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JUL 25 1998

House Restricts Rulemaking on Global Warming

P2013

The Kyoto Treaty on climate change took center stage when the House resumed debate July 23 on the fiscal 1999 spending measure for science, space, housing and veterans programs.

The House left intact provisions in the bill (HR 4194) that would prevent the Clinton administration from implementing the treaty through regulatory actions if the Senate does not ratify it — and the Senate is not expected to do so. Environmentalists cut short their efforts to reverse those provisions.

The treaty, which the Clinton administration and delegates from 167 other countries agreed to in Kyoto, Japan, in December 1997, would require the United States to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 7 percent below 1990 levels no later than 2012. (*Treaty*, CQ Weekly, p. 1537)

The House adopted, 226-198, an amendment by David R. Obey, D-Wis., to overrule language in the bill's report that suggested the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Council on Environmental Quality refrain from conducting educational seminars or outreach programs on global warming. (Vote 332, p. 2056)

But then James C. Greenwood, R-Pa., and Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif., opted not to offer amendments to turn back a bill provision that they worry could keep the EPA from implementing current laws that might overlap with the treaty.

Greenwood and Waxman conceded that they did not have the votes to pass their amendments, and they wanted to end consideration of the Kyoto issue with the Obey amendment. Both said it is likely that the language that emerges from a House-Senate conference will differ from the House provisions. The Senate bill (S 2168) includes language on Kyoto, but it would only require that the administration provide Congress with details of any plans to implement the treaty.

Besides the Obey amendment, the House spent considerable time on an

amendment to overrule several paragraphs in the bill's committee report. Those paragraphs would attempt to delay EPA action on controversial issues such as issuing regulatory standards for mercury emissions and dredging bodies of water and implementing a program designed to reduce regional haze.

Waxman, who offered the amendment after removing Kyoto language from it, said the report was "part of a steady stream of attacks" on the environment since Republicans took control of Congress in 1995. But Jerry Lewis, R-Calif., chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee that funds the departments of Veterans Affairs (VA), Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and independent agencies, pointed out that report language is non-binding. "Report language does little damage," he said. "It's just trying to get their attention."

The House defeated the amendment, 176-243. (Vote 334, p. 2056)

The chamber also debated an amendment by Tim Roemer, D-Ind., and Dave Camp, R-Mich., to cut \$1.6 billion from the bill's funding of the international space station. The amendment would leave \$500 million for close-out costs. The amendment — a perennial that the House has never adopted — is expected to be defeated when the House resumes work on the \$93.3 billion measure July 28. ♦

By Lori Nitschke

Box Score

Bills:

HR 4194 (H Rept 105-610), S 2168 (S Rept 105-216) — Fiscal 1999 VA-HUD appropriations.

Latest action:

House debated HR 4194 on July 23-24.

Next likely action:

House debate continues July 28.

Reference:

Senate passage, CQ Weekly, p. 1947; Senate debate, p. 1878; FHA mortgages, p. 1833; House committee, p. 1767; Senate committee, p. 1612.

The Washington Times

10-17-98

GOP stalls global warming treaty Requires Senate ratification to implement pact's clauses

By Patrice Hill
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Republicans prevailed on a key provision curbing the president's powers to carry out the global warming treaty, despite crowing by President Clinton yesterday that he won another war with Congress over the environment.

The massive \$500 billion budget agreement retains a top Republican legislative initiative barring the administration from carrying out any terms of the treaty unless it is ratified by the Senate.

Mr. Clinton has not submitted the treaty to the Senate since it was drafted in Kyoto, Japan, last year, in the light of widespread predictions it would fail.

The White House threatened to veto the anti-Kyoto provision when it first surfaced in the House this spring, but support grew so rapidly in Congress that in the end, the White House and environmental groups acquiesced without much of a fight, aides said.

Yesterday, Mr. Clinton chose to bask in an earlier victory in the

House this summer, when Democrats knocked more punitive language out of the House's spending bill that would have barred the Environmental Protection Agency from conducting any more "informational seminars" on global warming.

Mr. Clinton lobbied for the treaty in a Rose Garden ceremony, citing the GOP's agreement to continue funding \$1 billion of energy conservation projects in the budget.

"We struck down the worst of the anti-environmental provisions the Republicans had put into the budget bill," he said. "We won substantial increases in funding to head off the threat of global climate change, which disruptive weather patterns in America have warned us about."

