

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records
Subgroup/Office of Origin: WH Task Force on Climate Change
Series/Staff Member: Roger Ballentine; Paul Bledsoe; Julie Anderson
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 41299
FolderID:

Folder Title:
[Buenos Aires Press Coverage]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
S	100	3	9	3

BUENOS AIRES PRESS COVERAGE

Lead-Up

10/28 *Financial Times* Eizenstat/Browner op-ed on emissions trading
10/30 *Wall Street Journal* "Global-Warming Treaty's Opposition is Strained"
10/30 *Los Angeles Times* "Countries Warm Up for Climate Talks"
11/2 *Washington Post* "Talks on Warming Face Chill"
11/2 *New York Times* "Talks on Global Warming Treaty Resuming Today"

1st Week

11/3 *Los Angeles Times* "Developing Nations at Conference Urged to Help Battle Global Warming"
11/8 *Washington Post* Hiatt column: "Greening of the Board Rooms"
11/9 *Business Week* "Look Who's Thawing on Global Warming"
11/9 *Time* "Look Who's Trying to Turn Green"
11/9 *Associated Press* "Businesses Warming to Global Treaty"

2nd Week

11/10 *Christian Sci. Mon.* Eizenstat op-ed on Buenos Aires meeting
11/11 *New York Times* Editorial: "Remember Global Warming?"
11/11 *Los Angeles Times* Editorial: "Gridlock on Global Warming"
11/11 *Washington Post* "Stormy Disputes Mark International Climate Talks"
11/11 *New York Times* "Washington Skirmishes Over Treaty on Warming"
11/11 *Wall Street Journal* "U.S. is Cast in Role of Bad Guy at Conference To Work Out Details of Global-Warming Treaty"

Argentina's Pledge

11/12 *Washington Post* "Argentina Fuels Talks With Pollution Pledge"
11/12 *New York Times* "Argentina Takes a Lead in Setting Goals on Greenhouse Gases"
11/12 *Wall Street Journal* "Two Developing Nations Agree to Reduce 'Greenhouse' Emissions in Breakthrough"
11/12 *USA Today* "Argentina, Kazakhstan Bolster Global Warming Pact"

U.S. Signs

11/13 *Washington Post* "Administration Signs Global Warming Pact"
11/13 *New York Times* "U.S. Signs a Pact to Reduce Gases Tied to Warming"
11/13 *Wall Street Journal* "Clinton Administration Signs Treaty Intended to Restrain Global Warming"
11/13 *Los Angeles Times* "U.S. Endorses Treaty on Global Warming"
11/13 *USA Today* "U.S. Signs International Global Warming Treaty"

Talks Extended

11/14 *Washington Post* "Climate Talks Extended in Pursuit of an Accord"

Agreement Reached

11/15	<i>Washington Post</i>	Editorial "A Warming Trend"
11/15	<i>Washington Post</i>	"160 Nations Endorse Pact on Global Warming Compliance-- Accord Speeds Up Timetable for 'Action Plan' on Environment"
11/15	<i>New York Times</i>	"Deadline Set to Form Rules for Reducing Gas Emissions"
11/15	<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	"Degrees of Progress at Environmental Summit"
11/16	<i>Wall Street Journal</i>	"Nations Agree to Finish Most Provisions of Global Warming Pact by 2000's End"
11/16	<i>Wall Street Journal</i>	"On Island, Global Warming is Clear Threat: Tiny Pacific Nation of Nauru Struggles to Be Heard at Conference"

Summary:

Washington Post	6 stories, 1 column & 1 editorial
New York Times	5 stories, 1 editorial
Wall Street Journal	6 stories
Los Angeles Times	4 stories, 1 editorial
USA Today	2 stories

Also:

- ▶ pieces in Business Week & Time
- ▶ Administration Op-eds in Financial Times & Christian Science Monitor
- ▶ Significant wire coverage

Cut-price emissions

Emissions trading is good for the world economy and the environment

On November 2 in Buenos Aires, the parties to the agreement on global climate change reached in Kyoto last December will gather to pursue the hard work of filling in the blanks to that historic accord. But a controversy over how to implement critical market-based provisions negotiated last year threatens to disrupt the steady progress that should be everyone's goal.

The Kyoto protocol sets ambitious targets for developed countries to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions, which most scientists believe are causing higher temperatures and disrupting the world's climate patterns. Preserving a stable and hospitable climate will require a sustained commitment to reduce emissions over time. That it why it is so important, right from the start, to focus on how countries can meet their targets at the lowest possible cost.

This link between ambitious environmental targets and low-cost implementation was central to the success of the Kyoto negotiations. In the protocol, parties agreed that countries may meet their targets through a combination of domestic and international actions, including "emissions trading". This is a market mechanism that promotes cost-effective reductions by allowing countries or companies to trade emissions allowances. Without this flexibility, it simply would not have been possible to take on targets as ambitious as we agreed to in Kyoto.

Unfortunately, many countries and organisations most passionately committed to solving the problem of climate change are, in our view, mistakenly opposed to emissions trading or determined to place counter-productive restrictions on it. If this view succeeds, it will dramatically increase the costs of protecting our environment and imperil many countries' ability to go forward with Kyoto.

Emissions trading is the key to strong targets because it makes possible the largest greenhouse gas reductions for each available



Up for sale: companies will have to pay for the right to pollute

dollar, mark, pound, franc, or yen. In America's acid rain emissions trading programme, every emitter must have an allowance for each ton of sulphur dioxide it emits. For some emitters, the cost of cutting a ton of emissions is many times greater than for others. Those who find the cheapest ways to cut emissions are tangibly rewarded, because they can sell any allowance they do not need to others that face higher costs.

The results speak for themselves. US acid rain-causing emissions are being cut ahead of schedule at 50 per cent of the expected cost, bringing cleaner air to millions of Americans. Economists of every stripe agree that the costs of reducing greenhouse gas emissions for all countries - not just the US - will be dramatically lower with an efficient trading system. Within the European Union alone, measures to control greenhouse gases are as much as six times more expensive in some countries than in others, according to European private sector analysts. The cost differences are even greater when looking at all industrialised countries, and greater still between developed and developing countries. Trading gets the incentives right by encouraging cuts where they can be achieved at the lowest cost.

Of course, emissions trading is not a substitute for an aggressive national commitment to controlling greenhouse gases. Rather, it is

just one tool for carrying out such a commitment. The US has been pursuing nearly 50 programmes to reduce emissions and improve energy efficiency since 1993, the year after it ratified the original climate change treaty. In October last year, President Bill Clinton proposed a significantly stepped-up effort, including \$6.3bn over five years in tax incentives and R&D to cut carbon dioxide through increased energy efficiency and renewable energy, and to reduce the other greenhouse gases. In the recently completed budget negotiations, the president secured a 25 per cent increase in climate change investments over last year's total.

The US plan also includes restructuring the electricity industry to provide market incentives for renewables and increased efficiency; consultations with industry to develop sector-by-sector plans to reduce emissions; an aggressive plan to improve the federal government's own use and procurement of energy; and ultimately, after US ratification of the Kyoto protocol, a greenhouse gas emissions trading programme based on our acid rain experience.

We recognise that many people have questions about how emissions trading can be made to work internationally. Some are concerned about weaknesses in national and international institutions to measure emissions and ensure compliance. That is why the US is committed to building an

international trading system of the highest integrity, with strong incentives for compliance. In fact, the US is already working with a number of developed and developing countries to help strengthen their capacity to measure emissions and participate in an emissions trading system with high standards.

Others have argued for limits on how much of a nation's Kyoto target can be met through international emissions trading. This is a deeply flawed idea. Limits on trading would greatly increase administrative costs, be exceedingly difficult to implement, and generally make it much more expensive to address climate change.

In fact, the adverse impact would be even greater in Europe than in the US: restrictions currently proposed by some governments could well double carbon allowance prices in the US and triple those allowance prices in the EU - without providing any reductions in worldwide greenhouse gas emissions beyond the targets established in Kyoto. Limiting trading will make any given amount of emissions reductions cost more. It makes little sense to waste resources at a time of uncertain growth prospects in the global economy, nor to limit the potential of emissions trading to spur investment and innovation and to expand job opportunities.

We owe it to future generations to protect them from the damaging effects of climate change. That is why it is vital that Buenos Aires build on the momentum generated at Kyoto. The best way to protect the environment is to provide the right economic incentives and, by so doing, get the fastest, deepest reductions at the lowest possible cost. Let us work together, do this right, and take good care of both the world's environment and its economy.

Carole Browner is the administrator of the US Environmental Protection Agency. Stuart Eizenstat is US undersecretary of state for economic, business and agricultural affairs

com

10/30

...pressures are more likely to result in "lower employment than as higher inflation." Mr. Jasinowski laid out a worst-case scenario in which "business re-

...indeed. Federal Reserve governor Edward Kelley told reporters yesterday that "a concern we've had for a long time is this economy of ours was running at an unem-

WSJ Journal Link: For the text of the jobless claims report and the report on third-quarter employment costs, see The Wall Street Journal Interactive Edition at <http://wsj.com>

Global-Warming Treaty's Opposition Is Strained

By JOHN J. FIALKA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The coalitions of oil, automobile, utility and other companies that opposed last year's global-warming treaty are showing some strain as talks to complete the pact are set to resume next week in Buenos Aires.

Some members are leaving the coalitions or repositioning themselves on the issue. One sign of the changed landscape is the American Automobile Manufacturers Association, whose members helped fund an anti-treaty television campaign on the eve of last fall's treaty deliberations in Kyoto, Japan. Now the AAMA is about to dissolve, and its largest member, General Motors Corp., has begun to work with environmental groups and joined a pro-treaty lobby association.

"Our main direction is to be constructive on this issue," explained John Williams, leader of GM's climate-issues team. "We need to be active in a wide variety of issues. It helps us influence the way things are going."

The giant auto maker's moves mean that this year it will be plotting strategies for lobbying on both sides of the issue. It is still a charter member of the Global Climate Coalition and the Business Roundtable, two large U.S. groups that oppose the treaty. But it has also joined the International Climate Change Partnership, a group of more than 40 companies and trade

associations working with the Clinton administration in support of the treaty.

"You are seeing a fair amount of re-assessment," said Kevin J. Fay, executive director of the Washington-based group, which, he said, has doubled its membership in a year. Joseph M. McGuire, chief regulatory analyst for AlliedSignal Inc., said belonging to the group allows his company to get inside the process.

Connie Holmes, head of the anti-treaty Global Climate Coalition, said it, too, hopes to follow the process more closely. If a treaty limiting emissions of such "greenhouse gases" as carbon dioxide is ratified, she noted, emissions trading will be very important to many GCC members. Such trades would allow companies that don't meet carbon-dioxide emissions quotas to buy excess-emission certificates from those that do. "The rules for that, oh Lordy, are really important," she said, referring to the main item looming on the agenda in Buenos Aires.

Two major oil companies, British Petroleum Co. and Royal Dutch/Shell Group, have recently dropped their GCC memberships because of its opposition to the treaty, and some other large members are said to be considering following suit. "You're beginning to see the logs breaking up and a return to forward motion domestically on this issue," said Fred Krupp, executive director of the Environmental Defense Fund, which is helping BP design its own emissions-trading system.

Still, U.S. negotiators, led by Undersecretary of State Stuart Eizenstat, will find plenty of logs in their way in Buenos Aires. They include a Republican-led congressional delegation, most of which is opposed to ratifying the treaty, and a European Union proposal to limit the amount of international trading that a nation can use to meet its emissions quota.

The U.S., which may have to cut its emissions by 30% below 1990 levels to meet its treaty obligations starting in 2008, wants unlimited trading to ease the cut's economic impact and provide incentives for more-efficient uses of fossil fuels. Mr. Eizenstat said in a news briefing yesterday that he hopes to avoid a fight over the issue in Buenos Aires. But the U.S. is prepared to wage one, he added, with the help of Japan, Canada, Russia and other allies.

Talks On Warming Face Chill

By Joby Warrick, Washington Post Staff Writer

From observation posts high in the South American Andes, scientists this fall are pondering an extraordinary disappearing act: The great Quelccaya ice cap, home to some of the hemisphere's largest glaciers, is melting.

The losses were small when first detected 30 years ago, but in the 1990s Quelccaya's retreat turned into a rout. Scientists aren't sure why, but some suspect global warming. "Where it was shrinking at three meters a year, it's now up to 30 meters," said Ellen Mosley-Thompson, a glacier expert and professor at Ohio State University.

From the Andes to Montana's Lewis Range, dozens of ancient glaciers are turning to slush as global temperatures climb to the highest levels in recorded history. But despite increasingly strong signals of possible change in the climate, international efforts to slow global warming are at risk of sliding into a deep freeze.

A year after the world's nations approved the first binding agreement on climate change in Kyoto, Japan, 180 countries are gathering today in Argentina's capital to begin deciding how to cut emissions of greenhouse gases. But Kyoto's sunny optimism has given way to cold reality in Buenos Aires as diplomats awaken to formidable technical challenges and steep divisions among nations over how to apportion the costs.

Governments can point to only paltry progress on climate change over the last 11 months, and many are dampening expectations for significant achievements this year. Some observers worry that Kyoto's consensus will collapse in Buenos Aires, disintegrating like the great Quelccaya, in nearby Peru.

"For the first time, the glaciers are moving literally faster than the negotiations," said Christopher Flavin, vice president and senior climate researcher at the Worldwatch Institute, a Washington think tank. The fear, he said, is that "time could be running out for both."

The two-week United Nations-sponsored climate conference begins near the close of a year that will be remembered for its bizarre weather. For reasons that may or may not be related to global warming, Mother Nature cranked up the thermostat this year, pushing global temperatures to records in each of the first nine months. The year 1998 is on track for being the warmest in at least six centuries, or about as far back as scientists can reliably read the weather. Some blame goes to an unusually severe El Niño, yet the global heat pump has continued chugging long after El Niño fizzled out over the southern Pacific.

"We have never seen a sequence where we broke records every month in a row," said D. James Baker, administrator of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. "It doesn't prove that you have global warming, but it's absolutely consistent with what you'd expect."

While climate can shift abruptly without help from humans, most scientists believe people are contributing to the warming of the planet. Fossil fuel burning and the destruction of forests are causing a buildup of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, which traps heat from the sun. Over the next century, scientists predict average temperatures will rise between 1.8 and 6.3 degrees Fahrenheit, enough to trigger a sea level rise that could swamp large chunks of coastal areas.

Last year's Kyoto accord was a historic attempt at putting the brakes on warming. For the first time, the United States and other industrialized nations agreed to binding limits on greenhouse gases. By 2012, these countries would be obliged not only to freeze their pollution output, but to reduce it to an average 5 percent below 1990 levels.

But while Kyoto set the targets and deadlines, the most difficult issues – how to achieve the cuts and how to spread the costs – were largely papered over, to be debated later. These are the questions that now lurk in ambush for government ministers attempting to put flesh on Kyoto's flimsy bones.

"This has all the makings of an old-time East-West free-for-all," said Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.), who will lead a delegation of U.S. Senate observers at the talks. "Buenos Aires could disintegrate into a name-calling process, with the West being blamed for all the evil, problems and difficulties in the world."

Aware of the risks, conference leaders are setting modest goals. Officially, the ministers are not required to answer all the questions in Buenos Aires but only to begin a process that will yield solutions in years to come. If Kyoto "created the architectural structure," then Buenos Aires will "create a process for installing the interior plumbing and circuitry," said Stuart Eizenstat, the undersecretary of state who will serve as chief U.S. negotiator.

But international fault lines that opened in Kyoto have only solidified in the past year. Complicating matters is the deepening economic turmoil in Asia, which Eizenstat acknowledges caused "setbacks" in the critical task of persuading developing countries to restrict the growth of their emissions.

To many observers, the peril in Buenos Aires is that nations will fail to agree even on the rules for settling their differences. With the clock ticking on deadlines set in Kyoto, a breakdown in Argentina could strip the process of its political momentum and delay action on climate for years – a prospect treaty opponents are already savoring.

