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CONSEQUENCES OF CLIMATE CHANGE (Senate - June 16, 2000)

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Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I take this opportunity to alert my colleagues of the growing concern that we all have relative to climate change and the developing technology associated with that change.

This week the U.S. Global Change Research Program issued a revealing and rather startling new report on the consequences of climate change. This report affects a number of things. But the most significant portion of the report is the estimated effects of climate change on various regions of the country and various sectors of our economy. It is very important--agriculture, water resources, and so forth.

At the heart of this report are some 'potential scenarios' of climate change over the next 100 years predicted by two climate models: Computers models that were state of the art 3 years ago when the report began. These 'scenarios' of climate change were then used to drive other models for vegetation, river flow, and agriculture. Each of these models had its own set of assumptions and limitations. The end result was a 600-page report that paints a rather grim picture of 21st century climate predictions.

Some in the environmental community in favor of the Kyoto Protocol are now using this report and shouting from the rooftops. They think this study means we should go forward with drastic measures to limit greenhouse gases.

But I want to caution my colleagues to look beyond the rhetoric and to look to the science that underlies this assessment. What they are going to find is rather startling. The realization factually is that we are only just now beginning to conduct the kind of scientific research that will allow us to determine impacts of climate change.

My point is obvious. These models were based on technology 3 years ago. Technologies change. Interpretations change. But the basis for the evaluation and generalization is based on old information.

For example, a reasonable test of a climate model is whether or not it actually and accurately stimulates today's climate. The fact is that it doesn't. We found from the National Assessment's own science web site a comparison of rainfall predicted by two climate models that measure actual rainfall. The area reflects twice what the model predicts. More than twice as much rainfall is actually observed as opposed to what the model suggests.

The emotional concern is coming from the model. Where you actually get 10 inches of rain, the model predicts that you actually get 20 inches, or more. Similarly, in the areas where the model predicts less than half as much rainfall as is actually observed, you actually get 10 inches of rain. The model predicts that you would get 5, or less.

So the model is absolutely under question and under scrutiny and doesn't represent reality.

The amount of rain or snow falling within a river basin determines the river flow. We all know that determines the amount of water for irrigation of crops, the health of fish species, the generation of hydroelectric power, and the water available for human use.

Depending on what the climate models say, you can imagine some very different impacts because the models are off by 50 or 100 percent in either direction. You can see it is going to change. The estimate of impacts from climate change on these sensitive areas could also change.

Even with all of this, the assessment has been a very useful exercise because it shows the difficulty of estimating regional impacts of climate change. It highlights the need for additional scientific research; namely, improved climate models;

and it reminds us of the potential risk of climate change.

For just a moment I want to shift the talk about how our energy policy will determine future emissions of greenhouse gases. As you might imagine, further emissions will be extremely sensitive in the energy choices we make. We now have an excellent opportunity to address our environmental concerns at the same time that we address our growing dependence on foreign oil.

Yesterday, we conducted a hearing on the Republican energy strategy in S. 2557, the National Energy Security Act of 2000. It includes a balanced portfolio of energy options that, amazingly enough, would produce fewer greenhouse gases than the current administration plan. Let me repeat that. This legislation contains a methodology to generate fewer greenhouse gases than the administration's current energy plan. That is not surprising because the administration's plan would increase our dependence on foreign oil to nearly 66 percent by the year 2020.

We would advocate increased use of natural gas for a wide range of energy needs. We also provide tax incentives for renewables, such as wind and biomass, and make the relicensing process for nuclear and hydro power plants much easier. But to achieve these goals, we will need some changes in the existing energy policies.

We need incentives to increase domestic production of oil and gas, particularly on Federal lands where this administration has simply refused to allow oil and gas exploration. About 64 percent of the overthrust belt has been determined to be over limits.

In my State of Alaska, where you are very likely to have a large discovery in a small sliver of the Arctic, about 1.5 million acres out of 19 million acres has been put off limits.

We need incentives and R&D funds to develop and promote clean fossil fuel technology.

We need to use more natural gas for end-use appliances and distributed generation of electricity through fuel cells and microturbines in homes and businesses.

We need to eliminate barriers to our best sources of nonemitting power generation; namely, nuclear and hydro.

And we need to encourage and support renewable energy technologies.

Based on some simple calculations by my Energy and Natural Resource Committee staff, we estimate that such a balanced energy plan could reduce our emissions by 11 percent, compared to the administration's plan, by the year 2020. We could do this without economic cost and without

sacrificing our quality of life or our competitive situation with little economic pain.

Our staff is working to refine these calculations further. But the details really do not matter much. Simply put, if we use more nuclear, more hydro, and more natural gas, we emit fewer greenhouse gases and we reduce our dependence on foreign oil in the year 2020 from 68 percent, as projected under the administration's plan, to less than 50 percent under the Republican plan. Clearly, that is a step in the right direction.

With further R&D funding for climate-friendly energy technology, such as that proposed in our climate change bill, S. 882, we can do better. A balanced energy portfolio simply makes good sense for our economy, for our environment, and for our national security. We have proposed legislation that will take us there.

Let me close by noting that it seems ironic this administration has wasted no opportunity to talk about the dire predictions of climate change.

Yet the Republican energy plan offers a cleaner, more secure energy future.

The risk of human-induced climate change is a risk we should responsibly address. We should address it based on sound science, and not emotion, as is often the case around here. A balanced, technology-driven energy strategy offers the means to do so.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Craig). The Senator from Nebraska.

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Mr. HAGEL. Mr. President, on June 12, the administration's National Assessment Coordinating Office, established under the authority of the Office of the President, released the first National Assessment on Climate Change. This report entitled 'Climate Change Impacts on the United States,' is a political document. It is not a mainstream science document. It has not been peer-reviewed.

The National Assessment attempts to predict in detail climate changes region-by-region within the United States over 100 years. Yes, region by region for 100 years. The charade of this effort is criticized by the Environmental Protection Agency's web page. This morning I checked the EPA's web page for its comments on computer climate model. It states:

Virtually all published estimates of how climate could change in the United States are the result of computer models. . . . These complicated models . . . are still not accurate enough to provide reliable forecasts on how the climate may change; and the several models often yield contradictory results . . . Scientists are unable to say whether particular regions will receive more or less rainfall; and for many regions they are unable to even state whether a wetter or drier climate is more likely.

This is from this morning's web page.

The National Assessment does not highlight the large amount of uncertainty in long-term climate forecasting. It was released in draft form even though two of the five sectoral studies are incomplete and still out in draft form for comment. The regional studies--which the EPA itself has warned are impossible to honestly conclude--are also incomplete. One might suspect that the priority was placed on releasing the report for a political time-table rather than for a scientific time-table.

It uses two foreign computer models: The Canadian Centre model and Britain's 'Hadley Centre' model. These are considered among the most extreme of all climate models available.

As mentioned in an opinion piece Wednesday, June 14 in the New York Times entitled 'Warming Earth, Heated Rhetoric' by Gregg Easterbrook, senior editor of The New Republic:

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One [model] predicts a catastrophic drought that kills off all trees in the American Southeast; the other forecasts increased rainfall and forest expansion in the Southeast.

One of the country's most respected climate scientists, Dr. John Christy of the University of Alabama in Huntsville has also been critical. Dr. Christy is the country's premier specialist on satellite measurements of atmospheric temperatures.

In a June 9 Associated Press story, Dr. Christy commented on a pre-release version of the National Assessment he had obtained. He stated,

I read the Executive Summary and the following sections through page 9--'Looking at America's Climate.' I stopped at that point thinking, 'This must be some kind of joke.' It seemed to me that this document was written by a committee of Greenpeace, Ted Turner, **Al Gore** and Stephen King.

I saw no attempt at scientific objectivity. This document is an evangelistic statement about a coming apocalypse, not a scientific statement about the evolution of a complicated system with significant uncertainties. As it is, the document will be easily dismissed by anyone with access to information about the uncertainties of the issue.

The National Assessment declares that there is a direct connection between increased global temperatures and increases in man-made greenhouse gases like carbon dioxide. While there are many disagreements in the scientific community, there is a consensus that it is impossible to make that connection.

Has the world been warming? Yes, the world has been warming for 11,000 years, since the end of the last major ice age. In the last 100 years, global temperatures have increased by about one degree.

Is this warming due to man-made greenhouse gas emissions? Let me quote from Dr. Marsh, a researcher at the Argonne National Laboratory, New York Times, Sept. 8, 1999:

Carbon dioxide is a minor greenhouse gas that contributes only about 3% of the greenhouse effect, and man-made sources represent some 3% to 4% of carbon dioxide emissions, the rest being from natural sources.

The major greenhouse gas is water vapor. . . . if all the carbon dioxide in the atmosphere were to vanish magically, it would lead to a one degree centigrade decrease in global temperatures.

These are the comments of a researcher at a U.S. Government national laboratory.

Even the possible current moderate warming is not well understood. Ground temperatures have risen slightly in the past two decades. But more accurate--and truly global--satellite temperature measurements have shown no warming in the 20 years those measurements have been available. In fact, they have shown a slight cooling.

Is there fluctuation in the climate? Of course. Ice cores sampling has shown wide fluctuations in the global climate long before the emergency of man, much less the industrial age. Are current fluctuations man made? The simple answer is that we do not know.

What do we know and what do we need to do to do more? We need more scientific research, honest scientific research. We need more technological development. We need to involve both the private and public sectors in working on this issue.

Senator **Murkowski**, Senator **Craig**, Senator **Byrd**, and I have all introduced legislation that would do exactly that. But most of all, we need to restore a bipartisan, commonsense, science-based, market-driven approach to this important issue. We do not need more precooked political nonsense, political tracts, masquerading as unbiased science.

I yield the floor.

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, earlier this week the Administration released, with much media fanfare, a draft document known as the climate change 'National Assessment' that purports to assess 'the potential consequences of climate variability and change' in the United States. I have received several media requests for comments on this document.

The document is of considerable length, Mr. President--approximately 600 pages. Frankly, because of its length and the short time I've had to review it, I have been able to give it only a quick review.

My preliminary conclusion is that the National Assessment could provide a useful contribution to the climate change debate if it stimulates more serious national interest in advancing climate science.

What is clear to me, even after only a quick read, is that the National Assessment was produced in a style and method that is somewhat akin to writing good science fiction. The authors begin with a few baseline assumption, then apply a vivid imagination to extrapolate outcomes based on those assumptions.