The wording of the budget agreement suggests the GOP's concession was more modest. It stresses that the prohibition against carrying out the Kyoto treaty is not intended to stop energy conservation projects that are

already under way.

Supporters of the treaty took a new tack this week in the light of the GOP's victory, introducing legislation that would encourage companies to start voluntarily reducing their greenhouse gas emissions.

The bill's sponsor, Senate Environment and Public Works Committee Chairman John H. Chafee, said he will push the bill next year. It would give power companies and other big energy users "credit for early action" in the event the EPA issues regulations requiring the large emissions reductions envisioned in the treaty.

The Rhode Island Republican hopes the bill will bridge the gap between conservative Republicans who oppose the treaty and the administration. It is co-sponsored by Sen. Connie Mack, Florida Republican, and Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman, Connecticut Democrat.

A second round of negotiations over the treaty is scheduled in Buenos Aires next month.

WIRE:Oct. 28, 1:50 p.m. ET
U.S. says EU demands may
derail climate deal

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - The European Union's push to force the United States and other industrialized countries to make most of their cuts in heat-trapping pollution domestically could kill a deal to fight global warming, the top U.S. climate negotiator said Wednesday.

With a major round of talks to implement the climate change treaty to start next week, Undersecretary of State Stuart Eizenstat said the United States will "adamantly oppose" limits on its plan to let countries claim credit for pollution cuts elsewhere through a system of trading emissions allowances.

Curbs on trading allowances pushed by the European Union "threaten to undo the Kyoto agreement, and would impose unsustainable costs on the U.S. economy and actually discourage deeper reductions in greenhouse gas emissions," said Eizenstat, who will lead the U.S. delegation to next week's talks.

The United States and some 160 other countries that agreed last December to a plan to curb the world's industrial emissions are set to meet for two weeks in Buenos Aires from Nov. 2-13 to flesh out ways to implement the deal.

With 1997 the warmest year on record, Eizenstat said pressure was building to curb the carbon gases emitted by burning coal and oil that are accumulating in the atmosphere, trapping heat and changing the world's climate.

Speaking to a Washington think tank, he said a primary goal at the upcoming negotiations will be to "oppose any backsliding" from the agreement struck last year in Kyoto, Japan.

From Kyoto, he said the United States understood it would be able to use "flexible, market-based" mechanisms without "arbitrary limits."

Eizenstat said the other countries that want unlimited ability to trade emissions allowances -- including Japan, Canada

and Russia -- could evolve into an emissions "trading group" to resist EU efforts to cap the practice.

European countries want to be able to trade emissions credits with each other under an EU "bubble." But to make actual cuts in global emissions and avoid a deceptive paper shuffle, they say the EU, the United States and other parties to the agreement must make most of their cuts domestically.

Critics of the U.S. plan say rich countries could buy up emissions credits from Russia and other former Soviet countries that have had huge drops in industrial output, resulting in little actual reduction in actual carbon pollution.

But the United States contends its plan will use the marketplace to find the lowest-cost ways to cut carbon, avoiding huge jumps in energy prices and the economic dislocations that would otherwise occur from the plan to slash industrialized countries' carbon emissions to 5.2 percent below 1990 levels by around 2008-2012.

Eizenstat said the United States would try to keep the Buenos Aires talks from bogging down on the dispute over trading and instead keep them focused on developing a plan to carry out the agreement.

He also said the United States would use the talks to meet intensively with developing countries to try to build momentum for them to agree to start taking actions to slow the growth of their own pollution.

Under the Kyoto deal, only industrialized countries would have to cut their emissions, as they are responsible for most of the carbon build-up.

But pushed by industry groups, the Clinton administration has said it would not seek Senate ratification of the Kyoto treaty unless developing countries with a growing share of emissions also agree to take steps to fight the problem.

One of the Senate's main backers of the climate treaty, Democrat Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut, said this week he doubted the deal would be ready to be offered to the Senate for at least another two years.

WIRE:Oct. 28, 4:37 p.m. ET

U.S. pledges to oppose
restrictions on trading
pollution credits

AP News Service

WASHINGTON (AP) _ The United States will “adamantly oppose” restrictions on the international trading of pollution credits under a treaty on global warming, the administration’s chief negotiators on climate issues said Wednesday.

European countries, as well as developing nations, have criticized U.S. attempts to mitigate the cost of addressing global warming by allowing unrestricted emissions trading among nations.

They contend the amount of trading credits should be capped and linked to efforts countries take domestically to reduce greenhouse gases, especially carbon dioxide from burning fossil fuels.