The treaty is on shaky political ground in a number of world capitals. As of last month, only 55 countries have signed the accord and only one – Fiji – has ratified it. President Clinton, as leader of the world's biggest emitter of greenhouse gases, has said he will sign the treaty before the March 1, 1999, deadline, and aides say he may do so this month to give the Buenos Aires conference a symbolic boost.

The White House insists the accord will not be submitted for Senate ratification for at least another year, or until U.S. negotiators win assurances on flexible rules and solid commitments from key developing countries. Meanwhile, Republican leaders have pledged a bitter fight against the United Nations-brokered Kyoto agreement, which they believe would harm the nation economically. The congressional delegation to Buenos Aires is dominated by lawmakers who are skeptical not just of the treaty but of global warming itself. One member, Rep. Joe Knollenberg (R-Mich.), introduced legislation this year that would have imposed a de facto gag order on the Clinton administration, prohibiting even educational seminars on climate change.

"Opponents are hoping Buenos Aires will be Heartbreak Hill, that it will founder on the tensions they have worked so hard to foster," said Alden Meyer, director of government relations for the Union of Concerned Scientists, an environmental group. Supporters, he said, can only hope the conference will yield enough progress to avoid the appearance of standing still.

"Kyoto was a high-wire act," Meyer said. "Buenos Aires will be three yards and a cloud of dust."

There are many hidden mines that could blow the Buenos Aires talks off track. One of them could explode as early as the opening day, when Argentina will try to insert into the agenda a plan to allow

developing countries to voluntarily accept commitments to limit their own greenhouse gas emissions, setting their own goals and timetables.

Voluntary cuts – an idea strongly supported by the Clinton administration and a few developing countries with close ties to the United States – may seem innocuous enough. But other developing countries are opposed even to discussing Argentina's plan, U.N. officials said last week.

"Argentina stuck its neck out," said Michael Z. R. Cutajar, the U.N. executive secretary who presides over the climate talks. "Other countries, such as Mexico and [South] Korea, may look at this positively. But after that it becomes quite speculative."

The role of developing countries had become a flash point in the climate debate. Because most of the world's greenhouse gases historically came from North America and Europe, poorer nations insist that the West goes first.

But wealthier countries say they can't solve the problem alone. Already, modernizing countries such as China and India are on their way toward eclipsing the developed world as the biggest polluters, and any climate strategy that excludes them would fail in the long run. Both the Clinton administration and congressional Republicans say they will not support U.S. ratification of the Kyoto accord without "meaningful participation" from key developing countries.

Another battle, pitting industrialized countries against each other, is looming over rules for emissions trading programs that would allow developed countries to cut their costs by buying and selling pollution credits. Europeans favor imposing "caps" or limits on such trading to force each country to make most of its emissions cuts at home. The Clinton administration strongly opposes caps, arguing that any restrictions would raise the cost of compliance. Eizenstat warned last week that the European Union's actions "threaten to undo the Kyoto agreement."

"We will adamantly oppose efforts to set limits on trading," the U.S. delegation leader said.

But while the U.S. position may sway moderates in the Senate, it leaves the White House open to criticism in Buenos Aires. Europeans, already suspicious that the United States intends to "buy" its way out of its treaty obligations by purchasing pollution credits, will likely point to the meager progress the Clinton administration has made on fighting climate change at home over the past year.

President Clinton's request for \$6.3 billion in investments and tax credits for energy-efficient technology was largely ignored by Congress, as was his initiative to build 1 million solar roofs over the next century. A Department of Energy report next week is expected to show continued, if moderate, increases in U.S. carbon dioxide emissions over the past 12 months.

Still, the White House did secure \$1 billion in funding for climate programs last month – a hard-won concession that White House officials say reflects climate's top rating on the administration's list of priorities.

To David Sandalow, White House associate director for the global environment, the money represents solid, if modest, progress. And U.S. negotiators can only hope to do as well in Argentina.

"We haven't filled all the blanks on the Kyoto protocol, but that's not a big surprise – this is the most complicated set of international negotiations ever," Sandalow said. "While recognizing the urgency of the problem, we must be realistic in understanding what it will take to move this ocean liner forward."

Talks On Global Warming Treaty Resuming Today

By JOHN H. CUSHMAN Jr.

WASHINGTON -- International negotiators will resume talks on Monday in Buenos Aires over details in the treaty to fight global warming, but with their expectations sharply lowered.

Last year in Kyoto, Japan, more than 150 nations hammered out a far-reaching agreement for steep reductions in emissions of heat-trapping greenhouse gases by industrialized countries during the next 10 to 15 years.

They also agreed, in principle, to establish a system that would allow the sale or trade of emissions permits between countries and to do more to bring developing countries into the effort, two key demands made by the United States. In theory, trading emissions credits would lessen the overall cost of reducing greenhouse gases in the atmosphere by letting one country pay another to reduce emissions to meet global targets.

But there has been little progress since the Kyoto Protocol was approved. And it now appears highly unlikely that an agreement on the details will be reached in time for the U.S. Senate to vote on ratification before the presidential elections in 2000. The Kyoto Protocol continues to face substantial opposition among major U.S. energy producers and consumers, who say it would be too costly.

Treaty supporters in this country, acknowledging the slow pace of negotiations, have begun to emphasize steps that can be taken before mandatory emissions restrictions go into effect. They want Congress to guarantee that companies voluntarily reducing emissions of waste industrial gases believed to be a factor in global warming will receive credit for these actions when a treaty finally takes shape.

Signaling the lowered expectations, Stuart Eizenstat, the senior U.S. negotiator, cautioned that the administration's first objective is to avoid what he called "backsliding" by other nations on the agreement that the United States brokered last year.

In Kyoto, the Clinton administration agreed to cut U.S. emissions over the next 10 to 15 years to a level 7 percent below 1990's emissions -- if international trading of emissions credits is allowed. That would let the United States meet a big part of its obligation by paying other countries to reduce their emissions more than the treaty requires.

European nations are calling for limits on how much a country could rely on emissions trading to meet its treaty obligations. But Eizenstat said: "I want to drive home as strongly as I can that we adamantly oppose efforts by the European Union or others to set arbitrary limits on trading. That is not consistent with either the letter or the spirit of Kyoto, and it would impose unsustainable costs on the U.S. economy."

After Kyoto, the parties to the treaty were also expected to work out what roles the developing nations would accept and what aid the industrial powers would provide them.

Big developing nations are expected to overtake the United States in emissions of greenhouse gases sometime in the next century. But many developing countries still are resisting commitments to reduce their emissions until they see action by the developed countries like the United States, which produces a quarter of the world's greenhouse gases.

Some developing nations -- even China, which at Kyoto was skeptical of measures to increase the role of developing nations -- are said to be intrigued by the "clean development mechanism" included in the protocol. It would funnel money and technology to energy efficiency projects in developing countries, letting industrialized nations take some of the credit for the resulting reductions in emissions. But the details of this, too, remain to be resolved.

Another source of delay is scientific uncertainty over how to count deforestation and reforestation in each country's contribution to the atmosphere's carbon dioxide. Growing trees absorb carbon dioxide, storing the carbon in wood and releasing oxygen. But the treaty partners will not decide how to score forestry until a science panel reports in about two years.

While climate can shift abruptly without help from humans, most scientists believe people are contributing to the warming of the planet. Fossil fuel burning and the destruction of forests are causing a buildup of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, which traps heat from the sun. Over the next century, scientists predict average temperatures will rise between 1.8 and 6.3 degrees Fahrenheit, enough to trigger a sea level rise that could swamp large chunks of coastal areas.

Last year's Kyoto accord was a historic attempt at putting the brakes on warming. For the first time, the United States and other industrialized nations agreed to binding limits on greenhouse gases. By 2012, these countries would be obliged not only to freeze their pollution output, but to reduce it to an average 5 percent below 1990 levels.

But while Kyoto set the targets and deadlines, the most difficult issues – how to achieve the cuts and how to spread the costs – were largely papered over, to be debated later. These are the questions that now lurk in ambush for government ministers attempting to put flesh on Kyoto's flimsy bones.

"This has all the makings of an old-time East-West free-for-all," said Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.), who will lead a delegation of U.S. Senate observers at the talks. "Buenos Aires could disintegrate into a name-calling process, with the West being blamed for all the evil, problems and difficulties in the world."

Aware of the risks, conference leaders are setting modest goals. Officially, the ministers are not required to answer all the questions in Buenos Aires but only to begin a process that will yield solutions in years to come. If Kyoto "created the architectural structure," then Buenos Aires will "create a process for installing the interior plumbing and circuitry," said Stuart Eizenstat, the undersecretary of state who will serve as chief U.S. negotiator.

But international fault lines that opened in Kyoto have only solidified in the past year. Complicating matters is the deepening economic turmoil in Asia, which Eizenstat acknowledges caused "setbacks" in the critical task of persuading developing countries to restrict the growth of their emissions.

To many observers, the peril in Buenos Aires is that nations will fail to agree even on the rules for settling their differences. With the clock ticking on deadlines set in Kyoto, a breakdown in Argentina could strip the process of its political momentum and delay action on climate for years – a prospect treaty opponents are already savoring.

The treaty is on shaky political ground in a number of world capitals. As of last month, only 55 countries have signed the accord and only one – Fiji – has ratified it. President Clinton, as leader of the world's biggest emitter of greenhouse gases, has said he will sign the treaty before the March 1, 1999, deadline, and aides say he may do so this month to give the Buenos Aires conference a symbolic boost.

The White House insists the accord will not be submitted for Senate ratification for at least another year, or until U.S. negotiators win assurances on flexible rules and solid commitments from key developing countries. Meanwhile, Republican leaders have pledged a bitter fight against the United Nations-brokered Kyoto agreement, which they believe would harm the nation economically. The congressional delegation to Buenos Aires is dominated by lawmakers who are skeptical not just of the treaty but of global warming itself. One member, Rep. Joe Knollenberg (R-Mich.), introduced legislation this year that would have imposed a de facto gag order on the Clinton administration, prohibiting even educational seminars on climate change.

"Opponents are hoping Buenos Aires will be Heartbreak Hill, that it will founder on the tensions they have worked so hard to foster," said Alden Meyer, director of government relations for the Union of Concerned Scientists, an environmental group. Supporters, he said, can only hope the conference will yield enough progress to avoid the appearance of standing still.

"Kyoto was a high-wire act," Meyer said. "Buenos Aires will be three yards and a cloud of dust."

There are many hidden mines that could blow the Buenos Aires talks off track. One of them could explode as early as the opening day, when Argentina will try to insert into the agenda a plan to allow

Talks On Global Warming Treaty Resuming Today

ist_Press_Summary 5

In the next two weeks, negotiators are expected to do little more than to agree on a pace for further talks and studies.

"I think a success at Buenos Aires would be a work plan and timetable." Melinda Kimble, acting assistant secretary of state for international environmental issues, said at a recent briefing for foreign reporters.

Christopher Flavin, an energy expert at the Worldwatch Institute, an environmental research organization, said: "The Kyoto Protocol has been moving forward more slowly than most people had hoped for. The number of new, complicated issues added in the six months before the Kyoto Protocol was negotiated created a level of negotiating complexity that I fear has got us to the point that this protocol is in real danger."

But advocates are pressing industrial companies to reduce their emissions anyway. In Congress, a bipartisan group has introduced legislation that would guarantee that those who act soon will be given financial credits under any final agreement, whether it applies only in the United States or around the world.

Last week, members of the President's Council on Sustainable Development, which brings together industry, government and citizen groups, also endorsed steps to give credit for voluntary early actions to reduce emissions.

Several big companies, including British Petroleum, United Technologies and Du Pont, have already pledged to cut their emissions and have begun to urge Congress to approve credits for early actions.

Even industry groups like the Global Climate Coalition, which opposes the Kyoto Protocol, are supporting the administration's insistence on unfettered trading. "If emission caps are ever imposed, these market tools will be absolutely necessary to lessen high economic burdens placed on our citizens," said Connie Holmes, the organization's chairwoman.

Developing Nations at Conference Urged to Help Battle Global Warming

By SEBASTIAN ROTELLA
TIMES STAFF WRITER

A4

BUENOS AIRES—An international conference on climate change opened here Monday with a debate over a proposal by the host nation, Argentina, challenging fellow developing nations to adopt voluntary limits on emissions of the gases that cause global warming.

As a close U.S. ally and the first

developing nation to host such a conference, Argentina wasted no time in framing one of the most divisive issues among about 170 countries gathered here for a massive task: building a framework for implementation of the climate accord adopted in Kyoto, Japan, last year. The Clinton administration wants developing nations to show meaningful progress on reducing emissions of greenhouse gases before the U.S. ratifies the agreement.

The administration is under pressure from Republican legislators who say the burden on industrialized nations is too heavy. "The idea that industrialization is not possible without pollution and degradation is false," he said. "Articulating the Argentine view in a statement before the conference began, the Argentine ambassador to the United States, Diego Guelar, criticized "the old conspiratorial argument that labels these new [environmental] policies a means to slow down the industrial and competitive development of the emerging economies."

China, India and many other developing nations, however, assert that industrialized nations are the biggest and wealthiest polluters and should meet the emissions reduction targets established in the Kyoto Protocol before making demands of poorer nations.

There were fears that mere

mention of the issue here would cause a contentious uproar, as occurred last year in Kyoto. Instead, the Argentine proposal provoked a frank but civilized discussion that lasted for several hours.

Articulating the Argentine view in a statement before the conference began, the Argentine ambassador to the United States, Diego Guelar, criticized "the old conspiratorial argument that labels these new [environmental] policies a

means to slow down the industrial and competitive development of the emerging economies."

"The idea that industrialization is not possible without pollution and degradation is false," he said.

Opposition by China and other nations blocked the proposal from being placed on the conference agenda. But the chairwoman, Argentine Environment Minister Maria Julia Alsogaray, will pursue informal conversations about standards with representatives of developing nations during the meeting.

In order for developed nations to reduce emissions by 5.2% of their 1990 levels by 2012, the 1,461 delegates gathered here must decide fundamental issues as how the complex international mechanisms for meeting the targets will be policed. The meeting promises to be grueling, with an emphasis on process and a shortage of breakthroughs.

Greening of the Board Rooms

A lot of Republicans in Congress have staked out a pretty clear position on global warming: It doesn't exist. Never mind the evidence. They don't want it to exist, and so it doesn't.

But a curious thing has happened during the past year. While Republicans rode off in spirited defense of this indefensible position, their ostensible allies in the business world—the supposed beneficiaries of the Republican hard line—have been riding the opposite way. Major multinationals such as Monsanto, United Technologies and General Motors have acknowledged that the danger of climate change is real and that some kind of early response is called for.

The corporate world has "made the turn," says Kevin Fay, who directs one business alliance on the subject. "That doesn't mean they're jumping up and down for joy," he says. "But it's: 'We took our shot at it, now let's get on with this.'"

This turn toward realism is worth keeping in mind as you scan headlines this week from Buenos Aires. Diplomats from around the world will be trying to flesh out a treaty they negotiated last year in Kyoto, and it won't be easy.

Europe will be trying to stick it to the United States, on the theory—shared by some U.S. environmentalists—that no solution to global warming is worthwhile if it doesn't make Americans suffer. The United States will be pressuring developing countries to assume some responsibility for the problem, while developing countries will insist that rich countries go first. The Clinton administration will claim it has gone first, which will be a hard sell since U.S. greenhouse gas emissions, already number one in the world, are still rising.

So 5,000 officials, lobbyists and hangers-on will argue and spin and point fingers. At best they'll come up with a work plan and schedule for further debate. But as long as they don't veer totally off track, that won't be so terrible. Controlling climate change is as complex an international problem as has ever been faced, combining the challenges of arms control verification, trade regulation, development aid and more. It won't be accomplished in a year, or two, or five.