The literary application of science concepts makes the story intriguing to read, especially for readers with a scientific bent.

But the National Assessment is not the only current document that talks about climate change science. The 'Pathways Report' published last Fall by the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences, is also a stimulating read. But it takes an entirely different approach.

One way you can tell that the National Assessment and Pathways Report are different in style is from the selection of punctuation. The National Assessment uses lots of exclamation points. Perhaps, that is one of the reasons why this document has gotten pretty good media attention already. The Pathways Report uses mostly question marks.

The National Assessment takes a single, linear approach to the climate change question. It simply extrapolates continued worldwide growth in carbon dioxide emissions throughout the 21st century, and assumes that growth will correlate to steadily rising temperatures around the world. The implications of those increases in temperature and carbon dioxide concentrations supply the creative images that the National Assessment's authors offer up.

The Pathways Report is dry by comparison. It is short on creative literature and long on technical issue framing--not particularly suitable for catchy media headlines, which may explain why many newspapers showed little interest in its existence or import.

But its critical and thorough scientific analysis of the current states of our climate change knowledge is what makes the Pathways Report so important to policy makers.

Now, if you are like me and you find out that America's National Research Council has just published

the most comprehensive report in history on the state of climate science--you don't want to read all 550 pages! You want to cut to the chase and read the report's bottom line conclusion! And the last thing you want is a report that provides more questions than answers.

But the Pathways Report authors are brutally honest. To best explain the current state of climate science they had no choice but to lay out a whole series of potentially show-stopping questions. Now, none of these questions asks 'Is global warming for real?' No, in fact, once you begin to ponder the Pathway questions you realize that the climate change issue cannot be resolved with any simple thumbs up or thumbs down.

Here are some of the scientific questions that the Pathways Report focuses on:

How much do we know about the earth's capacity to assimilate natural and man-made greenhouse gas emissions? Do we need to learn more? What, in particular, do we know about the oceans' capacity to absorb carbon dioxide? How much of this absorption occurs naturally? What can be done to increase ocean assimilation of carbon dioxide?

And these are just the opening round of questions.

What is the effect of the oceans on our climate? What is the state of our understanding of ocean cycles and of other changes in ocean temperature and salinity, and of how those changes, in turn, affect climate? How do we evaluate the natural variability of the climate, including such phenomena as El Niño and the North Atlantic oscillation? Can we improve our understanding here?

Mr. President, let me stop for a moment and reflect on a recent trip I made to Woods Hole, Massachusetts with the Senator from New Hampshire, **Bob Smith**, and our colleague from Rhode Island, **Lincoln Chafee**. We spent a day at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute exploring these questions with over 30 scientists. It was a real eye-opening experience.

Dr. Berrrien Moore, who coordinated the publication of the Pathways Report, helped lead a discussion on where science and public policy intersect. Dr. Bob Weller and Dr. Ray Schmitt along with several other prominent ocean scientists of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute, gave us progress reports and fascinating explanations of their work and its relevance to climate science.

For example, Mr. President, did you realize that for each one degree change in the temperature of just the top three meters of ocean water, there is a corresponding one degree change in the temperature of the atmosphere above the surface of that water all the way to outer space? Did you know, Mr. President, that 80 percent or more of our climate variation is influenced by the oceans?

Two themes came through clearly in those discussions, Mr. President:

There are significant gaps in scientific understanding of the way oceans and the atmosphere interact to affect climate; and

Scientists need more data, especially from the oceans to better understand and predict possible changes.

Mr. President, it was humbling to get a glimpse of how much we don't know.

Now let me continue with the rest of the questions the Pathways Report urges us to consider.

How accurately can we predict climate trends whose recurrences are measured in years? In decades? In centuries? In millennia? Are we capable of plotting the effects, and counter effects, of these complexly interwoven trends on each other? Do we even have the capability to observe these trends

and counter-trends accurately? Do we have the computational ability to integrate all these trends and counter trends into one big equation?

How much carbon dioxide in the atmosphere emanates from the oceans? Does this amount vary from place to place and time to time? Does such variation matter?

Those are just some of the questions that we policymakers cannot answer ourselves. But we need answers--and to get them, we will have to support the scientists on a more serious level than we have to date.

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Mr. President, the MAP is a wise investment in American agriculture and I urge my colleagues to support Senator KEMPTHORNE's amendment to support needed funding to USDA's Market Access Program in the Budget Resolution.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, I support the amendment of the Senator from Idaho, Mr. KEMPTHORNE, expressing the Sense of the Senate that funding for the Market Access Program should be fully maintained.

The Senate has on several occasions debated funding for the Market Access Program. Most recently, on July 23, 1997, the Senate voted 59-40 in favor of tabling an amendment to reduce the Market Access Program from \$90 million to \$70 million. The Senate, recognizing the importance of this program, firmly rejected the suggestion to reduce it by even \$20 million. I hope the Senate will, by an even greater margin, express its support that the budget should not assume the reduction of this program.

The Market Access Program is one of the few tools that the Department of Agriculture has to combat the unfair trading practices of other countries. Since its inception in 1985, the Market Access Program and its predecessors, the Targeted Export Assistance Program and the Market Promotion Program, have assisted nearly 800 U.S. cooperatives, trade associations and corporations in promoting their products overseas.

Our agricultural exports have more than doubled—from \$26.3 billion in 1985 to a forecast level of \$58.5 billion in 1998. In large measure this moderate increase, even in the face of the Asian currency crisis, signifies the results of efforts we have made since the mid-1980's to enhance our export competitiveness and develop new markets overseas.

In fact, it is remarkable that the value of U.S. exports will increase slightly over last year and are only slightly below record 1996 levels even with the dire situation in Asian markets. U.S. farmers are particularly vulnerable to the instability of key Asian markets which account for 40 percent of our exports. The Market Access Program and other export programs are crucial to our farmer's ability to compete in a global marketplace.

NATIONAL PARKS AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPROVEMENT ACT FUND

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I rise today to reaffirm a commitment made by the chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, Senator DOMENICI, to establish a National Parks and Environmental Improvement Fund in the FY'99 Budget Resolution. My colleague, Senator STEVENS, and I reached an agreement last year with the Budget Committee Chairman to designate this fund from the interest derived from an \$800 million land settlement for the protection and enhancement of our national parks.

The fund will become a reality upon enactment of this year's budget resolution.

I believe the reasons for creation of this fund could not be more compelling when directed toward the protection of our most coveted natural areas. The General Accounting Office found that while the park system and park visitation are growing, the financial resources available to protect and maintain our parks continue to fall short of the need. The estimated unmet capital needs has reached nearly \$8 billion. In times of budgetary constraint, the interest from the fund, which could reach \$50 million annually, will allow the Federal government to pay for much needed capital improvements within our National Parks and begin to address the multi-billion dollar backlog in repairs and maintenance. Beginning in FY'99, the interest targeted to the fund will allocate 40 percent to national parks, 40 percent for state grants and 20 percent for marine research.

Mr. President, our National Park System is our natural and historical heritage, set aside for the benefit of present and future generations. The National Parks and Environmental Improvement Fund will help us to fulfill our stewardship responsibilities and protect the integrity of our natural environment.

I applaud the leadership of my distinguished colleague, Senator DOMENICI, for including the fund as part of this year's budget resolution.

Mr. MACK. Senator DOMENICI, I understand that an assumption in this Budget Resolution considers that receipts from the sale of the surplus public lands could be used to fund recovery efforts on private land for endangered species. I would like to clarify that this would in no way alter the current arrangement with the Everglades Recovery Program which is also funded by land sales.

Mr. DOMENICI. That is correct, the surplus public land sales assumed in the resolution are restricted to excess Bureau of Land Management lands, and would not in any way slow progress with recovery of the Everglades. The lands proposed in the resolution would be lands that have not been designated for another purpose.

Mr. MACK. I thank the Senator for that clarification.

FEDERAL EXPENDITURES TO INCREASE U.S. ENERGY INDEPENDENCE

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, the committee report accompanying the budget resolution includes a brief discussion of the Administration's so-called Climate Change Technology Initiative (CCTI) request for fiscal year 1999 and subsequent fiscal years. Specifically, the committee report states on page 22 that, "[s]ince the President has not submitted a treaty or plan to implement the reductions called for in the agreement [Kyoto Protocol], providing additional funding for these technology programs in the 1999 budget is premature." The committee report goes on to state that, "[a]s a result, the resolution assumes last year's levels of

\$730 million for these technology programs and does not provide the increases requested by the President."

I am trying to understand the implication here. Setting aside the merit of the Administration's CCTI request, voluntary domestic activities to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, including tax incentives and research funding for energy efficient technology and renewables, are consistent with the existing 1992 Rio Climate Treaty that the United States has already ratified. While some use economic arguments to oppose any form of government subsidy, prudent investment along these lines does not constitute regulation and is in no way a form of Kyoto Protocol implementation.

Therefore, I ask my friend and colleague from New Mexico, Senator DOMENICI, if he and other members of the Budget Committee are arguing in the committee report that we cannot take steps to try to increase energy efficiency and advance renewables unless and until the Senate provides its consent to the Kyoto Protocol?

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I am not making such an argument. If I and other members of the Budget Committee believed that, we would have eliminated all current funding for energy efficiency and renewables technology programs in this budget resolution. I do have some concerns about the efficacy of the Kyoto Protocol, but the report language that you cited is intended to convey that additional funding for these programs is very difficult under existing budget limitations.

Mr. LUGAR. I welcome the Chairman's remarks. Promotion of energy efficiency and renewable energy programs can increase our energy security, address a variety of air pollution problems and lead to a stronger economy. I am pleased to learn that the Budget Resolution accommodates federal initiatives to enhance energy security and renewable energy provided that these initiatives can be funded within overall budget constraints.

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I thank the chairman of the Budget Committee for clarifying the report language. I yield the floor.

FUNDING FOR THE NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH (NIH)

Mr. MACK. Mr. President one of my top priorities since coming to Congress has been support of programs to eradicate the effects of cancer and other diseases that affect the people of the United States. I know many here in the Senate share my concerns who have joined me in seeking to increase funding substantially for the National Institutes of Health (NIH). Indeed, the goal of this group as stated last year is to double funding for NIH over 5 years.