How to structure an international pollution trading mechanism on heat-trapping “greenhouse gases” _ principally carbon dioxide _ will be among the most contentious issues facing negotiators at a climate conference in Buenos Aires, Argentina, next month.

Undersecretary of State Stuart Eizenstat, who will head the U.S. delegation to the talks, assured business executives Wednesday the United States “will oppose any backsliding” on unrestricted use of trading as part of a global warming accord.

“We will adamantly oppose efforts to set arbitrary limits on trading,” Eizenstat told a group of business leaders and academics in a speech at the Center for National Policy.

Eizenstat said 160 nations, including the United States, agreed in Kyoto, Japan, nearly a year ago to allow trading and other measures to ease the cost of reducing greenhouse gases. “That agreement must hold,” he declared.

Eizenstat’s comments were a welcome signal to a growing number of business leaders who have supported efforts to

reduce carbon dioxide emissions to address climate concerns as long as a market-based "trading mechanism" is included to mitigate costs.

"I think the one thing I was glad to hear him say is he's not going to stand for any backtracking" on unrestricted emissions trading, said Joe McGuire, government affairs director for AlliedSignal Inc. and chairman of the International Climate Change Partnership.

Under the emissions trading scheme broadly endorsed as part of the global warming agreement reached in Kyoto, countries would be able to meet their greenhouse gas reductions in part by purchasing credits from other countries that already are below their targets.

Some environmentalists have argued that if such trading is not restricted, some countries, including the United States, might be able to achieve their required reductions while doing little to actually reduce greenhouse emissions domestically.

The Kyoto accord, which has yet to be signed or submitted to the Senate for ratification, calls for the United States to reduce greenhouse emissions 7 percent below 1990 levels by 2008-2012, a cut of more than a third from where emissions are expected to be, given normal economic growth.

A White House economic analysis provided to Congress earlier this year says that emissions trading is essential if the costs of meeting the Kyoto targets are to be kept in check.

The analysis put the cost at about \$17 a ton of carbon reduced if nearly 80 percent of the reductions are achieved by buying emission credits. An industry-sponsored study estimated the cost at \$265 a ton without any trading of emission credits. A recent Energy Department study put the cost at more than \$300 a ton without trading.

Many scientists believe the earth is gradually warming because of heat-trapping chemicals, principally carbon dioxide from burning fossil fuels, being put into the atmosphere where they concentrate and act much like a greenhouse. Such a warming, these scientists fear, will cause a rise in sea level, coastal flooding and dramatic worldwide

climate changes.

Critics contend that the warming scenarios have yet to be proven to warrant actions that would require a dramatic and potentially expensive shift away from the use of fossil fuels _ especially coal _ as a primary energy source.

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Global-warming pact on ice till after 2000

■ The administration hopes for a less-hostile Congress after the next presidential race.

By Patrice Hill
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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President Clinton is not planning to submit the global-warming treaty to almost certain defeat in the Senate in the next two years, leaving its fate to be decided in the 2000 presidential election, his aides said.

Overwhelming votes in Congress this year barred the president from carrying out the treaty unless it is ratified, which proved to be a decisive setback. Senators from both parties stressed that the treaty must be drastically altered to include participation by developing countries before it will pass.

A fund that the White House uses partly to coax Third World nations to join the treaty won \$193 million in funding in the budget bill, but environmentalists and Clinton aides said the money won't have much effect.

With the newly elected Senate next year likely to be even more

see PACT, page A4

conservative and adamantly opposed to the treaty, Clinton aides said the president is unlikely to submit it before leaving office, placing its fate squarely in the hands of its main proponent: Vice President Al Gore.

Mr. Gore is certain to trumpet climate change and other environmental issues in his campaign for the presidency, and environmentalists believe the treaty has the best chance of passing if he wins.

But Republican presidential hopefuls, like Sen. John Ashcroft, a Missouri Republican who championed the ban on implementing the treaty, believe the estimates of sharply higher gas and electricity prices that would result from the treaty soured Americans on the agreement and will make it a liability for the vice president in his upcoming presidential campaign.

"This will be a replay of the debate over the BTU tax," said one GOP strategist, referring to the 1993 failure in the Senate of Mr. Clinton's unpopular energy tax proposal.

