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Missing the global-warming target

The chances are not good that an international agreement on measures to avert a catastrophic global warming will be ready for signing next summer in Rio de Janeiro. The chances that an agreement, if one is ready for signing, will be effective are even worse.

The latest in a series of preliminary conferences began last week in Nairobi, and, as has been the case at earlier meetings, the United States remains as much of a problem in reaching an effective agreement as it is in creating the conditions that lead to global warming.

On two key issues – the control or reduction of carbon dioxide emissions and the relationship between the energy needs of industrial and developing nations – the United States has taken negative positions.

In its defense, the Bush administration is arguing that energy-saving measures and other steps to be taken under the 1990 amendments to the Clean Air Act will reduce the rate of increase for carbon dioxide emissions and also reduce the emission of other heat-trapping gases such as chlorofluorocarbons.

The European Community and Japan are willing to go much further than the United States; they favor adopting specific targets and timetables that would hold carbon dioxide emissions in the year 2000 to their 1990 levels. The Bush administration does not support targets because of fears of their effects on the nation's economy.

There is some merit in the Bush administration's trade-off strategy. It acknowledges that carbon dioxide emissions will continue to rise over the next decade, but the increase will be at a lower rate and will be offset by the reduction in emissions of the other gases. The result will be that the total emissions of all heat-trapping gases in 2000 will be held at 1990 levels.

But according to a New York Times report, the Bush administration also argues that the US de-

serves special considerations because of what it calls America's "energy-use profile" – which other people might call its profligate lifestyle. Because of its vast distances (and suburban sprawl), this argument goes, America must rely more on motor vehicles than do other countries and would be harmed more by controls on carbon dioxide emissions.

This argument will not play well in Third World nations. Their contributions to global warming come from what they call "survival emissions" – methane from cows and rice paddies and carbon from burning forests. They contrast these with the "luxury emissions" from America's cars and the energy generated for household appliances.

But although energy use and carbon dioxide emissions in the Third World are relatively low – America's per capita emissions are more than five times those of China, India and Brazil – they are certain to increase in coming years.

According to a report by the Worldwatch Institute, China, India and Brazil can be expected to triple their emissions by 2025, and the increase in Third World emissions could offset the most optimistic reductions proposed for industrial nations.

Much of this increase could be prevented if Third World nations had access to the energy-saving technology that is already allowing emission reductions in industrialized nations.

At earlier preliminary conferences on global warming, China, India and Brazil proposed that the industrial nations provide this technology to Third World nations. As the Worldwatch report notes, this would allow them "to minimize energy use during a development stage normally characterized by intensive energy consumption."

Regrettably, this sensible proposal has as little support from the Bush administration as does the proposal that emission-control targets and timetables be set. More regrettably, there is little evidence of a willingness to move on this issue.

A small step toward Vietnam

Returning from recent tours of Southeast Asia, Massachusetts' junior US senator and senior Catholic clergyman have urged closer ties with Vietnam. The Bush administration should follow their sound advice.

Although it should have no bearing on US action, China is moving swiftly to restore its ties with Vietnam, broken after a border war in 1979. Agreements on air links and consular ties are expected to be signed later this year.

Sen. John Kerry's visit was in connection with the upcoming Senate inquiry on servicemen missing in action in Southeast Asia. Cardinal Bernard

"Any normalization is really dependent on the resolution of this issue. Why are they helping? Because it's in their best interest."

Cardinal Law noted that Vietnam's economy – and thus the lives of its citizens – is suffering because of a US trade embargo and US-backed sanctions against International Monetary Fund and World Bank loans.

But such motives on the part of the Vietnamese and Cambodian governments should not diminish the fact that normalization of relations and the resulting stability in Southeast Asia are in the best interests of the United States.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: January 30, 1990

HISTORY OF BUSH ADMINISTRATION POSITION:

ADMINISTRATION SHOWS "A LA CARTE" LEADERSHIP ON GLOBAL WARMING

On the Gulf War issue, President Bush has been eager to cite the broad base of international support for the US position. Throughout the buildup to war, the Administration appears to have found new faith in the United Nations system, as the Security Council has responded positively to US proposals.

A sharp contrast, however, emerges on the global warming issue, where the US Administration is utterly out of step with the rest of the industrialized world.

As the only major member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), apart from Turkey, not to make a commitment to cut national carbon dioxide (CO₂) emissions, the US is strangely silent about "leadership" and "international consensus".

A few examples illustrate the Bush Administration's approach to the global warming issue:

* The US chaired the important "Policy Responses" Working Group of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) from 1988 to 1990. As a result of strong US pressure, this group did not agree to recommend reductions in carbon dioxide emissions, despite the fact that IPCC scientists had previously concluded that an immediate 60% reduction of CO₂ would be necessary just to stabilize current concentrations of this climate-changing gas.

* The official US position at international climate meetings in 1989-90 rejected the use of terms such as "global warming" and "greenhouse effect" in public documents, notwithstanding that the IPCC Science Working Group - reflecting the views of over 300 government scientists - had written "we are certain...increases (of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases) will enhance the greenhouse effect...".

* Twenty-two of the twenty-four OECD nations have now made some form of commitment to reduce national CO₂ emissions. Some have also made commitments to reduce other greenhouse gases, such as methane. Of the major industrial powers, only the US has yet to make a similar commitment to control CO₂ emissions.

(MORE)

* The US delegation to the Second World Climate Conference was led by a senior bureaucrat, Dr John Knauss. The vast majority of other OECD nations were represented at Ministerial or Cabinet level.

* While the official US position is that there are too many uncertainties to justify action to limit emissions of CO₂, the Administration is already planning action to adapt to expected climate change.

*The US routinely cites economic cost as a reason not to take immediate action to limit CO₂ and other greenhouse gas emissions. In contrast, it has never referred to the costs of unrestrained climate change on national economies and the ecosystem.

In response to the urgent imperative to act on global warming, the Bush Administration has consistently ignored science, public opinion, the positions of international allies and the UN, and advice from its own experts. It has cynically stuck to a set of business-as-usual policies that will temporarily benefit a few industries while condemning millions of people to privation. Now more than ever, in the face of a devastating war over oil resources such a position is unconscionable and must change.

THE FEDERAL PAGE

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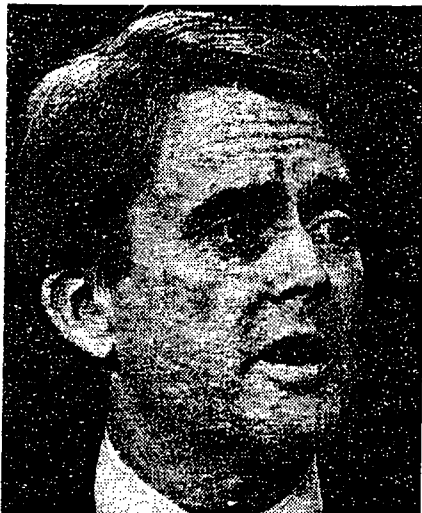
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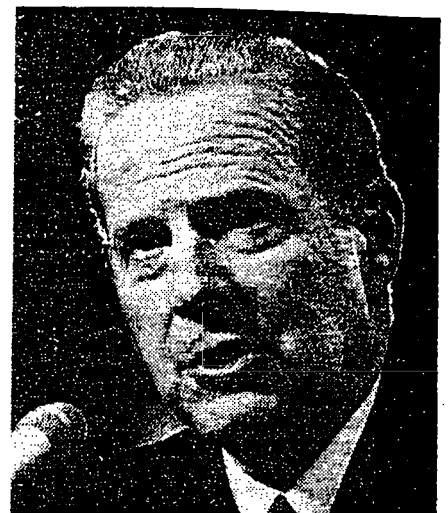
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**"Time will not
make the problem
go away."**

—JAMES A. BAKER III



JAMES A. BAKER III

Baker Sitting Out Global Warming Debate

By Michael Weisskopf
Washington Post Staff Writer

In his first speech after taking office, Secretary of State James A. Baker III called for immediate steps to combat the threat of global warming, noting that even though scientific questions remain, "Time will not make the problem go away."

His call to action in January 1989 cast Baker against the grain of Bush administration policy—a skeptical, go-slow approach to the problem. Still, he stuck to his guns in internal debates, siding with environmental officials and pushing for stronger U.S. leadership on an increasingly important diplomatic issue.

Now as support builds in Europe for a treaty to cut warming gases, the top U.S. foreign policy officer has taken himself out of the debate, further isolating environmentalists in the administration.

According to administration officials, Baker has formally recused himself because of oil and gas holdings that create the potential for conflict of interest. When burned by cars or factories, oil produces the primary warming gas. Every plan to curb global warming includes measures to discourage or cut oil use.

In a statement filed Feb. 5, Baker listed his oil interests and said that he would abstain from "any particular matter that has a direct and predictable effect upon the price of domestic oil and gas."

The statement does not specifically rule out participation in global warming decisions, and a State Department spokesman refused to clarify how the recusal works in practice. But administration officials say that Baker has not been involved in the issue for months and in-



JOHN H. SUNUNU

dedicated last summer he would remain uninvolved.

His recusal leaves Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William K. Reilly among Bush's top advisers as the lone advocate of aggressive policy measures to head off what many scientists predict will be significant warming of the Earth's surface by the middle of the next century. Eighteen European nations are committed to freezes or cuts in emissions of carbon dioxide—the principal warming gas—by 2005.

Reilly has enjoyed Baker's support at key junctures of administration debates, forming an alliance against White House Chief of Staff John H. Sununu and Office of Management and Budget Director Richard G. Darman. They belittled global warming as scientifically un-

proven and too costly to combat in an economy that runs on coal, oil and gas.

Last February, Sununu ordered major revisions in a presidential speech endorsed by Reilly and Baker that was designed to underline the seriousness of the problem and burnish Bush's reputation as the world leader most dedicated to its solution.

Baker, officials said, also played a key role in persuading Bush to host the first negotiating session for a framework convention on global warming to be held here this February.

Since Baker dropped out of the debate, the administration has moved even further from U.S. allies and leading trading partners. At an international conference this week, the United States refused to join the Western European nations, Japan and Australia in setting targets limiting the emission of carbon dioxide.

The February meeting is expected to measure the impact of Baker's recusal. With European nations likely to press for protocols committing participants to stabilization policies, administration conservatives would prefer to scuttle negotiations rather than accept global warming targets, officials said.

"When it comes to facing down Sununu and Darman, there's no substitute for Baker," one official said. The official did not rule out intervention by Baker if he considered it politically beneficial to Bush.

Environmentalists who had been counting on Baker as an ally question why his involvement in global warming would pose any more of a conflict than the Persian Gulf policy.

Bush addressed such potential conflicts of interest on Aug. 8 when he directed the White House counsel to review the financial interests of several Cabinet officers, including Baker, involved in the Iraq crisis.

Missile Crisis Veil

should be directed, therefore, at those homicides where the woman is the victim rather than the killer.

More specifically, the deterrence argument can be separated according to the two ways in which the criminal law attempts to deter. Punishment functions both as a specific deterrent, dissuading the defendant from committing additional crimes, and as a general deterrent, discouraging others from criminal activity. Neither aspect of deterrence justifies rejecting self-defense claims raised by battered women.

The specific deterrence argument erroneously presumes, however, that a battered woman defendant, left unpunished, is likely to become involved in future criminal activities.²¹⁶ In fact, women charged with homicide generally have the least extensive criminal records of any female defendants.²¹⁷ Thus, a battered woman is not likely to turn to other types of crime if she is acquitted on grounds of self-defense in a homicide prosecution. In most cases, the battered woman's criminal tendencies are limited to the peculiar circumstances in which she found herself at the time of the killing.²¹⁸

Moreover, there is little empirical justification for concluding that a battered woman who kills her violent husband will become involved in another battering relationship and will again perceive the need to use self-defense against her abuser. Rather, the evidence suggests that battering relationships most often result from the man's personality traits, not the woman's masochism.²¹⁹ Researchers have found that once a battering relationship terminates, most victimized women do not become involved with another abusive man.²²⁰ Accordingly, the law need not punish the battered woman

²¹⁶ The goal of specific deterrence militates in favor of punishing a battered woman who kills her husband only if she represents a danger to society.

²¹⁷ See Schneider & Jordan, *supra* note 9, at 151; see also Walker, Thyfault & Browne, *supra* note 32, at 12 (battered women typically have no history of violent behavior).

²¹⁸ See, e.g., Ripley v. State, 590 P.2d 48, 54 (Alaska 1979).

²¹⁹ See C. EWING, *supra* note 8, at 88-89; L. WALKER, *supra* note 18, at 15; Waits, *supra* note 3, at 304 n.208 (noting that batterers tend to become involved in other abusive relationships); see also *supra* notes 29-30 and accompanying text.

²²⁰ See M. PAGELOW, *supra* note 18, at 59-62 (noting that of the minority of women studied who had been in more than one battering relationship, many indicated that there was no sign of violence until the relationships were well-established); J. TOTMAN, *supra* note 32, at 65-66; L. WALKER, *supra* note 18, at 15, 148; L. WALKER, *supra* note 16, at 28; Rounsaville & Weissman, *Battered Women: A Medical Problem Requiring Detection*, 8 INT'L J. PSYCHIATRY IN MED. 191, 201 (1977); cf. Gayford, *supra* note 2, at 28 (20 of 100 battered women studied had previously been involved in violent relationship); Gayford, *Battered Wives*, 15 MED. SCI. & L. 237, 244 (1975) ("The fact that

In the Nation

TOM WICKER

Too Hard

A Feint or a Force?

At the London economic summit meeting, George Bush was impressed by the commitment of other leaders to aggressive action on environmental issues — a commitment that appears to have been considerably stronger than the President's own.

His Administration, with the major exception of its support for a new and innovative clean air bill, has not been an active environmental advocate, either at home or abroad. Yet the U.S., with its uncounted automobiles, its near-universal refrigeration and air-conditioning and its vast accumulations of toxic wastes, is one of the world's great polluters.

During a 45-minute White House meeting with his new Commission on Environmental Quality, the President remarked that he had been surprised by his summit associates' interest in the subject. He specifically mentioned Chancellor Helmut Kohl's concern for preservation of the threatened Brazilian rain forest.

Mr. Bush also confessed that he had found himself under pressure from other summit leaders to attend a global environment conference to be held under United Nations auspices at Rio de Janeiro in June 1992.

Whether his experience with other leaders will push him to a more aggressive environmental policy remains to be seen. He has not yet agreed to go to Rio, for example, but is holding open the dates. Somewhat similarly, it's not clear whether his Environmental Commission, which met for the first time this week, is a feint or will become a force.

Appointing such commissions is a well-known, time-honored tactic by which many Presidents have appeared to be doing something about problems they didn't actually intend to tackle. At first glance, the large number of industrialists and businessmen in the new environmental group appears to put it in this "for show" category. So does Mr. Bush's stated hope to use the commission to help develop environmental responses other than "regulatory solutions," at reduced expense.

That sounds suspiciously like an effort to back away from enforcement of environmental regulation, which can be both costly and unpopular with industry and unions. The Bush White House often has been charged with seeking relief from, rather than firmly enforcing, rules and regulation — blocking, for example, proposals by the Environmental Protection Agency that municipal in-

cinerators be required to set up recycling programs.

On the other hand, a number of executives named to the commission have taken an active interest in environmental protection — for example, William D. Ruckelshaus, twice a director of the E.P.A. and now chairman of Browning-Ferris Industries; Allen F. Jacobsen of Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing, which has established a program to stop pollution from its plants; and Frank P. Popoff of Dow Chemical, a leader in the industry's environmental efforts.

The panel also includes prominent environmental advocates like Patrick F. Noonan of the Conservation Fund, Kathryn Fuller of the World Wildlife Fund and Fred Krupp of the Environmental Defense Fund.

Some in the environmental community believe, moreover, that the

Bush's panel on the environment.

group's formation was engineered by Michael Deland, chairman of the White House Council on Environmental Quality, in an effort to strengthen White House policy. Mr. Deland also will serve as commission chairman.

Thus it's at least possible that Mr. Bush's appointees may push him further than he expects, or wants, to go. At its organizational meeting, for example, Richard A. Clarke, the head of Pacific Gas and Electric Company, proposed that "concrete goals" should be established for the reduction of pollutants in the atmosphere — carbon dioxide, in particular.

Coming from an executive of the largest utility in the U.S., which would be directly affected by such a goal, this was a strong proposal. If adopted, moreover, a goal of restricting carbon dioxide emissions would be a direct challenge to John Sununu, the White House chief of staff.

High levels of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere are believed to be the major cause of the so-called "greenhouse effect," which results in global warming. Mr. Sununu has been highly skeptical of evidence that the earth is heating up, and has used his considerable authority to limit Administration action against a problem he has not been willing to acknowledge. □

Seymour Chwast

work, since each added hour is "free." This incentive would disappear if companies were obliged to set a standard work-week for salaried jobs. Employees who worked beyond the standard would be entitled to paid time off.

Congress should legislate an annual four-week vacation regardless of a worker's length of service. Nearly all Western European workers get four- to six-week vacations. Americans struggle to hold on to their two weeks.

Other reforms are long overdue. Paid parental leave is necessary. Fringe benefits should be pro-rated by hours of work to give bosses a reason not to overwork employees. Time-and-a-half pay for overtime should give way to compensatory time off, and mandatory overtime should be eliminated. Wages of adults who earn less than \$10 an hour should be raised so they can avoid overwork.

Citing Japanese competition and other pressures, many employers would complain that they cannot afford such measures. But trading income for time is cost-free. And guaranteed vacations are likely to improve employees' performance: The fatigue and inefficiency resulting from long hours are a major reason why Japan's productivity remains lower than ours.

The growing scarcity of leisure, dearth of family time and horrors of commuting all point to the need to resume an old but long-ignored discussion on the merits of the 30-hour or even the four-day week. □

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Britain Censures U.S. Global Warming View

Cabinet Secretary's Letter, Prime Minister's Speech Indicate Break With Previous Policy

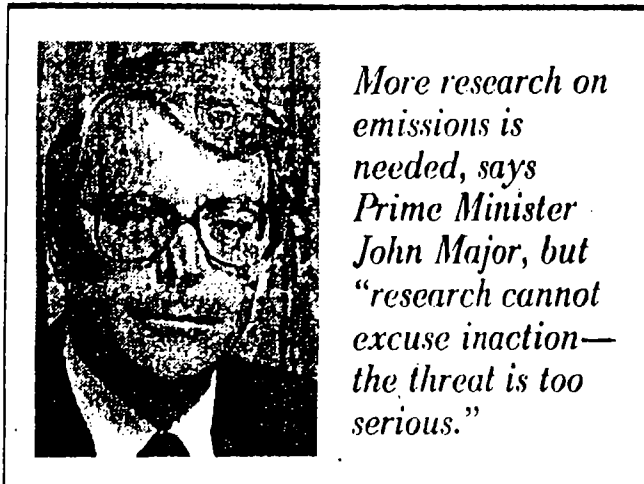
By Glenn Frankel
Washington Post Foreign Service

LONDON, July 13—Britain has sent a strongly worded letter to the White House criticizing the American position on global warming and signaling that Britain will no longer side automatically with the United States on the issue at such international conferences as this week's Group of Seven summit here, according to informed British sources.

They said British environment secretary Michael Heseltine sent the letter to White House Chief of Staff John Sununu earlier this week. It accompanied a copy of a speech Prime Minister John Major gave Monday in which he called on the United States to join Britain in setting limits on carbon dioxide emissions, an issue the Bush administration so far has resisted taking action on.

Major, at a conference organized by the Sunday Times, noted that the United States accounts for 23 percent of the world's CO₂ emissions—by far the largest polluter—and said, "The world looks to them for decisive leadership on this issue, not on others." He also said that more research was needed on the issue, "research cannot excuse inaction—the threat is too serious." The speech marked a sharp break with the policy of his predecessor, Margaret Thatcher, whose government gave virtually automatic support to the United States on global warming and other environmental issues arose at conferences.

The speech and the Heseltine letter are the latest round in a British campaign to compel the Bush administration to reconsider its stand on global warming. Heseltine, who



More research on emissions is needed, says Prime Minister John Major, but "research cannot excuse inaction—the threat is too serious."

became environment secretary after helping engineer Thatcher's downfall last November, traveled to Washington last month to try to convince the White House that it had become isolated from the rest of the world community on the issue and to offer Britain's help in arranging a compromise.

Heseltine saw a number of senior administration officials, including Sununu, Office of Management and Budget Director Richard G. Darman and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William K. Reilly. Sources said his most contentious meeting was with Sununu, who has insisted that scientific evidence is not yet conclusive in documenting the so-called "greenhouse effect" and who has taken the lead in opposing setting a U.S. target for the reduction of carbon dioxide emissions.

Sources said Heseltine came

away from his meetings with U.S. officials disappointed by their apparent unwillingness to recognize that they face a serious political problem on the global warming issue. His disappointment was compounded after he returned to London and heard that Sununu had attacked him at a White House meeting by saying the environment secretary did not know what he was talking about on the emissions issue and that Heseltine was a freelancer who did not accurately reflect the Major government's position.

But Major's speech, which also called for the establishment of a British equivalent of the EPA, made clear the prime minister and the environment secretary are largely in agreement on the issue.