I am pleased that the Budget Resolution takes a substantial step toward meeting this goal and thank the Chairman of the Committee, Senator DOMENICI, for recommending a funding increase of \$1.5 billion in FY1999 and \$15.5 billion through 2003.



A **FAX** FROM

CONGRESSMAN GEORGE MILLER

(D-CALIFORNIA)

TO: ROGER BALLENTINE

FR: DANNY WEISS, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

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House of Representatives
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April 29, 1998

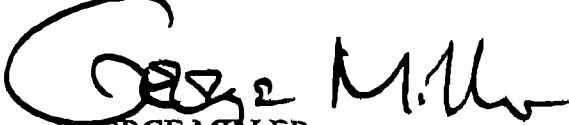
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Mr. Roger Ballentine, White House Legislative Affairs
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Dear Mr. Ballentine:

I recently spoke on the house floor regarding the energy industry's attempt to sabotage the Kyoto agreement. I thought you might be interested in my comments.

Sincerely,



GEORGE MILLER
Member of Congress, 7th District

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and to prevent United States persons from engaging in any commercial dealings with them, their front companies, and their agents. Executive Order 12978 demonstrates the United States commitment to end the damage that such traffickers wreak upon society in the United States and abroad.

The magnitude and the dimension of the problem in Colombia—perhaps the most pivotal country of all in terms of the world's cocaine trade—are extremely grave. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to apply economic sanctions against significant foreign narcotics traffickers and their violent and corrupting activities as long as these measures are appropriate, and will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 24, 1998.

SPECIAL ORDERS

INDUSTRIAL GROUP PLANS TO BATTLE CLIMATE TREATY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from California (Mr. MILLER) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, this past Sunday the American public was presented with a front-page article in the New York Times outlining a plan by an industrial group to battle the climate change treaty. This is a treaty that was arrived at in Kyoto, Japan earlier this year, which brought together the international community in a plan to fight against an increase in greenhouse gases that threaten this world with climate change.

It was a plan that was negotiated between all of the nations in attendance. Many nations signed on and many other nations have yet to sign on. It is a plan that is necessary if in fact we are going to prevent the worst impacts of global climate change.

What the New York Times article tells us is that a group of corporations, mainly large international oil companies, have put together a plan to spend millions of dollars to try to convince the American public that the overwhelming scientific evidence regarding global climate change is somehow shaky and not to be trusted, and that therefore we should not go forward with actions in this and other countries, and with efforts to bring developing countries on board the Kyoto treaty, that we should walk away from that treaty; and that certainly we should not attend the meetings in Buenos Aires later this year where we will attempt to bring on large developing countries such as China, Mexico, Brazil and other such nations that are contributing huge amounts of greenhouse gases to the atmosphere of our world.

But rather than work on that progressive agenda, rather than work in an effort to try to see how we can stem

greenhouse gases, these oil companies would rather try to convince people that in fact the science is not very good. Now that is contrary to the science itself and is contrary to the vast number of scientists around the world who have joined this effort to look at the science, to look at the data and try to help us predict what in fact is taking place with respect to greenhouse gases and global climate change.

But rather than participate in the serious scientific discourse, this group of oil companies has decided that they would take millions of dollars and try to convince the average citizen, under the portion of their plan that says victory will be achieved when the average citizen recognizes the uncertainties in climate science. Recognition of the uncertainties becomes part of conventional wisdom. So when you think about global climate change, about the threat of climate change, about warming, the oil companies want you to think, "well, the science is not very good so probably nothing much is going to happen."

Then they would like to move on and have the media recognize the uncertainties of climate science, so when the media presents stories about global change, about what is happening in our world, they would then say, "Well, we really do not know if this science is very good." Then they take more of their money and they would try to make the media balance out, try to get stories into the media about how the science is not very good, and they would hope that the media would then accept, if they spend enough money to convince the media, that they would accept that it is conventional wisdom that the science is not very good.

Now mind you, this all comes at a time, it is not a question whether the science is very good or not—the science is getting better and better. But unfortunately, what the science tells us is that the problem of global warming is becoming more and more a realistic problem for the future of the world and that steps must be taken.

But that is not what these oil companies do. They want to change the mind set of the media, of the American public, of industry and certainly of the government. And what they really want to do is arrive at a point where the Kyoto treaty is dead, there will be no further action on that treaty, as they spell out in their strategies and their tactics, and to make sure that we do not go forward, we do not go forward in Buenos Aires to bring other nations on to that treaty.

How would they measure this? They are going to track the percentage of media articles that raise questions about climate science. They are going to register the number of Members that they have been able to contact and send materials to change their mind about the climate science, the number of communications on climate science received by Members of Congress. So they are going to spend a few hundred thousand dollars tracking their efforts to see whether or not it is working.

You know, we have seen this all before, my colleagues. We saw it when the tobacco companies got together to try to convince the American public that there was no link between tobacco and cancer, that there was no link between the usage of tobacco and the incredible rate of lung cancer in this country and of other cancers.

They spent millions of dollars to undermine the scientists who were saying there is a link, to undermine the evidence. They told us more and more every year, and when the science came against their wishes, they paid scientists to keep it down, to not tell the American public. Now for the first time what we see are thousands, millions of pages of documents with the tobacco companies engaged in an effort to keep from the American public science that would tell them that tobacco and cancer are linked.

Now we see an effort where some industries do not like the scientists, independent scientists. They do not like what they have come up with on global warming. So what they want to do is, they want to establish what they would consider an independent global climate science data center, and from this center would flow information to Members of Congress, to the public, to State legislatures, to the mayors, city council people. But this independent center reportedly would be initially staffed, this is according to the memo from the public relations firm advising the oil companies, it will be staffed initially with professionals on loan from the various oil companies and associations of the major interests in climate change.

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So here we are going to have a bunch of people who work for oil companies as scientists who are now going to tell us what the independent science is on global warming, as opposed to the independent scientists who have been out there now for a number of years working for universities and foundations and others to try to find out what is happening. They want to create the impression that they have scientists who radically disagree with the prevailing science about the harms of greenhouse gases and the consequential global warming.

Mr. Speaker, we have to understand that there is something going on in business in America. Many of us in Congress have had complaints from our constituents about the impacts of HMOs and managed care. People come into our offices because they cannot get care for their spouse who is very ill, and they cannot get care for their children because somebody who is supposed to give a second opinion, some 800 number, they have to call where they talk to somebody, and they say, oh, no, we do not allow that care under your insurance plan.

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So the Congress got together on a bipartisan basis and decided that what they would do is they would try to have a patients' bill of rights so that patients knew what kind of coverage they had, they would know what kind of care they had, so they had access to specialists, so they had a right to sue managed care plans if some bureaucrat in another city was making a decision against a doctor's recommendation and somebody was harmed.

On a bipartisan basis, in the Senate and the House, many State legislatures are doing this, and what do we see? We see corporations in America coming together, raising millions of dollars to try to tell the Congress, "This is not a problem. These complaints from your constituents are not real. We have it all under control." They had a corporate fly-in where they had people fly in from all over the country to tell them we do not need to change anything with managed health care, it is just fine.

So we see the tobacco companies, they set up their spin organizations; the health care corporations, they set up their spin organizations; and now the oil companies are going to set up their spin organizations to tell us that all of this we have heard about climate change, greenhouse gases, global warming—is nothing for us to be concerned about. Well, the fact is it is something for us to be very concerned about.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to say that not all oil companies apparently have joined this organization. In the article it suggested Shell Oil USA has not joined this organization. They do not see the merit to it. In fact, Shell Oil USA is one of those oil companies that believes that a good part of its future is going to be about clean energy, about renewable energy, wind energy, solar energy. It has joined companies like British Petroleum that have made major investments in solar energy. Billions of dollars of markets in solar energy are now recognizable, and we see those companies taking a different tack.

But yet there are a few companies that have decided that the best they can do is to try to confuse the American public on global warming, try to lobby their Representatives in the Congress not to accept, not to accept what the scientists are telling us now is the future of this planet if global warming continues.

Mr. Speaker, I was in Kyoto this year with the Chairman of the Science Committee, and I witnessed the U.S. delegation's diligence in forging a treaty that both protects the U.S. interests and at the same time sets important goals for slowing global warming.

The world is looking to the U.S. for leadership on this issue, and while clearly the solution must include participation from developing nations, there is much the United States can do to reduce global greenhouse gases, emissions that cause immediate health effects on our children and the elderly.

contaminate our air, water and land, and cost taxpayers dearly to clean up.

The truth is the steps necessary to curb global warming present an enormous economic opportunity for the people of the United States. The scientific evidence about global warming compels strong action, not a head-in-the-sand approach that characterizes the organized opposition to the Kyoto Protocol and U.S. energy efficiency measures.

To hear some critics describe the Administration's actions to try to push forward with renewable energy and energy efficiency and clean sources of energy, one would think that protecting the environment is a crime against humanity, and that President Clinton should be tried at the Hague. They are accusing the President of trying to use Federal tax dollars to spur public and private investment in energy in energy efficiency and renewable energy.

We are seeing more and more countries, more and more companies looking at renewable energy sources as a path to the future. America ought to participate in that. We have the technology, we have the know-how, we have the products. We ought to recognize the economic opportunity that that provides.

In fact, the global market for energy efficiency products and services is \$80 billion per year and is expected to reach \$125 billion a year by the year 2015. Several studies estimated that job growth from energy efficiency and technology innovation will exceed 800,000 new jobs over the next 15 years.

I do not know where these critics live, but they do not live in the district that I represent.

Earlier this year, in fact, 71 percent of my constituents recently answered a questionnaire that they thought the U.S. should take strong steps against global warming, even if it cost taxpayers more in the beginning to do so. The same is true across the country. In January, Ohio State University conducted a national survey on the American opinion on global warming, finding that 77 percent of Americans believe that global warming has been happening, and 67 percent believe that steps should be taken to combat global warming, and that reducing air pollution is an effective way to do so. Eighty-eight percent thought the U.S. Government should limit air pollution for businesses, and 77 percent thought they were willing to pay more for electricity, gas and oil to reduce the amount of air pollution.

It is that poll that is driving the oil companies crazy. It is that poll that is causing the oil companies to consider spending \$5 million to change Americans' opinion about the urgency of global warming. It is that consortium that is coming together that recognizes that the American people understand what is going on, and now they want to change their mind.