All the more significant, then, that U.S. companies are beginning to agitate for action domestically, while the international rules are still taking shape. At the Pew Center on Global Climate Change, corporations ranging from Boeing to Dupont to Lockheed Martin have agreed that "the cost of delay is significant. . . . U.S. leadership is imperative . . . leadership must start with Congress."

Kevin Fay's International Climate Change Partnership, which includes British Petroleum, United Technologies and General Electric, a few days ago issued a proposal to encourage "immedi-

ate action to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by rewarding companies that act early."

And BP, Monsanto and General Motors hooked up with the World Resources Institute to study what can be done right away. "Leadership and commitment to action now are necessary to address the climate challenge," they said, and endorsed the elimination of fossil fuel subsidies—no minor step for companies, such as BP and GM, for which fossil fuels (such as gasoline) are a lifeblood.

None of this means there's consensus on what to do. GM, while endorsing immediate action, maintains its membership in the most retrograde industry group, too. The Kyoto treaty, which President Clinton is likely to sign soon, will remain unratifiable, possibly for years.

But much of big business has come to accept, since Kyoto, that climate change is a real danger, with all that implies for rising sea levels, unpredictable changes in weather, new patterns of disease and the rest. Corporations see money to be made in new, energy-efficient technologies. These companies operate in Europe, where governments already are more serious about promoting energy efficiency, and they'd like to see some consistency. And they want an early role in shaping new policies that they understand are bound to come.

This gradual shift in the corporate world has big political implications. It means that Al Gore's close association with the Kyoto treaty, which looked perilous in the immediate weeks after Kyoto, may not prove to be a negative. And it means that the band of Just Say No-resisters in Congress is likely to shrink.

Last month three senators—Democrat Joseph Lieberman and Republicans Connie Mack and John Chafee—took a first step, introducing legislation to reward companies that take early voluntary action to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions. By spring, no matter what happens in Argentina this week, those three pioneers will have plenty of company in Congress.

The writer is a member of the editorial page staff.

CLIMATE

LOOK WHO'S THAWING ON GLOBAL WARMING

A group of U.S. businesses—some seeing a chance for profits—is advocating action



For years, U.S. energy and utility execs had a simple and direct response to the threat of global warming: Rubbish! There's no evidence, they said, that emissions from the burning of fossil fuels are raising the earth's temperature. And trying to cut those emissions—the goal of an international treaty hammered out last December in Kyoto—would cripple the American economy.

Not every exec came to the same conclusion, however. American Electric Power Co. CEO E. Linn Draper and his environment chief, Dale E. Heydlauff, pored over the evidence—including record temperatures in recent months—and decided that human-caused global warming was the most likely explanation. "It's no longer possible to say there is not a problem," says Heydlauff.

Earlier this year, Draper broke ranks with the hard-line industry position. In May, AEP joined Boeing, Enron, Lockheed Martin, 3M, United Technologies, and seven other companies as founding members of the Pew Center on Global

Climate Change, formed to search for ways to prevent global warming. When AEP signed on, the reaction of fellow utility execs ranged "from shocked and confused to pretty vitriolic," recalls Heydlauff. But now they are "saying maybe we're on to something."

The willingness of AEP and other such companies to take a fresh look at the issues is an important change that offers hope for resolving the current impasse over the Kyoto climate treaty. Delegates from some 165 nations will gather in Buenos Aires on Nov. 2 to begin tackling the vast unresolved issues in the Kyoto Protocol (table, page 104).

"We potentially have a very serious problem," says FMC CEO Robert Burt

SCORCHED EARTH: *This summer's heat took a toll on crops in Texas*

Final decisions are not expected in Buenos Aires, but pressure to take action is growing. "Science has told us we potentially have a very serious problem," says Robert N. Burt, CEO of chemical and equipment giant FMC Corp. The evidence includes record-high global temperatures in recent years and computer models that forecast a warming of 2 to 5 degrees Fahrenheit by 2100.

LOGJAM. The central issue in the Buenos Aires talks will be whether developing countries should commit to emissions reductions—and when. The Kyoto treaty requires developed countries to cut their greenhouse gas emissions below 1990 levels by 2008-12. The U.S.'s target is a 7% cut. But the protocol puts no limits on the amounts of gases such nations as China, Korea, and Mexico can spew into the atmosphere. For that reason, Republicans in Congress say the Kyoto Protocol is grossly unfair. Last year, the Senate passed a resolution saying that

PAUL RUCKENSTEIN

THE HURDLES IN BUENOS AIRES

As delegates from around the world try to find a way to reduce the threat of global warming, here are some of the thorny issues they must resolve:

"MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION" BY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES The U.S. won't agree to cut its emissions unless developing nations like China and India also agree to limits. Not fair, developing countries retort: Industrial nations are mainly responsible for the problem, so they must act first.

"HOT AIR" TRADING The Clinton Administration figures the U.S. could meet most of the negotiated emissions limits by buying emissions "credits" from Russia and Ukraine (whose economies and emissions have tanked since 1990) rather than actually cutting emissions at home. That's cheating, says the rest of the world. The European Union wants to require that at least 50% of reductions occur at home.

CREDITING CO₂ REMOVAL In addition to reducing emissions of greenhouse gases, concentrations of CO₂ can be cut by removing the gas from the atmosphere by, for instance, growing more trees or crops. But figuring out how much credit countries will get from such measures is a delicate issue.

"CLEAN" DEVELOPMENT The developing nations want the industrialized world to help them adopt energy-efficient, clean technologies. But they fear the U.S. will hold back until developing countries agree to measures such as emissions caps.

without developing country commitment, the treaty is dead.

Developing countries aren't ready to sign on. The current climate threat is the legacy of decades of emissions from the industrialized world, they argue. "Commitment is a dirty word in the developing world, and noncommitment is a dirty word in the developed world," says Atiq Rahman, director of the Bangladesh Center for Advanced Studies. "We have to break this logjam."

One way to do that would be to recognize steps countries are already taking. Cuts in subsidies for fossil-fuel energy in China, India, Mexico, and other nations have slowed the rise in emissions, says a new study from Washington's World Resources Institute. Meanwhile, Brazil has made a major push to use renewable fuels, Uruguay is reforesting 700,000 acres, and India is becoming a leader in wind power.

"CHANGE IS NOT FREE." Negotiators in Buenos Aires also are encouraged by recent developments in Europe. The European Union has reached an agreement with auto makers to reduce average fuel use per car by 25%. And in late October, the new coalition government of the Social Democrats and the Greens in Germany unveiled a plan to raise taxes on fossil fuels and boost support for renewable energy.

The U.S. has far less progress to report. The Clinton Administration's plan to



AEP COAL PLANT IN WEST VIRGINIA:
We can't "say there is not a problem"

foster new, more energy-efficient technologies, viewed as inadequate at best, was watered down even more by Congress. But some hope is coming from a surprising source—the U.S. business community. "Since Kyoto, the business community has taken a major step forward," says David Sandalow, the White House's point person for international climate policy. Eighteen major companies have joined the business council of the Pew Center on Global Climate Change, agreeing to take concrete steps to explore ways to cut emissions. United Technologies Corp., for instance, plans to reduce its energy use 25% by 2007. Given today's rock-bottom energy costs, "the pressure [to boost efficiency] has been off for some time," says Leslie Carothers, UT's environment chief. "But most of us, including our CEO, feel it is not unreasonable for the developed countries to take the first step."

The question is whether such efforts

will save money. "Most of the economic studies on both sides are not believable," says Eileen Claussen, executive director of the Pew Center. "But serious change is not free." On the other hand, such change does offer enormous business opportunities. That was the message delivered at a news conference on Oct. 27 by execs from Monsanto, BP America, and General Motors. They called for a series of measures—from eliminating fossil-fuel subsidies to fostering new, more efficient technologies—that could reduce global warming and bolster their bottom lines. BP is making major investments in solar energy, for instance, while GM wants incentives for people to buy its advanced electric car.

MOMENTUM. Even companies that don't see potential new markets have a strong self-interest. Case in point: American Electric Power. CEO Draper is dead set against the Kyoto Protocol. "It's much too prescriptive in terms of timetables," he says. But he believes that, politically, the momentum for a global accord is too strong to stop. "The science doesn't matter anymore," says AEP's Heydlauff. "The world has become convinced that this is a matter of considerable urgency, and they want to take action. But if we don't arrive at the right policies, it could be a stake through

the heart of AEP." And AEP execs think they have a better chance of avoiding disaster "if we acknowledge there is legitimacy to the issue and have a hand in writing the policies," says Heydlauff.

Add it up, and "there's an undercurrent of honest exploration," says one GOP Hill staffer. "Industry knows it can't say 'Hell, no' forever." Indeed, the shift has yielded results. On Oct. 10, Senators John Chafee (R-R.I.), Connie Mack (R-Fla.), and Joseph Lieberman (D-Conn.) introduced legislation to encourage and reward companies for taking early, voluntary action to cut greenhouse gases.

These are early days yet in complex and intricate global negotiations. Most countries believe that the 11 days of negotiations in Buenos Aires will, at best, produce a timetable for making decisions on the many thorny issues. But with businesses around the world starting to take seriously the scientific and political threats of global warming, the chances of finding a sensible and effective policy have begun to improve.

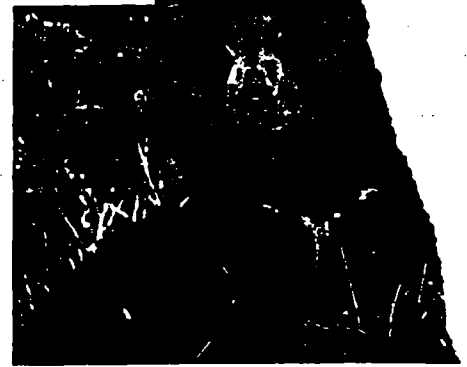
By John Carey in Washington

Look Who's Trying to Turn Green

FOR YEARS A POWERFUL INDUSTRY COALITION, LED BY AUTOMAKERS and coal and oil companies, tried to persuade everyone that global warming was nothing to get overly alarmed about. The barons of fossil fuel warned that curbs on emissions of greenhouse gases would destroy jobs without necessarily having a positive effect on our climate. But now, as officials from 180 nations meet in Buenos Aires this week to firm up the Kyoto Protocol, the treaty forged in Japan last year to combat climate change, the forces of opposition have suffered some major defections.

The American Automobile Manufacturers Association, representing General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, refused to help pay for the latest anti-Kyoto TV ads produced by the Global Climate Information Project, an alliance of industry, labor and farm groups. And last week Washington's World Resources Institute brought together executives from GM, British Petroleum and Monsanto to pledge that their companies would contribute less to the greenhouse effect. "There is a rising tide of environmental awareness," says incoming Ford chairman William Clay Ford Jr. "Smart companies will get ahead of the wave. Those that don't are headed for wipeout."

ROBERT NEUBECKER FOR TIME



Unbearable Development

GRIZZLY-WAR ALERT: LATER THIS MONTH the U.S. government is expected to unveil a plan that could eventually lead to the removal of this Yellowstone-area resident from the "threatened" list under the Endangered Species Act. Federal officials say protection of the 400 or more grizzly bears in the region where Wyoming meets Idaho and Montana has been a success, and that under ESA rules, the animals are no longer threatened. A final decision won't come before next summer, but in preparation, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service is finishing a plan for turning bear management over to a consortium of the three states, two national parks, seven national forests and four federal agencies. Environmentalists fear this unwieldy arrangement could weaken grizzly-conservation efforts (the head of Wyoming's Game and Fish Department has talked of authorizing a trophy hunt of nuisance bears). As the grizzlies den up for the winter, stay tuned for the growling of experts fighting over the bears' fate.

VITAL SIGNS

47 years The average life expectancy in 29 African countries for people born between 1990 and 1995

54 years What the life expectancy for those people would be were it not for the AIDS epidemic engulfing Africa

Source: United Nations



DUMPING GROUNDS

ADDRESS UNKNOWN In 1986 the *Khian Sea* picked up a cargo of toxic incinerator ash from Philadelphia. The ship plied the seas for 18 months, and it was turned away by seven nations before dumping 4,000 tons of ash on a Haitian beach. Now, a decade later, Haiti will load the cinders onto another boat and stamp the poisonous pile Return to Sender. The cleanup was delayed by the cost—up to \$1 million—and denials of



responsibility. A waste hauler with links to the original dumper has offered \$200,000, and Philadelphia will chip in only \$50,000. That leaves Haiti to pay the rest. Many landfills can now handle the ash, but for the sake of environmental justice, says activist Ann Leonard of Essential Action, based in Washington, the nasty stuff should be stored safely in Philadelphia's backyard.

November 9, 1998

Businesses Warming to Global Treaty

A.P. INDEXES: [TOP STORIES](#) | [NEWS](#) | [SPORTS](#) | [BUSINESS](#) | [TECHNOLOGY](#) | [ENTERTAINMENT](#)

Filed at 2:51 a.m. EST

By The Associated Press

WASHINGTON (AP) -- The debate over global warming cuts both ways for United Technologies, one of America's largest corporations.

Reducing heat-trapping greenhouse gases may be a boon to its air conditioning and hydrogen fuel cell business, but its jet engine subsidiary could face new regulations and possibly suffer.

Even so, the company with nearly \$25 billion in sales has become one of the growing number of Fortune 500 firms convinced it is better to address the thorny climate change issue, rather than ignore and scorn it.

"We hope that we can position ourselves to benefit, but we want to be ready either way so we aren't harmed," explains Leslie Carothers, United Technologies' vice president for environment.

As representatives from more than 160 nations meet in Buenos Aires, Argentina, to map out further global strategies on climate change, one thing is clear: U.S. business no longer is in lockstep opposition to taking action.

It represents a dramatic shift within the business community that many environmentalists and senior Clinton administration officials view as critical in getting the controversial climate agreement reached in Kyoto, Japan, a year ago, eventually accepted by Congress.

"While many in Congress still want to ignore the mounting evidence of global warming, many in the business community are paying heed. They recognize the challenge," Vice President Al Gore said at a recent White House meeting with business leaders.

Fossil-fuel industries and utilities have not eased their attack on the Kyoto protocol, which would require the United States to cut greenhouse emissions -- mostly carbon dioxide from burning fossil fuels -- by more than one-third beginning in 2008.

But a growing number of companies, including some automakers, utilities and oil and chemical producers, abandoned the strictly negative stand that had

marked these industries for years.

"There clearly is a splintering of the business community," says Alden Meyer of the Union of Concerned Scientists, who has followed the climate debate for environmentalists for more than a decade.

That is not to say these companies necessarily embrace the mandatory timetable for cutting heat-trapping emissions under the Kyoto pact.

"They consider it a work in progress," says Eileen Claussen, executive director of the Pew Center on Global Climate Change. "But they recognize the reality that more has to be done. ... They accept the science."

Twenty major corporations, including powers in the chemical, oil, utility and manufacturing industries, have joined with the Pew Center to promote actions to address climate change.

They include DuPont, the Boeing Co., Weyerhaeuser, Lockheed-Martin, American Electric Power, United Technologies, Enron and Sun Oil. Many, including British Petroleum, have committed to specific carbon emission reductions.

While not part of the group, General Motors Corp. said recently it also accepts the need for some action to cut greenhouse gases, although the automaker still strongly opposes the Kyoto agreement.

The globalization of U.S. companies also has forced many to take a fresh look at climate change. The U.S. Big Three automakers, for example, are seeing Europeans and Japanese manufacturers embracing the shift to more environmentally friendly vehicles.

"Outside the United States there are no industry opposition groups (on global warming)," says Kevin Fay, executive director of the Climate Change Partnership, a Washington-based business group.

The shift in business attitudes should not be underestimated, says Jonathan Lash, president of the World Resources Institute, which has worked with GM on the climate issue. "You're getting clear signals that we don't have to be politically immobilized when it comes to climate change."

The White House hopes business support at least for voluntary action will help it eventually sell the Kyoto accord to a critical Congress. Much of the climate debate next year is likely to focus on legislation to be proposed by Sen. Joseph Lieberman, D-Conn., that assures companies that take early actions on global warming will receive credit once a treaty is in place.