"In the past, Britain covered for the U.S. and served as the honest broker between the U.S. and Europe," said Daniel Becker, director

of the global warming and energy program for the Sierra Club. "Major's speech signals the end of the road. It shows the extent to which the United States is now isolated on this issue."

At their Paris summit two years ago, the leaders of the Group of Seven major industrialized nations promised "decisive action" to curb global warming. Major, who is hosting this year's summit, has promised he will raise the issue again this week. He has also said he will ask the G-7 leaders to pledge to attend next year's environmental summit in Rio de Janeiro. The United States in the past has been reluctant to send high-level officials to such sessions because it has often taken an unpopular and isolated position on the issues under discussion, administration officials have said.

Britain has committed itself to stabilizing carbon dioxide emissions at their present level by the year 2005, while other European Community members say they will do so by 2000. The United States has set no target, and U.S. environmental groups contend that current administration policies would lead to a 15 percent increase in emissions by 2005.

Officials in Heseltine's ministry confirmed the sending of the letter, which was first reported in the Times of London. Although they would not divulge its contents, officials said the Times article, which characterized the letter as "unusually tough and personal," was substantially accurate.

One British source said the speech and the accompanying letter amounted to "not a rupture" between Britain and the United States, "but a toughening of the posture."

the chance to put those sentiments into practice. It would be hypocrisy to refuse to do so."

Thanks to trade cooperation agreements worked out over the past two years, Poland's exports to the West increased dramatically last year. But most of the gains were wiped out by the virtual collapse of trade with the Soviet Union.

The forum for achieving liberalized trade is the Uruguay Round of trade talks. Last year's Group of Seven summit in Houston closed with a ringing declaration in which the leaders pledged their "determination to take the difficult political decisions necessary to achieve far-reaching substantial results in all areas" of the talks by the end of 1990. But by last December that promise had evaporated and the talks were suspended largely as a result of conflicts over Europe's farm policies.

This time around, British Prime Minister John Major, the host of the summit, has pledged that the final declaration will be heeded. A senior aide to Major called free trade "the most important issue facing the world economy, without a doubt."

Without a major shift in trade, many analysts fear Eastern Europe will end up a collection of anemic, chronically dependent countries that, like Africa, are doomed to remain on the world's welfare roll.

"It's very disheartening, but there's a real lack of will on trade issues," said James Rollo, head of the international economics program at the Royal Institute for International Affairs here. "Really, what we're offering these countries is a dependency relationship—take it or leave it."

Major sought to limit the impact of Gorbachev's visit by insisting that the Soviet leader make his appearance only after the formal summit ends on Wednesday. Nonetheless, his attendance has given an air of drama and expectation to what might otherwise have been a workmanlike affair.

On one level, the appearance of

A new study released Friday by a Toronto retailing analyst, Clayton Associates Ltd., reported that cheaper U.S. goods lured 5.2 million one-day shoppers across the border in May nearly 20 percent more than in April.



Y shop windows, 800,000. One of London's fashion-forward signs. High Street clothing, the Burton Group, rode to the top during the retail boom in mid-1980s, last week announced 1,600 cuts and forecasted a loss for the second

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THE RT HON JOHN MAJOR
ON THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT
AT THE SUNDAY TIMES ENVIRONMENT EXHIBITION
AT OLYMPIA
ON
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THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

I should like to begin by congratulating the Sunday Times on its sense of timing - as crucial for a newspaper, as for politicians. We are in a period of intense international activity on the environment. The past few weeks have seen negotiations on climate change, biodiversity and Antarctica. Next month will see further preparations for the UN Conference on Environment and Development. And in a few days, the leaders of the G7 countries will gather in England for our annual summit, when the environment will feature strongly on our agenda. So I welcome this chance to set out where Britain stands in advance of these further discussions. This conference could not be more timely.

A few years ago, it would have been unthinkable for hard headed world leaders to debate the environment. Not any more. A global, environmental vision is no longer a luxury for idealistic dreamers. It has become an essential compass to guide our society. The reason is very simple. The scale of human activity is now so great that it affects the whole world environment. We are realising that what unites us is greater than what divides us. In this respect, I was delighted with President Bush's announcement last week that the United States would, after all, join the other members of the Antarctic Treaty in signing the Environment Protocol.

Your theme for the Conference is apt: "The Global Environment". That is the essence. We must be global. We cannot wrap the environment up into neat, national parcels. We cannot say this is 'mine', and that is 'yours'. What happens in Darlington or Detroit today may affect Dakhla or Djibouti tomorrow - and vice versa. We can no more protect our planet on our own than we can ensure our security, or develop our economy, on our own.

No problem shows this more clearly than that of global warming. I think it wrong to call it the greenhouse effect. I dislike the term. That image is far too cosy, far too domestic, far too complacent. Begonias and petunias it is not. The threat of global warming is real. The spread of deserts. Changed weather patterns, with potentially more storms and hurricanes. Perhaps more flooding of low lying areas. Possibly the disappearance of some island states.

Of course more research is needed to increase our understanding of the problem. But research cannot excuse inaction - the threat is too serious. Without panic, we must start now to make our dispositions for tackling this threat as the information about it improves. The United Kingdom has committed itself to act. We have said that, if others do their part, we shall return emissions of CO₂ to 1990 levels by 2005. We shall monitor our action to achieve this target and, if possible, improve on it. But it has to be a shared venture to be effective.

- 2 -

This desire for a common resolve is not simply idealism. It is enlightened, mutual self interest. No 'cordon sanitaire' protects any country from climate change. True, we in the industrialised countries can build defences against rising sea levels. We can construct desalination plants. We can instal sophisticated irrigation schemes if our land starts to dry out. Many other countries cannot afford these things. But is their plight theirs alone? I think not. Quite apart from the moral imperative to help less fortunate nations, it is in the interest of the industrial world to do so. As countries become poorer, so world trade diminishes. Instability grows. The threat of regional unrest becomes more real.

We in Britain have set out the first set of measures to limit our CO₂ emissions, in last year's White Paper on the Environment. In the Autumn we shall publish a Report showing how our efforts are being put into practice. Our initial measures concentrate on energy efficiency, on developing renewable energy sources, on transport, and on forestry. These are measures which will also bring a worthwhile economic pay-off to the country, to business and to ordinary people.

Energy efficiency in particular is an area where we in Britain could do more. We should do more. For our part, we in Government will continue to examine our existing efforts to encourage more efficient use of energy. We will improve and augment these as necessary.

All these measures make good sense, and are cost effective. Other measures will involve costs. That is unavoidable. Here too we have said that, if other leading countries do their part, we will not shirk more difficult options. The price will need to be balanced against the perceived level of threat.

But action by this country alone will not even dent the problem. We produce only 3 per cent of the world's CO₂. So we are working with our Community partners to develop a wider European strategy. But even the Community accounts for only 13 per cent of global CO₂ emissions. The United States accounts for 23 per cent. The world looks to them for decisive leadership on this issue, as on others.

Nor is that enough. The USSR and Eastern Europe must make real efforts to control their greenhouse gases. And we must encourage and assist the so-called Third World to develop in an energy efficient way. I say "so called", because in environmental matters especially, there is no Third World. We have only one world. And China and India are major industrial nations by any standard. It is in their national interests to develop their energy efficiency. It saves their resources, and global warming will be felt at least as keenly in the non-industrialized countries as here. China has recently indicated its intention to join the Montreal Convention to protect the ozone layer. I hope China will be equally positive in tackling, with us, the problems of climate change.

We accept that the industrialised countries will have to give a strong lead as well as an example. Britain and the rest of the European Community are doing so. We must continue our efforts to ensure that all of the world's leading economies pull

- 3 -

together.

Global warming is not the only challenge to our sense of interdependence. Take destruction of tropical forests. Brazil's loss, or Malaysia's loss, are our loss too. We are destroying the world's lungs. And we are burning our knowledge bank. We voyage into outer space, yet much of the natural world on our doorstep remains unknown. Thousands of plant species have edible parts. Yet we only use a few dozen.

We may be destroying plants that could help us to adapt to environmental change. We are losing species faster than we can catalogue them. It is as if the owner of a great gallery of pictures were to slash or destroy a Renoir or a Rembrandt every day. Such destruction betrays our future.

And that is why we must help developing countries manage their forests, for their benefit, for our benefit. In just over two years Britain has doubled the number of forest projects we finance for developing countries. I welcome the willingness of Brazil, under President Collor, to collaborate with other countries on the Amazon rainforest. Britain was the first country to sign a special agreement with Brazil on environmental cooperation. The key will be for Brazil to design the right policies, involving local people. We look forward to working further with them on their ideas.

We must also learn to live within our environmental means. That is the simple message of sustainable development. If we live beyond our means, future generations pay for our present extravagance. The living standards and mobility that we in industrial countries expect, all have an environmental price. We can no longer consume without reckoning the cost.

I was asked, recently, to contribute one of my childhood books to an auction for a children's charity. I sent a Bunter book. And it occurred to me that we have been too much like Bunter. We have happily consumed without reckoning the cost. We have been waiting for a postal order to turn up.

But not any more. We are no longer waiting. We are doing. And we should not underestimate our capabilities.

The Stockholm Conference brought these matters to our attention, almost twenty years ago. Then, there was not much national or international law on the environment. The public knew little about it. The environmental lobby was weak and regarded with suspicion - they were parodied as beads and beads. Politicians paid only fragmentary attention. The time spans involved were too long. Sometimes 24 hours can be a long time in politics. The ability to look much beyond the next election is not something for which we politicians are renowned!

The prospect has changed beyond all recognition. Today, there is a large body of environmental law. The public is alert to environmental abuse and quick to demand action. The environmental lobbies are large and influential. Politicians pay attention and, even, act.

In exactly eleven months time, there will be another global meeting on the environment. I hope to be there myself. I hope that national leaders from every country on earth will attend the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development in Brazil. Fittingly, it has become known as the Earth Summit. There could be no greater sign of the serious attention which Governments accord the environment, than that it should be the occasion for the first ever meeting of all the world's leaders.

We have three main goals for the Conference:-

- * first, international agreements on tackling climate change, safeguarding tropical forests, maintaining biological diversity. These measures would represent an historic extension of the rule of law to the global commons;

- * second, an agreement to strengthen the international institutions responsible for the environment, in particular the United Nations Environment Programme in Nairobi; and to strengthen the arrangements for ensuring that the UN machinery takes account of environmental concerns.

- * third, more effective help for developing countries to take part in meeting the global environmental challenge. Britain has already committed £40 million, in addition to the existing aid programme, to the new Global Environment Facility of the United Nations and World Bank. And we are integrating environmental concerns into all bilateral and multi-lateral aid programmes.

At our meeting next week, I will be working with the other leaders of the major industrial countries to give added impetus to these aims.

Let me turn now to the national and the local scene - because we cannot sensibly talk about the environment globally, without considering the national and the local too. The environment embraces the street corner as well as the stratosphere.

It is government's task to provide leadership on the environment, to set a clear framework of expectations within which every one of us can best contribute to our common good. Leadership is what this Government has set out to provide.

We did this most emphatically with our White Paper - 'This Common Inheritance'. This was the first ever comprehensive statement of environmental policy by a British Government. Indeed, we are one of only a handful of Governments anywhere to have published such a document. It sets out 150 action points for Government. We put our money where our mouth was and announced a 22 per cent increase in expenditure on environmental protection and improvement last November - an extra £130 million.

The White Paper sets out the direction in which the nation must move. It also puts environmental concern at the heart of Government. Margaret Thatcher set up two Ministerial

Committees to consider environmental policies. One, which I now chair, lays down the overall strategy. The other, chaired by Michael Heseltine, keeps up the pressure to deliver the detailed policies in the White Paper. In addition each Government department now contains a 'Green Minister', responsible for that Department's environmental performance. Departments will now publish regular reports on their environmental stewardship and objectives.

The environment is no longer an optional, add-on, peel-off extra. It is no longer the easy option - the option which it's easy not to take. Our recent Green Paper on health policy, for example, includes a significant section on health and the environment. Keeping up the pressure is vital. We have already issued an interim report showing our progress on over one hundred of the White Paper's action points.

But I am announcing today that, in September, we will publish a report to mark the anniversary of the White Paper. It will take stock. It will indicate further ways forward. And I intend that this should be the first of a regular series of reports, accounting for the Government's stewardship of the environment. These will enable the nation to audit our progress towards our environmental objectives. The White Paper is a start, not a full stop. It is a foundation, on which we will build.

I can tell you today of one way in which we intend to do so. The Environmental Protection Act established Integrated Pollution Control - a new approach to the environment, which Britain has taken further, faster than anyone else. And we have created strong, new agencies to protect the environment. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Pollution controls all the major emissions to air, land and water from the most polluting industrial processes. The National Rivers Authority protects and improves the water environment. These arrangements, with integrated pollution control, have given a keen cutting edge to our environmental efforts in this country.

But there is scope to achieve even better integration between the different agencies, as foreshadowed in last year's White Paper on the Environment. I can announce today that we plan to set up an Environment Agency. This will bring together Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Pollution, and related functions of the National Rivers Authority, to create a new agency for environmental protection and enhancement. It would have responsibilities for monitoring the state of air and water. It would make proposals to Government on standards. It would regulate emissions and discharges to achieve the standards set by Government. Again, as foreshadowed in the White Paper, we are also minded to give the new agency responsibility for regulating the handling and disposal of waste, which is currently under the combined supervision of local authorities and HMIP. It is right that the integrity and indivisibility of the environment should now be reflected in a unified agency. I am confident that this will be a significant step forward. We hope to issue a consultation document setting out our thinking more fully later in the year. But the new agency will not affect the current balance of responsibilities between the pollution enforcement agencies and the Health and Safety

Executive.

The Secretary of State for Scotland has also been giving consideration to the position in Scotland where the institutional framework is quite different. He will announce his proposals in due course.

Thus far, I have talked about action by Government. But much more than that is needed.

One of the most marked changes in the environmental debate over the last twenty years has been the changing view of the role of Government. Before, most people thought that Government action would 'green' the world. Now, people are as likely to see Governments as one of the main perpetrators of environmental problems. It is no accident that this perception has changed just when the failure of socialism to deliver either economic or environmental success has become so dramatically apparent...

The fact is that the success of market based economies is a necessary precondition for protecting the environment. Just look at the environmental disaster zones of Eastern Europe. The key to our planet's future lies in harnessing the great creative energies of the market place to a new task, not in some futile and self-defeating attempt to bind up this friendly Leviathan. That is why we announced last week a new Fund of £5 million, specifically directed to environmental work in Eastern Europe. It will help those countries to harness market forces and private sector skills to environmental improvement.

Britain is developing new market-based policy instruments. Let me quote just three examples. First, tax differentials have massively boosted the sales of lead free petrol. Second, the measures in the last budget, to increase petrol duty and to change the tax treatment of company cars, continue to bring home to people the social and economic costs of motoring, and help to improve the relative attractiveness of public transport. Third, a new system of recycling credits will increase recycling and reduce waste. These are just three ways of helping the market work for the environment. As promised in the White Paper, we will continue to look for new ways to control pollution cost-effectively by working with the grain of the market, not against it.

For it is now clear that the principal task of delivering sustainable development will fall to business. I am immensely heartened by the way the business community has responded to this challenge. I am optimistic that we are on the way to forming that "Green Alliance between companies and governments" which Frances Cairncross envisages in her recent book called "Costing the Earth".

It is wrong to see modern business as the enemy of the environment. A recent study by Touche Ross shows that over 2/3 of companies now have environmental strategies, compared to less than one-third just a year or so ago. These companies are building the environment into their calculations and into their success. Our leading firms, collectively, are now shaping the necessary new approaches to environmental management.

Excellent work has been done by the Business and Environment group. And the new Advisory Committee on Business and the Environment, which Michael Heseltine and Peter Lilley recently set up, is poised to make a big impact too.

Environmental concerns are not a drag on business. Commercial instincts could do as much, if not more, to advance the cause of the environment as Government regulation. Regulation must set a level playing field. It must set minimum standards and stimulate new, environmentally friendly technology. But business ingenuity must have maximum scope to find the best way of reaching the goal at least cost, both environmentally and economically.

One recent estimate put the size of the market for environmental goods and services, in the UK alone, at £140 billion over the next nine years. This is a sizeable business opportunity by any standards. Someone will seize these markets. British business must be in a position to get its share.

Nor is it always the case that higher standards involve higher prices. After initial development, a new and "greener" product may actually cost no more to produce. But these opportunities will only be available to those companies geared up to take them.

But, in the final analysis, the future rests not in the hands of Government, or of business, but in the hands of each one of us. It depends on our every day decisions - in our homes, at work, when we go shopping or do the garden. Companies, schools, churches, trades unions, women's organizations, must put the environment on their agendas. So, too, must each one of us, as consumers, employees, or parents. Quite simply, at the heart of our environmental problems are people. That is why I welcome the emergence of the green consumer. Last year over half the population made a consumer choice on environmental grounds. I know, too, of the strength of the green consumer from within my own family.

This government sets great store in giving back the power of choice to consumers - in housing, health, education and elsewhere. We must go on extending that power. The emergence of a green market place means that consumers can now exercise their power to choose in ways that can benefit the environment.

Retailers, and manufacturers, have not been slow to notice the enormous purchasing power this represents. It can be seen in the ranks of green products now to be found on any supermarket shelf in the country - tangible proof of how we can harness the power of the market place to our moral purposes.

But we are not only important as consumers. We also matter as citizens. No Government has done more to help the citizen help himself or herself to obtain a better environment.

We have opened the door to environmental information. Every individual, every group, will in future have access to the information they need in order to act as an environmental watchdog. That information is the citizen's right, and the

Active Citizen will use that right constructively.

Legislation passed last year gives the public new powers to take their council to court if it does not clean its public areas and keep them litter free. These powers are a citizen's right, and the Active Citizen will use that right constructively.

But as citizens we have obligations too. Obligations not to drop litter. Obligations to recycle our household waste where possible. Obligations to conserve energy. Obligations to help protect our common inheritance.

There is a Victorian picture, which many of you may know. It is called "The Last Day in the Old Home". The ancestral home has been sold up. The removal men are in the hall. The feckless father is toasting the future, while his wife weeps. His small son and heir stands at his knee, half excited, half bemused.

I do not want to be in the position of that father, squandering my children's global home and inheritance for my own immediate wants.

Nor, I am sure, do you.

Environmental issues touch all of us and every aspect of our lives. They touch our hopes for our children and our fears for the future. These are global challenges, which require global responses. But, they require local responses too. Each of us as individuals must do his or her part. I can promise you that we in Government will do ours.

DNC Research
Net '92 Issue of the Week
July 22, 1991

PUTTING THE HEAT ON THE BUSH ENVIRONMENTAL RECORD

As we swelter through yet another summer of record-breaking heat, it is useful to recall the Bush Administration's record on global warming. In August 1988 the soon-to-be "environmental" president promised us that the greenhouse effect was no match for the "White House effect." Bush's remarks raised hopes that his administration might actually place a higher priority on redressing our environmental ills.

But the White House effect quickly devolved into the Whitewash effect. **The Bush administration that pledged its allegiance to combatting the greenhouse effect and other environmental issues has consistently shown itself to be the tool of industrial interests and a foe of taking any real action.**

This despite the fact that 90 percent of Americans report that the U.S. should assume a leadership role in dealing with global environmental problems (Americans Talk Issues Poll, survey 6/23-7/1, 1991). The Bush greenhouse record in brief:

Chapter 1: Sununu's Blue Pen

In May, 1989, "genius" John Sununu found flaws in the testimony of greenhouse expert James Hansen, head of NASA's Goddard Institute, who planned to tell Congress that immediate action was in order to prevent drought-inducing global warming from progressing. Sununu rewrote the Hansen testimony to read that the jury was still out on global warming. (Boston Globe, 5/9/89)

Chapter 2: Debates To Avoid

As the environmental presidency proceeded, European delegates to the White House conference on global warming in April 1990 were outraged to discover that statements by Bush Administration officials were based on talking points literally entitled "Debates to Avoid." (New York Times, 4/19/90)

Chapter 3: More Bush Stonewalling

In February, 1991, delegates from 130 nations agreed to focus on "appropriate commitments" to reduce carbon dioxide emissions and provide financial aid to developing nations that forego the use of the harmful chemicals. Unfortunately, "appropriate commitments" -- language demanded by the U.S. -- is sufficiently broad to excuse the Bush Administration from having to deal constructively in future negotiations. Says Michael R. Deland, chairman of the White House Council on Environmental Quality, "It doesn't make sense to write blank checks when there

are billions of dollars already spent on developing issues and not all spent sensibly on the environment." (Washington Post, 2/15/91)

Chapter 4: The Saga Continues...But Without Great Britain

It has gotten so bad that even Great Britain -- once Margaret Thatcher's deregulatory laboratory -- has grown tired of Bush Administration intransigence on the greenhouse issue and has refused to side automatically with the U.S. on the subject in the future. (Washington Post, 7/14/91) At the recent G-7 summit in London, Bush scoffed at European initiatives to adopt strict carbon dioxide emission standards claiming that all the facts are not yet in. **British Prime Minister John Major apparently was not impressed by this line of reasoning. In his words, "research cannot excuse inaction -- the threat is too serious."** (New York Times, 7/21/91) Meanwhile, a British report released this month found that the rate of ozone depletion in much of Europe has doubled in the last decade.