"I hate to put myself in the position of the vice president's political consultant," the Republican strategist said, "but if a ratification debate occurs, it will bring out how the treaty is unfair to Americans, hurts American farmers and businesses, and threatens U.S. sovereignty. It will reinforce doubt about the vice president's extremist views on the environment."

No one would be surprised if Mr. Clinton declines to submit the treaty to the Senate, the Republican strategist said.

in favor of the environment as opposed to being stuck with a terribly flawed treaty that the Senate would not ratify in a million years."

Republican challengers expect the vice president to take the position in the 2000 campaign that the treaty "is about to be fixed one of these days" in ongoing negotiations with other nations and "just needs some fine-tuning" to be acceptable to the Senate, he said.

One Clinton aide said a vote on ratification would be like "health care redux" — a repeat of Mr. Clinton's failed 1994 attempt at overhauling the health care system.

"Clearly, it's a perilous undertaking for the next couple of years. We would get pounded," he said. "After the next presidential election, that's a whole different thing."

Mr. Clinton will sign the treaty by the March 1999 deadline and possibly as soon as next week, before a second round of negotiations over the treaty in Buenos Aires, Argentina, begins Nov. 2, doing as much as he can for Mr. Gore and the environmentalists, the aide said. He will not pay a political price if he puts off ratification.

"He's kept the faith with environmentalists on climate change, and I don't believe it's cost him anything with moderate voters. It might be different if he tried to pass it," he said.

Kathleen McGinty, chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, said the administration wants to satisfy two Senate demands before it submits the treaty: have an international scheme in place for businesses to trade permits to emit greenhouse gases, and secure the participation of "key developing countries."

"I don't think any of us can predict the exact date on which we would submit the treaty for ratification, but we certainly can be quite clear and explicit about what accomplishments we would have

to nail down," she said.

No one in the administration is predicting any major breakthroughs on either of the two demands at the Buenos Aires summit, but Ms. McGinty cautioned that developments can sometimes come unexpectedly.

Despite strident rhetoric against the treaty in Congress this year, she noted, Republicans agreed to significantly boost funding for a global environmental fund the administration can use to entice Third World countries to join in the treaty, as well as other energy conservation projects.

Environmentalists and Clinton aides said the money will not be enough to persuade key Third World countries like China or India to change their minds and agree to binding emissions reductions under the treaty. Thus, the chances of producing a breakthrough that would make the treaty sellable in the Senate remain small.

Alden Meyer, director of the Union of Concerned Scientists, said environmentalists aren't recommending that Mr. Clinton seek ratification any time soon.

"Realistically, I think you're looking at 2001," he said. "You'd have to see some pretty strong shifts in the current climate on the Hill for the administration to decide" otherwise, he said.

Environmentalists are well aware that Republicans will try to use the issue against Mr. Gore, he said.

But Republican presidential candidates may reconsider their opposition to the treaty once they find how popular efforts are to curb global warming in Florida and other primary-election states, he said.

"It will be interesting to watch as they go from the ideological cocoon of the Senate onto the campaign trail," Mr. Meyer said.

The Washington Times

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1998

to result in "lower employment than as higher inflation." Mr. Jasnowski 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 reassessment," 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.

Year-2000 Problem May Drag Economy, But Likely Short-Lived, Fed Official Says

Doug Jones Newsires

WASHINGTON — Federal Reserve Board governor Edward Kelley Jr. said he is "cautiously optimistic" that the U.S. will survive the year-2000 computer problem.

"We will, of course, be ready, if people want to hold more cash on New Year's Eve 1999, and we will be prepared to lend whatever sums may be needed to financial institutions through the discount window under the emergency provisions of the Federal Reserve Act."

play in countering the downturn. But there is nothing monetary policy can do to offset the direct effects of a year-2000 disruption," Mr. Kelley said.

As the end of the millennium nears, more attention in the private and public sectors is being turned to the problem, which occurs when a computer using old software thinks the year 2000 is 1900.

How widespread the effects will be is a



A Year After Kyoto Pact's Completion, The Political Heat Is Unabated

Foes of Senate ratification still have the upper hand, but global warming treaty's backers hope for incremental progress toward conservation in 1999

Nearly a year after negotiators in Japan forged a historic blueprint for combating global warming, there is no cooling of opinions in sight.

The heat is particularly intense in Congress, which remains steadfastly opposed to the treaty, known as the Kyoto Protocol on global warming. Critics insist it would sap the nation's economic vitality, raise fuel prices and cost 2 million jobs, all to remedy an environmental hazard that is science fiction, they say.