William O'Keefe, vice president of American Petroleum Institute, says most oil companies still "are convinced the Kyoto protocol is unworkable" and not justified based on current scientific knowledge and the potential economic impact.

United Technologies' Carothers, whose company has pledged to cut energy use by one-fourth by 2007, says fossil fuel companies face the most risk and "you can't expect them to be in the vanguard of this."

But she adds, "Getting the business community to say voluntarily there are things we can do and take the bull by the horn is critical. ... (Companies) are saying we have to be cautious and move forward. I don't think they're saying it's just a crock anymore."

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1998

OPINION/ESSAYS

Combating Global Warming

Buenos Aires conference works to put Kyoto agreement into effect

Stuart E. Eizenstat

Last December in Kyoto, Japan, 160 countries reached an historical agreement to cut greenhouse gas emissions and put markets rather than regulation and heavy taxes to work to help fight global warming. These nations are now gathered in Buenos Aires to take the next steps in meeting the most profound environmental challenge of the 21st century.

One year after Kyoto, the scientific evidence of global warming - gathered from centuries-old trees, satellites, and Arctic ice - continues to mount. Every month so far this year has set a record high for global temperatures, right on the heels of 1997, the warmest year on the books. And a powerful El Niño gave us a taste of the extreme weather we can expect from global warming - droughts and floods in Texas, drought-driven fires in Indonesia, Florida, and Mexico, and devastating floods in China and Bangladesh.

As the evidence has grown stronger, so has our resolve. Some in Congress tried to block the administration's common-sense efforts to reduce greenhouse gases. Some even sought a gag order to keep us from educating the public about Kyoto. But President Clinton stood firm and, in the recent budget agreement, won more than \$1 billion for clean energy research - a 25 percent increase. He will propose more in next year, including incentives for farmers and others to take steps to absorb carbon from the atmosphere.

The administration also is working intensively with business, launching creative efforts such as the Partnership for Advancing Technology in Housing that will help build new homes that are as much as 50 percent more energy efficient, and the Partnership for the Next Generation Vehicle that will triple the gas mileage of automobiles. We are working to help energy-intensive industries be more productive while using less power. And we have launched a government-wide effort to reduce the federal energy bill by \$1 billion a year.

Even more striking is the growing number of leading corporations recognizing the urgency of addressing global warming. Companies like British Petroleum, Shell, United Technologies, and IBM have pledged publicly to reduce their emissions - in some cases, well below the Kyoto target. Senators Joseph Lieberman, John Chafee, and Connie Mack recently introduced bipartisan legislation to reward companies that take early action by granting them credit that can be used against future emission reduction targets.

In Buenos Aires, we face two major diplomatic challenges. First, we must begin to design the flexible, market-based measures agreed to in Kyoto - such as emissions trading - that will dramatically lower the cost of reducing greenhouse gases. Emissions trading works. It has allowed the US to combat acid rain at

less than half the expected cost. To achieve both lower cost and real environmental gain, we need to develop firm rules that guarantee an efficient market with high integrity. We hope the Buenos Aires meeting will produce a work plan with clear timetables to establish such rules.

Well-meaning critics want to restrict the use of trading, viewing it as a loophole to avoid real action. They have it wrong. Strong rules can ensure that trading has integrity without sacrificing its capacity to bring down everyone's cost of reducing greenhouse gases. Moreover, those who argue for limits on trading fail to recognize the basic bargain struck in Kyoto: Our agreement to an ambitious emissions reduction target was premised on the availability of market measures to cut costs. That bargain must hold. It is critically important - especially at a time of global economic uncertainty - that everyone gets the greatest reduction possible for each dollar spent. Therefore, the United States and like-minded nations, from Japan to Russia, strongly oppose efforts to restrict use of market measures.

Our second challenge is to make progress with developing countries. As we have emphasized in our vigorous diplomatic efforts, we understand that developing countries face pressing needs and cannot take on commitments identical to those of industrialized nations. Nevertheless, developing nations will generate a majority of emissions in the next century; without them, we cannot meet the challenge of global warming no matter how much we do at home.

That is why Mr. Clinton has said he will not submit Kyoto for ratification without meaningful participation from key developing nations. While we do not expect to reach this goal at Buenos Aires, we are pressing ahead. We are emphasizing to developing countries that addressing climate change can help promote economic growth, and that many of the protocol's market-based mechanisms can speed the transfer of investment and clean-energy technologies to them.

The Kyoto Protocol represented a landmark advance, creating the structures to begin combating global warming. In Buenos Aires, the international community has begun the task of turning the protocol's broad concepts into working realities. Our success over time will ensure that we pass on to future generations a sustainable and livable world.

Stuart E. Eizenstat is undersecretary of State for economic business and agricultural affairs. He is head of the US delegation to the climate change talks in Buenos Aires this week.

Circ: 1,187,900

Washington Skirmishes Over Treaty On Warming

By JOHN H. CUSHMAN Jr.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 10 — As negotiators from around the world worked on details of an international agreement to fight global warming, the Clinton Administration faced an intense debate among lawmakers today over whether to sign the pact during talks this week in Argentina.

There is no doubt that the Administration will sign the agreement eventually, even though it faces an uphill struggle for approval by the Senate.

But Congressional adversaries argued today whether signing it now, a step the White House favors as a sign of its commitment to the controversial accord, would strengthen or weaken the bargaining hand of the United States.

Some Administration officials said today that no decision had been reached on signing the agreement, but others said that the Administration's envoy to the talks, Stuart E. Eizenstat, would announce in Buenos Aires that it would be signed.

The agreement would commit the United States to reducing its emissions of carbon dioxide and other heat-trapping greenhouse gases, which scientists say threaten to warm the planet and disrupt its climate, by 7 percent below the 1990 levels over the next 10 to 15 years.

Opponents have said that this would require cuts in the use of fossil fuel that would devastate the economy. The Administration insists that new technologies would insure a painless transition to a cleaner economy.

For weeks, Administration officials have declined to say when the United States would sign the protocol, which was agreed to by more than 150 nations last year in Kyoto, Japan.

The current round of talks is aimed at establishing a system of international emissions trading and at defining what role developing countries should play in cutting emissions of the pollution that scientists say may cause major changes in the planet's climate.

As reports spread that the Administration would sign the agreement this week, Congressional opponents warned that this would be a political mistake, while those who favor the treaty said signing it now would increase the Administration's influence in the negotiations.

Sen. Robert Byrd, a Democrat from West Virginia, where cuts on emissions of carbon dioxide from burning coal would damage the state's mining industry, warned President Clinton to "resist making empty gestures that will only make the potential future approval of the protocol by the Senate more difficult."

Mr. Byrd is a leader of Congressional opponents of the treaty who contend that it must not be approved until developing nations, whose emissions of greenhouse gases are projected to surpass those of the United States in the next few decades, agree to join industrial nations in cutting emissions.

But Sen. Joseph Lieberman, a Democrat from Connecticut, urged the White House to sign the agreement.

"If we are not at the table, we cannot cajole or convince the developing nations to become part of the solution," he said.

Representative F. James Sensenbrenner Jr., a treaty opponent in the House and a leader of the Congressional observers' delegation to the talks in Buenos Aires, called on the Administration not to sign the treaty.

"Any global warming treaty devoid of developing country participation and credible evidence that America will maintain its economic health and vitality will be dead on arrival," said Mr. Sensenbrenner, a Republican from Wisconsin.

But Mr. Lieberman, as he left Washington to join the observers from Capitol Hill, called Mr. Sensenbrenner's plea "a mistake, and a serious abdication of American responsibility to lead in this effort, and also an obstacle to our being able to shape the global response to the problem."

Fred Krupp, the head of the Environmental Defense Fund, an advocacy organization that favors the treaty, said that "the people who oppose signing are the same people who have opposed the treaty from the beginning, and in fact they are really opposing protecting the planet. We feel very strongly that the time to sign has come."

But other environmentalists were not so enthusiastic.

"In my mind, this Administration has made expectations so low, that when they finally sign this weak agreement that they negotiated, people will mistake it for leadership," said John Passacantando, executive director of Ozone Action, an environmental group that follows climate issues.

Remember Global Warming? A30

Diplomats from more than 150 nations gathered in Buenos Aires this week to assess what they had done since the Kyoto agreement on global warming last December. The answer is, not much. They can be happy about one thing. Nobody has successfully challenged the urgency of their mission. Despite well-financed efforts by some industry groups to minimize the warming threat, the scientific consensus — that the unchecked burning of fossil fuels could someday cause great damage to the environment — remains intact. What is not intact is the spirit of common purpose that produced the Kyoto agreement.

The Kyoto Protocol committed the industrialized world to an average 5 percent reduction in greenhouse emissions below 1990 levels between 2008 and 2012 — a remarkably ambitious target, given the world's rising dependence on fossil fuels. The American target is 7 percent. But many important details were left unsettled. Even worse, the giant developing countries like India and China have yet to be brought on board. Until that happens, Senate ratification is out of the question. Meanwhile, greenhouse gases in the atmosphere continue to rise. Buenos Aires is a good place to re-energize the process. Two issues are of central importance.

Early Action. Although Kyoto's targets would not become legally binding until 2008, a quick start on the problem is essential — especially in the United States, which emits one-fourth of the world's greenhouse gases. Because America's emissions are projected to rise by 30 percent between now and 2008 under "business as usual" scenarios, it would be foolish to dawdle. Last-minute efforts to reverse the energy trajectory would be ruinously expensive.

A surprising number of American companies like the idea of early action. For the last year, two public-interest groups — the Pew Center on Global Climate Change and the Environmental Defense Fund — have been signing up companies like Boeing, United Technologies and British Petroleum that are prepared to reduce their own emissions

even before a treaty is ratified, but the list would surely be longer if some way could be found to reward companies for taking action now, perhaps by giving them credits they could use to meet whatever obligations they incur when the agreement finally kicks in.

In the Senate, Joseph Lieberman, a Democrat, and John Chafee and Connie Mack, both Republicans, have introduced legislation establishing a mechanism to do just that. But they will have to persuade their colleagues in Congress, which grudgingly provided more money for clean-energy research in the new budget year but has otherwise been indifferent to the global warming issue.

Emissions Trading. The United States would have rejected the Kyoto Protocol if it had not included a provision that allows the sale or trade of emissions allowances among nations. In theory, industrialized nations that cannot quickly meet their targets without crippling energy taxes or costly investments would be able to "buy" pollution permits from poorer countries whose economies are so inefficient that even small adjustments can achieve big reductions in emissions. That transfer of capital, in turn, could help developing countries invest in cleaner technologies.

The British, among others, fear that the United States will exploit the trading plan to avoid making any real cuts in emissions, buying reductions from others instead. These fears are exaggerated. But the best way to put them to rest is to invite American companies to start cutting their emissions now. That would not only pacify the British but send a positive signal to the less-developed countries, which are unlikely to cut their energy use and prejudice their chances for further growth unless they are sure that America is serious.

The United States obviously cannot go it alone. Global warming demands a global response. But the rest of the world is not going to move without the leadership and example of the world's biggest producer of greenhouse gases.

File Gridlock on Global Warming

Hurricane Mitch, which killed an estimated 10,000 people in Central America last month, is one of the many environmental upheavals that scientists relate to global warming, the issue being discussed at a summit of 400 nations in Buenos Aires. The summit is aimed at implementing a treaty, worked out last year in Kyoto, Japan, in which developed nations agreed to reduce the fossil fuel emissions that intensify global warming.

The United States had previously refused to sign the treaty, leading the other developed nations to ask why they should reduce emissions when the world's biggest polluter is not. It's a fair question, for while the United States has only 4% of the world's population, its power plants and cars create 25% of the world's fossil fuel pollution.

The Clinton administration, eager to sign the treaty, faces overwhelming opposition in Congress. Its critics say the treaty should be

signed only after all developing nations also agree to emission reductions. That, however, is not going to happen. Impoverished developing nations like Bangladesh and Mali are plagued by floods and infectious disease outbreaks they believe are linked to global warming.

The Clinton administration will be lucky if it can even persuade lawmakers to embrace modest gains like marketing U.S.-made low-polluting energy plants in the developing world. Last month, Congress defeated administration efforts to eliminate tax subsidies to high-polluting coal-fired power plants.

However, even General Motors and British Petroleum have now issued a call to extend tax incentives to low-polluting industries instead. Renewable energies, healthier and in the long run cheaper than traditional fossil fuels, make sense. The time has come to harness them.

Circ: 852,262

Stormy Disputes Mark International Climate Talks

180 Nations Try to Reach Deal on Meeting Emission Treaty Aims

By JOBY WARRICK
Washington Post Staff Writer

A3

BUENOS AIRES, Nov. 10—To the island nation of Tuvalu, the threat from global warming was as clear as the blue Pacific lapping against its beaches: If sea levels rise, as some scientists predict, the entire nation could be swallowed up. "This is a matter of life and death," Prime Minister Bikenibeu Paeniu said.

Oil-rich Saudi Arabia saw the risk in starkly different terms. If a global climate treaty puts the world's gas-guzzling nations on a crash diet, Arab states could lose billions of dollars—losses that Saudi ministers say should be compensated by wealthy countries, including the United States.

Both views are part of the peculiar clash of science, politics and economic self-interest that has dominated a week of international climate talks underway in the Argentine capital. A year after adopting the world's first treaty to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, negotiators from 180 countries are struggling to find harmony on precisely how the cuts would be carried out and enforced.

Eight days of talks have yielded a sprinkling of progress, but buckets of discord over how to share the cost of reigning in pollution from fossil fuel combustion. The negotiations enter a crucial phase today as senior government ministers arrive from scores of capitals to try to nudge the talks along.

"This is a marathon, not a sprint," said U.S. delegation leader Stuart Eizenstat, the deputy secretary of state, sizing up negotiations a day after his arrival from Washington.

But Eizenstat, in a briefing for reporters tonight, also hailed what he called "encouraging signs," including "engagement, if not full agreement" by a number of developing countries

on taking voluntary steps to curb pollution.

Diplomats are working against a Friday deadline to agree on a work plan for achieving the goals of a climate treaty approved last December in Kyoto, Japan. The accord requires industrialized countries to reduce emissions over the next 13 years to levels at least 5.2 percent below where they were in 1990. To take effect, the treaty must be signed by heads of state and ratified by legislatures in countries representing at least 55 percent of the world's greenhouse gas emissions.

President Clinton has not yet signed the accord, but speculation that he may do so this week continued to mount as negotiators looked for a symbolic boost from the White House in the talk's final days.

The president got conflicting advice yesterday from Congress, with some Democrats urging him to sign the treaty at once while Republicans and coal-state Democrats warned against doing anything to endorse what they termed a "fatally flawed treaty." Rep. Ron Klink (D-Pa.) joined Republican colleagues at a Buenos Aires news conference to denounce the treaty as a job killer that would drive U.S. manufacturers overseas.

"It would be the first major step toward the deindustrialization of this country," Klink said.

But congressional supporters of the treaty said Clinton's signature would give the United States more leverage in obtaining concessions from developing countries. Democratic Reps. Dennis J. Kucinich (Ohio) and Peter DeFazio (Ore.) accused the treaty's harshest Republican critics of being members of a

"flat earth society" intent on denying global warming and crushing the treaty at all costs.

"My constituents want clean air and they also want jobs—and these two are not mutually exclusive," Kucinich said.

The role of poorer countries in fighting global warming remained one of the most divisive issues in the climate talks. While the Clinton administration has insisted on "meaningful participation" by key developing countries as a condition for submitting the treaty to the Senate for ratification, big polluters such as China and India have refused to consider even voluntary commitments to restraining emissions for at least another decade.

The good news for the White House has been a splintering of the once monolithic opposition to specific commitments. Argentina, Chile and a number of other nations have offered their own ideas in Buenos Aires for getting an early start on technology transfer programs that would allow rich and poor countries to share credit for pollution cuts in the developing world.