Despite his penchant for travel abroad, President Bush has not yet seen fit to commit himself to attending a global environmental conference in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992, despite the proddings of his G-7 comrades. He's keeping the dates open, one suspects, in case he decides to declare himself the Global Environmental President on the eve of the election -- after 3 years of thwarting progress.

* * * * *

Some Facts for the Week:

Americans are ready to act...

- * Over 90 percent of Americans agree that the U.S. should "get other nations to join together" to arrest global environmental problems.
- * Over 80 percent express approval for establishing a world bank to finance environmental clean-up and a joint-venture with developing countries to support sustainable development with environmentally-benign technologies.
- * Over 45 percent are "very convinced" that global warming and ozone depletion require immediate attention. Another 33 percent are somewhat convinced. (Americans Talk Issues poll, 7/1991)

Because it's getting hot...

- * Not including 1991 (and today's cool rain here in D.C.), the three hottest years on record are 1990, 1988 and 1981. (Electric Light and Power, 1991)

For more information, contact Dan Carol or Julie Loughran @ 202/863-8020

at which Major's Prime Minister Brian Mulroney suggesting intervention. "Major was not at all intimidated by being the new kid in the class," said another senior Western official who was present at all the summit sessions.

U.S. officials looked on the important British contribution to Operation Desert Storm as an "Indian summer" in the gradual decline of the special defense and political relationship that has united the two countries since World War II. In the wake of the war against Iraq, Washington was set to resume its new "partners in leadership" tilt toward Germany.

But the vision of a high-profile U.S.-German partnership was set back by the diffident performance at the London summit of Chancellor Helmut

G-7 and of the presentation of his own program (called the Citizen's Charter) this week. Major has had to defend his government's clumsy handling of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International scandal. Labor feels it has an election winner with the bank collapse. But Major's toe-to-toe verbal slugging matches with Kinnock in the House of Commons this week may have gained the prime minister some points for grit and backbone in a debate that continues.

Labor still leads in the polls and everyone else says wait for spring. But the one thing attentive Britons have learned in the past two months is that John Major has a mind of his own. An October surprise in Britain is not to be ruled out yet.

tices, rather than

Deming has little patience for such protectionist dogma. "Knowledge crosses borders without visas," he told the congressional group in a strong and booming voice.

Deming is a prophet without honor in his own country, a situation that Gingrich would like to correct. He thinks it essential that Congress devise ways of taking Deming's core ideas and applying them to the urgent task of improving the human and physical resources of the nation. The Georgia Republican extracted from Deming a willingness to help out if he's asked.

position on an organizational structure for peak performance is enhanced.

Gingrich aims to get Congress to construct six or seven experiments based on Deming-style principles.

"If we try to do too much, we'll guarantee failure," Gingrich said. "But if we launch seven, and three work, that wouldn't be a bad achievement, and we could come back in 1995 with seven more."

It's worth trying: The present American course looks to be dangerously downhill. "Who do you think will be ahead five years from now?" Deming asks.

Jessica Mathews

Gorilla in the Greenhouse

Up and down the East Coast, gardeners are baffled by flowers blooming two months and more ahead of schedule. In my own garden, October chrysanthemums were in bloom on the Fourth of July. Greenhouse warming leaps, unbidden, to mind. One cannot help wondering whether the plants are sensing a climate pattern ahead of human temperature measurements.

Measurements also show a warming trend, but not quite so dramatically. Globally, 1990 was the warmest year since measuring began in the 1850s. The 1980s were the warmest decade in that period—about half a degree warmer than the preceding 40 years. The six warmest years in the last 140 were '90, '88, '87, '83, '89 and '81. The snow is melting earlier in Alaska, and Arctic sea ice is retreating.

These are some of the reasons Europe is impatient to begin controlling greenhouse gas emissions. There are still many puzzles and uncertainties, but the science of global warming is far more robust than most Americans, including the president, have been led to believe.

Bush has allowed John Sununu to overpower conflicting views within the administration. The chief of staff's obsession with the subject is by now well-known. It is so strong that several top officials have decided that there is no point in contesting the issue. Secretary of State James A. Baker III took the extraordinary step of opting out by legally recusing himself on the grounds of a conflict of interest due to his personal oil and gas holdings. (He has never

explained why such a conflict would not extend to Middle Eastern diplomacy.)

At the G-7 summit last week, the United States was alone in preferring environmental rhetoric to action. The strength of European annoyance was revealed by unusual on-the-record complaints about the U.S. posture. "The U.S. wants to avoid anything other than generalization. Everybody else wants to make a commitment," was how one European official, quoted in the Los Angeles Times, put it.

Heretofore, Britain has always acceded to U.S. pressure to block international greenhouse commitments, but it has served notice that it will no longer. After being rebuffed in a recent effort to find a compromise between the United States and the European positions, British Environment Secretary Michael Heseltine learned that Sununu had dismissed him as a freelancer who did not reflect his government's views.

Heseltine fired back a letter to the White House described by British government sources as "unusually tough and personal," enclosing a speech just delivered by Prime Minister John Major. Apparently unconcerned by the possibility of a direct conflict with the United States one week before the summit, Major made clear that the rest of the world views the United States as the 800-pound gorilla of global carbon dioxide emissions, responsible for a quarter of the world's total, as compared with the European Community's 13 percent. In several not-so-subtle references to the United States, Major em-

phasized Britain's intention to control its emissions "if others do their part."

Without Britain or Japan in its corner, the United States' principal allies in resisting greenhouse commitments in the broader global negotiations are Saudi Arabia and the Soviet Union. Saudi Arabia opposes any plan that might lower consumption of its only product. The Soviet Union cannot cope with additional requirements of any kind, though improved energy efficiency would greatly benefit its economy. The rest of the world finds it hard to see why the United States belongs in this company. The consensus view held by Europe, Japan, Canada and a growing number of developing countries is to ready a treaty, including emission-control goals, for signing at next June's U.N. Conference on Environment and Development, the so-called "Earth Summit."

This last of the major U.N. conferences of the century could pose a problem for Bush if the climate negotiations continue to make progress despite U.S. opposition. The Brazil meeting would provide an unparalleled photo opportunity on the brink of the presidential campaign if several agreements are ready for signing and most of the world's leaders attend. Or the president could be forced to stay home to avoid embracing a treaty he has resolutely opposed, offering his Democratic opponent a powerful argument that the "environment president" turned out not to be one.

There is not much time left to adjust the U.S. stance. It was just six years ago that scientists

first suggested that global warming warranted international action. Three years later, in 1988, a meeting of governments in Toronto called for a 20 percent cut in carbon dioxide emissions by 2000 and completion of a climate convention by 1992. At the time, both goals seemed wildly optimistic, targets purposely set to exceed governments' grasp rather than achievable aims.

In 1991 the Toronto goals no longer seem fanciful. Six countries, including Germany, have pledged to meet the emissions goal. The rest of Europe, Japan and Canada have committed to stabilizing their emissions at approximately 1990 levels. There is a realistic chance of a finished treaty by 1992, despite the unprecedented complexity of an undertaking that involves all countries and touches on energy use, economic policy, north-south equity, the accounting for long past emissions, future population growth and other equally thorny issues, all once solely domestic affairs.

The treaty would be a beginning and not an end. But even so, the pace of events so far is meteoric. Nothing in the history of diplomacy would have suggested a few years ago that progress could be so rapid. Noting the strength of international readiness to begin slowing greenhouse emissions, and the degree of American isolation, Bush should realize that it's high time he heard more than Sununu's views on the matter.

The writer, vice president of World Resources Institute, writes this column independently for The Post.

W. POST 7-25-91

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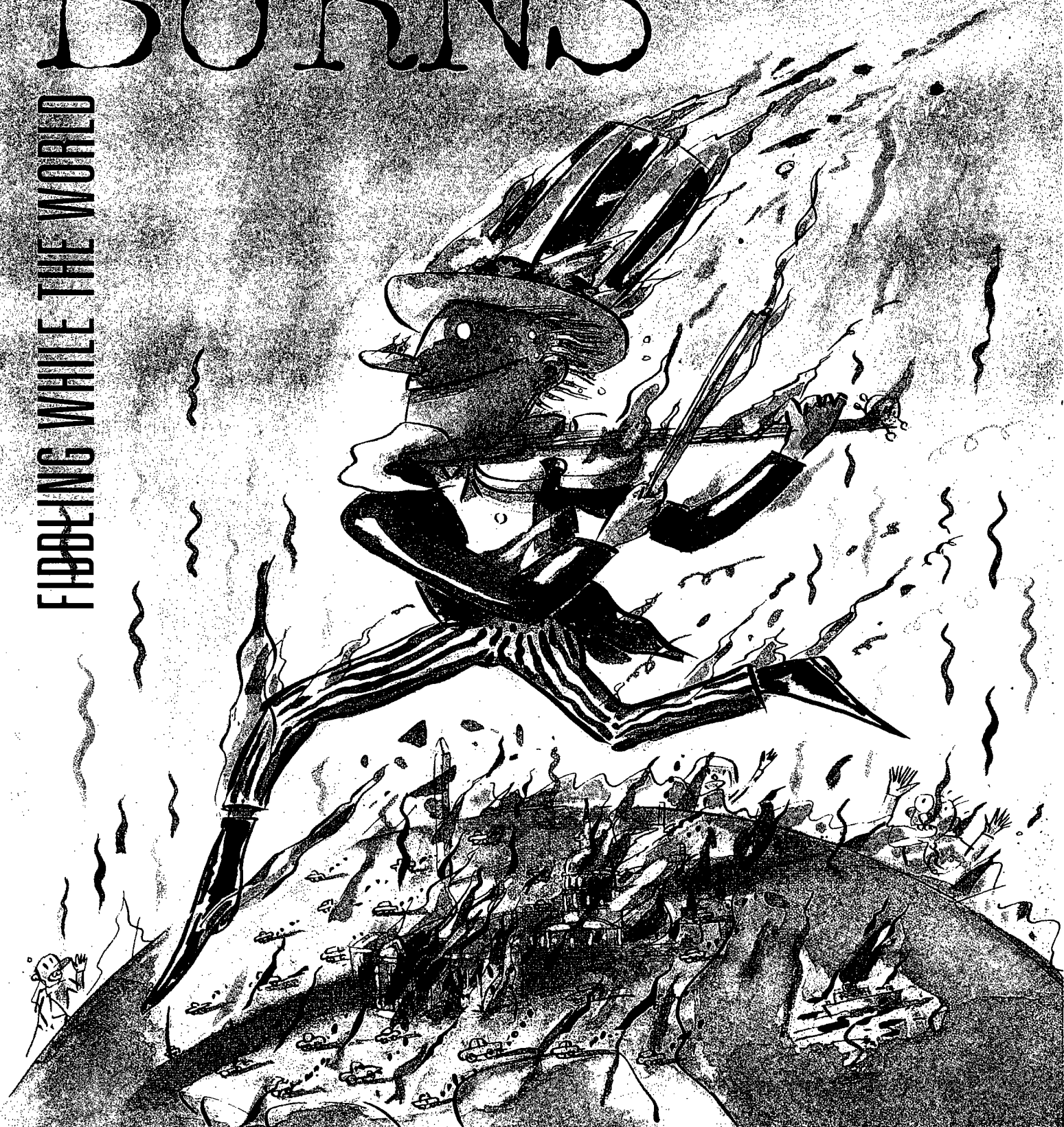
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BURNS

FIDDLING WHILE THE WORLD



President George Bush has made plain his two-track response to the energy crisis: risk war for oil supplies and don't worry too much about environmental consequences, such as oil spills and global warming. What is less known is the lengths to which the White House is willing to go to ensure that international efforts to avert a global catastrophe tomorrow do not impinge upon business-as-usual today.

BY JEREMY LEGGETT AND PEG STEVENSON

E.P.A. Report Says Earth Will Heat Up Beginning in 1990's

By PHILIP SHABECOFF
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 17 — The Environmental Protection Agency warned in a report made available today that the warming of the earth known as the "greenhouse effect" will begin in the 1990's.

John S. Hoffman, director of strategic studies for the agency, said in an interview today: "We are trying to get people to realize that changes are coming sooner than they expected. Major changes will be here by the years 1990 to 2000, and we have to learn how to live with them."

The report, which was completed last month by Mr. Hoffman's office, said the warming trend, the result of a buildup of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, is both imminent and inevitable. In the next century, it warns, the world will have to learn to deal with major changes in climate patterns, with disrupted food production and with significantly higher coastal waters.

The greenhouse effect, Mr. Hoffman said, "means a lot more than the temperature getting a little warmer." "There could be big changes," he said. "New York City could have a climate like Daytona Beach, Fla., by 2100."

Although private scientists have

Continued on Page A19, Column 1

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made similar predictions for years, this report is the first warning by the Federal Government that the "greenhouse effect" is not a theoretical problem but a threat whose first effects will be felt within a few years.

The report said that there was still considerable uncertainty about the speed and size of the temperature changes but that the best estimates now suggested that global average temperatures could increase 2 degrees centigrade, or 3.6 degrees Fahrenheit, by the year 2040.

By the year 2100, the increase could total 5 degrees centigrade, or 9 degrees Fahrenheit. Such increases in the average temperature of the earth would be accompanied by increases up to three times as large in the polar regions, which could cause the polar ice caps to melt rapidly.

After examining trends in atmospheric patterns and fuel uses, the agency said that no strategy for mitigating the problem, even a total ban on the use of fossil fuels, could do more than delay the warming effect a few years.

Fossil fuels are the major source of the carbon dioxide, which lets sunlight enter the atmosphere and heat the earth but inhibits the escape of heat radiation into space. The report strongly recommended that planning start now for dealing with the threat.

"A soberness and sense of urgency should underlie our response to a greenhouse warming," the report concluded.

The projected average temperature changes do not necessarily reflect the disruptive effects of wide seasonal swings that could bring extremes of heat or drought or rainfall, Mr. Hoffman said.

He said the report, written by Stephen Seidel and Dale Keyes, was reviewed by about 100 scientists before publication and most of the criticism was that the projections of the amount of warming were "too conservative."

Some Specifics Are Uncertain

The report, which examined computer projections of different ways of dealing with the carbon dioxide problem, including the management of fuel use, said more research was needed. Uncertainties include the timing and size of the warming trend and where and how specific areas of the earth will be affected, the report said. More also needs to be found out about the impact of other "greenhouse gases," including methane and nitrous oxide.

But the report included this warning: "Our findings support the conclusion that a global greenhouse warming is neither trivial nor just a long-range problem."

Noting that only a few decades remain to plan for and cope with the full impact of the warming trend, the report said that "changes by the end of the 21st century could be catastrophic taken in the context of today's world."

"Innovative thinking and strategy-building are sorely needed," the report said and added, "Means must be found to explore the advantages of climate change where they appear, and to minimize the adverse effects."

Mr. Hoffman said the change could benefit some areas, for example by increasing rainfall for agriculture. But the adverse effects could cause economic disruptions costing billions of dollars, he said. Some of these effects could be mitigated with proper planning, he asserted.

Impact on Coastal Areas

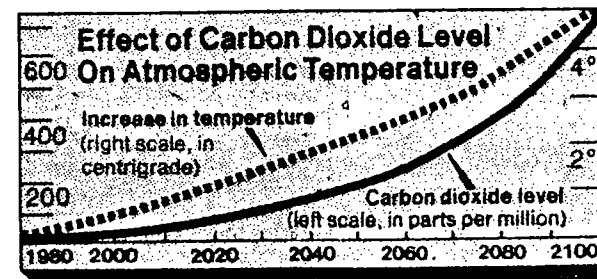
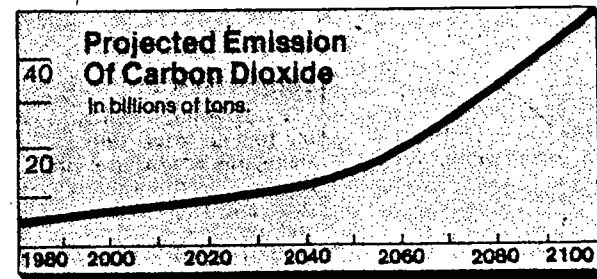
Mr. Hoffman said another study by the environmental agency examined the potential impact on coastal areas of a higher sea level caused by the melting of polar snow and ice. The study said that in Charleston, S.C., for example, an increase in the sea level of four to seven feet by the year 2100 was probable. By 2075, the study found, the rising sea level would cost the city \$1.25 billion in lost residential and industrial

Says Earth Will Heat Up Beginning in 1990's

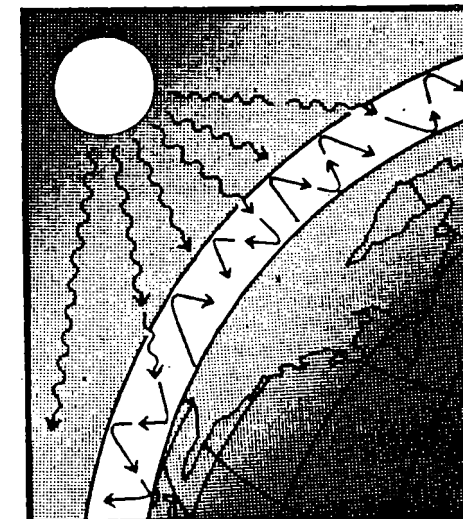
THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1983

Atmospheric Carbon Dioxide and the 'Greenhouse Effect'

Based on most likely (mid-range) scenario.



Source: Environmental Protection Agency



Carbon dioxide, mostly from fuel-burning, traps heat radiation from earth and atmosphere, preventing dissipation into space.

buildings and lost land.

The report said that with proper planning and action, including planning of new building sites, building

bulkheads, contouring the land and other measures, the total economic loss could be reduced to \$440 million.

On Thursday, the National Research

Council of the National Academy of Sciences is planning to make public a major study on the increase in carbon dioxide in the atmosphere.

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

The Seven in Houston

AS THE SEVEN gather in Houston today, they will be greatly tempted to focus their discussions on the collapse of Soviet power in Eastern Europe. This one will be the first of these annual conferences to be held in the heady atmosphere being generated by the end of the Cold War. For the people who lead the seven big industrial democracies, it's a rare moment—one in which they are riding on the crest of great events. It would be easy to turn Houston into a continuation of the NATO talks last week in London, another stage in the intricate conversations about arms reduction and German unification that will go on through the summer and autumn. But there is other business as well that's got to be taken up at Houston—business that's much less congenial and more divisive, but equally urgent.

Trade is at the top of the list. One way or the other, either by settling the key issue or evading it, the seven will determine the outcome of the negotiations, now in their fourth year, to strengthen and modernize the rules of international trade. These negotiations are now stuck on agriculture, and specifically on the European Community's bad habit of over-subsidizing its farm production and then dumping its unwanted

discipline to agriculture. If the seven at Houston don't settle it, the whole trade negotiation will collapse, and the rest of the world will conclude, reasonably enough, that the Western Europeans did it deliberately because they are losing interest in world trade—that they are entirely preoccupied with expansion into Eastern Europe. That suggests a world dividing into closed trading blocs. If the Europeans want the United States to remain interested in Europe, as they say they do, they are going to have to demonstrate it by meeting their responsibilities to an open worldwide trading system.

As for environmental policy, here it's the United States that's on the defensive. The question is not a choice between right and left, as many American conservatives—particularly those at the White House—seem to think. After all Margaret Thatcher has now begun to press for serious action. What the seven need is a joint strategy to begin curbing atmospheric pollution in ways that will support economic growth rather than damaging it.

To the extent that the world has a governing, or at least guiding, body, it is the one now on view in Houston. Its decisions on aid to the Soviet Union will have great immediate political impor-

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THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT

After Rhetoric of '89, Environment Likely to Take Back Seat at Summit

Upheaval in Eastern Europe Shifts Emphasis to Economic Issues

By John Lancaster
Washington Post Staff Writer

Leaders of the seven big industrial democracies embraced the environment with the zeal of the newly converted when they gathered in Paris for last year's economic summit. "This summit marked a watershed," President Bush said at the conclusion last year. "We agreed that decisive action is urgently needed to preserve the earth."

But the economic summit that begins in Houston today promises to accord the environment a lower priority. While issues such as global warming and rain forest destruction still have a place on the agenda, they are not expected to receive nearly as much attention as free trade and the political upheaval in the Soviet Union.

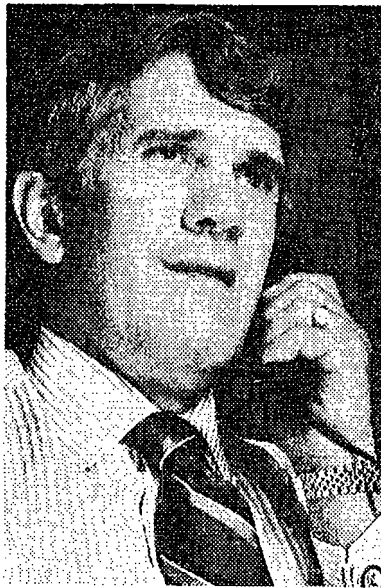
"I think this time we will see an economic summit that is focused to a far greater degree on economics," said Michael R. Deland, chairman of the president's Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ).

