreements. One of the key results of the G-7, with an important environmental aspect, was an agreement to work towards reducing the risks posed by nuclear power plants in the republics of the former Soviet Union. In that area and all others the Bush Administration continues to work towards sound environmental policies.

Sincerely,



Brent Scowcroft

The Honorable Albert Gore, Jr.
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Enclosures: President's Speech in Rio
 Fact Sheet
 U.S. Actions Brochure