It is too bad, because most of the last couple of decades, this country has

been built on greater and greater efficiencies. We see it in the computer industry, in telecommunications, in marketing, in transportation. We see it throughout the entire global economy. But somehow, when we get to energy, the coal companies and the oil companies, they do not want us to be efficient. They want us to burn more oil and more coal; it is just that simple, folks. If we can do it more efficiently and we can save the environment and we can save dollars in the cost of that electricity, and if we can provide jobs and new economic opportunities in the export of American products, they do not want us to hear about it, they do not want us to believe it. They want us just to go on burning the coal and burning the oil in the same old fashion we have been doing for the last 50 years.

The problem is if we all do that, and if the developing countries—China, Mexico, India, Indonesia, Brazil—who are increasing their use of oil and coal as their economies grow, if they just do it the same way we did it over the last 50 years, we will choke this planet to death. We will destroy the environment for our children and our grandchildren, and we will threaten the economic well-being of a good portion of the world.

That is what the American people understand. That is what is reflected in the polling data. They trust the independent scientists. They are not going to trust a bunch of scientists on the oil company payrolls to tell them that they are wrong about the science, that it is really shaky.

But we have to be diligent in this matter. We have to be aware of what is happening, because as we start to see attacks on the scientists who have studied global warming, attacks on this administration that is trying to bring developing countries on board a treaty to reduce those greenhouse gases—and hopefully at the end of this year in Buenos Aires some developing countries will sign on—as they are trying to do that, they are going to come under attack. They are going to come under attack by a consortium put together by oil companies and coal companies to say that we are all wrong, that global warming is not a problem.

Well, I think by now we have seen enough evidence to suggest that global warming is a problem.

So, Mr. Speaker, I would hope that people would be alert to what is taking place and to what is proposed by these oil and coal companies to try and put their spin on the hard evidence that has been derived by independent scientists from many, many countries, from many, many disciplines, over many years, being very conservative about the changes that they have seen. But as scientists drill the ice cores, as they look at what has happened in the past, Nature magazine just reported that the Northern Hemisphere mean annual temperatures for 3 of the past 8 years were warmer than any year since

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AD 1400. We have to understand the kind of changes that means for the American economy and for the environment of the world.

So I would hope that Members of Congress would not give credibility to this effort by the oil companies to put their spin on what is very good, even if incomplete evidence about the problems raised by the continuing burning of fossil fuels and creation of greenhouse gases.

I commend to my colleagues the article and memo, which I have enclosed here.

(From the New York Times, Apr. 26, 1998)

INDUSTRIAL GROUP PLANS TO BATTLE CLIMATE TREATY

DRAFT PROPOSAL SEEKS TO DEPICT GLOBAL WARMING THEORY AS A CASE OF BAD SCIENCE

(By John H. Cushman Jr.)

WASHINGTON, April 25—Industry opponents of a treaty to fight global warming have drafted an ambitious proposal to spend millions of dollars to convince the public that the environmental accord is based on shaky science.

Among their ideas is a campaign to recruit a cadre of scientists who share the industry's views of climate science and to train them in public relations so they can help convince journalists, politicians and the public that the risk of global warming is too uncertain to justify controls on greenhouse gases like carbon dioxide that trap the sun's heat near Earth.

An informal group of people working for big oil companies, trade associations and conservative policy research organizations that oppose the treaty have been meeting recently at the Washington office of the American Petroleum Institute to put the plan together.

Joe Walker, a public relations representative of the petroleum institute who is leading the project, said in an interview that the plan had been under consideration for about two months and was "very, very tentative." Mr. Walker said no industry executives had yet been approached to pay for it.

But an eight-page memorandum that he wrote shows in detail how some industry lobbyists are going about opposing the climate treaty.

It is a daunting public relations task. Whenever the treaty's advocates, including the Clinton Administration, discuss global warming, they present the science as essentially settled and unchallengeable, and they compare dissenting scientists to discredited apologists for the tobacco companies. That view has become widely accepted among reporters and the public.

Although mainstream scientists do identify considerable uncertainties in their climate predictions, which are based on computer models, they are increasingly confident that global warming is a serious problem and often say that the uncertainties do not justify inaction.

Based on the latest science, most of the world's nations agreed in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 that industrial nations should cut emissions of greenhouse gases, and the treaty was modified last year to require further reductions in emissions to levels well below those of 1990, over the next 10 to 15 years. But the United States Senate has not yet agreed to that treaty provision, which could require deep reductions in American consumption of fossil fuels.

Documents describing the proposal to undermine the mainstream view were given to The New York Times by the National Environmental Trust, whose work in support of

the global-warming treaty is financed by philanthropic organizations, including the Pew Charitable Trusts, the biggest of the nation's pro-environmental grant makers.

Phil Clapp, the president of the environmental trust, said he obtained the papers from an industry official. Exposing the plan at this stage, Mr. Clapp said, would probably ruin the effort to raise money to carry out the plan.

Industry representatives confirmed that the documents were authentic, but emphasized that the plans had not been formally approved by participating organizations. The document listed representatives of the Exxon Corporation, the Chevron Corporation and the Southern Company as being involved. Representatives of Chevron and Southern acknowledged attending meetings on the project; the Exxon representative could not be reached for comment.

The draft plan calls for recruiting scientists to argue against the Administration, and suggests that they include "individuals who do not have a long history of visibility and/or participation in the climate change debate."

But among the plan's advocates are groups already linked to the best-known critics of global-warming science.

They include the Science and Environment Policy Project, founded by Fred Singer, a physicist noted for opposing the mainstream view of climate science. Frederick Seitz, another prominent skeptic on global warming, is involved with two other groups mentioned in the plan: the George C. Marshall Institute, where Dr. Seitz is chairman, and the Advancement of Sound Science Coalition, where he is on the science advisory board.

On Monday, the National Academy of Sciences disassociated itself from the most recent effort to drum up support among skeptical scientists. That effort came in the form of a statement and petition on global warming circulated by Dr. Seitz, a physicist who was president of the academy in the 1980's.

The petition, attacking the scientific conclusions underlying the treaty on climate change, was accompanied by an article that was formatted to resemble one that might have been published in the academy's prestigious peer-reviewed journal. It was not.

The draft plan, recently discussed at the oil industry offices, calls for giving such dissenters on climate science "the logistical and moral support they have been lacking."

It also calls for spending \$5 million over two years to "maximize the impact of scientific views consistent with ours on Congress, the media and other key audiences."

It would measure progress by counting, among other things, the percentage of news articles that raise questions about climate science and the number of radio talk show appearances by scientists questioning the prevailing views.

The document says that industry's polling, conducted by Chariton Research, has found that while Americans see climate change as a serious threat, "public opinion is open to change on climate science."

Supporters of the plan want to raise money quickly to spend much of it between now and the November negotiating session in Buenos Aires, where important details of the international treaty are to be decided.

A proposed media-relations budget of \$500,000, not counting any money for advertising, would be directed at science writers, editors, columnists and television network correspondents, using as many as 20 "respected climate scientists" recruited expressly "to inject credible science and scientific accountability into the global climate debate, thereby raising questions about and undercutting the 'prevailing scientific wisdom.'"

Among the tasks, the petroleum institute's memorandum said, would be to "identify, recruit and train a team of five independent scientists to participate in media outreach."

What the industry group wanted to provide, the memorandum said, was "a one-stop resource on climate science for members of Congress, the media, industry and all others concerned."

The industry group said it wanted to develop "a sound scientific alternative" to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, a large group of scientists advising the United Nations that has published the most authoritative scientific assessments of global warming. That panel has predicted that the next century will bring widespread climatic disruptions if actions are not taken to reverse the accumulation of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere.

The draft plan suggests that despite industry efforts to convince the public that the climate treaty would be costly to carry out and unfair to the United States, the treaty remains popular partly because environmentalists are winning the debate on the sciences.

"Indeed, the public has been highly receptive to the Clinton Administration's plans," the memorandum said. "There has been little, if any, public resistance or pressure applied to Congress to reject the treaty, except by those 'inside the Beltway' with vested interests."

To: Global Climate Science Team

Subject: Draft Global Climate Science Communications Plan

As promised, attached is the draft Global Climate Science Communications Plan that we developed during our workshop last Friday. Thanks especially to those of you who participated in the workshop, and in particular to John Adams for his very helpful thoughts following up our meeting, and Alan Caudill for turning around the notes from our workshop so quickly.

Please review the plan and get back to me with your comments as soon as possible.

As those of you who were at the workshop know, we have scheduled a follow-up team meeting to review the plan in person on Friday, April 17, from 1 to 3 p.m. at the API headquarters. After that, we hope to have a "plan champion" help us move it forward to potential funding sources, perhaps starting with the global climate "Coordinating Council." That will be an item for discussion on April 17.

Again, thanks for your hard work on this project. Please e-mail, call or fax me with your comments. Thanks.

Regards,

JOE WALKER

APRIL 3, 1998.

GLOBAL CLIMATE SCIENCE COMMUNICATIONS ACTION PLAN

Situation analysis

In December 1997, the Clinton Administration agreed in Kyoto, Japan, to a treaty to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to prevent what it purports to be changes in the global climate caused by the continuing release of such emissions. The so-called greenhouse gases have many sources. For example, water vapor is a greenhouse gas. But the Clinton Administration's action, if eventually approved by the U.S. Senate, will mainly affect emissions from fossil fuel (gasoline, coal, natural gas, etc.) combustion.

As the climate change debate has evolved, those who oppose action have argued mainly that signing such a treaty will place the U.S. at a competitive disadvantage with most other nations, and will be extremely expensive to implement. Much of the cost will be

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borne by American consumers who will pay higher prices for most energy and transportation.

The climate change theory being advanced by the treaty supporters is based primarily on forecasting models with a very high degree of uncertainty. In fact, it not known for sure whether (a) climate change actually is occurring or (b) if it is, whether humans really have any influence on it.

Despite these weaknesses in scientific understanding, those who oppose the treaty have done little to build a case against precipitous action on climate change based on the scientific uncertainty. As a result, the Clinton Administration and environmental groups essentially have had the field to themselves. They have conducted an effective public relations program to convince the American public that the climate is changing, we humans are at fault, and we must do something about it before calamity strikes.