The anticipated focus on the Soviet Union and East Bloc economies is not surprising given the events of the last year. But the shift in emphasis has disappointed many environmentalists, who see it as one more sign that industrial nations—and the United States in particular—have failed to follow through on the bold rhetoric of 1989.

A coalition of environmental groups, meeting in the shadow of the Houston summit, gave the seven nations a mixed to poor review for their efforts during the last year.

"I'm a lot more depressed than when we got into this," said George T. Frampton Jr., president of the Wilderness Society. "Forests are being cut just as fast or faster than they were a year ago There has been virtually no progress on ocean pollution, and absolutely nothing on population. Overall, you'd have to say that these countries simply aren't treating environmental issues as an important priority—in spite of the Paris communique."

Environmentalists cite as an exception last month's agreement by 92 countries to phase out produc-



MICHAEL R. DELAND
... disputes criticism of U.S. effort

tion of chemicals linked to the destruction of the earth's protective ozone layer. Government ministers also agreed to establish the world's first global environmental fund to help poorer countries make the transition to more benign varieties of chemicals.

But the industrial nations remain divided on a response to global warming, which scientists expect will be a consequence of the buildup of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. While Britain, the Netherlands and West Germany have established goals for reducing or stabilizing carbon dioxide emissions, Bush administration officials have avoided time-tables in favor of continued scientific study.

Earlier this year, a panel of experts sponsored by the United Nations concluded that worldwide temperatures will rise 2 degrees within 35 years and about 6 degrees by the end of the next century if nothing is done to reduce carbon dioxide emissions. The report, based on the work of more than 300 climate experts worldwide, was seen as a vindication by environmentalists who have been urging quick action to combat the problem.

Environmentalists contend that by failing to follow the lead of Germany and other nations in setting goals to reduce greenhouse gases,

the United States has forfeited its role as an international leader on environmental issues.

That charge was disputed by Deland, who said the nation already is working to reduce pollutants that cause global warming. "I don't think the U.S. has forfeited a leadership role and I think it's continuing to play such a role," Deland said.

But he also suggested that cutting greenhouse gases is easier for some countries than it is for the United States. "It's clearly much easier for West Germany to set such a goal," he said. "They can flick a switch and tie into French nuclear power We are clearly more tied to fossil fuels than many other countries that have alternatives such as nuclear and hydroelectric power."

Many environmentalists had their expectations raised by last year's summit, in which participants devoted more than a third of their final communique to environmental issues. Pundits dubbed it "the environmental summit" and Bush even showed up with Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William K. Reilly, the first time the head of the EPA appeared at a summit.

A draft copy of the communique for this year's meeting reaffirms the global nature of environmental problems and addresses climate change, tropical forest destruction, marine pollution, wetlands loss and other topics.

According to the draft, worked out by advance teams from the countries involved, participants will agree on the need for an international convention addressing global warming to be held by 1992 under the auspices of the United Nations.

Participants also will consider the adoption of "internationally binding regulations" for the protection of tropical forests, which are being destroyed at a rate twice that of 10 years ago, according to the draft communique.

But the summit participants are expected to stop short of a specific, international commitment to reduce greenhouse gases by the end of the decade. "There aren't going to be any surprises," one administration official said.

Environmental 'Report Card' Rates U.S. Poor on Major Global Issues

Consortium Grades 7 Summit Countries on Goals Set Last Year

By David Maraniss
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, July 8—A report card of the world's seven leading industrialized nations released here today gave the United States a "poor" grade of 41.5 percent in meeting the environmental objectives those nations set at last year's Economic Summit in Paris.

On the eve of this year's summit, the seven countries were graded by a consortium of 150 environmental groups on six key issues ranging from global warming to environmental aid for Eastern Europe. West Germany, which has announced plans to reduce carbon dioxide emissions by 25 percent, ranked at the top of the class, with a "good" rating of 65 percent, and Italy was "poorest" with 39 percent. Japan, the United Kingdom and Canada were also rated "poor," while France received a grade of "fair."

But overall, said Jay Hair, president of the National Wildlife Federation, the group of seven nations "failed" to protect the environment. Their actions over the past year, he said, have not lived up to their rhetoric. "If the G-7 were a soccer team and I a sportscaster, I would say the team had a bad season overall," Hair said on the same day that West Germany won soccer's World Cup. "The game plan looked good but the players showed minimal defense and almost no offense."

Each country, in addition to an overall grade, was ranked on a scale of 1 to 10 on the six major issues.

The highest score for the United States was a 6 on the issue of protection of biodiversity. Included in that category were efforts to stop the destruction of the world's rain forests, which are disappearing at the rate of 27 million acres a year, and to diminish the effects of acid rain. The United States has taken a vocal role at the World Bank and elsewhere in discouraging rain forest destruction.

But on the other issues, said James Tripp of the Environmental Defense Fund, the U.S. response over the past year has been weaker. On the concern that Tripp and the consortium considered most pressing, global warming, the United States was

On the issues of environmental aid to Eastern Europe and control of ocean pollution, the United States was given scores of 5, while it received a 4 for a category that was called the global environmental bargain, which included actions to ease debts in Third World countries to allow them to improve long-term management of their natural resources. It was in that category that Italy received the lowest score of any country in any category, a 1.

The environmental report cards were among myriad reports, meetings and symbolic actions in Houston this weekend as hundreds of environmentalists and social activists arrived to stage events in the shadows of the Economic Summit.

There are two key counter-conventions. The first-ever Envirosummit met to monitor the environmental actions or inactions of the seven industrial leaders.

A session known as The Other Economic Summit (TOES) has been convening in summit host cities since 1984 to present Third World and other alternatives to the actions of the industrialized nations.

The TOES conference, held at a hotel near the Astrodome after the University of Houston declined at the last minute to serve as host, featured a gathering of representatives from seven developing countries, including Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, leader of Mexico's Democratic Revolutionary Party, who nearly won the Mexican presidency in 1988. Cardenas said that the new trade alliances being formed among the industrialized nations will only lead to more exploitation of Third World countries.

His view was shared by Martin Khor Kok Peng of Malaysia, coordinator of the World Rain Forest Movement. The Malaysian said underdeveloped countries would have their sovereignty to set environmental and health standards preempted by provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) being discussed this year. Where in previous generations Third World countries were colonized through the use of force, he said, they are now being colonized through the use of trade agreements. "Trade is the main weapon today—more

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America's Climate Change Strategy

America's Climate Change Strategy



An Action Agenda

Brazil's Environmental Plea Appears to Be Aimed at U.S.

By JERRY GRAY

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Sept. 23 — In a speech before the General Assembly highlighted by his implicit criticism of the United States, the President of Brazil, Fernando Collor de Mello, said today that there was "an inescapable obligation" for nations to accept mandatory measures to protect the environment.

"Just as the question of development has yielded to other issues on the international agenda, I am concerned that the issue of the environment may also yield to other aspects of the day-to-day life of the world," said Mr. Collor, whose country is to be the site of the first Earth Summit in June.

The first day of general debate of the 46th General Assembly featured few surprises from the 14 speakers who went before the 166 member nations.

Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati of Iran delivered a speech almost to-

lor's comments increased pressure on the United States to end its opposition to a series of proposals dealing with global warming and other environmental issues.

The third of five international meetings called to formulate a host of agreements to be voted on in Brazil at the Conference on Environment and Development ended last Friday in Nairobi, Kenya. The United States was still resisting efforts to set mandatory cuts in emissions of carbon dioxide. Scientists say carbon monoxide is the main manmade gas contributing to global warming.

Tracing the Responsibility

The European Community and Japan favor reducing carbon-dioxide emissions to the levels of last year by the year 2000. But the United States, the biggest producer of carbon dioxide, argues that too little is known about the warming threat to justify the costs of trying to adhere to mandatory limits.

In comments seemingly directed toward the United States, Mr. Collor said, "Lasting solutions to global problems require the commitment of the international community as a whole, each country according to its responsibility relating to the origin of these problems and to their management, as well as to its economic and technological capacity to overcome them."

The United States' objections could impede chances for a treaty at the meeting in Brazil. There are also other obstacles like demands by the United States and other developed nations for language to reduce the depletion of forests and waterways in many underdeveloped nations.

"The conference should not set the stage for grievances and recrimination," Mr. Collor said. "It should, on the contrary, provide the framework for mature and feasible proposals."

Mr. Collor, who said the Brazil meeting would allow a debate as broad and profound "as the political will of the participants will allow," was supported by New Zealand, whose Prime Minister, J. B. Bolger, said, "Next year's United Nations conference in Brazil will be the real test of our ability to cooperate in the endeavor to find the proper balance between development and environmental protection."

Other speakers included the Foreign Ministers of Angola, Australia, Burkina Faso, Iceland, Mexico, Norway and Sri Lanka.

Collor applies pressure on global warming.

tally devoted to discussion of the "New World Order." He ended his 30-minute speech with brief mentions of what he called the three major crises of the last several decades, the "Iraqi aggression" against Kuwait, Afghanistan and the issue of a Palestinian homeland.

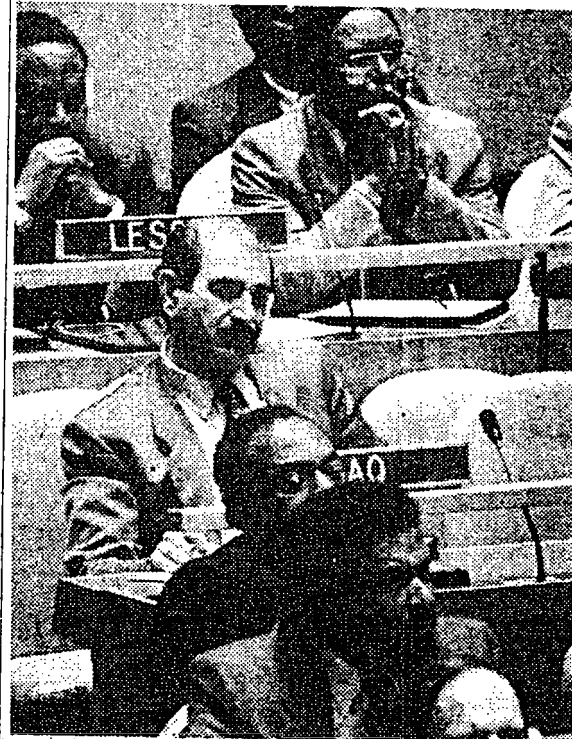
Harking Back to the Environment

Iran has privately been at the center of efforts brokered by the United Nations to release Western hostages in Lebanon, but Mr. Velayati made no reference to that issue.

The speeches today were filled with prescriptions for peace and references to the "New World Order." But the environment was a recurring theme from Mr. Collor's lightly veiled chastisement of the United States to an impassioned plea by President Bailey Olter of Micronesia to industrialized nations that use tiny South Pacific islands as dumping grounds.

"Our region cannot be considered by the larger nations as a convenient empty space for the disposal of toxic and hazardous waste and chemicals and radioactive materials," Mr. Olter said.

Leading off the speakers, Mr. Col-



All but one Iraqi delegate stayed away from Pres

Iraq Detains 40 U

Continued From Page A1

forces from becoming involved in conflicts outside Europe; under this restriction its helicopters would be withdrawn if there is a risk of an armed conflict with Iraq.

Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, told reporters traveling with President Bush that the Administration had been discussing a 48-hour deadline with its allies ever since the current standoff with Iraq began, but Mr. Bush has continually putting off issuing the ultimatum to see how Iraq would respond to the United Nations.

Tonight, after Mr. Fitzwater mentioned it in public for the first time, the White House seemed concerned that it might be seen to be moving ahead more quickly than Mr. Bush wants. Speaking on condition of anonymity, officials tried to play down the notion of an imminent deadline.

The United States, Britain and France have already disclosed that they are discussing sending warplanes into Iraq to escort the helicopters the Council's inspectors want to use as they search for Baghdad's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. And some officials say new bombing strikes against such weapon sites are not ruled out.

In Washington, Administration offi-

cials said the F representative start preparing receive American equipment.

They insisted that Bush had a dispatch of any that country.

Risk of

Ever since the Persian Gulf crisis, Iraqis have accepted demands, and there were some that Iraq might win this dispute. After a long time in the United Nations, Bernard Mérimée, President of the Foreign Ministers, yesterday, promised from Baghdad to end the dispute. "E all right" the Iraqis as he left.

Mr. Mérimée's letter was "somewhat positive."

Diplomats said was left in no doubt of the dispatch of fresh military supplies to the United States, France, and not allow the in-

SALVADOR TALKS:
GAIN IS DISPUTED



Reso

TALKING POINT



William Nierenberg is director emeritus at the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, La Jolla, California. He co-authored the report *Scientific Perspectives on the Greenhouse Problem* for the George C. Marshall Institute, Washington DC.

Global warming: look before we leap

HAS US President George Bush established his policy on global warming solely on the basis of a report which I and my colleague, Robert Jastrow, prepared for the Washington-based Marshall Institute? John Gribbin says so in "An assault on the climate consensus" (15 December 1990). But he is wrong. The President has a very powerful science team at his disposal; his science adviser has access to the entire apparatus of the federal government through the Federal Coordinating Council on Science and Technology and, in particular, its committee on global change chaired by the director of the Geological Survey. We note that the US government is budgeting \$1 billion this year for relevant research largely directed by this committee.

We can only be flattered by this implausible reference to our report. As that is the whole point of Gribbin's article, it would be hardly necessary to continue, except that he makes other equally serious errors of fact. We do not disagree with the general scientific estimates presented by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. We do believe that there is a greenhouse effect due to anthropogenic emissions of carbon dioxide. The IPCC presents a range of global temperature increases due to the equivalent of a doubling of the concentration of carbon dioxide, a compendium of values obtained by various models. Our preferred estimate lies within this range, albeit near the bottom.

The questions that remain open concern the regional effects and the various times for the onset of climatic effects. Despite Gribbin's statements to the contrary, there are no valid theoretical results on changes in the probability of extreme, climatic events, such as drought. The only theoretical approach available today is through the various computer climate models and they are orders of magnitude away from treating these questions.

In particular, it has been widely noted that most computer models give results that are inconsistent with the record of the last 100 years. There are also serious inconsistencies in estimates of recent global temperature changes. Satellite measurements of surface temperature, which have a precision of $\pm 0.01^\circ\text{C}$, show no warming trend in the 1980s (*Science*, 30 March 1990).

As to the question of a rise in sea level, the published record is quite clear. In 1980, Stephen Schneider and Robert Chen, of the US National Center for Atmospheric Research, estimated a rise in sea level of 25 feet based on a doubling of carbon dioxide and a temperature rise of "a few degrees centigrade" in as little as "tens of years". Ten years later, M. F. Meier, of the University of Colorado, estimated a one foot rise, also assuming a doubling of the carbon dioxide concentration and a 3 to 5 $^\circ\text{C}$ rise in global temperature, projected over the next 60 years (*Nature*, 11 January 1990). The IPCC adheres to this estimate. Contrary to Gribbin's assertion, both estimates started from essentially the same premises.

Our aim in considering the rise in sea level is not to discuss the scientific validity of these various estimates. In fact, the National Academy of Sciences report of 1983, of which I was chairman, reported a rise of two feet under essentially the same conditions. The point is that a considered policy is called for in view of the varying timescales of these predictions.

This policy area is the only one where there is a

divergence of views among the experts, with a majority taking a more cautious view about the need for immediate, drastic action to limit the use of fossil fuels. A 25-foot rise in sea level in a few score years is a grave matter, and had policy been established 10 years ago on the basis of that dire and now discarded figure, much economic harm might have occurred.

Gribbin refers to my statements on the "other" greenhouse gases. These are the chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), nitrous oxide, methane and so on. Our position is consistent both with our concerns about possible adverse climate effects and concerns about the economic impacts of attempts at mitigation. If we now accept the mix that most modellers use between carbon dioxide and the other greenhouse gases, we see that the conventional calculations assign a surprisingly large fraction of the global temperature rise to these other gases. If actions to mitigate the climate effects are agreed upon, it is logical to attack the emissions of CFCs first. Then the economic impact would be far less than for the suppression of the equivalent volume of carbon dioxide.

Eliminating emissions of CFCs, of course, is likely to happen for other very good reasons. And in time, we may identify better the various sources of nitrous oxide and methane and suppress them, again with a minimum economic impact compared to action against carbon dioxide.

This last point emphasises that the values we choose for future economic and social conditions are of at least equal weight to other inputs in the climate model calculations, and they suffer the same general mathematical difficulties. This applies even more to predictions of levels of the "other" greenhouse gases. The IPCC chose several standard predictions of these levels for combined greenhouse gas emissions, for the sake of uniformity in calculating climate effects and to cover a range of possibilities. The primary effect of this procedure is to fix the date at which the equivalent of doubling carbon dioxide will occur. There is little evidence to suggest that the IPCC's predictions have validity.

Because of these inaccuracies, our model to predict changes in global surface temperature uses instead the real world increases in greenhouse gas emissions and the real world climate response. We start with the recognition that the temperature change due to an increase in the concentration of carbon dioxide will vary as the logarithm of that quantity because of saturation effects. We make the extreme assumption that the observed change in temperature over the past 100 years of 0.5 $^\circ\text{C}$ is entirely due to the increase in carbon dioxide. We then assume that the world economy, and therefore carbon dioxide emission, will continue on the same exponential path it has to date. Combining the two assumptions yields a linear increase in time of 0.5 $^\circ\text{C}$ in the next 100 years from the increase in carbon dioxide alone. Accommodating the other greenhouse gases is complicated but could yield an equal increase, making a total of a 1 $^\circ\text{C}$ rise in temperature during this period. This is the basis for our estimate lying at the bottom of the IPCC range.

We recognise that the change in global temperature is a poor measure of social and ecological effects but, at this stage, climate models do not yet deliver reliable estimates.

William Nierenberg

'There are no valid results on changes in probability of extreme climatic events'

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INCOMING
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 OF 03 ROME 20419 01 OF 05 311903Z
ACTION QES-09

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ROME 20419 01 OF 05 311903Z
POSITIONS ARE QUITE DIFFERENT.

SHB7545

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GENEVA FOR GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE DEL

E.O.12356: N/A
TAGS: SENV; KSCA; IT
SUBJECT: EUROPEAN POSITION ON SECOND WORLD CLIMATE
CHANGE CONFERENCE (SWCC)

REF: (A) BRUSSELS 16452; (B) STATE 360090

1. SUMMARY: SPEAKING FOR THE EC PRESIDENCY, GOI
ENVIRONMENT MINISTER RUFFOLO SAID THAT HE DOES NOT WANT
TO SEE THE SWCC BECOME A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN EUROPE
AND THE UNITED STATES. HE EMPHASIZED THAT HE WANTS TO
DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BRIDGE DIFFERENCES. HE
BELIEVES THAT TO AVOID AN IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE OVER
PRECAUTIONARY PRINCIPAL VERSUS NO REGRETS POLICY, THE
UNITED STATES SHOULD BE WILLING TO INCLUDE IN THE
DECLARATION AT THE SWCC SOMETHING ABOUT WHAT POLICY
MEASURES IT SEES BEING APPLIED TO GLOBAL WARMING.
RUFFOLO LARGELY REJECTED A CONSIDERATION OF THE US
"DIFFERENT
APPROACH" (REF B). RUFFOLO PROVIDED US WITH A COPY OF
THE EC POSITION REACHED IN LUXEMBOURG (FOLLOWING PARA 6
BELOW) AND URGED USDEL TO CONSIDER IT. WE AGREED THAT
IT WOULD BE UNPRODUCTIVE TO HAVE A CONFRONTATION BUT
NOTED THAT HIS REMARKS DID NOT ACTUALLY BRIDGE THE GAP,
RATHER HE HAD SUGGESTED MOVEMENT OF THE US TOWARD THE EC
POSITION. END SUMMARY.

2. ON OCTOBER 31 EMIN ACCOMPANIED BY SCICOUNS CALLED ON
ENVIRONMENTAL MINISTER GIORGIO RUFFOLO WHO WILL LEAD THE
ITALIAN DELEGATION TO THE SWCC AND HIS DIPLOMATIC
ADVISOR GIUSEPPE CASSINI WHO WILL ALSO BE IN GENEVA.