"A year ago, anyone who would have suggested such things would have been skewered," said Michael Oppenheimer, a senior scientist with the Environmental Defense Fund. "Now these proposals are being accepted with equanimity."

Still, other developing countries continued to throw up fresh obstacles. Western diplomats were particularly piqued at Saudi Arabia, which has pressed its demand for compensation at virtually every meeting.

CONTINUED

Circ: 852,262

No small obstacle is the stupefying complexity of the topics and the nearly indecipherable diplomat-ese that has become the official language of the United Nations talks. Melinda Kimble, the acting assistant secretary of state who led the U.S. delegation during the first week, sent reporters scrambling for their dictionaries after she gave this summary of what she called a "very interesting agreement" reached on Monday. "We've agreed to make recommendations that the first COP after the IPCC's special report is issued to the COP/MOP on Article 3.3 definitions, rules, modalities and guidelines necessary to add additional activities under Article 3.4," Kimble said.

A Historic First Step

Last December representatives of 160 nations met in Kyoto, Japan, and developed the world's first legally binding plan for cutting emissions of greenhouse gases. Here are the highlights:

Pollution cuts: Industrialized countries of Europe, North America and Asia agreed to slash emissions collectively to levels 5.2 percent below where they were in 1990. Because emissions have been steadily increasing since 1990, the actual cuts will be much larger.

Deadlines: Countries must show "demonstrable progress" by 2005 and achieve their target between 2008 and 2012.

Poorer countries: Developing nations refused to accept binding limits for now, arguing that rich Western nations historically bear responsibility for global warming. The Climate Change Convention commits all countries to take voluntary action on climate change.

Flexibility: The Kyoto agreement gives countries flexibility in how they make and measure emissions reductions. For example, industrialized nations can set up "emissions trading" regimes that allow buying and selling of pollution credits on the open market. Wealthy countries can also receive credit for investing in clean-air projects overseas. Such programs could greatly reduce the cost of compliance.

International law: Nations have until next March to sign the agreement, but it doesn't become law until it is ratified by parliaments in 55 countries, including developed countries representing 55 percent of the world's emissions.

Unfinished Business

During the next two weeks, government ministers meeting in Buenos Aires will begin to decide how to achieve the goals set in Kyoto. Here are some of the tasks ahead:

Enforcement: Diplomats may decide how to monitor compliance with the Kyoto treaty and what to do about chronic violators. Options could range from a simple suspension of voting rights at future meetings to some form of economic sanctions.

Emissions trading: Countries will begin to decide ground rules for international trading programs that allow the buying and selling of pollution "credits." European countries favor strict limits on trading to force each country to achieve most of its cuts at home; the United States is pushing for maximum flexibility to reduce costs.

Investing abroad: Negotiators hope to begin drawing up guidelines for a "Clean Development Mechanism" that promotes investment in clean-air technology in poorer countries. The country making the investment would receive credit for cutting emissions, while the host country would benefit from new technology and a cleaner environment.

Sinks: Work is just beginning on the question of whether countries should be able to claim credit for creating carbon "sinks." Sinks are natural systems, such as forests, that remove carbon dioxide from the air. If the idea is approved, countries could offset their pollution-cutting obligations by planting trees or carbon-absorbing crops.

—Joby Warrick

U.S. Is Cast in Role of Bad Guy at Conference To Work Out Details of Global-Warming Treaty

By JOHN J. FIALKA **A24**

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BUENOS AIRES—As delegates from 160 nations meet here to fill out the details in the United Nations treaty to curb global warming, one country stands out, somewhat like the proverbial skunk at the garden party.

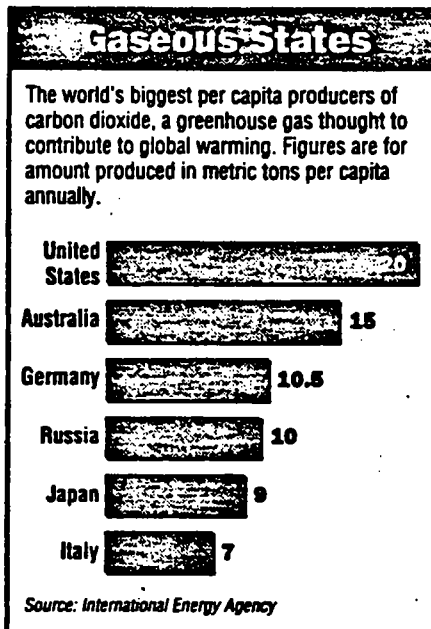
It is the U.S., by far the world's largest producer of man-made carbon dioxide, which many scientists believe is artificially warming the Earth's atmosphere by trapping the sun's heat. While most other industrial nations have made political peace with the idea that cuts must be made in domestic "greenhouse gas" emissions, political consensus among the Americans can only be called a work in progress.

It is clearly in progress here as lobbying and wrangling go on among the representatives of major U.S. corporations, environmentalists and politicians prowling the hallways of this city's cavernous exhibition center. "We're all coming from different perspectives, different interests," says Sen. Michael Enzi, a Wyoming Republican who is part of the 15-member delegation sent by Congress to watch these talks.

The two-week meeting here that ends Friday is a midstep in a diplomatic process that will probably take until late 2000 to complete. The Clinton administration is poised to sign the treaty, perhaps as early as today, joining about 60 other nations that have already signed, but the real test will come in winning Senate ratification. According to Clinton administration officials, the treaty won't be submitted to the Senate until around 2001, when President Clinton no longer will be in office.

Sen. Enzi, the first senator to arrive here, spent much of last week telling foreign delegates that the treaty is politically doomed in the U.S. Senate, unless major developing nations, such as China and India, agree now to cut their CO2 emissions—a move both countries have rejected. Sen. Enzi, who comes from a coal state, says Congress is deeply concerned about a loss of jobs if developing nations aren't covered by the treaty.

Hard on Sen. Enzi's heels, however, came Democratic Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, full of enthusiasm for eventual Senate ratification of the treaty, especially if it provides economic incentives for farm-



ers. Sen. Kerrey says Congress hasn't focused on climate change yet, but when it does it will see the treaty as an "economic opportunity."

The dissonance between the two senators is amplified by representatives here from dozens of major U.S. corporations. Sen. Enzi is being trailed by a phalanx of executives from the anti-treaty Global Climate Coalition, whose members include the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce and the American Petroleum Institute. But others, such as Monsanto Co., General Motors Corp. and DuPont Co., have teamed up with environmental groups to tout the treaty's economic opportunities, such as emissions trading.

Emissions trading would create a global market for certificates permitting emissions of a certain amount. The global scheme, developed by the Environmental Defense Fund, a New York-based environmental group, would allow companies to reduce the cost of complying with U.S. emissions-reduction quotas by allowing credit against the quotas for cheaper emissions-cutting activities carried out elsewhere.

"A ton of carbon taken out of the air anywhere in the world is a benefit," explains the head U.S. negotiator, Stuart Eizenstat, an undersecretary of state. Such

trading, he says, promises "a more cost-effective way" to meet the treaty's limits. But it also raises a host of politically knotty issues, such as how to verify emissions reductions created by U.S. companies in places such as Russia, where authorities have been known to bend the rules.

And opponents such as the industry coalition question whether the plan could work in the U.S. "In order to have an emissions trading system, you have to put a limit on emissions," says one of the coalition's founders, William O'Keefe, executive vice president of the American Petroleum Institute. "I don't know who in [the U.S.] will say, 'Let's put a limit on our emissions.'"

While the Americans' wrangling echoed in the hallways, officials of the 15-member European Union were explaining in the convention's formal sessions how it has taken the first concrete steps to cut emissions. The EU has reached an agreement with European auto makers to require an average car's fuel efficiency to rise to 42 miles per gallon by the year 2008. The U.S. standard is 27.5 mpg.

In response, the U.S. delegation outlined a \$1 billion package of Clinton administrative budget items to promote energy efficiency, but the Europeans seemed unimpressed. Under the U.N. treaty reached in Kyoto, Japan, a year ago, the U.S. has agreed to reduce its emissions by 7%, matched against 1990 levels, beginning in 2008, and the Europeans want to see specific moves to do it.

"The U.S. is the highest per capita producer [of CO2] in the world, and we would have expected the U.S. to have taken more measures," says Jos Delbeke, head of the European Common Market delegation.

But the Europeans are quick to concede that without U.S. involvement there will be no treaty. "From a technical point of view it is possible that the Kyoto protocol enters into force without the U.S., but from a political point of view, this is not very feasible," says Helmut Hojesky, acting head of the EU delegation.

One potential stumbling block here appears to be the group of developing nations led by Saudi Arabia that is pushing for a timetable that has no definite deadline.

CONTINUED

CONTINUED

Circ: 1,852,863

The Saudis and most other oil-producing nations have opposed the global-warming treaty from the start.

Another knotty issue relates to farmers. If farmers use a new type of planting, without the plowing that releases CO₂ from the earth into the air, they could earn economic benefits from one of a number of emissions trading schemes that are under study. But scientists are still not sure how to measure the benefits.

Emissions trading has become a major selling point for the treaty as far as some U.S. corporations are concerned. Paul Tebo, DuPont's vice president for environmental matters, says his company isn't yet totally sold on the treaty. But he adds that trading will be "hugely helpful, especially if we can get credit for what we've already done." DuPont, he says, has spent \$50 million around the world to reduce its emissions of CO₂ and other greenhouse gasses by 15% since 1990.

If an emissions trading scheme permitted DuPont to receive credit for such reductions, he adds, it could sell the credits to other companies having difficulty meeting their quotas. "It would be a revolutionary way to approach this environmental issue, which is probably the biggest one that's facing us," he says.

Europeans suspect the U.S. will use international trading to try to avoid not only costs, but the political pain of having to cut emissions at home. They want a rule requiring that a large fraction of trades must be carried out in the home country, a move the U.S. rejects as being anti-free trade. The attempt to impose such a trading "cap" could result in a major collision here this week.

Circ: 1,187,950

Argentina Takes a Lead in Setting Goals on Greenhouse Gases ^{A7}

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

In an important breakthrough, Argentina signaled yesterday that it would become the first developing country to adopt binding targets for controlling emissions of industrial waste gases that are believed to cause global warming.

Until now, developing countries have presented a united front in resisting specific limits on their emissions of such gases, which are produced by the burning of coal, oil, wood and natural gas.

Rich countries agreed last December in Kyoto, Japan, to reduce emis-

sions by an average of about 5 percent below 1990 levels in the period 2008 to 2012, but poorer nations have refused to follow suit until industrial countries actually show results.

Yesterday, at a follow-up conference in Buenos Aires, President Carlos Saúl Menem said Argentina would establish goals for carbon-dioxide emissions and in about a year would announce its commitment to those goals for 2008-10.

But María Julia Alsogaray, an Argentinian who is presiding over the Buenos Aires meeting, later described the goals as limitations on the growth of emissions, not as reductions.

While Mr. Menem's speech was somewhat general, Stuart Eizenstat, the head of the United States delegation, said he had been told by Mr. Menem that Argentina would spend the next year analyzing its emissions to produce a binding target. "This is a major, major move," Mr. Eizenstat said, "truly historic."

There were indications that other developing countries might follow now that Argentina has led the way, some participants in the Buenos Aires talks said. "No one wants to be

the first one out of the box," said Connie Holmes, the chairwoman of the Global Climate Coalition, which represents fossil-fuel producers and users. She called Argentina's action "great," if it can follow through.

But she pointed out that it may be difficult for Argentina to be brought into the international process under the Kyoto Protocol because no developing countries are covered by it.

Argentina wants to pursue its emissions program by taking advantage of some of the protocol's cost-cutting mechanisms like trading of emissions rights, Mr. Eizenstat said he was told. This, President Menem said, implies the creation of a "new way" under the 1992 treaty to involve his country and others like it. How that will happen remains to be worked out over months or even years.

Moreover, said Ms. Holmes, Argentina's shift will not in itself satisfy the United States Senate, which has made participation by key developing countries a condition for ratifying the Kyoto Protocol.

Environmentalists hailed the development. "It is a major breakthrough," said Michael Oppenheimer of the Environmental Defense Fund. "I don't think there's any doubt about it." He called the Argentine move "a significant first step" in satisfying the Senate's requirements.

The move also represented "a clear break" from the developing countries' past insistence that binding limitations would put a cap on their economic growth, said Alden Meyer, a spokesman for the Climate Action Network, an environmental coalition.

President Menem said Argentina's economy had grown 6 percent a year in the last decade while greenhouse gases per capita had grown by only 1 percent, and he said his country's purpose was to erase "the false option between economic growth and environmental protection."

Argentina Fuels Talks With Pollution Pledge

by JOBY WARRICK
Washington Post Staff Writer

AM

BUENOS AIRES, Nov. 11—Argentine President Carlos Menem reinvigorated foundering climate negotiations today by committing his country to cutting "greenhouse gas" emissions in the first such pledge by a developing country since last year's global warming treaty.

Menem's announcement, delivered in a speech to ministers from 180 countries, electrified the 10-day-old talks while undercutting one of the biggest obstacles to an international strategy for fighting global warming—getting developing countries to take more responsibility.

The move was hailed as a breakthrough by the Clinton administration, which is pressing developing countries to share more of the burden for protecting the Earth's climate.

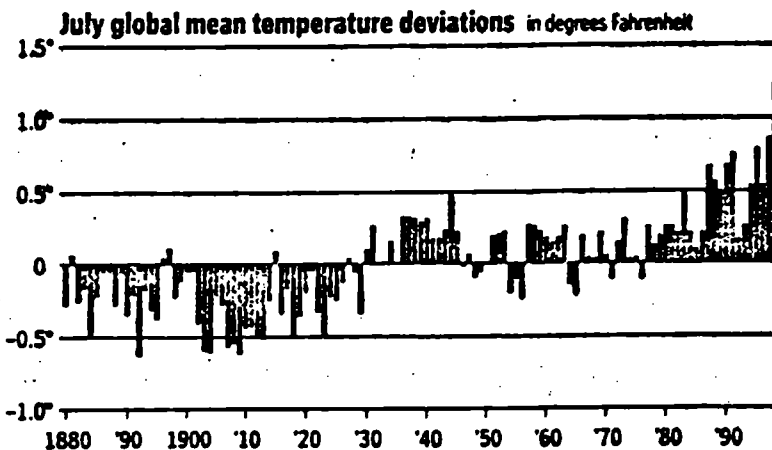
"The planet is our home, and to preserve it is our responsibility," Menem said in declaring Argentina's intention to voluntarily adopt specific targets for restricting emissions from factories and automobiles over the next 13 years. Menem's plan puts Argentina on the same time frame as the United States and 34 other industrialized countries that agreed to sharply reduce pollution last year in Kyoto, Japan.

The announcement appeared to expose a widening rift among developing countries that had previously presented a united opposition to the notion of specific commitments on curbing the growth of emissions. Within hours of Argentina's announcement, Kazakhstan told U.S. diplomats it intended to announce a similar move on Thursday.

"This is just the kind of commitment we needed to make the promise of Kyoto a reality," said Undersecretary of State Stuart Eizenstat, leader of the U.S. delegation to the

Getting Warmer

Global temperatures have been rising slowly over the past century and took a sharp jump this year. This chart shows how the global average temperature in July has deviated from the 100-year norm since 1880, when scientists began keeping records.



SOURCE: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

climate talks. "This demonstrates that we have come a long way."

But the biggest polluters in the developing world, most notably China and India, remained opposed to any limits in the near future, opposition that continued to snarl the talks as they neared a scheduled conclusion on Friday. Negotiators are hoping by then to agree on a plan for deciding how to achieve and enforce the promises made in Kyoto.

The Kyoto accord commits industrial powers to reducing emissions by 2012 to levels at least 5 percent below where they were in 1990. But the agreement must be ratified by world parliaments to become law, and in the United States, congressional Republicans have vowed to defeat the treaty in its current form, in part because it would not require cuts by developing countries.