The environmental groups know they have been successful. Commenting after the Kyoto negotiations about recent media coverage of climate change, Tom Wachen, executive vice president of the National Environmental Trust, wrote:

"... As important as the extent of the coverage was the tone and tenor of it. In a change from just six months ago, most media stories no longer presented global warming as just a theory over which reasonable scientists could differ. Most stories described predictions of global warming as the position of the overwhelming number of mainstream scientists. That the environmental community had, to a great extent, settled the scientific issue with the U.S. media is the other great success that began perhaps several months earlier but became apparent during Kyoto."

Because the science underpinning the global climate change theory has not been challenged effectively in the media or through other vehicles reaching the American public, there is widespread ignorance, which works in favor of the Kyoto treaty and against the best interests of the United States. Indeed, the public has been highly receptive to the Clinton Administration's plans. There has been little, if any, public resistance or pressure applied to Congress to reject the treaty, except by those "inside the Beltway" with vested interests.

Moreover, from the political viewpoint, it is difficult for the United States to oppose the treaty solely on economic grounds, valid as the economic issues are. It makes it too easy for others to portray the United States as putting preservation of its own lifestyle above the greater concerns of mankind. This argument, in turn, forces our negotiators to make concessions that have not been well thought through, and in the end may do far more harm than good. This is the process that unfolded at Kyoto, and is very likely to be repeated in Buenos Aires in November 1998.

The advocates of global warming have been successful on the basis of skillfully misrepresenting the science and the extent of agreement on the science, while industry and its partners ceded the science and fought on the economic issues. Yet if we can show that science does not support the Kyoto treaty—which most true climate scientists believe to be the case—this puts the United States in a stronger moral position and frees its negotiators from the need to make concessions as a defense against perceived selfish economic concerns.

Upon this tableau, the Global Climate Science Communications Team (GCSCCT) developed an action plan to inform the American public that science does not support the precipitous actions Kyoto would dictate,

thereby providing a climate for the right policy decisions to be made. The team considered results from a new public opinion survey in developing the plan.

Charlton Research's survey of 1,100 "informed Americans" suggests that while Americans currently perceive climate change to be a great threat, public opinion is open to change on climate science. When informed that "some scientists believe there is not enough evidence to suggest that [what is called global climate change] is a long-term change due to human behavior and activities," 58 percent of those surveyed said they were more likely to oppose the Kyoto treaty. Moreover, half the respondents harbored doubts about climate science.

GCSCCT members who contributed to the development of the plan are A. John Adams, John Adams Associates; Candace Crandall, Science and Environmental Policy Project; David Rothbard, Committee For A Constructive Tomorrow; Jeffrey Salmon, The Marshall Institute; Lee Garrigan, Environmental Issues Council; Lynn Bouchey and Myron Ebell, Frontiers of Freedom; Peter Cleary, Americans for Tax Reform; Randy Randol, Exxon Corp.; Robert Gehrl, The Southern Company; Sharon Kneels, Chevron Corp.; Steve Milloy, The Advancement of Sound Science Coalition; and Joseph Walker, American Petroleum Institute.

The action plan is detailed on the following pages.

GLOBAL CLIMATE SCIENCE COMMUNICATIONS ACTION PLAN

Project goal

A majority of the American public including industry leadership, recognizes that significant uncertainties exist in climate science, and therefore raises questions among those (e.g. Congress) who chart the future U.S. course on global climate change.

Progress will be measured toward the goal. A measurement of the public's perspective on climate science will be taken before the plan is launched, and the same measurement will be taken at one or more as-yet-to-be-determined intervals as the plan is implemented.

Victory will be achieved when

Average citizens "understand" (recognize) uncertainties in climate science; recognition of uncertainties becomes part of the "conventional wisdom"; media "understands" (recognizes) uncertainties in climate science; media coverage reflects balance on climate science and recognition of the validity of viewpoints that challenge the current "conventional wisdom"; industry senior leadership understands uncertainties in climate science, making them stronger ambassadors to those who shape climate policy; and those promoting the Kyoto treaty on the basis of extant science appear to be out of touch with reality.

Current reality

Unless "climate change" becomes a non-issue, meaning that the Kyoto proposal is defeated and there are no further initiatives to thwart the threat of climate change, there may be no moment when we can declare victory for our efforts. It will be necessary to establish measurements for the science effort to track progress toward achieving the goal and strategic success.

Strategies and tactics

I. National Media Relations Program: Develop and implement a national media relations program to inform the media about uncertainties in climate science; to generate national, regional and local media coverage on the scientific uncertainties, and thereby educate and inform the public, stimulating them to raise questions with policy makers.

Tactics: These tactics will be undertaken between now and the next climate meeting in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in November 1998, and will be continued thereafter, as appropriate. Activities will be launched as soon as the plan is approved, funding obtained, and the necessary resources (e.g., public relations counsel) arranged and deployed. In all cases, tactical implementation will be fully integrated with other elements of this action plan, most especially Strategy II (National Climate Science Data Center).

Identify, recruit and train a team of five independent scientists to participate in media outreach. These will be individuals who do not have a long history of visibility and/or participation in the climate change debate. Rather, this team will consist of new faces who will add their voices to those recognized scientists who already are vocal.

Develop a global climate science information kit for media including peer-reviewed papers that undercut the "conventional wisdom" on climate science. This kit also will include understandable communications, including simple fact sheets that present scientific uncertainties in language that the media and public can understand.

Conduct briefings by media-trained scientists for science writers in the top 20 media markets, using the information kits. Distribute the information kits to daily newspapers nationwide with offer of scientists to brief reporters at each paper. Develop, disseminate radio news releases scientists nationwide, and offer scientists to appear on radio talk shows across the country.

Produce, distribute a steady stream of climate science information via facsimile and e-mail to science writers around the country.

Produce, distribute via syndicate and directly to newspapers nationwide a steady stream of op-ed columns and letters to the editor authored by scientists.

Convince one of the major news national TV journalists (e.g., John Stossel) to produce a report examining the scientific underpinnings of the Kyoto treaty.

Organize, promote and conduct through grassroots organizations a series of campus/community workshops/debates on climate science in 10 most important states during the period mid-August through October, 1998.

Consider advertising the scientific uncertainties in select markets to support national, regional and local (e.g., workshops/debates), as appropriate.

National Media Program Budget—\$600,000
plus paid advertising

II. Global Climate Science Information Source: Develop and implement a program to inject credible science and scientific accountability into the global climate debate, thereby raising questions about and undercutting the "prevailing scientific wisdom." The strategy will have the added benefit of providing a platform for credible, constructive criticism of the opposition's position on the science.

Tactics: As with the National Media Relations Program, these activities will be undertaken between now and the next climate meeting in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in November 1998, and will continue thereafter. Initiatives will be launched as soon as the plan is approved, funding obtained, and the necessary resources arranged and deployed.

Establish a Global Climate Science Data Center. The GCSDC will be established in Washington as a non-profit educational foundation with an advisory board of respected climate scientists. It will be staffed initially with professionals on loan from various companies and associations with a major interest in the climate issue. These executives will bring with them knowledge and experience in the following areas: Overall history

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of climate research and the IPCC process; congressional relations and knowledge of where individual Senators stand on the climate issue; knowledge of key climate scientists and where they stand; ability to identify and recruit as many as 20 respected climate scientists to serve on the science advisory board; knowledge and expertise in media relations and with established relationships with science and energy writers, columnists and editorial writers; expertise in grassroots organization; and campaign organization and administration.

The GCSDC will be led by a dynamic senior executive with a major personal commitment to the goals of the campaign and easy access to business leaders at the CEO level. The Center will be run on a day-to-day basis by an executive director with responsibility for ensuring targets are met. The Center will be funded at a level that will permit it to succeed, including funding for research contracts that may be deemed appropriate to fill gaps in climate science (e.g., a complete scientific critique of the IPCC research and its conclusions).

The GCSDC will become a one-stop resource on climate science for members of Congress, the media, industry and all others concerned. It will be in constant contact with the best climate scientists and ensure that their findings and views receive appropriate attention. It will provide them with the logistical and moral support they have been lacking. In short, it will be a sound scientific alternative to the IPCC. Its functions will include:

Providing as an easily accessible database (including a website) of all mainstream climate science information.

Identifying and establishing cooperative relationships with all major scientists whose research in this field supports our position.

Establishing cooperative relationships with other mainstream scientific organizations (e.g., meteorologists, geophysicists) to bring their perspectives to bear on the debate, as appropriate.

Developing opportunities to maximize the impact of scientific views consistent with ours with Congress, the media and other key audiences.

Monitoring and serving as an early warning system for scientific developments with the potential to impact on the climate science debate, pro and con.

Responding to claims from the scientific alarmists and media.

Providing grants for advocacy on climate science, as deemed appropriate.

Global Climate Science Data Center Budget—\$5,000,000 (spread over two years minimum)

III. National Direct Outreach and Education: Develop and implement a direct outreach program to inform and educate members of Congress, state officials, industry leadership, and school teachers/students about uncertainties in climate science. This strategy will enable Congress, state officials and industry leaders to be able to raise such serious questions about the Kyoto treaty's scientific underpinnings that American policy-makers not only will refuse to endorse it, they will seek to prevent progress toward implementation at the Buenos Aires meeting in November or through other ways. Informing teachers/students about uncertainties in climate science will begin to erect a barrier against further efforts to impose Kyoto-like measures in the future.

Tactics: Informing and educating members of Congress, state officials and industry leaders will be undertaken as soon as the plan is approved, funding is obtained, and the necessary resources are arrayed and will continue through Buenos Aires and for the foreseeable future.

The teachers/students outreach program will be developed and launched in early 1999. In all cases, tactical implementation will be fully integrated with other elements of this action plan.

Develop and conduct through the Global Climate Science Data Center science briefings for Congress, governors, state legislators, and industry leaders by August 1998.

Organize under the GCSDC a "Science Education Task Group" that will serve as the point of outreach to the National Science Teachers Association (NSTA) and other influential science education organizations. Work with NSTA to develop school materials that present a credible, balanced picture of climate science for use in classrooms nationwide.

Distribute educational materials directly to schools and through grassroots organizations of climate science partners (companies, organizations that participate in this effort).

National Direct Outreach Program Budget—\$300,000

IV. Funding/Fund Allocation: Develop and implement program to obtain funding, and to allocate funds to ensure that the program is carried out effectively.

Tactics: This strategy will be implemented as soon as we have the go-ahead to proceed.