RUFFOLO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED US DRAFT
DECLARATION (REF B) AND SAID THAT THIS MADE IT ALL THE
MORE IMPORTANT TO DISCUSS FRANKLY THE ISSUE OF CLIMATE
CHANGE ON THE EVE OF GENEVA. HE SAID THAT ITALY WILL
PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE CONFERENCE AS THE
PRESIDENCY COUNTRY OF THE EC AND ITS MOST IMPORTANT
INTERLOCUTOR WILL BE THE US. HE SAID THE US AND EC

3. RUFFOLO NOTED THAT IN LUXEMBOURG (REF A) THE EC HAD
AGREED ON A COMMON POSITION FOR THE SWCC. HE SAID THERE
WERE FOUR IMPORTANT POINTS TO THIS POSITION: THE
COMMUNITY AS A BODY HAD A COMMITMENT TO STABILIZE
EMISSIONS OF CARBON DIOXIDE AT 1990 LEVELS BY THE YEAR
2000; SECOND, THE COMMISSION HAD BEEN TASKED TO PROPOSE
BURDEN SHARING SCHEMES; THIRD, THE COMMISSION WILL
PROPOSE BEFORE THE 1992 CONFERENCE ON
CLIMATE/ENVIRONMENT IN BRAZIL ADDITIONAL TARGETS FOR
2005 AND 2010; AND FOURTH THE EC WOULD INSIST ON A
CLIMATE CHANGE CONVENTION WITH IMPLEMENTING PROTOCOLS BY
1992. RUFFOLO CALLED THE EC POSITION A COMPROMISE THAT
REFLECTS THE FACT THAT THE COMMUNITY IS A MICROCOSM OF
THE WORLD ON THIS ISSUE. THE EC HAS ITS LDGS LIKE
SPAIN, PORTUGAL AND GREECE WHO WANTED NO COMMITMENT TO
COMPROMISE THEIR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS. THE UK
RESISTED A DECLARATION FOR THE YEAR 2000 DUE TO ITS
PRIVITIZATION PLANS. SOME COUNTRIES LIKE THE FRG,
DENMARK AND THE NETHERLANDS WANTED A TARGET BEFORE THE
YEAR 2000. ITALY LED THE FOURTH GROUP THAT WANTED THE
AGREED TARGET.

4. RUFFOLO SAID THAT THE EC SUPPORTED BY EFTA, AUSTRALIA
AND NEW ZEALAND WILL WISH TO CLARIFY THE DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN THEIR COMMON POSITION AND THAT OF THE US.
HOWEVER HE DID NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD MAKE ANY SENSE TO
FIGHT OVER CO2 TARGETS AND WAS NOT SEEKING A
CONFRONTATION. ACCORDING TO HIM ALL NATIONS AGREE THAT
WE NEED TO DO MORE RESEARCH ON GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE BUT
NOW AT THE SWCC THEY SHOULD AGREE ON A PROCESS FOR
NEGOTIATIONS. RUFFOLO ASKED FOR THE US TO BE MORE OPEN
ON THE QUESTION OF LINKING IMPLEMENTING PROTOCOLS TO THE
FRAMEWORK CONVENTION. HE SAID THAT THE SWCC MINISTERIAL
DECLARATION SHOULD DECLARE THAT THE CONVENTION AND

PROTOCOLS SHOULD BE DONE TOGETHER UNLIKE THE TWO STEPS
USED ON CFCS AT VIENNA AND MONTREAL. SCICOUNS
INTERJECTED THAT THE UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE LINKAGE
BETWEEN GREENHOUSE GASES AND GLOBAL WARMING COUPLED WITH
THE DIFFICULTY OF DESIGNING ADEQUATE ECONOMIC
INSTRUMENTS WOULD SEEM TO DICTATE A LONGER PROCESS THAN
THAT OF CFCS NOT A SHORTER ONE. RUFFOLO SAID THAT THE
DIFFICULTY SHOULD ONLY SPUR US TO EARLIER COMMON EFFORTS
TO FIND A SOLUTION. SCICOUNS ASKED WHY THE EC WAS SO
FOCUSED ON CO2 WITHOUT CONSIDERATION OF OTHER GREENHOUSE
GASES. WOULDN'T METHANE LEAKAGES FROM A NATURAL GAS
BASED ENERGY SYSTEM BE MORE HARMFUL IN TERMS OF GLOBAL
WARMING THAN THE CO2 EMISSIONS THEY WERE INTENDING TO
AVOID? RUFFOLO AGREED THAT THIS WAS A LEGITIMATE
CONCERN OF THE US BUT SAID THIS COULD BE TAKEN CARE OF
IN THE TERMS OF THE CC0 PROTOCOL. RUFFOLO THOUGHT THAT
THE IMPORTANT THING WAS TO MAKE IMMEDIATE PRACTICAL
COMMITMENTS IN PROTOCOLS ON FORESTS AND CO2. IN HIS

MIND PUBLIC OPINION DEMANDED PRACTICAL ENGAGEMENTS AND
NOT JUST A GENERAL CONVENTION.

5. RUFFOLO SAID HE DID NOT WANT THE SWCC TO BE A
IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE PRECAUTIONARY
PRINCIPAL AND THE NO REGRETS POLICY, WHICH HE CALLED A
BYZANTINE OR MEDIEVAL DISPUTE. THE EMIN ASKED RUFFOLO
WHAT WERE THE POSSIBILITIES FOR A HARMONIOUS MEETING NEXT
WEEK? HOW COULD WE BEGIN TO BRIDGE OUR DIFFERENCES,
PERHAPS THROUGH THE DRAFT DECLARATION (REF B)? RUFFOLO
SAID HE COULD NOT GO THROUGH THE DRAFT US PROPOSAL WITH
US (INDEED WE NOTED NO ENTHUSIASM FOR IT). CASSINI
NOTED HOWEVER THAT IN CONTRAST

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EARLIER ALTERNATIVE DRAFTS OF THE MINISTERIAL DECLARATION HAD CONTAINED POSITIVE MENTION OF FISCAL INSTRUMENTS. HE ALSO SAID THAT THE US DRAFT MINISTERIAL PUT ON AN EQUAL FOOTING THOSE WHO WISHED TO REDUCE CARBON DIOXIDE EMISSIONS WITH THOSE WHO NEEDED CARBON FUELS FOR DEVELOPMENT. RUFFOLO SAID THAT THIS WAS UNACCEPTABLE. RUFFOLO ASKED THAT THE US SAY IN THE MINISTERIAL WHAT POLICY MEASURES IT ENVISAGED FOR DEALING WITH GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE. ECMIN OBSERVED THAT RUFFOLO'S POSITION DID NOT SEEM TO CLOSE THE GAP BETWEEN THE EC AND THE US. ON THE WAY OUT THE DOOR, CASSINI REITERATED HIS BOSS'S LAST POINT, I.E., WHY COULDN'T THE US INCLUDE A POLICY MEASURES CHAPTER IN THE SWCC MINISTERIAL DECLARATION? EMBOFFS UNDERTOOK TO REPORT THE QUESTION TO WASHINGTON BUT NOTED THAT THE US AND EUROPEAN POSITIONS SEEMED FAR APART. RUFFOLO'S APPROACH SEEMED TO REQUIRE THE US TO ACCEPT THE EC POSITION.

6. BEGIN TEXT OF EC CONCLUSIONS ON CLIMATE CHANGE POLICY. TYPOGRAPHICAL AND SYNTAX ERRORS REFLECT FAITHFULLY THE EC DRAFT.:

THE PRESENT DOCUMENT REFLECTS THE POSITION OF THE COUNCIL ON CLIMATE CHANGE POLICY AND ADDRESSES IT UNDER THREE ASPECTS:

- THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY APPROACH TO THE GLOBAL WARMING ISSUE;
- THE COMMUNITY RESPONSE STRATEGIES;
- THE COMMUNITY STANCE AT THE SECOND WORLD CLIMATE CONFERENCE.

FOREWORD

1. THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE (IPCC), OPERATING IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS ENVIRONMENT PROGRAMME (UNEP) AND THE WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION (WMO), HAS EXPRESSED THE

AUTHORITATIVE SCIENTIFIC VIEW THAT "WE ARE CERTAIN OF THE FOLLOWING": "THERE IS A NATURAL GREENHOUSE EFFECT WHICH ALREADY KEEPS THE EARTH WARMER THAN IT WOULD OTHERWISE BE. EMISSIONS RESULTING FROM HUMAN ACTIVITIES ARE SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASING THE ATMOSPHERIC CONCENTRATIONS OF THE GREENHOUSE GASES, CARBON DIOXIDE, METHANE, CHLOROFLUOROCARBONS (CFCs) AND NITROUS OXIDE. THESE INCREASES WILL ENHANCE THE GREENHOUSE EFFECT, RESULTING ON AVERAGE IN AN ADDITIONAL WARMING OF THE

EARTH'S SURFACE. THE MAIN GREENHOUSE GAS, WATER VAPOUR, WILL INCREASE IN RESPONSE TO GLOBAL WARMING AND FURTHER ENHANCE IT." THE MEMBER STATES OF THE EC FULLY SUPPORT THIS VIEW AND BELIEVE THAT THE PROBLEM OF MAN-INDUCED CLIMATE CHANGE, BEING A GLOBAL CHALLENGE, CAN ONLY BE COUNTERED EFFECTIVELY THROUGH THE BROADEST INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION. THE ABSENCE AT PRESENT OF FULL UNDERSTANDING OF THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SCIENTIFIC INTER-CONNECTIONS INVOLVED SHOULD NOT BE USED AS A REASON FOR POSTPONING MEASURES TO COMBAT CLIMATE CHANGE.

NEED FOR ACTION

2. SECTORS LIKE ENERGY, AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, TRANSPORT, THE SITUATION IN THE FIELD OF FORESTRY AND OTHER HUMAN ACTIVITIES CONTRIBUTE TO THE ENHANCED GREENHOUSE EFFECT. THE LARGEST ANTHROPOGENIC CAUSE OF THIS EFFECT ARE THE GREENHOUSE GASES, PARTICULARLY CO₂,

EMITTED IN THE PRODUCTION AND USE OF ENERGY. GLOBAL EMISSIONS OF ENERGY-RELATED GREENHOUSE GASES MUST THEREFORE CLEARLY BE LIMITED AND WHEREVER POSSIBLE REDUCED.

3. THE REVISION OF ENERGY AND TRANSPORT POLICIES TO CURB GLOBAL CARBON DIOXIDE RELEASED INTO THE ATMOSPHERE SHOULD BE ONE OF THE PRIORITY TARGETS OF THE WORLD. COMMUNITY AND INTERNATIONAL ENERGY POLICY MUST BE ADJUSTED TO THIS NEW TASK. AT THE SAME TIME, THOSE ENERGY-POLICY GOALS WHICH REMAIN VALID MUST BE MAINTAINED, SUCH AS SUFFICIENT AND SECURE SUPPLY OF

ENERGY IN ORDER TO ASSURE EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC GROWTH.

4. IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND IN THIS FRAMEWORK, OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, TO REACH AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ON THE POLICY APPROACH TO PROTECT THE WORLD CLIMATE, BRINGING TOGETHER AS MANY COUNTRIES AS POSSIBLE.

OECD, EASTERN COUNTRIES AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE COMMON BUT DIFFERENTIATED RESPONSIBILITY IN DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM.

5. EC WISHES THAT SUCH A POSITION WILL BE DEFINED AT THE SECOND WORLD CLIMATE CONFERENCE, IN GENEVA. THE COMMUNITY AND MEMBER STATES INTEND TO ASSUME A CONCERTED POLICY. TO THIS PURPOSE, THE COUNCIL AGREES ON THE FOLLOWING LINES.

TARGETS/MEANS AND INSTRUMENTS

6. EC MEMBER STATES AND OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES SHOULD TAKE URGENT ACTION TO STABILIZE OR REDUCE THEIR CO₂ AND OTHER GHG EMISSIONS. STABILIZATION OF CO₂ EMISSIONS SHOULD BE IN GENERAL ACHIEVED BY THE YEAR 2000 AT 1990 LEVEL, ALTHOUGH THE COUNCIL NOTES THAT SOME MEMBER COUNTRIES ACCORDING TO THEIR PROGRAMMES ARE NOT IN A POSITION TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO THIS OBJECTIVE. IN THIS CONTEXT COUNTRIES WITH, AS YET, RELATIVELY LOW ENERGY REQUIREMENTS, WHICH CAN BE EXPECTED TO GROW IN

STEP WITH THEIR DEVELOPMENT, MAY NEED TARGETS AND STRATEGIES WHICH CAN ACCOMMODATE THAT DEVELOPMENT, WHILE IMPROVING THE ENERGY EFFICIENCY OF THEIR ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES.

7. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND MEMBER STATES ASSUME THAT OTHER LEADING COUNTRIES UNDERTAKE COMMITMENTS ALONG THE LINES MENTIONED ABOVE AND, ACKNOWLEDGING THE TARGETS IDENTIFIED BY A NUMBER OF MEMBER STATES FOR STABILIZING OR REDUCING EMISSIONS BY DIFFERENT DATES, ARE WILLING TO TAKE ACTIONS AIMING AT REACHING STABILIZATION OF THE TOTAL CO₂ EMISSIONS BY 2000 AT 1990 LEVEL IN THE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE. MEMBER STATES WHICH START FROM RELATIVELY LOW LEVELS OF ENERGY CONSUMPTION AND THEREFORE LOW EMISSIONS MEASURED ON A PER CAPITA OR OTHER APPROPRIATE BASIS, ARE ENTITLED TO HAVE CO₂ TARGETS AND/OR STRATEGIES CORRESPONDING TO THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, WHILE IMPROVING THE ENERGY EFFICIENCY OF THEIR ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES.

8. WITH THE AIM OF ACHIEVING THIS, THE COUNCIL NOTES THAT, IN PURSUANCE OF THE COUNCIL RESOLUTION 89/C 163/03 OF 21 JUNE 1989, THE COMMISSION INTENDS TO PROPOSE BY THE END OF 1990 APPROPRIATE OPTIONS AND MEASURES BASED ON EQUITABLE BURDEN SHARING TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE

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GLOBAL CARBON DIOXIDE RELEASED INTO THE ATMOSPHERE
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OECD, EASTERN COUNTRIES AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE
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6. EC MEMBER STATES AND OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES
SHOULD TAKE URGENT ACTION TO STABILIZE OR REDUCE THEIR
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STRATEGIES WHICH CAN ACCOMMODATE THAT DEVELOPMENT, WHILE
IMPROVING THE ENERGY EFFICIENCY OF THEIR ECONOMIC
ACTIVITIES.

7. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND MEMBER STATES ASSUME THAT
OTHER LEADING COUNTRIES UNDERTAKE COMMITMENTS ALONG THE
LINES MENTIONED ABOVE AND, ACKNOWLEDGING THE TARGETS
IDENTIFIED BY A NUMBER OF MEMBER STATES FOR STABILIZING
OR REDUCING EMISSIONS BY DIFFERENT DATES, ARE WILLING TO
TAKE ACTIONS AIMING AT REACHING STABILIZATION OF THE
TOTAL CO₂ EMISSIONS BY 2000 AT 1990 LEVEL IN THE
COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE. MEMBER STATES WHICH START FROM
RELATIVELY LOW LEVELS OF ENERGY CONSUMPTION AND
THEREFORE LOW EMISSIONS MEASURED ON A PER CAPITA OR
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8. WITH THE AIM OF ACHIEVING THIS, THE COUNCIL NOTES
THAT, IN PURSUANCE OF THE COUNCIL RESOLUTION 89/C 163/03
OF 21 JUNE 1989, THE COMMISSION INTENDS TO PROPOSE BY
THE END OF 1990 APPROPRIATE OPTIONS AND MEASURES BASED
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POTENTIAL AND CONSTRAINTS FOR CO2 REDUCTIONS AS WELL AS
PRESENT SITUATIONS OF EMISSIONS IN MEMBER STATES IN
ORDER TO FACILITATE A COORDINATED PARTICIPATION OF
MEMBER STATES.

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DEMONSTRATES THE COMMITMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY TO WORK TOGETHER TO TACKLE THE PROBLEMS OF
CLIMATE CHANGE.

TO THIS END, THE COUNCIL WISHES, AND THE MEMBER STATES
COMMIT THEMSELVES THERETO, THAT IN THIS DECLARATION

--- THE CONCERN OF THE IPCC ABOUT THE INCREASE OF
GREENHOUSE GAS EMISSIONS FROM HUMAN ACTIVITIES,
"RESULTING ON AVERAGE IN ADDITIONAL GLOBAL WARMING", BE
RECOGNISED;

--- IT BE RECOGNISED THAT INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES AND
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE A COMMON BUT DIFFERENTIATED
RESPONSIBILITY IN DEALING WITH PROBLEMS ARISING FROM
CLIMATE CHANGE AND THE NEED FOR THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES
TO ASSIST DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO PLAY THEIR FULL PART
IN AN INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO CLIMATE CHANGE, THROUGH
THE PROVISION OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES AND APPROPRIATE
TRANSFER OF ENVIRONMENTALLY SOUND TECHNOLOGIES;

--- A RECOMMENDATION BE EXPRESSED IN FAVOUR OF THE
NEGOTIATION OF A FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE
AND RELATED PROTOCOLS, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF UNEP/WMO,
WHICH SHOULD START WITHOUT DELAY AND BE COMPLETED BEFORE
THE 1992 WORLD CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.

- THE PROTOCOLS SHOULD NOTABLY SET TARGETS FOR THE
LIMITATION AND/OR REDUCTION OF GREENHOUSE GAS EMISSIONS,
IN PARTICULAR CO2, AND ESTABLISH MEASURES TO CURB
DEFORESTATION AND PROMOTE SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT

AND AFFORESTATION.

THE EC AND MEMBER STATES SHOULD TAKE A LEADING ROLE IN
THE SWCC. AS PART OF THAT ROLE THE EC AND MEMBER STATES
SHOULD SEEK TO PERSUADE ALL INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES TO
SET, AS A FIRST STEP, STABILIZATION TARGETS COMPARABLE
TO THOSE ADOPTED BY THE COMMUNITY AND ITS MEMBER STATES,
UNDER THE CONDITIONS SET OUT IN PARAGRAPH 7. SECCHIA

7. THE ABOVE OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE ACHIEVED IN MEMBER

STATES PRINCIPALLY BY FULLY EXPLOITING THE POTENTIAL OF
ENERGY CONSERVATION AND ENERGY EFFICIENCY OF ECONOMIC
ACTIVITIES AS WELL AS THE DIVERSIFICATION OF ENERGY
SUPPLY TOWARDS ENERGY SOURCES WITH LOWER CO2 EMISSION.
MEMBER STATES SHOULD MAKE EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THE
OBJECTIVE TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THEIR INDIVIDUAL
POSSIBILITIES TO USE "NO REGRET" MEASURES. IN
PARTICULAR EC AND NATIONAL ENERGY AND TRANSPORT POLICIES
SHOULD BE REVIEWED, ADOPTING MEASURES, WHERE
APPROPRIATE, ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

A) ENERGY CONSERVATION AND EFFICIENCY IMPROVEMENT IN THE
USE OF ENERGY, IN PARTICULAR THROUGH PROMOTING DIFFUSION
OF ENERGY EFFICIENT END USE DEVICES AND IMPROVING THE
EFFICIENCY OF MASS-PRODUCED GOODS, SUCH AS TRANSPORT
VEHICLES;

B) EFFICIENCY IMPROVEMENTS IN ENERGY SUPPLY AND
CONVERSION;

C) PROMOTING THE AVAILABILITY OF, ACCESS TO AND
UTILIZATION OF LOW CARBON FUELS;

D) PROMOTION OF SAFE CO2 ZERO EMISSION TECHNOLOGIES,
PAYING SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THOSE EXPLOITING NEW AND
RENEWABLE ENERGY SOURCES;

E) PROMOTION OF COST EFFECTIVE PUBLIC TRANSPORT SYSTEMS
FOR PERSONS AND GOODS.

10. MOREOVER, THE COMMISSION WILL PRESENT IN DUE TIME
BEFORE THE 1992 WORLD CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT AND
DEVELOPMENT A PROPOSAL FOR ESTABLISHING GLOBAL COMMUNITY
EMISSION REDUCTION TARGETS SEPARATELY FOR CO2 AND OTHER
GHGS, INCLUDING POSSIBLE STRATEGY OPTIONS AIMED AT

PROGRESSIVE REDUCTIONS AT THE HORIZON 2005 AND 2010.

11. ECONOMIC AND FISCAL INSTRUMENTS, E.G. TAXES OR
CHARGES, MAY PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN ACHIEVING
STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE ENERGY SECTOR AIMED AT
LIMITING OR REDUCING CO2 AND OTHER GHGS EMISSIONS IN THE
MOST EFFICIENT MANNER. TO THIS AIM THE COUNCIL NOTES
THAT THE COMMISSION WILL PRESENT SPECIFIC PROPOSALS AS

SOON AS POSSIBLE.

FORESTS

12. FOREST DESTRUCTION CONTRIBUTES TO GLOBAL WARMING
THROUGH THE EMISSION OF CO2, METHANE AND OTHER GASES.
THE RATE OF DEFORESTATION MUST BE REDUCED AND THE
POTENTIAL OF THE WORLD FORESTS TO ACT AS A SINK FOR
GREENHOUSE GASES MUST BE INCREASED THROUGH VIGOROUS
PROGRAMMES OF FOREST PROTECTION AND DEVELOPMENT. SUCH
PROGRAMMES SHOULD INCLUDE THE STRENGTHENING OR
DEVELOPMENT OF MEASURES FOR THE PROTECTION OF FORESTS
AGAINST ATMOSPHERIC POLLUTION AND FIRES AS WELL AS FOR
REFORESTATION AND AFFORESTATION IN SUITABLE AREAS OF
EUROPE, SUCH AS THE ARID MEDITERRANEAN AREAS, AND IN
OTHER SUITABLE AREAS OF THE WORLD.