For the administration and other supporters of the Kyoto Protocol, the 1997 international agreement for reducing emissions of six greenhouse gases, the outlook is not encouraging.

And with presidential elections on the horizon, a Republican majority in Congress, and bitter differences between developed and less-developed nations, chances are remote for even minor movement in 1999.

That was the prevailing view before Nov. 3, when representatives from 160 nations, including the United States, met in Buenos Aires to begin writing the fine print in the Kyoto Protocol. It is a view that has become more pessimistic in the wake of the Buenos Aires meeting, where little progress was made in bridging gaping differences between many nations or easing congressional concerns.

"I believe that the treaty is dead — it just hasn't been buried yet," Frank H. Murkowski, R-Alaska, chairman of the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, said Nov. 12. "Rather than trying to breathe life into a dead treaty, we should shift the focus to efforts to reduce global emissions with a mix of 21st century technology, market-oriented approaches and American ingenuity.

"The key to emissions reductions won't be found by diplomats in the halls of the U.N. — they will be found by engineers in the labs," Murkowski said.

Treaty supporters hoped the Buenos Aires meeting would produce a small breakthrough that could be used to melt opposition in Congress and nudge the treaty closer to ratification. That did not occur, even though the administration tried to jump-start the process



Environmentalists stage a demonstration wearing masks of world leaders at the international global warming conference in Kyoto on Dec. 5, 1997.

by formally signing the protocol on Nov. 12.

"The scale of the climate problem, and the complicated politics involved, have led negotiators to create a protocol of unprecedented complexity, a complexity . . . that may defy efforts to finalize the agreement and get it ready for ratification," said Christopher Flavin, an authority on climate change and senior vice president for Worldwatch Institute, a Washington-based environmental research group.

Indeed, since the day 167 nations, and the United States, agreed to the Kyoto Protocol to such high promise in 1997, the weather has intensified. The period from January through October was the hottest since records began in 1880, according to the Na-

tional Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. It was a time of killer storms, such as Hurricane Mitch, raging wildfires in Florida and stifling drought in Texas. Floods in China displaced an estimated 56 million people.

Calamitous as those events were, they pale in comparison with the political tumult that has been generated in the year since the Kyoto Protocol was written and during the two-week session in Buenos Aires.

The Clinton administration is fully aware of the opposition, and administration aides say it is unlikely the treaty will be submitted to the Senate for ratification before the 2000 elections.

U.S. Signs Agreement

The sensitivity of the matter was in full view Nov. 12, when the administration took the largely symbolic step of signing the agreement which calls on the United States to reduce its greenhouse emissions to 7 percent below 1990 levels by 2012. Even then, White House spokesman Joe Lockhart took pains to play down the decision.

"Signing does not legally commit the United States to implement the protocol," he said. "The protocol would become binding only with the advice and consent of the U.S. Senate. President Clinton has made clear that the United States regards the Kyoto Protocol as a work in progress."

Lockhart's words failed to quell the criticism.

"By signing such an agreement, it will be the first time in history that an American president has allowed foreign interests to control and limit the growth of the U.S. economy," said Sen. Larry E. Craig, R-Idaho.

The decision was denounced by Democrats as well, most prominently Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, who warned the president "to resist making empty gestures that will only make the potential future approval of the protocol by the Senate more difficult."

Locking arms with congressional opponents are an array of industry and interest groups, ranging from the National Mining Association and the National Association of Manufacturers to the National Grange, a farm group, and the Global Climate Coalition, a treaty opponent financed by the oil, gas and automobile industries.

Though expectations for a major breakthrough were low, optimists hoped the Buenos Aires meeting would

yield a perception of progress. But even that modest goal that was not realized.

"Overall, one has to really stretch to say this was a successful or productive meeting," Flavin said.

By the end of two weeks, the only agreement was on a timetable for resolving differences by the end of 2000.

Cracks in the Deal

Fissures can be found between developed and non-developed nations, between industry and environmentalists and especially fierce differences between Republicans and Democrats in Congress. There are even robust differences over whether global warming actually exists.

"The idea that the science is settled is . . . Al Gore's favorite non-truth," said Marlo Lewis, an analyst with the conservative Competitive Enterprise Institute and president of the Cooler Heads Coalition, an interest group Lewis says is dedicated to exposing the holes in global warming theories.

"We can't replicate the weather we have now, much less predict the future," Lewis said during a Nov. 17 conference sponsored in part by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D.C.