The Clinton administration says it will not submit the pact to the Senate until it wins commitments on "meaningful participation" by key developing countries.

Menem's announcement was by far the biggest advance on that front, despite a year of steady prodding by President Clinton in meetings with U.S. allies and trading partners. Menem had signaled support for additional voluntary measures during Clinton's visit to Argentina earlier this year, but in today's speech he went much further, promising to adopt an emissions target before the next round of climate negotiations a year from now.

"We cannot ignore the warning signals that nature has given this year," Menem said, referring to record-high global temperatures in each of the past two years as well as this month's catastrophic flooding

CONTINUED

Circ: 852,262

in Central America. "The planet, painfully, is issuing a warning call to us all."

Clinton administration officials had consulted with Menem about the decision in the days before the speech, and Clinton telephoned the Argentine president on the eve of the address to offer encouragement, administration sources said. White House officials said no specific promises were made to Menem in return for his commitment, although Argentina stands to reap significant benefits from future U.S.-Argentine collaboration on clean-energy projects, including U.S. investments in new power-generating plants.

Menem's speech drew applause from congressional supporters of the climate treaty and cautious

praise from several major environmental groups. Some saw the move as the diplomatic equivalent of last year's pledge by British Petroleum to reduce its own greenhouse gas emissions—an announcement that fragmented industrial opposition to a climate treaty and led to declarations by more than a dozen other major corporations, from Royal Dutch Shell to Monsanto.

"Menem exploded the argument that you can't have both economic growth and environmental protection," said Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman (D-Conn.), a Senate observer to the talks and supporter of the treaty.

But Argentina's announcement drew angry reactions from elsewhere in the developing world and skepticism from some Europeans who feared the split within the

developing world would merely add a new complication to the climate talks. And Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.), a leading Senate critic of the Kyoto treaty, said Menem's pledge was to little avail unless other countries followed suit.

"It's all interesting mechanics but it doesn't mean anything," he said.

But Menem also appeared to have created a political dilemma for some of the harshest U.S. critics of the climate treaty. Television ads in the United States have denounced the Kyoto accord for exempting developing countries. But at the same time, groups allied with the ads' sponsors have been lobbying poorer countries in Buenos Aires to try to keep them from making voluntary commitments to cut pollution.

Argentina, Kazakhstan bolster global warming pact

By Traci Watson
USA TODAY

10A
In a victory for the White House, Argentina and Kazakhstan have agreed to limit their emissions of the pollutants that cause global warming.

As the first developing nations to adopt such limits, both countries had to resist major pressure from other developing countries.

The agreements came Wednesday in Buenos Aires, Argentina, where delegates from 160 countries are meeting to work out the details of a global warming treaty written in 1997 in Kyoto, Japan.

The treaty requires richer nations to limit their emissions of greenhouse gases, produced by using fossil fuels. Most scientists blame these gases for global warming.

But the treaty doesn't require developing countries to limit greenhouse gases, angering U.S. companies and lawmakers. The Senate has to approve the treaty before it takes effect in the USA.

The Buenos Aires talks have been hampered by disagreement between the United States and the "G-77," the negotiating bloc of developing countries. U.S. diplomats have been pushing

developing nations to limit their greenhouse-gas emissions; developing nations have strongly resisted.

Argentina, as a loyal U.S. ally and host of the conference, came under especially intense U.S. pressure to limit its emissions. It also came under heavy G-77 pressure not to agree to limits.

Both Kazakhstan, formerly part of the Soviet Union, and Argentina may face consequences at the meeting and later for their action. Relations between Argentina and Brazil, which opposed its move, might be chilled by the news.

"It was a brave and farsighted move for these countries to ... move forward," said Annie Petsonk of the Environmental Defense Fund.

Stuart Eizenstat, the lead U.S. negotiator in Buenos Aires, applauded the decision. But others said Argentina's move does not go far enough. "It's a voluntary commitment, and we don't even know what it is," said Sen. Chuck Hagel, R-Neb., an outspoken opponent of the Kyoto treaty.



Agence France-Press
Eizenstat: Lead
U.S. negotiator

Two Developing Nations Agree to Reduce 'Greenhouse' Emissions in Breakthrough

By JOHN J. FIALKA **A32**

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BUENOS AIRES—Argentina and Kazakstan have become the first developing countries to join the world's industrial nations in agreeing to cut emissions of carbon dioxide and other "greenhouse gases" under the United Nations' treaty to curb global warming.

The action is the first crack in what had been a united front of 120 developing countries, the so-called G-77 led by China and oil-producing states, opposed to accepting cuts until after 2012. The treaty, agreed to in December in Kyoto, Japan, sets greenhouse-gas reduction targets for each industrial nation.

U.S. officials quickly applauded the breakthrough, which could help the ratification process in Washington. A 1997 Senate resolution declared the treaty won't be ratified without significant commitments from developing countries.

The moves came on a day the convention here on global warming appeared on the brink of bogging down over how the treaty will work. Ministers of industrial nations hope to reach agreement on a plan, with deadlines, to establish mechanisms for emissions trading and to complete other treaty elements within two years. But oil producers, led by Saudi Arabia, blocked several sessions aimed at working out details. The convention, involving about 1,500 diplomats, is scheduled to end tomorrow.

"This planet is our common home," said Argentine President Carlos Menem in a speech. "We can't ignore the warning signals sent out by nature this year," he said, referring to about 30,000 deaths caused by Hurricane Mitch in Central America.

By putting almost \$2 billion into cleaner, more-efficient electricity systems, Mr. Menem said, Argentina is ready to cut its emissions below 1990 levels by 2008 to 2012, following the same terms the treaty set for 39 industrial nations.

Undersecretary of State Stuart E. Eizenstat, head of the U.S. delegation, called Mr. Menem's move "a bold step." He said it was a "clarion call" for other nations to join in strengthening the treaty, aimed at curbing manmade pollutants believed to be warming the globe by trapping heat from the sun. The U.S. target under the treaty is to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions by 7% from 1990 levels.

Bulat K. Esekin, deputy head of Kazakstan's delegation, said his country will announce a similar move here tomorrow. "Kazakstan wants to be able to manage this situation [global warming]," he said. "That's why we want to play a more active role in this treaty."

Mr. Esekin said leaders of his oil-rich country worry that within 20 years they may face desertification of large areas of grazing lands because average temperatures in his country appear to be rising.

Both he and Mr. Menem suggested their countries may also benefit by becoming more closely involved in emissions trading, which would give U.S. companies incentives for providing more energy-efficient technology to countries with pollution problems.

Mr. Esekin said Kazakstan has prepared a long list of projects, including one to trap methane leaking from coal mines. He said Kazakstan wants to promote more hydroelectric power, which, like nuclear energy, produces no greenhouse gases. Argentina and Kazakstan said they will set emission targets next year.

Administration Signs Global Warming Pact

By JOBY WARRICK
Washington Post Staff Writer

JWB

BUENOS AIRES, Nov. 12—The Clinton administration formally signed a United Nations accord on global warming today in a largely symbolic act aimed at giving a boost to negotiators struggling to resolve key details of how to implement the 1997 pact.

Acting U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations A. Peter Burleigh signed the accord in New York, a move that provided a rare bit of good news for weary delegates to the U.N.-sponsored negotiating session.

"Our signing puts to rest any doubt about whether the United States will back out of the historic agreement reached in Kyoto," said Stuart E. Eizenstat, the undersecretary of state who heads the U.S. delegation to the talks. But he acknowledged that the endorsement "doesn't guarantee a positive outcome in Buenos Aires," where the 11-day-old talks are limping toward an uncertain conclusion.

The action was applauded by other nations but denounced by congressional critics who have vowed to defeat the treaty in the U.S. Senate.

Negotiators from 180 countries were expected to work through the night to try to craft a plan for attacking the unfinished business from Kyoto, including crucial questions of enforcement and cost-sharing among rich and poor nations.

Despite progress on a few fronts, the talks have remained bogged down over whether developing countries should take on more responsibility for curbing emissions from factories, automobiles and power plants.

"We're definitely not there yet," Ritt Bjerregaard, environmental minister for the European Union, said last night.

The Kyoto agreement, which commits industrialized countries to sharp reductions in greenhouse gases over the next 13 years, was negotiated by the Clinton administration, and President Clinton had consistently promised to sign it before the March 15, 1999, deadline. Before today, nearly 60 countries had signed the pact, including nearly all "developed" countries except the United States and Iceland.

But Eizenstat, in a speech to delegates here, said the Clinton administration would not submit the treaty for Senate ratification until improvements are made, including new commitments by the biggest developing countries.

"Kyoto is a landmark achievement, but it is a work in progress, and many issues remain," he said. Eizenstat also pledged that Washington would seek more federal spending next year on climate research and investment and would launch initiatives to tighten energy efficiency standards for appliances and promote conservation in government office buildings and automotive fleets.

Eizenstat touted U.S. efforts to promote high-mileage automobiles

and restructure utility regulations to encourage alternative fuels and higher efficiency. The U.S. signature was broadly welcomed by delegates happy for at least symbolic progress at a conference that has produced little of substance so far.

But some environmental groups were disappointed in the lack of new specific commitments for reducing emissions at home. "It is a useful step, but a giant leap is needed," said Howard Ris, executive director of the Union of Concerned Scientists.

Congressional opponents of the Kyoto treaty had been urging Clinton not to sign at all, a move that would effectively killed the accord. "This is not going to pass the Senate—it's not going to come close," said Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.), a congressional observer at the talks. "Obviously the president knows that. He's doing something very dishonest by signing the treaty and telling America it's good for them but not having the courage to debate it and try to get a vote on it."

Critics argue that the treaty would unfairly punish U.S. industries and would cripple the economy by raising energy prices. William O'Keefe of the American Petroleum Institute said Clinton's signing of the treaty over Senate objections would erode whatever support the accord may have had. "Wherever they were before, they've now lost ground," he said.

But other lawmakers said the signature increases U.S. leverage in the negotiations, allowing the administration to continue working toward securing developing-country commitments while solidifying international support for market-based mechanisms that will drive down the treaty's costs.

Opponents "wanted to kill the agreement in its cradle," said Rep. Peter A. DeFazio (D-Ore.). "They are working to influence developing countries and pressure them not to break from the pack."

U.S. SIGNS A PACT TO REDUCE GASES TIED TO WARMING

BUT NO SENATE VOTE IS SET

Steps to Ease Cost to Industry Are Sought as Condition of an Effort at Ratification

A

By JOHN H. CUSHMAN Jr.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12 — The Administration today signed the international agreement to fight global warming, affirming a crucial American role in a long environmental crusade but not raising any hope of Senate approval in the near future.

The signing, which the Administration has long promised, reinforces its commitment to the treaty, which calls for sharp cuts in emissions of industrial gases from burning coal, oil, wood and natural gas. But the accord is not legally binding unless the Senate approves it.

Vice President Al Gore said, "Our signing of the protocol underscores our determination to achieve a truly global solution to this global challenge." But he emphasized that much more bargaining lies ahead.

Treaty opponents in the United States immediately raised an outcry, but the step was widely applauded in Buenos Aires, where 150 nations are debating how the treaty can be put into effect.

Stuart E. Eizenstat, the chief American delegate to the talks there, announced this morning that the United States would sign the pact, which was negotiated last year in Kyoto, Japan. A. Peter Burieligh, the acting American representative to the United Nations, signed it in New York this afternoon.

But the Administration, as expected, will not yet submit the Kyoto Protocol for approval by the Senate, where it faces substantial opposition from critics who say the costs to industry would damage the economy.

The White House has said all along that the United States would sign it before the deadline next March, but would not ratify it unless key American provisos are accepted. Given the pace of the continuing talks, that probably means not before the elections in 2000.

The protocol strengthens a global treaty negotiated in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 and ratified during the Bush Administration. Many scientists say rising concentrations of greenhouse gases, warming the earth's surface like an invisible quilt, are threatening grave environmental harm.

Without the participation of the United States, the leading source of waste industrial gases, the agreement would collapse. The United

States was the 60th nation to sign.

"Kyoto is a landmark achievement but it is a work in progress and key issues remain outstanding," said Mr. Eizenstat, who is the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.

In a telephone interview, he said the signing was intended to strengthen Washington's negotiating hand. But critics in Congress, echoing the views of their constituents in industries like coal and automobiles, said it would reduce American leverage.

Mr. Eizenstat called the announcement a high point in negotiations that otherwise have focused on small advances toward putting the complex agreement into force.

"I am not gilding the lily when I say there was near euphoria among delegates here," he said. "They just felt this was a real sign of U.S. leadership. I think there was really a doubt that we were really going to pursue this, with all the opposition in the Senate and in other quarters. The feeling was that perhaps the domestic opposition was so stiff that we were going to back off."

To fulfill the accord, the United States would have to cut its emissions by about 7 percent from the 1990 level over the next 10 to 15 years. Emissions have been steadily increasing since 1990, making that target very ambitious.

The conditions that the United States is demanding are meant to hold down the costs of compliance and to increase the chance that the Senate will eventually approve.

One condition is a system of trading "emissions credits," effectively allowing the United States to reduce its own emissions less by paying other countries to reduce theirs more. Another is persuading developing nations to take a larger role in cutting emissions, encouraging them with financial assistance from developed nations, which would get emissions credits in exchange.

Both ideas face strong resistance from some countries that say the first steps must be taken by industrial nations like the United States, which emits about a quarter of all greenhouse gases.

Opponents of the treaty are marshaling opposition in Congress, arguing that the targets cannot be met without damaging the economy.

Senator Joseph I. Lieberman, a Connecticut Democrat and a leading treaty proponent, said in Buenos Aires that signing the protocol "gives us the credibility to be at the table" in the continuing talks. "That means we can not only make sure it happens, but that it happens in the way that we prefer," he said.

But a Democrat who opposes the protocol, Representative John D. Dingell of Michigan, said, "The timing of this signing only encourages countries who refuse to be part of

any effort to limit emissions."

On Wednesday Argentina pledged to curb its emissions, and today Kazakhstan also did so, but populous countries like China and India, whose emissions are growing fast, resist formal limits.

"The President has chosen a risky path both domestically and internationally," said Connie Holms, the chairwoman of the Global Climate Coalition, which represents major industry groups opposed to the treaty. "Clinton has sent the U.S. careening down an endless highway which appears on no maps, has no speed limits, no police patrols, and no exit or entrance ramps."

Senator Chuck Hagel, Republican of Nebraska, who sponsored a Senate resolution last year that opposed signing the treaty unless certain conditions were met, said the signing "blatantly contradicts the will of the United States Senate" and dared President Clinton to submit it to the Senate, where a two-thirds vote is required for approval.

"If this treaty is good enough to sign, it's good enough to be submitted to the Senate for an open, honest debate," he said.

Environmental groups praised the signing, but some complained that the United States is not doing enough yet to reduce greenhouse gas.

"Without a more vigorous commitment to domestic action, U.S. demands for more action by developing countries are like a chain-smoking parent telling his children that smoking is bad for them," said John Adams, president of the Natural Resources Defense Council. He urged the Administration to take unilateral steps to cut emissions of carbon dioxide from automobiles, power plants and other sources.

The New York Times
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1998

Clinton Administration Signs Treaty Intended to Restrain Global Warming ^{A2}

By JOHN J. FIALKA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BUENOS AIRES—Pledging to take new actions to cut greenhouse-gas emissions, the Clinton administration signed the United Nations treaty to curb global warming.

At a U.N. convention here to work out the pact's details, Stuart E. Eizenstat, an undersecretary of state, said the administration will launch initiatives for federal procurement of more energy-efficient equipment and to spur development of cleaner industrial technologies.

But critics said the move violated a July 1997 Senate resolution saying the U.S. shouldn't be a signatory until developing countries agree to greenhouse-gas reductions.

Its co-author, Sen. Chuck Hagel, (R.,

Neb.) has called the treaty dead on arrival. "Once the president signs this flawed treaty, he should have the courage of his convictions and immediately send it to the U.S. Senate," Sen. Hagel said.