SECOND WORLD CLIMATE CONFERENCE

13. THE COUNCIL STRONGLY BELIEVES THAT THE SECOND WORLD
CLIMATE CONFERENCE SHOULD AGREE A DECLARATION WHICH

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Warm world, cool heads

TAKE a typical politician: a man in his 50s, well aware that his political future is sounder if his country and people get richer. Invite him to sign an international treaty to ward off a change in the world's climate that may be doing damage in the middle of the next century. Tell him that this will commit him, now, to raise the price of energy—the basis of so much voter-comfort. Wait for the expletives.

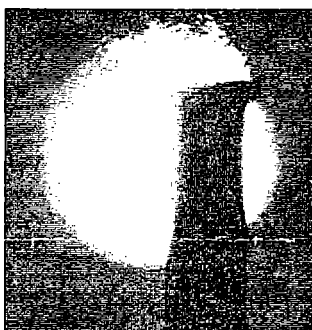
Just such an apparently doomed project is about to start in Geneva. The Second World Climate Conference will launch negotiations on a convention on global warming, to be readied for signing at a great environmental jamboree in Brazil in mid-1992. If such a convention is to mean anything, the talks to devise it will make even the struggling Uruguay round of the GATT look like child's play.

The starting point will be a report on man-made climatic change, compiled by an authoritative group of scientists. On present trends, they predict, gases released by mankind will warm the earth by between 0.2°C and 0.5°C in each decade of the next century. This rise, faster than any seen in the past 10,000 years, will raise the earth's mean temperature by about 1°C by 2025 and 3°C by the end of the next century, making the globe warmer than it has been for 100,000 years. The level of the warmed seas will rise. More rain will fall in some places, less in others. Some deserts will grow, some tundra become fertile, some prairies and forests will die. Nobody can say which, where. The changes cannot yet be seen but the scientists believe they are already, irreversibly, under way.

What Mrs Margaret Thatcher has called a "massive experiment with the system of this planet" cannot be stopped. It can be slowed, though, and ridden out. If the output of warming gases were held at, or reduced below, current levels, the climatic change would be less traumatic. At a conference in Toronto in 1988 a motley mixture of politicians, academics and green lobbyists picked a 20% cut, by 2005, in the rate at which these gases were being pumped out in 1988. This, they thought, would reduce warming to an "ecologically manageable" 0.1°C a decade—a rate that species could cope with.

Send the bill to mother nature

Ecologically manageable, yes; economically manageable, no. No country seriously contemplates Toronto levels of self-restraint. The convention will settle not for an informed guess of what nature might bear, but for what mankind thinks it worth paying to protect her. The quantifiable direct costs of warming by around 2050 may actually be modest. The pre-



dictable ones come mainly from sea-level rises, and from agricultural changes. World food production can probably be maintained at present levels, and might even rise as wheat and rice flourished on extra carbon dioxide. The best (though magnificently simplified) cost-benefit analysis, by Professor William Nordhaus, concludes that humanity's "best buy" would be to phase out chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs, responsible for about a fifth of global warming, as well as gobbling up ozone) and to cut carbon-dioxide output fractionally.

That is small beer beside Toronto's tall order.

Several unquantifiables could raise the costs of warming beyond Mr Nordhaus's hard-nosed calculations, and governments might sensibly buy insurance against them, by moving somewhat beyond his prescription. Besides, many people would mourn the loss of coral reefs and forests that fail to adapt as temperatures rise, and would be willing to pay to save them. Less guzzling of energy would have green side-effects beyond cooling the warming: a check to acid rain, oil spills, traffic jams and city smog. And just as the benefits of action can be larger than expected, so, too, its costs can be smaller. By using the best technology, much energy-saving investment—enough, some reckon, almost to halve energy consumption in industrial countries—could yield a profit to the investor in its own right, even at pre-Saddam energy prices.

Timing alters the calculations profoundly. The sooner governments start to reduce the growth of greenhouse gases, the smaller the cut eventually needed. But, having once begun, the level at which output of the gases is stabilised will be more important than the date by which it is achieved. By the middle of the next century, it will matter much more whether emissions were held at 1990 levels, or those of 2010, than whether the trick was done by 2000 or 2020. And the more time countries give themselves to adapt, the cheaper adapting will be. The British Treasury reckons that the costs of Britain's intention to hold gas emissions down to 1990 levels will exceed benefits if those limits have to be met from 2000 on, but not if from 2005 on.

Any convention must contain some sort of target; otherwise countries and companies will not take it seriously. Choosing an overall target will be hard; subdividing it country by country, harder still. An apt formula would share out greenhouse-gas production on the basis of wealth and population, leaving some room for adjustments in future. But each country will make special pleas. Japan will moan that it is already frugal; Canada about its cold; India that development will be impossible; Eastern Europe that it is under new man-

agement. It would be best for rich nations to agree targets quickly, leaving poorer countries, which as yet emit fewer greenhouse gases, to shape up more gradually.

The convention's biggest headache will be free riders—countries that refuse to sign but benefit from the restraint of others. Threats of trade sanctions against non-compliers would be hard to make stick, and would backfire against the threateners if they stuck. Bribery is a better bet: its cost is clear, it cannot leak like a sanction, and it has been tried before. Several large third-world countries agreed to the Montreal protocol to reduce CFCs only after developed countries had promised to help pay for the needed technology.

Trade in permits could help keep the cost of bribes down. If countries were issued with permits that allowed them a certain level of carbon-dioxide output, they or their industries could trade them. Rich countries that found it costly to curb their gas-puffing could pay poorer countries to do part of the job for them. Thus Britain, rather than shutting down coal-fired power stations in their prime, might pay for energy-saving investment in Poland. Japan, rather than increase petrol taxes, might pay Brazil to plant trees and thus mop up carbon dioxide emitted elsewhere.

Deciding how many permits to give each country would raise all the arguments of sharing-out. But once issued, their extra flexibility would save several billions of dollars of world economic output for the same green impact. Why not test this idea on a smaller scale to see if it works? On October 29th the environment ministers of the EC will try to set carbon-dioxide targets for the whole Community. Tradable permits would be a better bet than the tax on carbon dioxide that the EC Commission yearns to impose. They would leave each country free to decide the best way to meet its target; and they would spur the most energy-efficient companies to bring frugal technology to energy-lax countries.

The quest of climate negotiators will be for altruism. They want today's voters to make changes that will benefit their children and grandchildren. They will have most chance if they urge commitments that make good sense on their own: energy efficiency, a ban on CFCs, curbs on deforestation. If countries bind themselves to do what is in their own interest, they are more likely to turn their promises into policies. These might not remotely amount to what is needed to stop the climate changing. But better a pragmatism that makes a start than visionary declarations that achieve nothing.

George Herbert Walker Coolidge



President Bush's domestic inattention has left him suddenly vulnerable

GEORGE BUSH is losing a blame game. America's budget fiasco has had little to do with pulling the country's finances back on to the straight-and-narrow; much to do with making political opponents look bad. In the space of two weeks the Democrats in Congress have managed to turn an argument about overspending into one about making millionaires pay their fair share. Just before congressional elections, that is not a comfortable position for any Republican to defend. The opinion polls suggest Republican candidates may now be in trouble. If so, they will blame their president. They will say he threw away their best electoral weapon—the anti-tax pledge—and replaced it with nothing.

In his first two years Mr Bush has been on average the most popular president since John Kennedy. In the past month, though, things have soured for him—and quickly. Now only about half of Americans approve of him. For those who have maintained all along that Mr Bush has not the makings of a great man, this is I-told-you-so time. Mr Bush, half way through his first term and on the brink of elections, war and recession, has to move briskly to prove them wrong.

Mr Bush rode high in the polls partly because he did the right things, especially in foreign policy. But another, misguided, reason was that he avoided doing anything that might make him unpopular. This included virtually anything to do with policies at home. In 1989 he had a chance to get the budget deficit under control without too much pain. But no: he invented a "rosy scenario", predicting that the deficit would shrink in a blaze of low interest rates and buoyant revenues. In 1990 the deficit came back to haunt him, this time so

bloated that only austerity could see it off.

So he abandoned his no-new-taxes pledge. He had to. But, having done so, he should then have fought for the tax changes he thought were necessary. Instead, the only tax change he insisted on was a cut in the rate of capital-gains tax—a cut that has the odd effect of temporarily (but only temporarily) trimming the deficit and the perverse one of benefiting the rich. That left the field wide open for the Democrats to suggest more equitable tax changes and to paint Mr Bush as a defender of the wealthy, which they have done with relish. The new House budget slapped a 10% surcharge on income tax for those earning more than \$1m a year. The Senate cut by 5% the deductions those earning more than \$100,000 could take. Such measures would do even less to reduce the 1991 deficit than Mr Bush's capital-gains tax cut. But they sound better on the campaign trail.

The turn of the rich

As long ago as May this year the proportion of people who identified the Republican party with the interests of the rich had risen to 51%, from 18% three years before. Mr Bush is rapidly confirming their instincts. His party has appeared to become the defender not so much of free enterprise as of big business, and the greed that now seems to have characterised the 1980s: the Milkens, Silverados and HUDs.

The Grand Old Party has always been torn between its Main Street roots and its Wall Street friends. For a while in the 1980s they seemed to have identical interests: deregulation, tax breaks, free trade and peace. But increasingly their

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58 LINES

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European Community Agrees On Carbon Dioxide Emissions Cap<

LUXEMBOURG (AP) In a commitment to curb global warming, the 12-nation European Community has pledged to limit its output of carbon dioxide emissions in the year 2000 to the 1990 level.

The move Monday by EC ministers was seen as an attempt to pressure the United States into adopting a similar pledge at a major international conference on the issue.

Next week, negotiations open in Geneva on a convention aimed at curbing the release of carbon dioxide and other man-made gases that are causing a gradual increase in global temperature with potentially catastrophic environmental implications.

Plans call for the drafting of a convention that would be ready for signing in 1992.

The United States has yet to issue a proposal on how it plans curb its carbon dioxide emissions produced largely through the burning of fossil fuels.

"A divided European Community would have been an excuse for the Americans not to proceed any further," said a European Community source, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

Scientists believe that if nothing is done to curb them,

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emissions of carbon dioxide and other heat-trapping gases could boost global temperatures 5.4 degrees by the end of the next century, the fastest rise in 10,000 years.

They call the phenomenon the greenhouse effect, and say that if unchecked it could cause sea levels to rise and deserts to spread.

About 500 scientists convened in Geneva on Monday for a 10-day U.N. conference on global warming.

A conference-ending meeting of about 80 ministers is expected to draw several heads of government, including British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and French Premier Michel Rocard.

The United States has sent a lower-level delegation.

The EC's position to maintain its overall output of carbon dioxide at 1990 levels in 2000 matches a pledge by Japan.

In the European Community, these emissions come largely from coal-fired power plants and traffic and grow at a rate of between 2 percent and 4 percent a year, officials said. The 1990 level is almost 3 billion tons.

The EC executive commission will work out quotas for each member nations by the end of this year. The community's richest members, such as Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Germany, France and Denmark, will have to compensate for those members less able to do so, officials said.

PRESS RETURN TO CONTINUE OR ENTER A REQUEST.

The latter include Britain, which has a disproportionately large number of coal-fired power plants, and the community's poorer southern nations.

The EC states agreed on a general commitment to save energy, promote public transportation and encourage use of alternative energy sources.

Opening the Geneva conference on Monday, the top U.N. environmental official, Mostafa K. Tolba, urged industrial nations to take immediate steps to curb global warming.

Tolba said a complete change in attitudes and living habits is needed to avert a danger "potentially more catastrophic than any other threat in human history."

He said that only drastic reductions in emissions of "greenhouse gases" will stop warming of the planet.

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Kolstad Backtracks Slightly on Acid Rain Comments<

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MISSOULA (AP) Republican U.S. Senate candidate Allen Kolstad said Tuesday night he used a "poor choice of words" when he told

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A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO CLIMATE CHANGE

USING THE MARKET TO PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT

ENVIRONMENTAL OFFICIALS from around the world are poised to negotiate an agreement that will set the framework for future efforts to address potential climate change. When the talks begin in February 1991, the need for clear thinking on climate policy will be acute.

The likelihood and potential impact of climate change must be considered. The recent First Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) found that increases in the so-called "greenhouse gases," which trap solar energy when it rebounds off the earth's surface, are likely to yield increases in atmospheric temperature, but that major uncertainties frustrate our

ability to forecast the magnitude, timing, or regional patterns of any climate change.

At the same time, the costs and benefits of climate change and of options to limit or adapt to it also must be considered. These are even more uncertain questions on which neither the IPCC nor anyone else has made much progress.

Then, if preventive efforts are deemed warranted—a big "if," given the above uncertainties—the design of any policy steps must be considered. Unfortunately, the tenor of current climate discussions indicates that old mistakes in policy design are likely to be repeated. Proposals to address potential climate change have focused narrowly on immediate, uniform controls on emissions of one greenhouse gas: carbon dioxide emitted by the energy sector. Such piecemeal, command-and-control approaches, mandating centrally specified, inflexible responses to subsets of complex environmental problems, will almost surely deliver, as they have in the past in other contexts, environmentally counterproductive and economically unsound results.

Richard B. Stewart is assistant attorney general, Environment and Natural Resources Division, the U.S. Department of Justice. Jonathan B. Wiener is special assistant to the assistant attorney general. The views expressed herein are their own and do not necessarily represent the views of the Department of Justice or the United States.

BY RICHARD B. STEWART AND JONATHAN B. WIENER

A far better approach would be a "comprehensive" one that addresses the net environmental impacts of all greenhouse gases. Such an approach is essential to understanding climate change and to determining the costs and benefits of policy options. It is also essential to fashioning environmentally effective and less-costly policy measures that nations or the world community may choose to adopt. Any such measures should use market-based incentives, rather than command-and-control methods, in order to achieve environmentally superior results at less cost.

Influences on the Climate System

Potential climate change is an issue of enormous complexity. Any change in global average annual temperature would occur over many years through the workings of very complex natural systems and in turn would affect patterns of local temperature, precipitation, soil moisture, and sea level.

The greenhouse gases (GHGs)—carbon dioxide (CO₂), methane (CH₄), nitrous oxide (N₂O), tropospheric ozone (O₃), halocarbons such as chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), and others—are emitted by many sources. Each gas has a different capacity to trap heat in the atmosphere, called its "radiative-forcing" ability, and each resides in the atmosphere for a different period of time. Together, these factors determine the relative radiative-forcing potentials of the GHGs (see table). Each GHG also has environmental consequences resulting from its direct chemical effects on the atmosphere and on plant and animal life: CO₂ aids plant photosynthesis and water use efficiency, for example, while CFCs deplete the stratospheric ozone layer. One GHG or another is emitted or affected by virtually every ecological, social, and economic activity in every area of the world. The gases are removed from the atmosphere in varying degrees by natural "sinks": CO₂, for example, is removed in the photosynthesis carried on by trees, crops, grasses, and oceanic phytoplankton, and stored in plant material, soils, and the deep ocean.

Environmental policy design must match the ecological system it seeks to address. From the climate perspective, the variable of environmental concern is not emissions of CO₂, or the carbon content of fuels, or energy effi-

ciency. It is the *net emissions (sources minus sinks) of all greenhouse gases, weighted by their relative impacts on the environment*. Any policy response to climate—setting a scientific research agenda, enumerating climate-relevant measures (such as reforestation or eliminating CFCs) justified on other grounds, or adopting GHG limitation measures—must therefore be *comprehensive*, matching the climate system.

Carboncentric Thinking

But those proposing immediate GHG reductions typically focus narrowly on limiting CO₂ emissions from fossil-fuel combustion. Many such proposals are made by nations that would enjoy a competitive advantage under such policies: those that can rely on noncarbon or low-carbon energy sources (such as nuclear, hydropower, or natural gas) or those that expect to conserve energy more cheaply than their trading rivals. But such a narrow focus is not warranted by the facts about GHGs or by sound policy.

First, it is clear that the greenhouse effect cannot be attributed to CO₂ alone. It is portrayed as the chief culprit in potential global warming because, by volume, it has accounted for a large share of the total output of GHGs. But because any policies to limit GHGs must necessarily address future increments of net GHG emissions, it is the comparative impact of additional amounts of each gas that must be addressed. CO₂, molecule for molecule, is the *weakest* of the anthropogenic GHGs. As the relative radiative forcing figures in the table show, a unit of CO₂, its typically long residence in the atmosphere notwithstanding, is the least potent contributor to potential warming. Moreover, because there is already so much natural CO₂ in the atmosphere, the band of the electromagnetic spectrum that CO₂ molecules block is becoming almost fully occluded, creating a saturation effect—a kind of atmospheric law of diminishing marginal returns—which means that the relative radiative forcing of future CO₂ molecules will be even less. Further, CO₂ in the atmosphere is not increasing as rapidly as other GHGs; the atmospheric concentration of CO₂ is increasing at about 0.3 percent per year, CH₄ about 1 percent, and CFCs over 4 percent. (Although the goal of the international treaty to protect the stratospheric ozone layer—the

Gas	Instantaneous radiative forcing per kg of emissions	Atmospheric residence years (estimated)	Relative radiative forcing potential over lifetime*
CO ₂	1	120	1
CH ₄	58	10	21
N ₂ O	206	150	290
CFC-11	3970	60	3500
CFC-12	5750	130	7300

Note: * = Calculated over a 100-year time horizon.

Source: IPCC Scientific Assessment, tables 2.3 and 2.8.

RELATIVE RADIATIVE FORCING OF SELECTED GASES

Montreal Protocol—is to phase out CFCs, their more ozone-friendly substitutes are still likely to be significant GHGs.)

Meanwhile, CO₂ provides significant benefits that the other GHGs do not. CO₂ is the grist of photosynthesis. Higher concentrations of CO₂ in the atmosphere are likely to substantially improve plant productivity and increase the efficiency with which plants use water. The other GHGs confer no such benefits, and some pose serious threats unrelated to possible global warming. CFCs, for example, deplete the stratospheric ozone layer. In order to provide a better guide to policy choices, the radiative forcing index of GHGs could be expanded to incorporate other—positive and negative—environmental impacts of each GHG. CO₂ would receive a credit for enriching plant growth, CFCs a debit for ozone depletion.

In sum, unit-for-unit, CO₂ is probably the most environmentally benign of the GHGs. If the biosphere had to accept any given amount of predicted warming, then on purely environmental grounds and abstracting from the costs of control, it would probably prefer to have the warming due to CO₂ and not to other GHGs. CO₂ is thus the last gas, on environmental grounds, whose incremental additions one would want to restrict. Still, any extensive measures to limit net GHG emissions—even under a comprehensive approach—would probably mean some limits on CO₂, the most-prevalent of the anthropogenic GHGs. Moreover, a full analysis requires consideration of the costs of limitation as well as the benefits. It would be economically and environmentally irrational to focus solely on one GHG in any measures to limit climate change, because the greatest benefit may often be had for less cost by addressing other GHGs.

Focus on the energy sector is likewise inappropriate. Certainly the energy sector produces a large share of global CO₂, carbon monoxide (CO), CH₄, volatile organic compounds (VOCs), and nitrogen oxides (NO_x). But the GHGs arise from a variety of sources in every sector: agriculture, where rice paddies and livestock disgorge enormous amounts of CH₄ and fertilized fields release N₂O; forestry, where tree-cutting and soil disruption liberate about 10 to 33 percent of global anthropogenic CO₂; industry, which emits large amounts of CFCs, VOCs, CO, and NO_x; transportation, which yields CO, VOCs, and CFCs in addition

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to CO₂; and the residential and commercial sector, which produces CO₂, VOCs and CFCs.

And in addition to GHG sources, the GHG sinks deserve serious attention. It is *net* emissions that matter for climate system functions. The net flow of GHGs into the atmosphere is the result of emissions from surface sources and removal by surface sinks, including ocean mixing, oceanic phytoplankton, trees, grasses, soil biota, crops, and tropospheric chemical reactions. Plants remove CO₂ from the atmosphere during photosynthesis; preserving and properly managing forests and other vegetation or protecting phytoplankton from anthropogenic injury can help sequester CO₂ released from surface sources.

The Comprehensive Approach

Any climate policy must be comprehensive to match the diverse character of GHGs, their sources, and sinks. Scientific studies, technology development, enumeration of current climate-relevant actions taken for other reasons, or proposals to limit GHGs should be based on net emissions of all GHGs, sources, and sinks and on weighting GHGs according to an index of their comparative environmental impacts. This comprehensive design would ensure that no important GHG or GHG-related activity is ignored, while providing a guide to addressing the most environmentally significant GHGs rather than fixing narrowly on one gas or sector.