In fact, Lewis said, the most common greenhouse gas, carbon dioxide, is beneficial to the environment. "It is plant food," he said. "The more we put in the atmosphere the better it is for trees."

All of these forces have darkened prospects that the treaty will be ratified any time soon.

In general terms, the agreement calls on developing nations to reduce their emissions of greenhouse gases to 1990 levels between the years 2008 and 2012. Critics charge the treaty is unfair to the United States by demanding deeper cuts and by exempting developing nations, including China and India. (*Kyoto, CQ Weekly*, p. 2107)

Supporters of action on global warming, led by Vice President Gore, insist the problem is real and that failure to act would be irresponsible.

"In the 11 months since Kyoto," Gore said Nov. 12, "the evidence of global warming has grown only stronger, and so has our resolve. The recent budget agreement provides more than \$1 billion for our domestic climate change efforts — a 25 percent increase. And a growing number of leading corporations are pledging voluntary

cuts in their greenhouse gas emissions."

For the rest of the world, however, and particularly developing nations, those actions are tepid.

And while developing countries are not part of the treaty, a Senate resolution passed in 1997 by a vote of 95-0 requires the participation of developing nations as a precondition for ratification. (1997 *Almanac*, p. 4-13)

Cost of the Treaty

Internally, the treaty is bitterly opposed by oil, gas and mining interests that have backed their criticism with dollars to lobby against the treaty.

One estimate by the Wharton Econometrics Forecasting Associates, Inc., a Pennsylvania economics firm, predicts a total of 2 million jobs would be lost if emissions fall 7 percent below 1990 levels, and the price of gasoline in the U.S. would increase 50 cents a gallon.

It also concludes that the agreement, if enacted as currently written, would cost every American household \$2,700 a year. The president's Council of Economic Advisers, meanwhile, pegs the cost at \$112 per family per year.

Supporters of the Kyoto Protocol, such as Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman, D-Conn., concede there are not enough votes in the Senate to ratify the treaty in its current form or even come close.

The administration's signing of the protocol on Nov. 12 produced very little momentum because most saw it for what it was — a symbolic gesture that does not obligate the United States in any way.

"Signing the treaty at this point means nothing, due to the intractable bipartisan opposition in the Senate. It is nothing but symbolism, obviously an administration priority," Taylor said.

Nonetheless, supporters such as Lieberman, the administration and environmental groups insist the treaty will ultimately be ratified.

They hope 1999 will yield a series of small steps that will strengthen the country's negotiating position, building momentum at home that will carry into crucial international meetings in 1999 and 2000.

Among the areas that supporters hope Congress will explore are mechanisms for nudging U.S. utilities away from a heavy reliance on coal-fired plants and toward technologies using renewable sources such as wind or solar. Another effort is aimed at shifting fed-

eral funding away from the use of fossil fuels by promoting subsidies and tax breaks for energy efficiency and more aggressive use of renewable sources.

Kyoto proponents would also like Congress to examine increasing the corporate average fuel economy standards for automakers from 27.5 miles per gallon for cars and 20.7 miles per gallon for light trucks and minivans to an unspecified amount. Few, however, expect that to happen, given the failures of past efforts to increase average corporate mileage.

Voluntary Compliance

A more promising area is a plan to give companies credit for voluntarily reducing greenhouse gas emissions.

In reaction to a shift in industry's response to global warming, Lieberman crafted a bill (S 2617) in October to guarantee that companies' early action would be rewarded when the government sets new pollution standards.

Lieberman, who introduced the bill with John H. Chafee, R-R.I., and Connie Mack, R-Fla., plans to reintroduce it early in the 106th Congress.

The bill, Lieberman said Nov. 10, is intended to be a "logjam breaker in the next Congress."

"This is a voluntary, market-based approach which will bring about a win-win situation for both American business and the environment," Lieberman said.

If Lieberman is able to get his bill through Congress, it could have still another effect — prompting other nations to alter their negotiating position. Developing countries, such as China and India, have condemned the United States for not reducing its emissions of greenhouse gases and have refused to reduce their own emissions. The United States is by far the largest contributor, accounting for 21 percent of releases even though it has 4 percent of the world's population, according to the United Nations.

Lieberman is also encouraged by shifts in the business community. In recent months, the British Petroleum Co., PLC, Monsanto Co., Royal Dutch/Shell Group, Enron Corp., an energy company, and even General Motors, have all acknowledged that global warming is a real concern, and they have taken steps to voluntarily reduce their emissions.