Potential funding source were identified as American Petroleum Institute (API) and its members; Business Round Table (BRT) and its members; Edison Electric Institute (EEI) and its members; Independent Petroleum Association of America (IPAA) and its members; and the National Mining Association (NMA) and its members.

Potential fund allocators were identified as the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), Committee For A Constructive Tomorrow (CFAT), Competitive Enterprise Institute, Frontiers of Freedom and The Marshall Institute.

Total Funds Required to Implement Program through November 1998—\$2,000,000 (A significant portion of funding for the GCSDC will be deferred until 1999 and beyond)

Measurements

Various metrics will be used to track progress. These measurements will have to be determined in fleshing out the action plan and may include:

Baseline public/government official opinion surveys and periodic follow-up surveys on the percentage of Americans and government officials who recognize significant uncertainties in climate science.

Tracking the percent of media articles that raise questions about climate science.

Number of Members of Congress exposed to our materials on climate science.

Number of communications on climate science received by Members of Congress from their constituents.

Number of school teachers/students reached with our information on climate science.

Number of science writers briefed and who report upon climate science uncertainties.

Total audience exposed to newspaper, radio, television coverage of science uncertainties.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. MILLER of California) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. STOKES.
Ms. SLAUGHTER.
Mr. SCHUMER.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION REFERRED

A concurrent resolution of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. Con. Res. 90, Concurrent resolution to acknowledge the Historic Northern Ireland Peace Agreement; to the Committee on International Relations.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 2 o'clock and 25 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, April 28, 1998, at 12:30 p.m., for morning hour debates.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

8663. A letter from the Congressional Review Coordinator, Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Mediterranean Fruit Fly; Removal of Quarantined Area (Docket No. 97-056-8) received April 17, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

8664. A letter from the Congressional Review Coordinator, Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Mediterranean Fruit Fly; Removal of Quarantined Area (Docket No. 97-102-2) received April 17, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

8665. A letter from the Congressional Review Coordinator, Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, transmitting the Service's final rule—Brucellosis in Cattle; State and Area Classifications; Georgia (Docket No. 98-018-1) received April 17, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

8666. A letter from the Administrator, Foreign Agricultural Service, Department of Agriculture, transmitting the Department's final rule—Dairy Tariff-Rate Import Quota Licensing (7 CFR Part 6) received April 16, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

8667. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Propiconazole; Extension of Tolerance for Emergency Exemptions [OPP-300637; FRL-5783-5] (RIN: 2070-AB78) received April 15, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

8668. A letter from the Director, Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting the Agency's final rule—Fenoxaprop-ethyl; Pesticide Tolerance [OPP-300635; FRL-5782-1] (RIN: 2070-AB78) received April 15, 1998, pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1)(A); to the Committee on Agriculture.

To: Roger B.

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**FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS
APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1999 (Senate - September 01, 1998)**

Mr. **McCONNELL**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendments be dispensed with.

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

The amendments are as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 3492**(PURPOSE: TO AMEND THE FOREIGN OPERATIONS BILL)**

On page 71, line 17, after the word 'activities' insert: 'and, subject to the regular notification procedures of the Committees on Appropriations, energy programs aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions'.

AMENDMENT NO. 3493**(PURPOSE: TO AMEND THE FOREIGN OPERATIONS BILL)**

On page 107, line 25, strike 'and activities that reduce vulnerability to climate change.'

Mr. **McCONNELL**. Senator **Leahy** and I believe there is no opposition to these amendments on either side of the aisle.

Mr. **LEAHY**. Mr. President, the Senator from Kentucky is right. I support the pending amendment.

Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to discuss with the subcommittee chairman, Senator **McConnell**, his amendments to modify section 540(b) and section 752(a) of the bill, modifications which I strongly support.

It is my understanding that the purpose of the change to section 540(b) is to make clear that funds in the bill may be used, notwithstanding any other provision of law, to support energy programs aimed at reducing greenhouse gas emissions. However, because of concerns expressed by certain senators that requests to AID for specific information about these activities was not provided and that they therefore have been unable to determine precisely what these funds were used for, they requested that these funds be subject to the Committees' regular notification procedures. Does the subcommittee chairman agree that the purpose of subjecting these funds to the notification procedures is not to prevent funding for these activities notwithstanding any other provision of law, since we could have done that by simply leaving the section as it

is, but rather to be sure that the Congress gets the information it requests?

Mr. McCONNELL. The Senator is correct. AID has not been responsive to the requests of senators for information about these activities. We are adding the notification requirement to section 540(b) in order to ensure that information that is requested about certain energy programs is provided in a timely way.

Mr. LEAHY. Thank you. I would like to take another minute to ask the subcommittee chairman about section 572(a) of the bill, which makes funds available for certain environmental activities subject to the regular notification procedures of the committees. The language is quite broad, and it includes any activities promoting country participation in the Framework Convention on Climate Change. Again, I want to be clear about the purpose of this provision. It is my understanding that, like section 540(b), it was included due to concerns expressed by some senators that AID has not been sufficiently responsive to requests for information about the expenditure of certain funds for these activities. The information that was provided was very general and did not fully describe what the funds were used for. It is my understanding that this provision does not seek to prevent funding for these activities, but instead aims to ensure that when senators request AID to provide specific information about its use of these funds the information is provided in a timely way.

Mr. McCONNELL. The Senator is correct.

Mr. BYRD. If the managers of the bill would entertain a question, it is my understanding from their explanation that their intent in including the notification requirements in sections 540(a) and 572(b) is to support these activities, and to ensure that information the Congress asks for is provided by the administration. I want to be sure that, assuming the administration keeps the Congress informed about how appropriated funds are to be spent, the Congress intends for these programs to receive the necessary funds. Am I correct?

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**FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS
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Mr. **LEAHY**. That is my intention.

Mr. **McCONNELL**. As the author of these provisions that is also my intention.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. Without objection, the amendments are agreed to.

The amendments (Nos. 3492 and 3493) were agreed to.

Mr. **McCONNELL**. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. **LEAHY**. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 3494

(Purpose: To make technical corrections)

Mr. **McCONNELL**. Mr. President, I send a package of technical amendments to the desk. It is a fairly long list, but essentially involves corrections, language inadvertently left out, changes to assure consistency and date corrections. For example, the word 'appropriated' was struck in one instance and replaced with the technically correct 'made available.' I send these technical amendments to the desk and ask for their immediate consideration.

The **PRESIDING OFFICER**. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. **McConnell**], for himself and Mr. **Leahy**, proposes an amendment numbered 3494.

Mr. **McCONNELL**. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

FAX COVERCOMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM
AND OVERSIGHTDEMOCRATIC STAFF OFFICE

HON. HENRY A. WAXMAN

RANKING MINORITY MEMBER

511 FORD HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

PHONE (202) 225-5420

FAX (202) 226-3348

DATE: 5/21TO: Poyas FAX # 456 2604FROM: Ayres

SUBJECT: _____

NO. OF PAGES 1
(EXCLUDING COVER SHEET)

COMMENT:

Did you see the Waxman & Pallone
additions?

I think the language looks pretty bad -
were these the DOD changes? See you tomorrow!
Ayres

IF THERE IS A PROBLEM WITH THIS
TRANSMITTAL, PLEASE CALL OFFICE A.S.A.P.

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Let me reiterate, this amendment is not an issue of taxpayer-funded abortions. Under the amendment, the patient, not the government, would pay for the procedure. I close the debate by reminding Members that our American servicewomen take very seriously their duty to protect the constitutional rights of all United States citizens. Yet, we deny them time and time again the rights we extend to women on U.S. soil.

It is time to stop the hypocrisy. The right to choose gives women the right to make this personal decision. Vote for the Lowsy-Harman-Morella amendment.

Mr. BUYER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I guess I would share with some of the speakers, the proponents of this amendment, they should bring the amendment to be the proponents for those who are diabetic and fight for the diabetes or fight for someone that is overweight or that is too tall or too short. There are many rules and regulations that are out there that I want to share with the body.

On this issue, we also have the issue of military medical readiness. We train all of our nurses and doctors how to do proper triage for saving of life from the battlefield. One of the things that is not on there is the performing of an abortion service to take life. Mr. Chairman, I urge everyone to oppose the amendment.

Mr. STARK. Mr. Chairman, the Lowsy-Harman amendment will restore the ability of our female service members and female dependents stationed overseas to exercise their constitutional right to choose safe abortion services, using their own funds to obtain services in military hospitals.

This is an important access-to-health-care amendment. Military women depend on their base hospitals for all of their medical services. This amendment gives them access to the same range and quality of health care that they could obtain in the United States.

This amendment has the strong support of organizations like the American Nurses Association, the American Public Health Association, the American Women's Association, the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, and the Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

This amendment also has the support of the Department of Defense. No surprise here, as the policy of denying women access to safe health care serves no military purpose.

Still, anti-choice Members of Congress would endanger the lives of women in foreign countries where local health care facilities are inadequate—where quality care is not available. They would force women into the hands of untrained medical professionals, or into unsterilized facilities—increasing the danger and the risk to the health of these women.

Make no mistake about it—their objective is the same as always: to make abortion services difficult to obtain, prohibitively expensive, and physically risky for physicians and women alike.

True to form, the conservative majority have extended their reach to discriminate against

women who have volunteered to serve their country by prohibiting them from exercising their legally protected right to choose.

Women serving this country have lost a legal right. Vote for the Lowsy-Harman amendment to end this blatant disregard for the health, safety and constitutional rights of women.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the Lowsy-Harman amendment to repeal the provision in this bill prohibiting privately funded abortion services in U.S. military hospitals overseas. I commend my colleagues for their leadership on this important issue.

Women stationed overseas in service to their country and female military dependents rely on base hospitals for medical care. Access to comprehensive reproductive health is essential for all women, civilian or military. Under the bill, as it currently stands, however, these women who volunteer to protect and serve their country in the military are denied the same protections under Roe v. Wade as the Americans they are serving and protecting. This is not a request for special treatment—it is a need for equal treatment and equal access to health care.

This amendment does not permit taxpayer-funded abortions. No Federal funds are used for abortion—that will not change. It simply repeals the current ban on privately funded abortions in military hospitals and restores equal access to reproductive health care for military women stationed overseas. And it preserves the conscience clause and would not coerce any doctor to perform abortions. It provides military women the right they already have as American women—to make a safe and legal choice with their own funds. I urge my colleagues to repeal this unfair ban and vote yes on the Lowsy-Harman amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY).