If the strategy is technology development or enumeration of otherwise justified actions, a comprehensive approach is necessary to determine which technologies and actions are climate-relevant. If limits on GHG emissions are deemed warranted, a comprehensive approach would have important economic and environmental advantages. It would allow each nation the flexibility to devise its own cost-effective policy mix. Because the marginal costs of limiting emissions will vary across nations by gas, source, sink, and technique, a piecemeal or uniform approach would impose undue costs on those who could achieve the same environmental objective by less costly means. The flexibility afforded under a comprehensive approach would allow choice among all available response options, ensuring that costs are minimized. For example, the

least-cost policy option for limiting net emissions in one nation may be switching from coal to natural gas, while for another nation it may be changing agricultural practices to reduce CH₄ and N₂O emissions, and for another it may be reducing deforestation and ensuring sustainable forest management. Put another way, reducing emissions of CO₂ from fossil-fuel combustion (or stopping deforestation, or any other single tactic) might be the cheapest way to limit overall net GHG emissions in one nation but the most expensive in another. Rigid, uniform requirements would be economically irrational, needlessly driving up social costs.

The "net emissions" aspect of the comprehensive approach would also provide significant benefits by encouraging sink expansion through expansion of forest areas and preservation and protection of phytoplankton habitats from pollution. In addition to limiting net GHG emissions, these activities could provide other benefits in biodiversity, oceanic food webs, reduced soil erosion, and better timber management.

Anticipating "Unanticipated Consequences"

The comprehensive approach would also avoid a notorious drawback of piecemeal approaches: unwanted shifts to unregulated activities that continue to produce environmental degradation. For example, under a CO₂-only approach, utilities would probably switch from coal to natural gas (methane) because, with current combustion techniques, burning coal produces almost twice as much CO₂ per BTU as burning natural gas. But use of natural gas leads to CH₄ emissions because it leaks from natural-gas mining and transportation systems. One recent study estimates that with a 3–6 percent rate of CH₄ leakage from natural-gas transport, such leaks would fully offset all the CO₂-related radiative-forcing savings from switching from coal to natural gas. Such leakage rates are probably higher than the average in the United States, but may be typical elsewhere. And a swift expansion of natural-gas transport capacity to comply with a stiff CO₂ reduction target could well mean the use of hastily designed new facilities or older facilities in disrepair with leakage rates higher than today's. Hence, the result of

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piecemeal fuel switching could be even greater net GHG emissions than in the absence of the CO₂-reduction rule. Even if the CH₄ leakage rate only offset, say, 50 percent of the CO₂ savings, the CO₂-only policy would be severely undermined. Similarly, a transportation-only policy requiring, say, the use of electric vehicles, could shift production of emissions to the central power stations that recharge the vehicles' batteries. The comprehensive approach, on the other hand, would encompass all relevant emissions and thereby ensure that policies and incentives address the full net GHG emissions inventory.

A different kind of inadvertent shift would attend restrictions on fossil-fuel consumption applied piecemeal to one group of nations (such as OECD countries). If developing countries' net GHG emissions continue to rise at current rates, even radical OECD-only policies will be unable to arrest growth in global emissions. And the OECD nations would most likely respond by limiting imported fuels first, which would lower prices for those fuels on world markets and increase consumption in other nations. Depending on the sensitivity of consumption to prices and the efficiency of fuel combustion in the various countries, total GHG emissions might even rise. Over the slightly longer term, restrictions in only some nations could induce GHG-emitting industries to move to unregulated locations. These concerns indicate the need for comprehensive scope of coverage and international cooperation on any limitations measures.

Applying the Comprehensive Approach

Any framework convention on climate change should promote a cooperative scientific research and reporting agenda that would facilitate the comprehensive approach by examining all GHGs, sources, and sinks. It should also ensure that any future protocol follow the comprehensive approach. The convention could assure that any actions taken by a nation after a chosen baseline date will be credited to that nation's limitation obligations, if any, under a future protocol, relying on a provisional index of relative GHG impacts established at the convention. Without such advance assurances, nations would be hesitant to take even climate-relevant steps that are justified

on other grounds lest they lose credit for such steps when a climate agreement is signed. This fear would frustrate independently desirable policy steps (such as energy conservation or reforestation) while adding to pressure for hasty adoption of a climate protocol.

The major objection that has been raised to the comprehensive approach is that current science is not adequate for monitoring certain sources and sinks, such as nonpoint (diffuse or mobile) sources of CH_4 and N_2O . The objectors say that we should "do what we can now" and wait until later to design a comprehensive approach. The counterargument is that while monitoring such emissions is not easy it is not beyond our reach if we orient current research efforts to support a comprehensive approach. Moreover, our experience belies the suggestion that piecemeal initiatives can eventually be transformed into a comprehensive strategy. Piecemeal measures tend to create vested interests that fight to ensure the perpetuation of their favorite measures. For example, the overbroad Prevention of Significant Deterioration (PSD) provisions in the Clean Air Act limit industrial development in many regions of the United States, often without environmental justification. But other regions oppose relaxing these limits for fear prosperity will shift to those regions now subject to PSD controls. Similarly, any global climate agreement targeted at energy-sector CO_2 limitations would benefit some nations more than others. The favored nations would resist development of a more comprehensive approach that would treat all nations with an even hand. It is vital, therefore, to start with a comprehensive approach at the outset.

The pertinent question is not what is immediately feasible but whether the costs of proceeding with a flawed policy design are less than the costs of doing the necessary groundwork to develop and implement a comprehensive approach. The answer is that we need not wait for perfection; in the interim, proxy-based estimates of difficult-to-measure emissions can be used. A framework convention (or another agreement) can provide incentives for investments in developing or improving the requisite monitoring capabilities, such as by offering credit for national reductions in difficult-to-monitor GHGs upon demonstration of the relevant monitoring techniques to an expert panel.

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Market-Based Incentives

The virtues of market-based economic incentives for environmental protection are increasingly recognized. Fees or taxes, tradeable allowances, and deposit-refund programs have been successful in several important environmental applications, and we are learning how to apply them in others. The tradeable credits program used to phase out lead in gasoline achieved its goal at about half the cost of traditional regulation, saving hundreds of millions of dollars. Deposit-refund programs have aided in reducing litter and recycling beverage containers. Both fees and tradeable allowances are now part of the U.S. program to eliminate CFC use under the Montreal Protocol. And tradeable allowances have been proposed for the acid-rain-reduction provisions of the new Clean Air Act, with projected national savings of \$1 billion annually when compared to a command-and-control program. Meanwhile, we have learned a great deal about the drawbacks of traditional regulatory approaches—the centrally specified, uniform, and rigid edicts of "command-and-control" methods—in terms of their cost, obstacles to innovation, ecological shortsightedness, and legal and administrative burdens.

Market-based incentives respond to market failures such as excessive pollution by harnessing and redirecting market forces to engender socially and environmentally responsible behavior. At the same time, they allow flexibility among regulated firms, promote diverse and cost-minimizing solutions by allowing those who can fix a problem most cheaply to do so, and stimulate efficient resource use and innovation in technologies and practices.

Market-based techniques are especially well-suited to any limitation measures for GHGs that might be adopted nationally or worldwide. Because GHG emissions arise from so many diverse and pervasive sources, the costs of abatement are bound to vary widely among emitters. Market-based mechanisms use that variation to social advantage by imposing a restraint on total emissions—a limit on the net quantity emitted or a fee for each unit emitted—but then letting the market allocate the burden of abatement to those who can most easily shoulder it.

Two main economic instruments have

been suggested for limiting emissions of GHGs: tradeable emissions allowances and emissions taxes. Tradeable allowances would set a total limit on net emissions, issue that sum of allowances to emitters, and let emitters trade them. Those for whom emissions reductions or sink expansions would be relatively more expensive would buy additional allowances, while those who could achieve limitations goals cheaply would sell their extra allowances. Each emitter would try to develop new means of limiting emissions at less cost than its competitors so that it could sell its allowances at a profit. Emissions control, efficient use of fuels and other inputs, and innovation of new control techniques would become profit centers for the emitter. The market would allocate limitations to those who limited emissions at least cost, reducing the overall cost to society.

Domestically, governments could issue allowances for net GHG emissions. Those who were issued allowances could meet their limitation obligations through such steps as energy conservation, fuel switching, reducing CH₄ leaks, planting trees, or contracting for limitations by other regulated firms. Allowances could be made of limited duration, or leasable, to relieve fears of hoarding or other distortions due to exercise of market power. Government clearinghouses, private brokers, and banks would act to facilitate trading among disparate parties and over time.

Any internationally agreed national obligations to limit GHGs could be advantageously reallocated among nations through bilateral or multilateral trades. One nation could satisfy its obligations by investing in response actions in another. For example, Nation A could provide new energy technology to Nation B in return for all or part of the value of B's reduction in emissions. Or Nation C could plant and manage trees in Nation D's territory in return for their CO₂ sink value while offering assistance to D to compensate for the reduction in arable land area. Nation E might earn the opportunity to record certain emissions reductions achieved in Nation F in return for debt forgiveness promised to F. Given significant international variations in marginal costs of limitation, mutually agreed trades would probably enable the world economy to realize substantial cost savings. These arrangements would demonstrate the power of applying Adam Smith's lessons of comparative advan-

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tage to global environmental resources. Such trading in GHG limitations would also serve as a market-based, decentralized vehicle for introducing needed capital and low-GHG-emitting technology into the developing world. Opportunities to obtain valuable emissions allowances by investing in lower-cost net GHG emissions limitations in developing nations (where, for example, energy production facilities do not yet exist) would attract funding from industrialized countries and stimulate innovation of low-GHG technologies useful in developing nations. This framework would obviate creation of a heavily bureaucratized, centralized regulatory authority and technology-assistance fund, with its attendant opportunities for waste and misallocation of benefits.

Emissions taxes for net GHG emissions are another important option. The tax rate could be geared to the GHG index value of the emissions activity. Like emissions trading, emissions taxes offer a cost-effective solution that promotes innovation and efficient resource use. Such a plan could work well within a nation, especially where the emphasis is on specifying the cost of the GHG-limitation program more precisely than the quantity of emissions avoided, or where revenue raising is a major goal. International application of a tax would raise more difficult questions: Would nations cede their sovereignty to an international tax authority? How would the tax be set? How would the potentially enormous revenues raised be allotted and expended?

Conclusion

Experience has shown the inadequacy of employing piecemeal, command-and-control approaches in environmental policy. Reinventing these square wheels in the climate context would surely be ecologically misguided and economically disruptive. A comprehensive approach is the foundation for sound analysis and treatment of the complex climate system and its interactions with socioeconomic activities, whatever level or type of effort nations or the world community may choose to expend on these issues. Should any policy measures be implemented, both a comprehensive design and the use of market-based incentives would be indispensable.



For example, after a vocal fight with radicals in parliament, Rafsanjani's administration has pushed through a merger of komitehs with ordinary police departments. Such a merger would bring the nation's internal security apparatus more under the control of an ordinary bureaucracy.

Mohtashemi said the debate over the future of the komitehs, which have been the guardians of the Iranian revolution's most radical domestic policies, is not one of deep philosophical differences. But he added: "Personally I am opposed to this merger because I think any country needs a committed special force. The merger will make them [komitehs] lose their identity. [Will that be] harmful to the system? I hope not."

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

THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, the declarations that are coming out of the economic summit meeting have been very disappointing to many on the subject of the global environment. Those who remember last year's economic summit remember the ringing endorsement of action by all of the summit leaders in the final statement when they called for a worldwide plan to confront the issue of global climate change and the degradation of the global environment.

Many who have followed this issue and have had growing concerns about the need for action were heartened by the united front presented by the summit leaders a year ago. And many of those same optimists waited to see what this year's meeting would bring by way of a followup, to put flesh on the bones, to add substance to the rhetoric.

But this year, the summit leaders chose not to follow up last year's declarations. Indeed, they chose to retreat from last year's call for action to clean up the global environment. Why? The answer is now in. The United States of America, led by President George Bush, threw a monkey wrench into the process, stood in the path of those who wanted to have action on the global environment.

At last year's summit meeting, President Bush asked his EPA head, his Environmental Protection Administrator, Bill Reilly, to accompany him to the summit, stay by his side, help him make these sweeping proposals and negotiate the statement which was forthcoming last year.

At this year's summit, Mr. Reilly was ordered to stay home, was not allowed to accompany the President to the summit meetings. And when the subject of the environment came up, who was the spokesman for the United States of America? John Sununu, the one person within the administration who has been, by all odds, the most vocal opponent of environmental protection.

President Bush promised over 17 months ago that he would be an environmental President, that he would

confront the greenhouse effect with the White House effect. Now we know that President Bush has even less intention of keeping that pledge than he did in keeping his pledge to have no new taxes.

He is less an environmental President than he is a no new taxes President.

Nations and peoples around the world understand clearly that if we are going to successfully confront the challenge to the global environment, leadership from the United States of America will be essential. All Americans understand that, especially in an action of this sort, the United States cannot provide that sort of global leadership unless the President of the United States steps forward to lead the American people in the right direction.

A consortium of 150 environmental groups in the United States cooperated to compile a scorecard of what the various summit nations have done since last year's summit meeting to follow through on the pledges of environmental action last year. The United States was ranked in the poor category. As the accompanying analysis made very clear, and as we in this Chamber know ourselves, the reason is, again, that President Bush has been backtracking on the global environment.

Those of us who have watched this administration drag its feet time and time again, resisting the efforts of other nations to confront these environmental challenges head on in areas like protection of the ozone layer, global climate change, and a host of other environmental challenges, are not entirely surprised by the reports coming out of Houston. But we are disappointed and even more deeply concerned. President Bush is once again allowing the Nation's environmental policy to be established by ideologues in the administration, not by those who have been assigned the responsibility for advising him on environmental policy and science policy. Instead, he has decided to make John Sununu the principal environmental policy-maker in this administration.

What about John Sununu's experience and qualifications and viewpoints on this subject? John Sununu has a Ph.D. He believes that he knows a great deal about this subject. News reports have indicated that he is compiling his own global climate model on a personal computer in his office at the White House. U.S. News and World Report provided some details of this in their current issue.

President Bush said a year ago, before we decide how to assess the threat of global warming, let us wait for the international group of scientists charged with making this assessment to come up with their report. That group, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, established originally under the auspices of the United Nations, issued its report re-

cently. That panel said the problem is real. The time for action is now. What degree of reliability do they place on those conclusions? They said: We are certain of it.

After this international group of distinguished scientists who have devoted their careers to this subject spent several years compiling a definitive report and announced their conclusions, John Sununu announced that he was going to come up with his own study on his personal computer. The clear implication of his statements was that these scientists are not to be trusted. John Sununu's conclusions are more reliable than theirs.

Yogi Berra once said, "What gets us into trouble is not what we don't know, it's what we know for sure that just ain't so."

I think John Sununu's expertise on the subject of the global environment fits Yogi Berra's description of what gets us into trouble so frequently. He has not devoted his lifetime to this subject. He has been a Governor and a White House Chief of Staff. But it is a hobby of his.

I urge the President to rely more on the scientific community, to rely more on his own science adviser, Dr. Allan Bromley, to rely more on his own administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, William Reilly, and somewhat less on Dr. Sununu and his personal computer and his certain knowledge that he knows more than the world scientific community about this subject.

Other heads of state are listening to the scientific community. Here is what Helmut Kohl, the leader of Germany, had to say at the summit meeting. He said:

We must view the threat of climate change as a global challenge to all mankind. The world expects the seven summit countries to come up with far reaching, specific proposals.

I will provide later for the RECORD statements by the leaders of other nations, which are very similar in tone and content.

There is only one prominent world leader, among all those at the summit, who wants to stop progress, who wants to stand in the way of the kind of cooperative action so urgently needed to protect the global environment, and that is President George Bush, following the advice of Dr. John Sununu.

Let me elaborate on what this Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change had to say specifically. It says that the effort to stabilize the level of most greenhouse gases at current levels in the atmosphere will require reductions of 60 percent or more in current human emissions of greenhouse gases. Furthermore, the scientific assessment of the IPCC says the buildup will lead to temperature increases of 3 to 8 degrees Fahrenheit by the middle of the next century. The science assessment goes on to state that temperature increases in central

North America, the American grain belt, are predicted to be higher than the average global increase accompanied by reduced summer precipitation and soil moisture; in other words, more heat and more drought in the heart of America's agricultural sector.

Mr. President, 2 weeks ago in Phoenix, AZ, they were frying eggs on the sidewalk; it was 122 degrees, an alltime record. The 5 hottest years in the history of recorded temperatures have all been in the past decade. Preliminary estimates of the first 6 months of this year indicate that the odds are very high that 1990 will be by all odds the hottest year ever recorded, including the five hottest thus far, which have been in the past decade.

Scientists, the same scientists who tell us global warming is a certainty if our present pattern of activity continues, and that action is needed now, those same scientists say that you cannot take the heat of any given year and say with certainty this is because of global warming. There is too much variation from year to year. But on average the incidence of 100-degree-plus days will increase dramatically. The odds of any given year being a hotter than normal year will increase dramatically.

The odds of a drought in any given year in the middle sections of large continental land masses will increase dramatically. The part of the country from which I come and from which the current occupant of the Chair comes is experiencing another year right now where the moisture level is down dramatically. How many droughts have we had in the last 5 or 6 years? Why are the old timers standing up more and more frequently and saying, for example, "I've lived 70, 80, 90 years. I have never seen weather trends like these?"

Why are the older men and women in our country saying something is amiss with the weather patterns? Why are the most distinguished scientists in the field of global climate research saying exactly the same thing? How long will it take us to wake up and realize that we are facing the most serious problem of the history of our civilization? The answer to that question, Mr. President, depends in part, upon how long we will have to wait for leadership from the President of the United States.

In the absence of that leadership, the evidence will continue to accumulate, and more and more people will see the pattern and demand action, but more and more time will pass before action is taken, and we will have less and less of a chance to succeed in confronting the problem.

Mr. President, as I have said on other occasions, as an example of the dramatic changes underway right now, consider the fact that the air in this Chamber that we are breathing into our lungs at this moment has 600 percent more chlorine atoms in each breath than it did when this Chamber

was constructed, than it did 40 years ago, than it did in this space on Earth 3 billion years ago, because in only 40 years' time, our civilization has profoundly changed the nature of the global environment so much that the concentration of chlorine atoms is six times greater than it has been for the entire previous history of the Earth.

Similarly, the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere everywhere on Earth, from the ground to the top of the sky, at the North Pole, at the South Pole, around the Equator, in Alabama, in Tennessee is higher now than it has been at any time for the last several hundred thousand years. We know from the historical records pulled out of ice cores and geological deposits, which contain an accurate record of past climates, that CO₂ concentrations and temperature levels go up and down in lock step.

The international panel of scientists has reported that the concentrations of carbon dioxide are in the process of doubling worldwide in less than 40 years. What will the implications for temperature be? Again, the international panel of scientists say they are going up. What does that mean? It means a dramatic and catastrophic change in climate patterns.

Does that matter? Of course, it does. Does it require action? Of course, it does. That is why all of the other summit leaders called for action, but action was not forthcoming because the one person, the President of the United States, who is in the position of providing the leadership needed, used his influence and prestige and position to block action. I view it as a tragedy, Mr. President.

Six weeks ago, one of the other summit participants, Margaret Thatcher, made a speech referring to this international scientific assessment. In that speech, Mrs. Thatcher said:

... greenhouse gases are increasing substantially as a result of man's activities; that this will warm the Earth's surface, with serious consequences for us all, and that these consequences are capable of prediction.

She went on to state that if the panel is broadly right, then the world could become "hotter than at any time in the last 100,000 years and just to get our perspectives right, can I remind you that Abraham was around only 5,000 years ago."

Mrs. Thatcher was relying on the international scientific consensus President Bush, in his timidity and inaction, is relying, instead, on Dr. John Sununu and his hobby; played out on his personal computer.

It is convenient that reliance on Dr. Sununu's hobby carries with it no political risk of proposing actions that might be unpopular in confronting the global environmental challenge. The fact that President Bush, by doing nothing, can hope to keep his popularity levels at record highs may make him more likely to rely on Dr. Sun-

unu's personal computer than the international scientific consensus.

But, Mr. President, it is not leadership. It is not what this country needs. It is not what the world needs.

We are left with an administration which continues to be the world's leader in environmental inaction. The United States, because of President Bush's decision, now stands alone in refusing to cooperate to meet this global challenge. Where the environment is concerned, President Bush is sometimes adept at rhetoric. At last year's summit, he eagerly let the rhetoric on the environment flow from his lips, promising action.

But as is too often the case when it comes to following up the rhetoric with substance, the President has decided that he prefers inaction and timidity.

While Chancellor Kohl appeals for the G-7 nations to urgently work out arrangements to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, President Bush spends his energy on spin control while the truth about his administration's total lack of concern where protecting the global environment is involved becomes clear to the entire world.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to print at the end of my comments articles from the Washington Post and the New York Times, and an editorial from this morning's New York Times and a lengthy dispatch from the Associated Press on this same subject.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, in conclusion, let me address one other aspect of this, briefly. The reason publicly offered by Dr. Sununu for the position he has successfully urged upon the President is his claim that a reduction in greenhouse gas emissions, or even a stabilization of greenhouse gas emissions, would bring world economic activity to a halt.

I am quoting from the Associated Press dispatch out of Houston quoting the other summit participants in saying:

The European Economic Community on Tuesday challenged the Bush administration to prove its contention that taking dramatic steps to halt the warming trend will stall economic growth.

Jan Laurens Brinkhorst, Director of Environmental Matters for the European Economic Community, said the facts do not bear out the theory that curbing carbon dioxide emissions will slow economic growth.