Finally, he and others were heartened that Congress approved substan-



Sens. Lieberman and John Kerry, D-Mass., and California Democratic Reps. Henry A. Waxman and George Miller speak at a news conference in Kyoto on Dec. 10, 1997.

tial increases in the fiscal 1999 budget for energy efficiency programs and research into renewable energy sources. (CQ Weekly, p. 3081)

Those steps, small though they may be, are in keeping with Lieberman's philosophy that developing nations, and especially the United States, "have a moral obligation to go first" because they contribute the largest share of greenhouse pollution.

Countries Defecting

While industry opposition remains formidable, Flavin said defections were noticeable at Buenos Aires. "There certainly was fragmentation," he said. "Shrapnel was moving in 10 different directions . . . and I think we'll see additional fragmentation" from companies that see economic opportunity in the treaty or cost savings.

With all the forces swirling about, many of them difficult to quantify, few are venturing any predictions about specific action that Congress might take on the issue in 1999.

There is wide agreement, however, that differences will abound and finding compromise will be as difficult as ever.

"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 New York-based Natural Resources Defense Council, an influ-

ential environmental group.

Lieberman hopes tempers will cool enough next year for a sober debate.

To achieve that, he is working to reshape the debate. The United States, he says, should begin reducing greenhouse gas emissions even if the science is suspect and the politics are murky. "We'll still end up with cleaner air," Lieberman said. "And what's wrong with that?"

Plenty, said treaty opponent William O'Keefe, president of the American Petroleum Institute, the Washington-based trade group for the oil industry. He characterized claims that the protocol is gaining strength in the United States as nothing but "spin."

The Republican-led delegation to Buenos Aires, he said, "was uniform, united, and they went around and told the other countries 'this protocol will not get ratified. Don't buy into the idea that you are going to get money if you go along with this because the money has to be appropriated.'"

O'Keefe believes 1999 will mirror this year with a lot of talk and little action.

"I think there will be a lot of oversight hearings . . . making sure there isn't a backdoor implementation," he said.

As for Lieberman's prediction that the treaty will be ratified in 2001, O'Keefe professes his admiration for the senator, but adds: "I'd be willing to make him a little wager that it will not get ratified in 2000 or beyond." ♦

Big Problem, Big Problems: Getting to Work on Global Warming

By JOHN H. CUSHMAN JR. *PH*

WASHINGTON

A YEAR ago, representatives of more than 150 nations faced a midnight deadline in Kyoto, Japan, for talks on an agreement to cut emissions of the gases that scientists warn may be warming the planet. After delegates caucused, argued, slumped and snored through the night — and toward lunchtime, a pact was reached when the session's chairman decreed that an important conflict would be dealt with later.

In November of this year, delegates from the same nations gathered in Buenos Aires to set a timetable to carry out the pact. Afterward, delegates were heartened by the progress they had made; they broke up in time for breakfast, with a firm agreement to work a few more years on the pact's biggest obstacles.

Such is the current status of the international effort to limit global warming: the work that has been done has produced a consensus that *something* will come of the Kyoto gathering. But the conflicts that clouded the accord have not grown easier to resolve, and time is racing by.

The United States, long the leading emitter of greenhouse gases, is caught up in this delay. To be sure, the highlight of the Buenos Aires conference was the Clinton Administration's signing of the Kyoto accord. But the American representatives made it clear that they would not submit the agreement to the Senate for approval until many of the Administration's demands are met. Negotiators at the conference settled on an ambitious two-year timetable for resolving

those and other sticking points. But that means approval cannot come until after the 2000 elections, if it occurs at all.

"Kyoto is not dead," said Eileen Claussen, a former State Department negotiator who is the executive director of the Pew Center on Global Climate Change, a public-interest group. "But I don't know if this can be done in two years."

Michael Oppenheimer, a climate expert for the Environmental Defense Fund, an advocacy group that favors the treaty, said: "If significant progress is not made by the year 2000, we will never make the 2008 deadlines of the treaty. We have to get the rules in place, or the time will slip away."

Groups representing fossil-fuel producers and users are even more skeptical. "I don't think the protocol is ever going to be ratified," said Connie Holmes, the chairwoman of the Global Climate Coalition, which opposes the agreement. "In about 2001 or 2002, people are going to say, 'My God, we can't do this, let's stretch this thing out.' You need more time if you are going to change as radically as this."