But Mr. Eizenstat said the treaty wouldn't be submitted for ratification until it received commitments from more developing nations, which could take several years. The treaty, agreed to last December by over 160 nations in Kyoto, Japan, sets reduction targets only for industrial nations.

Mr. Eizenstat said that joining the 60 nations that have signed the pact "enables us to have a stronger and more credible seat at the table" while the rules and mechanisms are worked out. Only Fiji has ratified the pact, which binds industrial nations to reduce emissions by an average 5.6% from 1990 levels by 2008 to 2012.

How much Senate support the treaty has is a mystery. The Byrd-Hagel resolution posed a surprise test of strength that Democrats attempted to avoid by calling for its unanimous approval. After the resolution passed, Sen. Hagel claimed it represented the sense of every senator.

Democrats who back the treaty argue that support is much stronger than the resolution vote would indicate. Senate ratification, to bind the U.S. to the treaty, requires a two-thirds vote.

As diplomats headed into an all-night session to develop a timetable to complete the treaty, perhaps by 2000, there were signs that a longtime critic, a group of developing nations called the G-77, was breaking apart. Nations from Latin America, Africa and Pacific islands took issue with G-77 leaders China, India and oil-producing states, over emissions trading.

Emissions trading would allow a U.S. company to get credit against domestic targets by helping a developing nation reduce its emissions, which could be a more cost-effective way of cutting pollution. The European Economic Union wants to limit such credits, forcing the U.S. to make more domestic reductions. Mr. Eizenstat said a resolution isn't likely until next year.

U.S. Endorses Treaty on Global Warming

■ **Environment:** Accord signed at U.N. must be ratified by Congress, where the pact faces intense opposition.

A3

By SEBASTIAN ROTELLA
TIMES STAFF WRITER

BUENOS AIRES—In a move welcomed by environmentalists but condemned by congressional critics, the United States signed an international global-warming treaty Thursday at the United Nations, one of the modest achievements of a conference here that has focused on the role of developing nations in reducing greenhouse gases.

Before the signing, Undersecretary of State Stuart E. Eizenstat made the announcement here to representatives of 160 nations who have spent a sometimes contentious two weeks wrestling over implementation of the accord reached last year in Kyoto, Japan.

"In taking this action, the United States reaffirms our commitment to work with nations gathered here to address the challenge of climate change," Eizenstat said. "And we are guided by the firm belief that signing will serve our environmental, economic and national security goals."

In taking another step toward a commitment to cutting emissions of carbon dioxide and five other heat-trapping gases, the United States joins about 60 nations that have signed the treaty.

The signing at the United Nations represents only a small, if necessary, advancement toward ratification of the treaty, which faces intense opposition in Congress. Republican opponents, some of whom question the very existence of a global-warming threat, demand that major developing nations make a stronger anti-pollution commitment before the U.S. even considers ratification.

So perhaps the closest development to a breakthrough here for the Clinton administration was a pledge by Argentine President Carlos Menem on Wednesday that his country will become the first developing nation to voluntarily set targets for itself to cut emissions of greenhouse gases. Kazakhstan also has promised to follow Argentina's lead.

Menem's announcement raised hopes among U.S. officials and environmental activists that attitudes are changing within a bloc of 77 developing and poor nations that had monolithically demanded that industrialized nations, the world's biggest polluters, shoulder the burden.

"The United States commends Argentina for the historic announcement by President Menem," Eizenstat said. "Without meaningful participation of key developing nations, the world cannot meet the challenge of global warming no matter how much is done by industrialized countries."

Richard Mott, vice president of the World Wildlife Fund, praised the signing.

"U.S. participation in the global-warming treaty is nothing short of essential," Mott said. "As the world's leading source of greenhouse gases, it is welcome news that the U.S. will join all other industrialized nations in curbing emissions."

A leading critic, however, said President Clinton's decision "contradicts the will of the United States Senate."

Sen. Charles Hagel (R-Neb.) cited a Senate resolution last year that called for the U.S. to refrain from signing any accord that did not include legally binding commitments for developing nations or that damaged the U.S. economy.

"The Kyoto Protocol fails both those tests," Hagel said in a statement Thursday. "Once the president signs this flawed treaty, he should have the courage of his convictions and immediately send it to the United States Senate."

At this point, ratification would have little chance of passing in the Senate.

However, U.S. officials and environmental activists say congressional opponents are out of touch with the U.S. public and, increasingly, with multinational corporations that have publicly acknowledged the menace of climate change.

Nearly eight of 10 U.S. voters support the Kyoto accord, and the majority of them, both Democrats and Republicans, want the U.S. to reduce emissions even if other nations do not, according to a poll released here by the World Wildlife Fund.

CONTINUED

Los Angeles Times

Circ: 1,104,651

"Most Americans want their elected representatives to act on this and act now," said Jennifer Morgan, the group's climate policy officer.

Delegates to the conference continued laborious negotiation Thursday on a framework for policing emissions reduction around the world.

CONTINUED

U.S. signs international global warming treaty

Senate, industrial opposition make move mostly ceremonial

By Traci Watson
USA TODAY

In a largely symbolic gesture, the United States signed an international treaty to slow global warming.

Thursday's signing does not commit the United States to abide by the treaty, written in 1997 at a historic meeting in Kyoto, Japan. Before its provisions can take effect in the United States, the treaty must be ratified by the Senate, an action seen as highly unlikely in the next few years.

"This was an important decision. Many countries doubted we would sign the (treaty)," Stuart Eizenstat, lead U.S. negotiator at a global warming summit in Buenos Aires, Argentina, told USA TODAY.

The announcement was greeted with relief and congratulations by other nations and many environmentalists. Between the Kyoto meeting

and the current global-warming negotiations in Buenos Aires, the international effort to curb global warming has seemed to stall.

Opponents in the United States insist that humans are not responsible for global warming.

Most scientists agree that global warming is caused in part by greenhouse gases, created by burning fossil fuels. The gases trap heat in the atmosphere, and the resultant warming might lead to more droughts and floods.

To prevent such disasters, the Kyoto treaty calls for wealthy nations to cut greenhouse-gas emissions. It does not require poorer nations to limit their emissions.

The White House stance on the treaty has faced major opposition in Congress and from some businesses. Critics say the treaty would damage the U.S. economy, and they object to



By Diego Guanca AP

Treaty support: From left, Rep. Dennis Kucinich, D-Ohio, Sen. Joseph Lieberman, D-Conn., and Rep. Peter DeFazio, D-Ore., back the decision.

the lack of restrictions on developing nations.

One opposition group has saturated the airwaves with TV ads blasting the treaty. In the 1999 budget bill,

Congress forced through a provision forbidding the White House to take steps to implement the treaty before Senate ratification.

With a solid Republican majority

in the Senate, there is little chance for ratification of the treaty, particularly because some Democrats, such as those from coal-producing states, are against it.

Over the past year, the USA has tried repeatedly to get developing countries to voluntarily limit their greenhouse gases as Congress and industry have demanded. But the developing nations that emit the most greenhouse gases — China and India — refuse to consider limits, saying rich nations should clean up first.

The United States has also angered its allies by insisting on unlimited use of emissions trading, a complex system that would allow a country to exceed its emission quota by paying a country that emits less than its quota. European and developing nations say there should be limits on such trading. But others say limits would make the Kyoto treaty too expensive and awkward to implement.

However, there has been some progress since Kyoto:

► Several dozen companies have agreed to try to lower their emissions of greenhouse gases. The group in-

cludes corporations such as Monsanto and Shell.

► Wednesday, Argentina and Kazakhstan agreed to limit their greenhouse-gas emissions, though the Kyoto treaty does not require them to do so.

► The developing nations have adopted a more conciliatory approach.

The diplomats in Buenos Aires are trying to set up work groups that will fill in the provisions that will help the Kyoto agreement reach its goals.

Until countries can agree on topics such as how to monitor progress and how to punish nations that don't comply, there can be no action against global warming.

Still, lurking in the background is the widespread acceptance that the treaty is too weak to keep the globe from warming. That is no excuse to abandon the Kyoto treaty, scientists say. But it does mean the Earth probably will warm several degrees — with the accompanying catastrophes — unless the world agrees to even stricter limits than those in the Kyoto treaty.

Climate Talks Extended in Pursuit of an Accord

By Joby Warrick
Washington Post Staff Writer
Saturday, November 14, 1998; Page A3

BUENOS AIRES, Nov. 13 – With a deal reportedly within reach, delegates to a United Nations climate conference hunkered down for a second all-night bargaining session tonight to try to decide how to implement last year's international accord to fight global warming.

The two-week conference slipped into overtime as rich and poor nations continued to clash over how to share the responsibility for cutting emissions of "greenhouse gases." U.N. officials had hoped to reach agreement today on a set of deadlines and rules that would lock nations onto a course for solving what many scientists see as the planet's most serious environmental problem.

Diplomats appeared to have achieved significant breakthroughs on several fronts, but officials acknowledged that the talks could collapse if the 160 nations gathered here fail to reach consensus on a wide range of contentious issues.

"We're going to go out of here with a signed-and-sealed deal or we go out with nothing," Peter Jorgensen, spokesman for the European Union's environmental mission, told reporters. "You're not going to get out of here while it's light – unless it's the morning light."

Last year's climate pact approved in Kyoto, Japan, would bind industrialized countries to sharp reductions in greenhouse gases over the next 13 years. But Kyoto left many issues unresolved, including when and how developing countries will take on obligations for curbing their emissions. The pact was formally signed on Thursday by the Clinton administration, but U.S. officials insist they will not submit the pact for the Senate ratification needed for it to become law until improvements are made.

Throughout the day, the mood at the cavernous municipal exposition center in Buenos Aires rose and fell with reports of deals that were on and then off again. U.S. and European governments at one point appeared to have scored a victory with an agreement on an early deadline – the year 2000 – for setting rules to enforce the Kyoto accord and setting up market-based programs that would allow countries to work jointly on reducing emissions.

But late today a group of developing countries led by China and Saudi Arabia objected to the deadlines, a startling turn of events that appeared to put the entire conference in limbo. Other diplomats shrugged off the setback and insisted that talks would continue until a deal was reached.

"I don't think anyone wants to go home and say we can't take this

process any further," said Jorgensen, the EU spokesman. "I don't think we could sell that result."

Still, the slow going in Buenos Aires was seen as a poor omen, since many of the most difficult decisions are not even scheduled to be addressed until next year at the earliest. Some observers at the conference were already labeling it a failure.

"A great deal of energy expended for not much of a result," said James Sheehan of Competitive Enterprise Institute, a free-market think tank that opposes the Kyoto treaty.

But others said Buenos Aires had already achieved significant breakthroughs, most notably the decisions by two developing countries – Argentina and Kazakhstan – to set voluntary limits on their emissions.

"The show of leadership to the rest of the world was critical," said Eileen Claussen of the Pew Center on Global Climate Change, a partnership of large corporations that broadly support action on climate change. "This meeting turned a critical corner, showing the first signs of a global response to this problem."

The diplomatic wrangling coincided with new scientific reports of unusual warming in the atmosphere and oceans. According to U.S. government scientists, surface temperatures last month just missed tying the record for the hottest October since reliable measurements began more than a century ago.

Last month's global average temperature reached 58.14 degrees Fahrenheit, just shy of the 58.15-degree record set in October 1997. The month was 1.04 degrees warmer than the 117-year average, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration said, continuing a trend of unusually warm temperatures in a year in which each of the first nine months set new records.

While many scientists agree that pollution is causing a slow rise in global temperatures that could eventually become disastrous, it remains uncertain whether this year's unusual warming is part of such a trend.

News



Site Index



Los Angeles Times

SCIENCE

HELP?

Sunday, November 15, 1998

Degrees of Progress at Environmental Summit

■ **Global warming:** Delegates set compliance deadline. U.S. hails shift in developing nations' attitude.

By *SEBASTIAN ROTELLA*, Times Staff Writer



BUENOS AIRES--After an all-night session culminating two weeks of sometimes contentious and bureaucratic talks, negotiators from more than 170 nations attending a conference on **global warming** here wrapped up the event Saturday with the expected result: modest progress.

Following up on a treaty hammered out last year in Kyoto, Japan, the delegates set 2000 as a deadline for creating a global mechanism to police efforts to reduce emissions of six "greenhouse" gases that cause **global warming** and to hold accountable the nations that fail to comply.

The participants also made small steps on a fundamental and divisive issue: the use of U.S.-backed, market-based plans allowing industrialized nations to meet anti-pollution targets by trading emission "credits" or funding clean-air projects in poorer nations.

U.S. diplomats and environmentalists welcomed the notable change in the attitudes of developing nations, which in the past monolithically resisted pressure to increase their role in the fight against **global warming**.

Because U.S. ratification of the Kyoto treaty faces stiff opposition from Senate opponents who demand "meaningful progress" by key developing nations before considering the issue, last week's unprecedented promises by Argentina and three other countries to cut emissions voluntarily amounted to a domestic political victory for the Clinton administration.

"These pledges reflect a growing recognition that climate change is truly a global challenge that requires a global solution," said Undersecretary of State Stuart E. Eizenstat, the chief U.S. delegate. "They have changed the map of future negotiations."

Continued

Copyright 1998 Los Angeles Times. All Rights Reserved

† Search the archives of the Los Angeles Times for similar stories about: [UNITED NATIONS](#), [TREATIES](#), [GREENHOUSE EFFECT](#), [ENVIRONMENT](#), [POLLUTION CONTROL](#), [SUMMIT CONFERENCES](#).

Need to print or save the entire story? Select the long format.

ADVERTISEMENT

The Washington Post

A Warming Trend

THE DOGMATIC divisions of the climate change debate are giving way to practical progress. The business community, united not so long ago against any measures to combat global warming, increasingly is playing a constructive role. Now developing countries, which also had maintained a defiant and unhelpful cohesion, are beginning to look for ways to cooperate and move forward, too. All of this makes it both more urgent, and more possible, for the United States to improve its record.

Human activity—driving cars, burning coal, manufacturing—produces carbon dioxide and other gases that increasingly are accumulating in the atmosphere. Most scientists now agree that this accumulation over time will alter the earth's climate, very likely with destructive if still unpredictable consequences. Rapid warming, coastal flooding and more severe droughts and storms are some of the unpleasant possibilities. The case for reducing greenhouse gas emissions, without taking radical or impoverishing steps, is strong. Fortunately, many of the technologies that will prove useful to combat climate change have other benefits as well, in energy efficiency and pollution prevention.

Last week the United States and other nations sent representatives to a conference in Buenos Aires where they debated how to implement the Kyoto treaty, which commits industrialized nations to reduce their emissions over the coming decade. The task of dividing up the atmosphere, or responsibility for it, is understandably complex, not to be concluded in one or two or five meetings. But

the deliberations were gratifyingly business-like and free of ideological posturing. Two courageous developing nations, Argentina and Kazakhstan, broke ranks to say that they, like the rich countries, will accept binding limits on gas emissions, though not in a way that will restrict their opportunities to prosper. Others, including Chile, Mexico and South Korea, are said to be considering comparable steps. Truculent oppositionists such as China, India and Saudi Arabia find themselves more isolated.

The Clinton administration last week signed the Kyoto treaty, a symbolic step intended to strengthen its international bargaining position. The Senate won't ratify the treaty, and the administration won't submit it until more developing countries sign on. Rightly, the United States also continues to lobby for rules that give each country maximum flexibility in deciding how to reach its target and that allow room for free-market mechanisms to work.

But American pleadings abroad will fail unless matched by progress at home; the United States after all remains the world's biggest source of greenhouse gases. One major advance would be legislation, such as that sponsored by Sens. Mack, Chafee and Lieberman, to encourage early, voluntary action by U.S. companies. Congress so far has been mostly an impediment to progress. But the Just Say No caucus can no longer rely on a like-minded industry alliance as a crutch, nor on a recalcitrant developing world bloc as an excuse.