Brinkhorst said the world economy grew by 25 percent between 1973 and 1988 while energy consumption remained flat.

Economists agree, he said, that energy use could be reduced 15 percent to 20 percent in the course of a decade without major economic disruption.

I would hope to see, in a serious way, the Europeans and Americans compare notes and actually see what is true.

Mr. President, I have made a number of speeches in this Chamber on this same subject, and I intend to

continue this series of speeches. I conclude by saying that on this occasion, it is especially disappointing that we have this major missed opportunity after so many hopes were raised in last year's economic summit between the G-7 participants, and I urge the President of the United States to not rely on John Sununu as his principal environmental adviser, policymaker, and spokesman on the global environment but to rely instead on the individuals, including William Reilly, at EPA, and his science adviser, Dr. Allan Bromley, who have the experience, who have the training, who have the respect of those in their respective fields, and listen to their advice as the basis for policy on this subject.

I yield the floor.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Washington Post, July 9, 1990]
ENVIRONMENTAL "REPORT CARD" RATES U.S.
POOR ON MAJOR GLOBAL ISSUES

(By David Maraniss)

HOUSTON, July 8.—A report card of the world's seven leading industrialized nations released here today gave the United States a "poor" grade of 41.5 percent in meeting the environmental objectives those nations set at last year's Economic Summit in Paris.

On the eve of this year's summit, the seven countries were graded by a consortium of 150 environmental groups on six key issues ranging from global warming to environmental aid for Eastern Europe. West Germany, which has announced plans to reduce carbon dioxide emissions by 25 percent, ranked at the top of the class, with a "good" rating of 65 percent, and Italy was "poorest" with 39 percent. Japan, the United Kingdom and Canada were also rated "poor," while France received a grade of "fair."

But overall, said Jay Hair, president of the National Wildlife Federation, the group of seven nations "failed" to protect the environment. Their actions over the past year, he said, have not lived up to their rhetoric. "If the G-7 were a soccer team and I a sportscaster, I would say the team had a bad season overall." Hair said on the same day that West Germany won soccer's World Cup. "The game plan looked good but the players showed minimal defense and almost no offense."

Each country, in addition to an overall grade, was ranked on a scale of 1 to 10 on the six major issues.

The highest score for the United States was a 6 on the issue of protection of biodiversity. Included in that category were efforts to stop the destruction of the world's rain forests, which are disappearing at the rate of 27 million acres a year, and to diminish the effects of acid rain. The United States has taken a vocal role at the World Bank and elsewhere in discouraging rain forest destruction.

But on the other issues, said James Tripp of the Environmental Defense Fund, the U.S. response over the past year has been weaker. On the concern that Tripp and the consortium considered most pressing, global warming, the United States was given a failing grade of 3.

While other countries, especially West Germany, were moving to reduce carbon dioxide emissions over the next 20 years, the Bush administration, Tripp said, "was not a leader but a hinderer" in that effort.

The scorecard gave the United States its lowest grade, a 2, on population, which has not been discussed at the Economic Summit

since the summit. The report card was administered by the Environmental Defense Fund. On the issue of global warming, the United States was given a score of 3, while West Germany was given a score of 6, which is the highest possible grade. In Third World countries, which are the focus of the summit, the report card was given to improve long-term management of their natural resources. In that category that Italy received the lowest score of any country in any category, a 1.

The environmental report cards were among myriad reports, meetings and symbolic actions in Houston this weekend as hundreds of environmentalists and social activists arrived to stage events in the shadows of the Economic Summit.

There are two key counter-conventions. The first ever Environmental Summit met to monitor the environmental actions or inactions of the seven industrial leaders.

A session known as The Other Economic Summit (TOES) has been convening in summit host cities since 1984 to present Third World and other alternatives to the actions of the industrialized nations.

The TOES conference, held at a hotel near the Astrodome after the University of Houston declined at the last minute to serve as host, featured a gathering of representatives from seven developing countries, including Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, leader of Mexico's Democratic Revolutionary Party, who nearly won the Mexican presidency in 1988. Cardenas said that the new trade alliances being formed among the industrialized nations will only lead a more exploitation of Third World countries.

His view was shared by Martin Khor Kok Peng of Malaysia, coordinator of the World Rain Forest Movement. The Malaysian said underdeveloped countries would have their sovereignty to set environmental and health standards preempted by provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) being discussed this year. Where in previous generations Third World countries were colonized through the use of force, he said, they are now being colonized through the use of trade agreements. "Trade is the main weapon today—more than weapons," he said.

Texas Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower, a keynote speaker at the TOES conference, said the latest GATT proposals setting up international trade rules on agriculture would prove devastating for American farmers. The GATT agreement could cut wheat prices by 44 percent and rice prices by 59 percent, he said.

Hightower said farmers "don't know what GATT means, but they're going to figure out it means 'Gotcha Again!'"

[From the Washington Post, July 9, 1990]

AFTER RHETORIC OF 1989, ENVIRONMENT
LIKELY TO TAKE BACK SEAT AT SUMMIT

(By John Lancaster)

Leaders of the seven industrial democracies embraced the environment with the zeal of the newly converted when they gathered in Paris for last year's economic summit. "This summit marked a watershed," President Bush said at the conclusion last year. "We agreed that decisive action is urgently needed to preserve the earth."

But the economic summit that begins in Houston today promises to accord the environment a lower priority. While issues such as global warming and rain forest from destruction still have a place on the agenda, they are not expected to receive nearly as much attention as free trade and the political upheaval in the Soviet Union.

"I think this time we will see an economic summit that is focused to a far greater degree on economics," said Michael R. Deland, chairman of the president's Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ).

The anticipated focus on the Soviet Union and East Bloc economies is not surprising given the events of the last year. But the shift in emphasis has disappointed many environmentalists, who see it as one more sign that industrial nations—and the United States in particular—have failed to follow through on the bold rhetoric in 1989.

A coalition of environmental groups, meeting in the shadow of the Houston summit, gave the seven nations a mixed to poor review for their efforts during the last year.

"I'm a lot more depressed than when we got into this," said George T. Frampton Jr., president of the Wilderness Society. "Forests are being cut just as fast or faster than they were a year ago . . . There has been virtually no progress on ocean pollution, and absolutely nothing on population. Overall, you'd have to say that these countries simply aren't treating environmental issues as an important priority—in spite of the Paris communique."

Environmentalists cite as an exception last month's agreement by 92 countries to phase out production of chemicals linked to the destruction of the earth's protective ozone layer. Government ministers also agreed to establish the world's first global environmental fund to help poorer countries make the transition to more benign varieties of chemicals.

But the industrial nations remain divided on a response to global warming, which scientists expect will be a consequence of the buildup of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. While Britain, the Netherlands and West Germany have established goals for reducing or stabilizing carbon dioxide emissions, Bush administration officials have avoided timetables in favor of continuing scientific study.

Earlier this year, a panel of experts sponsored by the United Nations concluded that worldwide temperatures will rise 2 degrees within 35 years and about 6 degrees by the end of the next century if nothing is done to reduce carbon dioxide emissions. The report, based on the work of more than 300 climate experts worldwide, was seen as a vindication by environmentalists who have been urging quick action to combat the problem.

Environmentalists contend that by failing to follow the lead of Germany and other nations in setting goals to reduce greenhouse gases, the United States has forfeited its role as an international leader on environmental issues.

That charge was disputed by Deland, who said the nation already is working to reduce pollutants that cause global warming. "I don't think the U.S. has forfeited a leadership role and I think it's continuing to play such a role," Deland said.

But he also suggested that cutting greenhouse gases is easier for some countries than it is for the United States. "It's clearly much easier for West Germany to set such goal," he said. "They can flick a switch and tie into French nuclear power . . . We are clearly more tied to fossil fuels than many other countries that have alternatives such as nuclear and hydroelectric power."

Many environmentalists had their expectations raised by last year's summit, in which participants devoted more than a third of their final communique to environmental issues. Pundits dubbed it "the environmental summit" and Bush even showed up with Environmental Protection Agency

Administrator William K. Reilly, the first time the head of the EPA appeared at a summit.

A draft copy of the communique for this year's meeting reaffirms the global nature of environmental problem and addresses climate change, tropical forest destruction, marine pollution, wetlands loss and other topics.

According to the draft, worked out by advance teams from the countries involved, participants will agree on the need for an international convention addressing global warming to be held by 1992 under the auspices of the United Nations.

Participants also will consider the adoption of "internationally binding regulations" for the protection of tropical forests, which are being destroyed at a rate twice that of 10 years ago, according to the draft communique.

But the summit participants are expected to stop short of a specific, international commitment to reduce greenhouse gases by the end of the decade. "There aren't going to be any surprise," one administration official said.

[From the New York Times, July 11, 1990]
WHITE HOUSE GASES

Reduce greenhouse gases? The Bush Administration has again made clear, at the economic summit meeting in Houston, that it wants no part of an international timetable to limit emissions of carbon dioxide, which many fear will lead to a catastrophic warming of the earth's climate.

There are valid arguments against rushing into speculative, costly fixes. But Mr. Bush and his chief of staff, John Sununu, aren't making them. They cloak their inaction in gaseous language and dubious science. That's an insult to the allies and a political embarrassment for Mr. Bush.

The computer models that predict global warming are full of uncertainties—good reason to resist a draconian program to reduce emissions. But these same models, and many scientists, suggest that some warming is likely. And that's reason enough to take sensible precautions.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl says that Germany is prepared to reduce its carbon dioxide emissions by 25 percent in 15 years and urges the allies to follow suit. Some economists think that's an affordable goal. Mr. Sununu thinks it's a recipe for national suicide that would force the U.S. to abandon fossil fuels and drive it into a depression.

Mr. Sununu, whose impatience with environmentalists stops just short of contempt, adumbrates his dark vision with half-truths. Most carbon dioxide emissions, he says, come from decaying vegetation. That's true; but what threatens to shatter the global balance isn't nature but a century of man-made emissions from automobiles, electrical utilities and industry.

Except for the U.S. every industrial nation represented at the summit meeting has pledged to stabilize greenhouse gases. Mr. Bush's negative response might be understandable if he would offer an alternative. But he's been so busy saying no that he hasn't even opened for public discussion any number of sensible ideas to reduce carbon dioxide that are worth pursuing on their own merits.

Compared with other countries, for example, the U.S. uses energy recklessly. Improved automobile mileage standards would improve energy efficiency. So would an energy tax, which, quite apart from its value as insurance against global warming, would ease the deficit. A sensible plan would also include incentives for using forms of energy that don't produce carbon dioxide.

like solar and a new generation of safe nuclear plants. There would also be incentives for third world countries to stop the burning of tropical forests, an act of ecological vandalism that releases huge amounts of carbon dioxide.

Mr. Bush takes pride in his innovative clean air bill and his decision to join an international agreement to abolish ozone-threatening chemicals. Those are fine achievements, but they do not unhook him from a campaign promise he made on Aug. 31, 1988.

"Those who think we are powerless to do anything about the 'greenhouse effect' are forgetting about the 'White House effect,'" he said. "As President, I intend to do something about it." Do what?

[From the New York Times, July 10, 1990]
EUROPEANS ACCUSE THE UNITED STATES OF
BALKING ON PLANS TO COMBAT GLOBAL
WARMING

(By Roberto Suro)

HOUSTON, July 9.—Senior European officials at the economic summit conference accused the United States today of frustrating their efforts to reach a new accord to combat global warming.

The European officials, including members of the British, French and Italian delegations who asked not to be identified, angrily complained that John H. Sununu, the White House chief of staff, had taken the leading role in organizing American opposition to the global warming initiative.

Asked at a news briefing this morning why the United States was resisting a West German proposal to set a target for reducing gases that cause global warming, Mr. Sununu replied, "The issue is being addressed with a level of haste." He added, "There seems to be some propensity to deal with the issue without putting all the data on the table."

KOHL ASKS "RADICAL MEASURES"

In a letter sent to summit leaders last month, Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany called for "internationally binding regulations with 'radical measures to limit' gas emissions that contribute to the greenhouse effect."

Chancellor Kohl said: "We must view the threat of climate changes as a global challenge to all mankind. The world expects the seven summit countries to come up with far-reaching, specific proposals."

Mr. Sununu insisted today that the Bush Administration had endorsed limits on some emissions through the clean Air Act, but he opposed new emission limits, contending that they would require major changes in the American way of life and the nation's industrial structure.

He noted, for instance, that because the United States was much larger than Japan or any of the European nations it had a greater reliance on cars and trucks to transport people and products.

Commenting on Mr. Sununu's position, James T. E. Tripp, general counsel of the Environmental Defense Fund, a Washington-based advocacy group, said: "These statements may serve to explain why United States per capita consumption of fossil fuels is so high compared to Western Europe and Japan, but they are not legitimate excuses for United States refusal to limit carbon dioxide emissions and take steps to use energy much more efficiently."

Although President Bush has mustered allies to support his views on the two other major issues being addressed at the summit talks—aid to the Soviet Union and international trade—he now stands alone on the third area of the agenda, the environment.

PLEDGES MADE BY OTHERS

As the summit meeting's official sessions began today, European officials worried that the United States would block their effort to win a commitment to stabilize and then reduce emissions of carbon dioxide and other gases that contribute to the greenhouse effect. Many scientists believe that these gases trap heat from the sun that would otherwise escape back into space. The trapped gases then produce a gradual warming of the earth's atmosphere.

Except for the United States, all the industrial nations represented at the summit meeting have now pledged to stabilize greenhouse gas emissions, at least by early in the next century.

Even Britain and Japan, which formerly sided with Washington in insisting that more scientific and economic information was needed before taking action, are developing plans to reduce carbon dioxide emissions. West Germany has taken the lead, with a goal of reducing such emissions by 25 percent in the next 15 years.

President Bush's apparent determination to block a global warming initiative at this summit meeting stands in sharp contrast to his embrace of major environmental commitments at last year's economic summit talks in Paris.

In the final communique of that meeting, the national leaders declared that "decisive action is urgently needed to understand and protect the earth's ecological balance."

"COMMON EFFORTS" URGED

On the issue of global warming the communique stated, "We strongly advocate common efforts to limit emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases, which threaten to induce climate change, endangering the environment and ultimately the economy."

Even as the summit delegations began gathering here this weekend, European officials hoped that the Houston talks would build on the rhetoric of the Paris communique. But at a meeting Sunday night American officials raised a series of paralyzing objections, a European participant said.

"We had thought we were making progress," the European official said today, "but at last night's meeting it was discouragingly obvious that Sununu was back in the ascendancy, and the United States was yielding nothing."

European officials said that the first sign that President Bush would resist a global warming initiative came when William K. Reilly, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency was left behind in Washington. Mr. Reilly was a prominent member of the Bush delegation to the Paris talks.

In Mr. Reilly's absence the role of chief adviser on environmental matters has been assumed by Mr. Sununu, who has publicly disagreed with Mr. Reilly on assessments of environmental dangers. At the news briefing this morning, Mr. Sununu rejected the kind of joint commitment to specific limitations on gas emissions that the West Germans among others are pressing the meeting to adopt.

He said, "There is a concern that this idea of a permanent cap in perpetuity does not understand not only our growth needs, but the growth needs of the developing countries of the world."

He added, "So what we are seeking is a commitment that is broader, a commitment that would allow both the industrialized countries and the developing countries to address the broad issue of greenhouse gases without picking them one by one, setting caps on them individually."

**SUMMIT NEARS ENVIRONMENTAL ACCORD THAT
VALUES OF GLOBAL WARMING
(By Rita Beardsley)**

Houses.—The United States and its trading partners neared agreement on an environmental declaration today that obscured sharp differences over global warming in the interest of summit unity, U.S. and European officials said.

Instead, the seven economic summit leaders signed off on a deal struck Tuesday to implement a plan within a year to save Brazil's tropical rain forests, the officials said.

The West Germans did not press their earlier demands to set firm targets for reducing carbon dioxide emissions that are believed to be a major cause of rising global temperatures, U.S. officials said today.

As a result, the provision on global warming was cast in general terms for inclusion in the final summit communique being released later today. The agreement reportedly pledges an international convention on the issue by 1992, a position previously endorsed by President Bush.

Summit negotiators also debated a U.S. proposal to strengthen the tropical forest plan that is administered by the World Bank and various United Nations groups. Environmentalists have criticized the program as ineffectual.

During talks by the summit partners, representing the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Canada and Japan, environmental issues were overshadowed by trade, farm subsidies and other matters, but there was general discussion of the so-called greenhouse effect in which man-made pollutants contribute to the increase in the Earth's temperature.

White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said there was "a basic commitment" to address pollution control and forestation, with specific mention of the Brazilian rain forests in today's communique.

West German Finance Minister Theo Waigel said the agreement included an urgent pilot project that would lead to a reversal of the current destruction of rain forests. Officials said the World Bank should oversee the project, but no cost estimates or other details were disclosed.

The decision to postpone action on global warming and hold a study conference conforms with President Bush's contention that more research is needed before taking such dramatic steps to curb greenhouse gases.

When the Economic Summit countries met a year ago in Paris, they agreed to "common efforts to limit emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases which threaten to induce climate change." Environmental groups have accused the United States of failing to live up to that commitment.

The European Economic Community on Tuesday challenged the Bush administration to prove its contention that taking dramatic steps to halt the warming trend will stall economic growth.

Jan Laurens Brinkhorst, director of environmental matters for the European Economic Community, said the facts do not bear out the theory that curbing carbon dioxide emissions will slow economic growth.

Carbon dioxide is produced by the combustion of all fossil fuels. Brinkhorst said the world economy grew by 25 percent between 1973 and 1986 while energy consumption remained flat.

Economists agree, he said, that energy use could be reduced 15 percent to 20 percent in the course of a decade without major economic disruption.

"I would hope to see, in a serious way, the Europeans and Americans compare notes

and see whether you would be willing to contribute significantly in your own country if you would do something to curb carbon dioxide emissions."

Carbon dioxide has been estimated to account for about 60 percent of global warming, but scientists disagree to which extent the warming has become hotter are uncertain.

QUENTIN BURDICK

MR. ADAMS. Mr. President, it gives me a great deal of pleasure today to rise to pay tribute to my colleague and old friend, the senior Senator from North Dakota, **QUENTIN BURDICK**. Thirty years ago, **QUENTIN BURDICK**, following his family's tradition of long public service, was elected to the U.S. Senate.

QUENTIN BURDICK's appeal to North Dakotans has remained constant, as a champion of the family farmer and a tireless advocate of ethics and the voice for North Dakotans in Washington, DC.

As chairman of the Environment and Public Works Committee, **QUENTIN BURDICK** has initiated policies and legislation to control or eradicate acid rain and ground water pollution. He has campaigned for stricter guidelines regulating hazardous waste storage—the people of my State are grateful for this because of the nuclear waste we have there—and for legislation forcing oil companies to pay for oil spill clean-up costs. I hope that bill will soon clear so that this will be very much at the top of America's agenda. In this capacity, **QUENTIN BURDICK** has been in the forefront of legislation which enhances the quality of life for all Americans.

QUENTIN BURDICK is one of only 36 Senators in the Senate's history to serve 30 years. I congratulate and commend him on this tremendous achievement. **QUENTIN BURDICK** is a man of great strength and of marvelous character, and I am proud to claim him as a friend.

MR. President, I yield the floor.
I suggest the absence of a quorum.
The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

MR. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** (Mr. Adams.) Without objection, it is so ordered.

**AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES
ACT—CONFERENCE REPORT**

MR. MITCHELL. Mr. President, for the information of our colleagues, we have been trying for approximately 2 hours now to reach an agreement con-

cerning the disposition of the conference report S. 933, the Americans With Disabilities Act of 1990. Several Senators have been involved in those discussions.

I regret to inform the Senate that they have been unsuccessful in arriving at an agreement governing the disposition of this matter.

This is a very important bill. This is landmark legislation of importance, not only to those members of our society who are disabled, but to all Americans, because it is reflective of our society as a whole, how we are willing and prepared to deal with those in our society who are disabled and yet who are and can be fully productive and constructive citizens.

Many Senators have labored long and hard over this legislation, and we are now at a critical point. I believe very strongly that we should adopt this conference report and proceed, and therefore I regret very much the inability of the interested Senators to reach agreement governing disposition of this conference report.

That being the case, I have no alternative but to move to the conference report without any such agreement, and we will simply attempt, here, to deal with and I hope enact this important legislation.

Therefore, Mr. President, all Senators who have an interest in this legislation, who may or may not wish to offer motions or amendments with respect to it, are advised to be present on the Senate floor immediately because we are going to take up the legislation.

This discussion on possible agreement has been going on for 2 hours without success, and there is no prospect of success, no matter how long the discussions continue. Therefore, we simply have to move to it.

Mr. President, I submit a report of the committee of conference on S. 933 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** The report will be stated.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 933) to establish a clear and comprehensive prohibition of discrimination on the basis of disability, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses this report, signed by a majority of the conferees.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER.** Without objection, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of the conference report.

(The conference report is printed in the House proceedings of the Record of June 28, 1990.)

MR. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that during consideration of the conference report on S. 933, debate be signed as part of Senate television coverage today.