The question was taken; and the Chairman announced that the yeas appeared to have it.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

The CHAIRMAN. Pursuant to House Resolution 441, further proceedings on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY) will be postponed.

The CHAIRMAN. It is now in order to consider amendment No. 2 printed in part B of House Report 105-544.

AMENDMENT NO. 2 OFFERED BY MR. GILMAN

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Part B, amendment No. 2 offered by Mr. GILMAN:

At the end of title XII (page 253, after line 3), insert the following new section:

SEC. 1205. PROHIBITION ON RESTRICTION OF ARMED FORCES UNDER KYOTO PROTOCOL TO THE UNITED NATIONS FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no provision of the Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, or any regulation issued pursuant to such protocol, shall restrict the procurement,

training, or operation and maintenance of the United States Armed Forces.

(b) WAIVER.—A provision of law may not be construed as modifying or superseding the provisions of subsection (a) unless that provision of law—

(1) specifically refers to this section; and
(2) specifically states that such provision of law modifies or supersedes the provisions of this section.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) and a Member opposed each will control 20 minutes.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Chairman, since no Member has risen in opposition to this amendment, I ask unanimous consent to be permitted to control the time on this side.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I rise to offer the Gillman-Danner-Spence-Sensenbrenner-Rohrabacher amendment. In short, this amendment will exempt U.S. Armed Forces from the restrictions of the U.N. Kyoto Climate Change Treaty.

Mr. Chairman, last December the Clinton administration approved a U.N. Climate Change Treaty that forces the United States to make drastic cuts in carbon emissions by the year 2010. The economic recessions of the late 1970s and early 1980s caused our Nation to cut emissions by 2 percent of our total emission. The Kyoto treaty now imposes restrictions three times larger than the cuts made by the recessions in the 1970s.

In sum, U.S. Government laboratories, industry, and labor groups estimate that the treaty is going to cost hundreds of billions of dollars and could throw two million Americans out of work. While the treaty imposes restrictions on our Nation and 38 other countries, it exempts China, Brazil, South Korea, Mexico, India, and 125 other countries from its limitations.

Our Armed Forces are responsible for over 70 percent of the Federal Government's carbon emissions. The Department of Defense recently estimated that a 10 percent cut in its emissions could trigger the following cuts in the readiness of our Armed Forces. For example, armor training would be cut by 328,000 miles per year, naval steaming days could be cut by 2,000 days per year, and Air Force flying hours could be cut by some 210,000 hours.

Prior to Kyoto, the Defense Department requested a blanket waiver from carbon emissions restrictions. During the negotiations, Vice President GORE overrode the Defense Department's position and exempted only multilateral operations consistent with the U.N. charter. That left unilateral U.S. operations, like Panama or Grenada, and all domestic operations subject to the

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Kyoto restrictions. Over time, Mr. Chairman, the Kyoto Protocol would exert a strong pressure on future administrations to curtail our military training and readiness.

Recently, Undersecretary of Defense Goodman claimed that Kyoto will not impair or adversely affect military operations and training. This contradicts the direct language of the treaty that only exempts multilateral operations that are consistent with the U.N. charter.

Mr. Chairman, our amendment will lock into law the current administration's verbal promises to protect our Armed Forces from U.N. restrictions. This amendment is necessary because the administration could retract its position on DOD emissions when climate change negotiators meet again this November in Buenos Aires, just after our congressional elections.

The amendment simply states that no provision in the Kyoto Protocol will restrict the procurement, the training, the operation, or maintenance of our U.S. Armed Forces, as just promised by the administration.

Mr. Chairman, this amendment was endorsed by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Navy League, and the Air Force Association. I have their letters here and will make them available to our colleagues. I also understand that, since this amendment implements current administration policy, the Department of Defense does not oppose its adoption.

Accordingly, Mr. Chairman, I urge Members to support this amendment. Our national security is much too important to risk on the U.N. treaty and the bureaucracy that would oppose it.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. TAYLOR) is recognized.

Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to compliment the gentleman on his amendment. I know of no opposition to that amendment on this side, and we would also urge its passage.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPENCE), chairman of the Committee on National Security.

(Mr. SPENCE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the Gilman amendment that would exempt the United States Armed Forces from the restrictions of the United Nation Kyoto Climate Change Treaty.

My colleagues may be wondering what possible connection an environmental protection treaty has to do with the defense of the United States, and in particular, to the operation of the United States forces worldwide. The Kyoto treaty, if ratified by the

Senate or if imposed by executive order or regulation, imposes substantial restrictions on the amount of United States carbon emissions.

In a highly industrialized society, these restrictions will have enormous economic impact. The United States Government laboratories, industry, and labor groups estimate that implementation of the Kyoto Protocol would result in hundreds of billions of dollars in lost economic growth and perhaps two million lost American jobs.

The restrictions called for in the Kyoto Protocol would, if implemented, obviously apply to the Federal Government. Because the operations and training of the United States military forces account for more than 70 percent of the Federal Government's carbon emissions, the impact of the Kyoto treaty on our Armed Forces would be tremendous.

Unless our military is given a blanket waiver from the Kyoto restriction, a waiver that was recommended by the Secretary of Defense, Mr. Cohen, everyday operations and training will be affected.

The Pentagon estimates, as the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) said, that even a requirement that emissions be reduced by 10 percent would result in tank training being cut by 328,000 miles per year; Naval steaming days being cut by 2,000 days per year; Air Force flying hours being cut to the tune of 210,000 hours per year.

As serious as the Kyoto treaty's restrictions would be on the military's peacetime training, the restrictions would dramatically affect the conduct of United States military operations.

The Pentagon estimates that the Kyoto treaty's restrictions would degrade the readiness of Army divisions and could add an additional 6 weeks to training and deployment in the event of war.

As a result, strategic deployment schedules would be missed and operations placed at risk. Should Saddam Hussein continue to threaten the stability of the Persian Gulf, the ability of the United States to operate military forces would be governed, and limited, by the provisions of the United Nations environmental treaty.

Ironically, the administration did agree to include one exemption in the Kyoto treaty for "multilateral operations consistent with the U.N. charter."

In other words, the administration believes U.N. peacekeeping operations like Bosnia and Somalia should be exempt from environmental treaties while unilateral American operations like the invasion of Grenada in 1983 or Panama in 1989 would have to be conducted, if at all, in an environmentally friendly fashion, as dictated by the United Nations.

As nonsensical as this may sound, it is an accurate assessment of the implications of the administration's posture on the Kyoto treaty. As I indicated, prior to the Kyoto environmental sum-

mit, the Department of Defense requested a blanket waiver from restrictions on carbon emission; but Vice President Gore apparently overrode the Department's request.

Although protecting the environment is something we all strive for and, as a Nation, need to improve on, we cannot afford for it to be a primary focus of our military's combat training or of their conduct of operations. Their job is to protect America, its citizens, and its security interest by operating around the globe in peacetime and prevailing during war.

War is a hard and violent business, and the effectiveness of the weapons is not measured by the level of carbon emissions. The 70-ton M1-A1 tank is the world's best, but it consumes a lot of gas. It measured its progress down the Euphrates River Valley in the Gulf War in gallons per mile, not miles per gallon. While the M1-A1 may not be environmentally friendly, it helped to decimate the Iraqi Republican Guard, shorten the war, and, in so doing, limit the loss of life.

In conclusion, let me cite the words of former Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci, who wrote recently "Regardless of how the administration interprets the treaty, the Congress must demand a blanket exemption for all military operations."

That is what the Gilman amendment proposes, and I strongly urge my colleagues to support it. As Carlucci said "Our national security deserve no less."

□ 1600

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Missouri (Ms. DANNER).

Ms. DANNER. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to be a sponsor of the Gilman-Danner-Spence-Sensenbrenner-Rohrabacher amendment. Numerous studies have shown that the Kyoto Protocol will not only harm the U.S. economy, but, in addition, it has the potential to threaten America's military preparedness.

Defense Secretary William Cohen has been quite clear with regard to the devastating effects Kyoto will have on American national security, stating in a recent article in the Washington Times: "We must not sacrifice our national security to achieve reductions in greenhouse gas emissions."

Basically, the treaty forces United States armed services to reduce greenhouse gas emissions while exempting "multinational operations consistent with the United Nations charter."

Our domestic military training will be damaged by the decisions made in Kyoto by subjecting our military to restrictions that the treaty does not impose upon countries such as China, India and Mexico, countries that we know have high levels of emissions. I think this is completely inequitable. Indeed, growing military powers such as China will not be required to adhere to the same standards to which our military will be held.

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Reducing Army fuel use by 10 percent alone would downgrade readiness and require up to six additional weeks to prepare and deploy our troops, according to our Pentagon officials. Since the United States armed forces produce over 70 percent of the Federal Government's energy use, you may be very certain that it will be the United States military that will be the most seriously affected as an aspect of our government if subjected to the Kyoto requirements. The Kyoto Protocol must not stand as a barrier to necessary United States military operations.

Furthermore, decisions that impact our armed forces should be made by our commanders, our generals and our admirals, and not be subject to an international environmental accord drafted by international bureaucrats.

Mr. Chairman, this amendment represents an opportunity to protect America's national security and hold the administration to its word, as it was presented to us before the Committee on International Relations just recently. Therefore, I urge all Members to support it.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SENSENBRENNER), the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Science who also was the Chair of our delegation to the Kyoto conference.

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from New York for yielding me this time, and rise in support of this common sense amendment to prohibit any provision of law, any provision of the Kyoto Protocol, or any regulation issued pursuant to the protocol, from restricting the procurement, training or operation and maintenance of the United States armed forces.

As chairman of the Committee on Science, I spent a great deal of time analyzing this protocol, the U.N. treaty on climate change, including chairing three full Committee on Science hearings on the outcome and implication of the Kyoto climate change negotiations, and this past December I led the congressional delegation to the Kyoto conference.

Facts I have reviewed lead me to believe that the Kyoto Protocol is seriously flawed; so flawed, in fact, that it cannot be salvaged. The treaty is based upon science, costs too much, leaves too many procedural questions unanswered, is grossly unfair because developing nations such as China, India, Brazil and Mexico are not required to participate, and will do nothing to solve the speculative problem it is intended to solve. I have heard nothing today to persuade me otherwise.