Deadline Set To Form Rules For Reducing Gas Emissions

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

After an all-night session in Buenos Aires, negotiators from more than 150 countries early yesterday set a deadline of two years for adopting operational rules for cutting emissions of waste industrial gases that are believed to cause global warming.

With that, proponents of the Kyoto Protocol, a treaty under which the reductions are to be made, declared victory in the two-week round of talks.

Expectations were low going in: United Nations officials, American diplomats and environmentalists said at the outset that they would consider the Buenos Aires meeting a success if it adopted a work program for fleshing out the Kyoto Protocol.

That was done. But beyond that, the treaty's backers said the conference revealed a shift in the worldwide debate on how to deal with the possibility of disruptive climate change brought about by emissions of heat-trapping greenhouse gases, mainly carbon dioxide, which is produced by the burning of oil, coal, wood and natural gas.

Buenos Aires made clear, they said, that both industry and developing countries were becoming more engaged in the effort to control emissions and in trying to make the Kyoto Protocol eventually work.

Under the protocol, negotiated last December in Japan, industrialized countries agreed to accept legally binding reductions in greenhouse gases averaging about 5 percent below 1990 levels from 2008 to 2012.

The protocol set up a number of mechanisms that was said to achieve the cuts most effectively and at least cost. Chief among them was a plan to allow countries to trade in emission rights, and another plan, called the clean development mechanism, to allow rich countries to invest in emissions-reducing enterprises in developing nations.

Last Wednesday, Argentina became the first developing country to announce that it would assume binding targets and timetables for controlling emissions. Kazakhstan followed. Honduras led a Latin American proposal to speed up introduction of the advent of the clean development mechanism. Some African nations expressed interest in becoming more involved.

All of this led Stuart Eizenstat, the chief American negotiator, to declare a "sea change in attitude" after the talks concluded.

At the same time, he said, many businesses have abandoned a posture of hard opposition to emissions reduction in favor of being actively constructive. A number of big companies, including General Motors, Monsanto, Shell and British Petroleum, have recently adopted such a stance, and Mr. Eizenstat said yesterday that their representatives seemed to outnumber fossil-fuel industry hard-liners in Buenos Aires.

But Mr. Eizenstat pointed out there was still considerable opposition to the Kyoto Protocol in the ranks of industry. The two biggest and most influential developing countries, China and India, continued to take a hard line against any sort of specific emissions reduction targets for poor nations until rich ones are actually reducing theirs.

And not everyone agreed with the Eizenstat assessment. "I don't think the business community is split," William F. O'Keefe, a spokesman for the American Petroleum Institute, said this week. While a number of companies are indeed taking a constructive course, he said, few support the Kyoto Protocol as the way to deal with the problem.

In general, the fossil-fuel industry and conservative American politicians continue to portray the protocol as a misbegotten instrument that will not work and will be too costly to the American economy.

Senator Chuck Hagel, Republican of Nebraska, said in Buenos Aires, as he has for the last year, that the protocol will never be ratified by the Senate. Under the rules of ratification adopted in Kyoto, the protocol cannot go into effect if the United States does not approve it. Senator Hagel also minimized the significance of the actions by Argentina and Kazakhstan, noting that there were 132 other developing countries.

Now that countries are coming to grips with what was decided in Kyoto, he said, "the cold stone wall of fact and reality has set in, and I think from here on it gets pretty tough."

Mr. Eizenstat agreed. "There are still very, very daunting challenges," he said.

Nevertheless, proponents hailed the modest achievements of Buenos Aires. The agreement on a deadline for fleshing out the protocol "insures that the nations of the world will continue moving forward against the threat of global warming," Vice President Al Gore said.

Fred Krupp, executive director of the Environmental Defense Fund, said the talks had resulted in "forward progress" and "major strides." He said the talks marked the start of "a whole new phase" in which people are beginning to understand the value of market mechanisms in reducing emissions.

A6 SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1998

NATIONAL NEWS

160 Nations Endorse Pact on Global Warming Compliance

By JOBY WARRICK
Washington Post Staff Writer

BUENOS AIRES, Nov. 14—Diplomats, clinching a deal in the final hours of tumultuous, marathon climate talks here, agreed today to put their governments on a fast track for deciding how to meet ambitious goals for slashing emissions from fossil-fuel combustion.

The accord, gaveled through at sunrise after nearly two days of non-stop negotiations, represented the first concrete steps toward implementing the global warming

treaty approved last December in Kyoto, Japan. In what diplomats described as a crucial first test for the pact, negotiators from more than 160 countries agreed on deadlines and an "action plan" that they say will guide efforts to fight global warming.

The deal was hailed by U.S. and European ministers as evidence of momentum in implementing the controversial climate treaty. But diplomats were more encouraged by apparent progress in resolving one of the thorniest issues blocking progress in climate talks—whether developing coun-

tries should take on more responsibility for reducing their emissions.

"This conference was marked by a clear shift in the terms of the debate," said Stuart Eizenstat, the deputy secretary of state who led the U.S. delegation to the United Nations talks here. "Our talks here were infused with a promising new spirit of engagement that is helping to bridge the divide between developed and developing nations."

Today's agreement was reached after intense bargaining and diplomacy-by-exhaustion that nearly mirrored the De-

cember conference, which produced the Kyoto accord. The deal teetered on collapse a number of times as a block of developing countries—led by Saudi Arabia and other oil-rich states—sought to block proposals for setting firm deadlines for resolving disputes about compliance with the treaty. The Saudis changed their stance after other developing countries broke ranks and sided with industrial countries.

Negotiators ultimately agreed to set rules for enforcing the Kyoto pact by late 2000, including tough measures to guard

against cheating and penalties for countries that fail to comply. They also decided within two years guidelines for market-based programs to make it cheaper and easier for countries to cut pollution.

The Kyoto accord binds industrial countries to sharp reductions in greenhouse gases over the next 13 years. But the pact leaves many issues unresolved, including when and how developing countries will take on obligations for curbing their emissions. The pact faces an uphill

See WARMING, A7, Col. 1

Accord Speeds Up Timetable for 'Action Plan' on Environment

WARMING, From A6

fight in the Senate, in part because of objections to the exemptions for large developing countries such as China, which will soon surpass the United States as the world's leading emitter of greenhouse gases.

The accord was formally signed on Thursday by the Clinton administration, but U.S. officials insist they will not submit the pact for the Senate ratification needed for it to become law until improvements are made.

The rift among developing countries emerged earlier in the week when Argentina and Kazakhstan announced they would voluntarily adopt restrictions on the growth of their emissions. Since then, more than a dozen other developing nations have expressed interest in taking on a variety of commitments for curbing pollution at home.

Some saw the movement as the diplomatic equivalent of last year's pledge by British Petroleum to reduce its own greenhouse gas emissions—an announcement that fragmented industrial opposition to a

climate treaty and led to subsequent declarations by more than a dozen other major corporations.

"The decisions taken in Buenos Aires show that governments have begun to roll up their sleeves and get down to the serious business of reducing greenhouse gas emissions," said Fred Krupp, director of the the New York-based Environmental Defense Fund.

Europe and the United States put off until next year their biggest dispute, whether to set limits on the amount of trading in "emissions" credits and other

market mechanisms that would allow rich countries to have higher emissions at home in return for investing in "clean" technology abroad.

Europeans want strict limits on trading to force countries to undertake most of their emissions cuts domestically.

The modest gains on substantive issues in Buenos Aires left partisans on both sides of the climate debate unimpressed. European "greens" complained that the ministers had done little to help the environment.

"This meeting has been a trade fair, wrangling over how to keep the fossil fuel

industry alive and burning," said Patrick Green of Friends of the Earth International.

Widely known but little acknowledged at the conference, he said, is the fact that Kyoto's emissions cuts alone will only put a dent in greenhouse gas levels over the next few decades.

On that point, global warming activists and skeptics were in full agreement.

"It's complete lunacy," said Fred Singer, a University of Virginia scientist prominent skeptic on global warming. "Kyoto is not going to achieve anything."

On Island, Global Warming Is Clear Threat

Tiny Pacific Nation of Nauru Struggles to Be Heard at Conference

By JOHN J. FIALKA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BUENOS AIRES—For many diplomats, last week's United Nations convention on global warming was another day at the office. For Ludwig Keke, the deputy speaker of the tiny Pacific island nation of Nauru, it was a chance to explain his nation's epic and peculiar struggle for survival.

"I want to see things moving," said Mr. Keke, as he started another 14-hour day at his assigned table in Buenos Aires' Exhibition Center. After two weeks of wrangling, some things moved slightly, but the job of completing a global-warming treaty was kicked forward for another couple of years.

Series of Calamities

Nauru is about to become the world's first poster child for global warming. Speaking in soft Australian-accented English over the sound of speech-making delegates, Mr. Keke, 63 years old, explained his country's plight.

Nauruans created one of the richest

per-capita incomes in the world. The money came from a mining company that peeled the jungle off of the crown of their hat-shaped island and dug out the thick bed of phosphate underneath. Most of Nauru's population of 10,000 moved down to the island's narrow brim, within earshot of the waves that lap its pristine beaches.

But now a series of calamities topped off by climate change have knocked Nauru's elaborate plans into, well, a cocked hat.

First, the sea level is rising faster in the South Pacific than in many parts of the world. Storm waves now undermine Nauru's main road, which runs along the brim of the hat, and sometimes batter Nauruans' houses.

On normal islands, the houses could be moved, but on Nauru the high ground is taken up by the mine. The storm surges have also poisoned the island's supply of fresh water that once fed a pond where Mr.

Keke raised fish.

"Now the pond's mostly dried up anyway, and the fish are dead," shrugged the diplomat, referring to Nauru's second crisis, an unprecedented drought now in its third year. Cisterns are dry. Even coconut trees are starting to wither.

Asian Financial Crisis

Grappling with the drought, Nauruan leaders were blind-sided by a third crisis. The island's \$100 million investment fund, gleaned from the mine and from a settlement for environmental damages from the mine's former Australian and New Zealand owners, was put into the Asian real-estate market.

The waves from Asia's financial storm triggered cash-flow problems. Government officials didn't get paid for several months. Nauru's 13-man parliament gave its former prime minister a vote of no confidence and sent Mr. Keke, the deputy speaker, to the negotiations here.

On most days, Mr. Keke and a colleague left their hotel at 7:30 a.m. and didn't return until at least 10 p.m. Because Nauru is so tiny, they spent a great deal of time haggling with various coalitions.

At 9 a.m., there was the Alliance of Small Island States, a group of 40 low-lying Pacific islands, many of which have their own climate-change crises. At 11 a.m. came the larger "Group of 77," a fractious assembly including China, African nations and oil-producing nations, some of which seem determined to block the treaty.

Then there were so-called plenary sessions, where technical experts from industrial nations duelled over the meaning of "flexible mechanisms," "adaptation" and other jargon left undefined in last year's treaty. Finally came so-called contact groups, small meetings of activist delegates who huddled with corporate lobbyists and environmental groups, sometimes until 5 a.m.

Emergency-Aid Application

But by 10 p.m., Mr. Keke usually found his eyes glazing over. While other diplomats droned on, he went in search of a tango club or a good dinner. "This is ridiculous," he said of the punishing schedule.

Between meetings, he filled out an emergency-aid application form for Nauru's rehabilitation plan, the raw material for which consists of a loaf-shaped pile of dirt 100 feet tall and 500 feet long. It is the island's former topsoil, carefully scraped together over the years, which Nauruans hope to use to restore their former jungle.

But they can't move the dirt back now, Mr. Keke noted, because the financial crisis makes Nauru more dependent than ever on the income from three years' worth of phosphate left to be mined. Meanwhile, a water-desalinization plant, built several years ago to prevent a water crisis, is in trouble. Half of its six delivery trucks have broken down.

Mr. Keke and other island leaders look to the U.S. to save the day. When he was six years old, the Japanese hauled him and half the island's population to another island for use as slave laborers, part of a scheme to convert Nauru into an airport for bombers. "The Japanese ship was coming back for the rest of us when it got torpedoed by the U.S. Navy," he recalls with a smile.

But the U.S. is not coming to the rescue now, at least not soon. The negotiations here bogged down over how industrial na-

tions that have sped up climate change with their "greenhouse gas" emissions such as carbon dioxide, might contribute to its most immediate victims.

The U.S. wants "flexible mechanisms," an elaborate emissions-trading scheme that would give U.S. companies credits for providing environmental assistance overseas. Oil-producing states want some of the credits to pay them for losses in oil revenues. African nations want aid. Small-island nations want it to go into a fund to help them survive, a process that's called "adaptation."

Each nation was allotted five minutes to speak about its problems. To get more time for the overall cause, Nauru had to strike a deal with four other island states, and the speaking job went to Bikenibeu Paenice, prime minister of Tuvalu. So Mr. Keke went home without a chance to tell Nauru's story to the assembled delegates.

Still, to emphasize Nauru's strong feelings, Mr. Keke registered his country as one of only four developing nations to volunteer to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions in the same way that industrial nations are required to under the treaty. The others were Argentina, Kazakhstan and the Pacific island of Niue.

Nations Agree to Finish Most Provisions Of Global-Warming Pact by 2000's End

By JOHN J. FIALKA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BUENOS AIRES—Delegates from 160 nations have settled on a deadline, the end of the year 2000, for completing most parts of the United Nations treaty to curb global warming. The agreement came after an all-night bargaining session that demonstrated growing support for the pact among developing nations.

"We are now beyond concepts. We are into the actual practical rules, regulations and procedures," said Stuart Eizenstat, leader of the U.S. negotiating team, who described an aborted 3 a.m. walkout by leaders of the so-called Group of 77 as part of a political "sea change" in the attitudes of many of the 120 developing nations that now compose the group.

After two days of high-level talks bogged down amid dozens of difficult issues that remain undefined in the 1997 Kyoto treaty, Maria Julia Alsogaray, chairwoman of the conference and Argentina's minister of environment, formed a group of 12 major players in the talks that hammered out the schedule for deadlines in a closed, night-long session.

According to several officials in the group, six G-77 delegates walked out at 3 a.m., led by China and Saudi Arabia. They said they could "no longer endure" the process. But they were met outside the door by delegates from Argentina, small island states and other members of the G-77 who began shouting at them to go back in.

As one diplomat explained: "We are telling them 'You can walk out if you want, but there are 100 other countries here that are willing to negotiate if you leave.'" After a brief, closed caucus with other G-77 members, the six delegates returned to Ms. Alsogaray's session.

Mr. Eizenstat said the move showed that developing nations, who were largely opposed to the treaty in Kyoto talks last year, have begun to develop individual

stands for the treaty. "That will occur more frequently," he predicted, as talks over the details of emissions trading and other treaty mechanisms continue.

Many U.S. companies and Republican leaders in Congress remain skeptical about the treaty, intended to curb emissions of carbon dioxide and other global-warming gases by industrial nations, said Mr. Eizenstat, an undersecretary of state. "I'm not trying to gild the lily here. We've got substantial opposition in many quarters," he said.

At an 8 a.m. Saturday media briefing, Mr. Eizenstat said he was heartened by a shift coming from Southern Co., the largest private electric-power producer in the U.S. The Atlanta company has been a leader of two industry groups aggressively lobbying against the administration and the treaty. But late Friday, Steve R. Spencer, senior executive vice president, issued a statement saying while Southern still has reservations about the pact, "We are committed to being a part of the solution and to working with the administration."

Southern belongs to the Climate Council, an alliance of a dozen major coal and oil-using companies that retains Donald H. Pearlman, a Washington lawyer. He was in attendance here, consulting with the Saudis and members of other oil-producing delegations.

The Saudis, who repeatedly tried to delete specific deadlines for further work on the treaty, are concerned that the effect of the treaty, which tends to promote more efficient use of energy, will lower oil prices. They want a clause giving them financial compensation, a move opposed by the U.S. and the European Union.

"I don't remember that we asked OPEC [the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries] for compensation when oil was at \$32 a barrel," Mr. Eizenstat said.