The amendment addresses one of the protocol's many absurdities that the Clinton-Gore administration agreed to in Kyoto, namely the threat to our national security. Under the Protocol, the administration has committed the United States to reduce its greenhouse

gas emissions by 7 percent below 1990 levels in the 2008 to 2012 time frame, or about the level that we were emitting 20 years ago in 1978.

Since the Federal Government is the Nation's largest energy user and greenhouse gas emitter, and the Department of Defense is the government's largest emitter, the administration essentially agreed to impose restrictions upon military operations, in spite of Pentagon analyses that showed that such restrictions would not only significantly downgrade the operational readiness of our armed forces, but also threaten their ability to meet the requirements of our national military strategy.

The text of the Kyoto Protocol is silent with respect to greenhouse gas emissions. However, the decision taken by the Framework Convention of the Climate Change's Conference of Parties exempts military operations "pursuant to the United Nations charter," but requires "that all other operations shall be included in the national emissions totals," with the effect of penalizing our armed forces for maintaining world peace.

The administration claims that this decision was one of its great triumphs in Kyoto, but I believe, however, it is one of the many mistakes made by Vice President Gore and his minions that guided the Kyoto negotiations.

As pointed out in a January 22, 1998 letter to the President by the Committee to Preserve American Security and Sovereignty, a concerned group of former U.S. national security and foreign policy officials that includes three past Secretaries of Defense and two past Secretaries of State, "The Kyoto treaty threatens to limit the exercise of military power by exempting only military exercises that are multinational and humanitarian. Unilateral military actions, as in Grenada, Panama and Libya, will become politically and diplomatically charged."

It is time to correct this Kyoto absurdity. Support this amendment and say "yes" to our national security and "no" to Kyoto.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I might say that I personally favor this amendment. I will not oppose it. It is also my understanding that the administration as well is in favor of it. So I compliment the gentleman from New York for bringing this to our attention.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I would note that this amendment prevents U.N. Climate Change Treaty restrictions from applying to our United States armed forces. It has been endorsed by our major veterans' groups, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Navy League and the Air Force Association. The Department of Defense does not oppose the amendment. It implements current administrative policy to prevent the Kyoto Cli-

mate Change Treaty from cutting our national defense.

Mr. Chairman, I urge my colleagues to support the amendment.

Mr. BONILLA. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Gilman Amendment which insures the safety and security of Americans are not compromised to promote questionable scientific theories. The Kyoto Treaty may not succeed in combating the phantom threat of global warming, but it has sinister consequences for our military and our security.

Simply put the Kyoto Treaty will restrict military fuel consumption. This will cut armor training by 328,000 miles per year, cut naval steaming by 2,000 days per year and cut Air Force training by 210,000 hours per year while placing no restriction on the Chinese and other militaries. The Gilman Amendment will stop this onslaught on America's security. The Gilman amendment will safeguard our independence.

My colleagues, let's defend our sovereignty from real foes not phantom threats. Please join me in voting to safeguard our independence and vote for the Gilman Amendment.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Chairman, I rise to address this amendment offered by Mr. GILMAN (Prohibition on Restriction of Armed Forces under Kyoto Protocol to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change). First, I want to clarify whether DoD's technical changes were made to this amendment. Of course I support protection of our national security interests and want to make sure that no provisions of U.S. law enacted to implement U.S. obligations under the Kyoto Protocol would jeopardize our military readiness. However, while I support the principle behind this amendment, this should not be used as an opportunity to undermine the Kyoto Protocol nor U.S. efforts, as one of 160 nations who were involved in negotiating this treaty, to protect our global climate. Undersecretary of State Eisenstat has emphasized repeatedly that the U.S. will not take steps that would require mandatory action at the macroeconomic level or with respect to specific sectors of our economy in order to reach the Kyoto target before the President has obtained the advice and consent of the Senate. Further, Undersecretary Eisenstat consulted with top national security and military officials and had their assurances that the Kyoto Protocol does in fact meet our national security needs and interests. We secured exemptions for bunker fuels and for other activities that are covered under other existing agreements. If this Protocol were ever signed or ratified by the Senate, our domestic legislation would ensure protection of our national interests. Nor would we trade emissions credits with any other nations that with whom we would not otherwise conduct transactions. Thus, I do not understand the purpose of, nor the need for, this amendment.

I also want to clarify that this amendment should not be interpreted to be able to prevent the U.S. Armed Forces from continuing to adopt practical energy efficient measures. More efficient heating and cooling systems for military buildings, energy saving engines, and other such technology applications would save money and could improve the readiness and capabilities of our Armed Forces. The Defense Department has stated this position, as well. To date, the Defense Department actually is on the forefront of implementing energy efficient measures that have saved substantial

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amounts of money and energy and increased environmental protection.

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the intent of Mr. GILMAN's amendment and support it. Indeed, the Kyoto Protocol will improve the national security of the United States by reducing the risk of catastrophic climate change, which would create upheaval and unrest throughout the world, including the potential for millions of environmental refugees.

Furthermore, measures to implement the Kyoto Protocol can improve our security by reducing our dependence on imported oil through improved energy efficiency and increased reliance on domestic renewable energy resources.

At the same time, the Administration has issued clear policy guidance assuring that implementation of the Kyoto Protocol will not impair or adversely affect the training or operation and maintenance of the United States Armed Forces.

I am concerned, however, that the Amendment as drafted could be ambiguous. The Department of Defense was a leader in reducing the use of ozone depleting substances and has received awards for its efforts from the Environmental Protection Agency. In recent years DoD has made great strides in increasing energy efficiency in military housing. It has also invested in technologies, such as fuel cells, that could improve military effectiveness and reduce greenhouse gas emissions. I am supporting the amendment because I do not believe it prevents DoD from pursuing these valuable goals. I urge the chairman to work with the Department of Defense to clarify this language in conference committee.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore (Mr. PEASE). The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

The question was taken; and the Chairman pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I demand a recorded vote.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 441, further proceedings on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) will be postponed.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. It is now in order to consider Amendment No. 3 printed in part B of House Report 105-544.

AMENDMENT NO. 3 OFFERED BY MR. HEFLEY

Mr. HEFLEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. The Clerk will designate the amendment.

The text of the amendment is as follows:

Part B amendment No. 3 offered by Mr. HEFLEY:

At the end of title X (page 24, after line 4), insert the following new section:

SEC. 1044. PROHIBITION ON ASSIGNMENT OF UNITED STATES FORCES TO UNITED NATIONS RAPIDLY DEPLOYABLE MISSION HEADQUARTERS.

No funds available to the Department of Defense may be used to assign or detail any member of the Armed Forces to duty with the United Nations Rapidly Deployable Mis-

sion Headquarters (or any similar United Nations military operations headquarters).

The CHAIRMAN pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 441, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. HEFLEY) and a Member opposed each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. HEFLEY).

Mr. HEFLEY. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, I rise to offer an amendment which would prohibit the Department of Defense from spending U.S. taxpayer dollars on the assignment or detailing of any member of the U.S. military to duty with the United Nations Rapidly Deployable Missions Headquarters or any similar U.N. organization.

As many of you know, this proposed headquarters is intended by the Secretary General of the United Nations to form the core of a standing U.N. military force; now, let me repeat that, a standing U.N. military force. And the administration has already spent a limited amount of funds to help establish the headquarters operation.

Now, think about this for a moment. The United Nations wants to create a rapidly deployable standing military force, including United States soldiers, and the administration seems to be willing to go along.

I have a quote from the Washington Times that reads, "The U.N. wants standby forces that could be called up immediately to permit U.N. headquarters to tailor foreign military units to suit the countries or regions to which they are assigned."

The U.N. complains that under current conditions they must develop each mission from scratch after a vote by the Security Council, and in some cases this can take too long. I think they should have to start from scratch on each mission to ensure nations understand their commitments thoroughly.

Why should the committee support this amendment? The answer is the ambiguity of the current administration policy with regard to U.S. participation in U.N. peacekeeping and other military operations. Although the administration formally denies any intent to assist in the creation of a standing U.N. military force, and despite repeated congressional actions to limit or prohibit the involvement of U.S. forces in many U.N. operations and any such U.N. force, the U.S. State Department transferred \$200,000 from its voluntary peacekeeping account in October 1997 to fund the establishment of the U.N. Rapidly Deployable Mission Headquarters, the standing U.N. army.

Time and time again this administration has supported peacekeeping operations around the world. They can continue to still do that. But most of those efforts have been controversial. Indeed, the operation in Bosnia is still problematic, and, of course, that is not a U.N. operation.

The simple fact is, Congress ought to be involved in any decision to commit

U.S. forces to U.N. peacekeeping operations. It is these kinds of open-ended and at times back door operations that have led to this amendment, and I think all Members will agree we should cut off the funds for this organization until a clear statement is made that our troops will be accountable only to United States command and control.

What is also disturbing to me is that it is unclear what command arrangements would govern any forces assigned to the U.N. Rapidly Deployable Mission Headquarters. The key question of whether any U.S. troops assigned would be under the command of the U.N. Secretary General or their national command authorities has not been answered.

In addition, consider that these forces could be sent out over the objections of the United States Congress. Let me repeat, our forces could be sent into conflict that the Congress does not support or approve of.

The United Nations is a forum for international policy discussion, and should remain so. It is also not a sovereign territory. It has no citizens and no constitutional authority to send U.S. troops into harm's way. Member states should make their contributions to peacekeeping and other multilateral efforts involving military forces consistent with their constitutional requirements in each of those countries. We should not be locked into a conflict or a peacekeeping operation simply because we happen to have U.S. personnel in a standing U.N. army.

This is not an effort to undercut the U.N., and I would say to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), I hope you believe this, that I am not here to bash the United Nations with what I am trying to do here. I am simply saying that we want to preserve this Congress' prerogatives in the commitment of United States military forces. In other words, for 50 years we have participated in U.N. operations around the world. We could continue to do that, even if this amendment passes, but we would not have a standing U.N. army under the command and control of the Secretary General of the United Nations.

Mr. Chairman, I ask Members to vote for this amendment and keep U.S. forces under U.S. control.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

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Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume to say that with sadness, I find that I must disagree and oppose this amendment. Mr. Chairman, I read it. Let me read it to the body. "No funds available to the Department of Defense may be used to assign or detail any member of the Armed Forces to duty with the United Nations Rapidly Deployable Mission Headquarters (or any similar United Nations military operations headquarters)." This amendment could lead to disaster.