Without the United States on board, the world will not meet the targets of the Kyoto Protocol, which calls for industrial countries to drastically cut their greenhouse gas emissions between 2008 and 2012. The United States is supposed to cut its emissions by more than a third, to a level 7 percent lower than 1990. But the Americans are insisting on commitments from the developing world, and on a complex scheme for trading emissions permits and credits. "On all these issues, the biggest obstacles are political, not technical," Ms. Claussen said. "Technical people could sit down and work out the details. But it all boils down to politics and

sovereignty."

Here are the main issues that need to be resolved in the Kyoto Protocol:

The Third World's Role

PROBLEM: The United States and other developed nations account for about 60 percent of industrial greenhouse gases given off each year. But developing nations, led by China and India, are expected to catch up in about 15 years. By mid-century, they will account for most of the long-term buildup of gases that threaten the climate.

SOLUTION: The United States says that the least expensive way to head off global warming may be to cut future emissions in other countries overseas. To entice third-world nations to pursue such a path, America favors a "clean development mechanism," which would give donor nations credit for foreign aid or investments that cut emissions in developing countries.

OBSTACLE: China and India are still resisting calls for big developing countries to promise emissions cuts. African and Latin American countries are more interested, but they want guarantees that they will get their share of the aid.

OUTLOOK: "The monolithic phalanx that we saw in Kyoto in opposition to any and all participation has completely broken down," said Stuart E. Eizenstat, the chief American negotiator. In Buenos Aires, Kazakhstan and Argentina agreed to commit themselves to reductions.

International Trading

PROBLEM: It will cost a lot of money to

CONTINUED

control greenhouse gases — especially on the rapid timetable that the United States is being asked to meet. If these costs are too high, the Senate will not support the treaty.

SOLUTION: Many economists say the way to keep costs down is to let countries buy and sell emissions quotas, making the deepest cuts where it is cheapest to do so. The United States would be able to buy its way into compliance with the treaty by paying other industrial countries, like Russia, to cut emissions more than the treaty required.

OBSTACLE: European nations are the biggest opponents of unfettered trading in emission credits. They are demanding that the United States achieve at least a majority of its emissions reductions within its own borders. Many third-world nations, too, have objected that it is unfair for rich countries to buy their way out of treaty obligations.

OUTLOOK: Mr. Oppenheimer at the Environmental Defense Fund, which favors emissions trading and other market-based pollution controls, says that other nations, realizing how important trading is to the United States, are "holding it hostage" as a bargaining chip. But schisms among developing nations are weakening their resistance, and Europeans are recognizing that they need to make concessions to the Americans if the treaty is to work.

Credit for Early Action

PROBLEM: Every year that goes by without controls on greenhouse gas emissions makes it harder for the United States and other industrial nations to comply with their targets. Emissions in the United States are currently 10 percent higher than they were

in 1990; they rose 1.4 percent in 1997, and the Energy Department expects this trend to continue for another 20 years.

SOLUTION: Many companies have already invested in energy saving and other approaches to cut their emissions, or are planning to do so soon. To encourage early reductions, legislation has been introduced to give these companies credits for their reductions, which could be used or sold if binding limits on emissions were imposed.

OBSTACLE: Many treaty opponents in Congress have fought policy measures, like tax cuts. They have even fought voluntary steps that suggest back-door implementation of an unratified treaty.

OUTLOOK: Big companies, even some that would prefer no binding limits on emissions, are lobbying hard to get credits for early action, just in case. "This is really the one area involving the whole issue of greenhouse gases where I think everybody ought to be able to agree," said Todd Stern, the White House official who coordinates the Administration's climate policy.

Finally, participants are wondering how the American Presidential elections will affect the negotiating timetable — especially the aspirations of Vice President Al Gore, the world leader most closely associated with the fight against global warming.

"How does the process of moving toward the year 2000 play with the Presidential election campaign, and with President Clinton's known desire to make progress before he leaves office?" Mr. Oppenheimer asked. "Those questions are not imponderable, but they are very big factors, and they make it very hard to figure out where the process will be two years from now."

Gasoline Price Falls Again

WASHINGTON, Dec. 7 (Reuters) — The national average retail price for regular unleaded gasoline dropped this week to 95.4 cents a gallon, the Energy Department said today. This is the lowest price recorded by the department since it started tracking weekly retail motor fuel prices in August 1990. Based on its survey of 800 gasoline stations, the agency said the cash price for gasoline at the pump fell 2 cents from last week's price of 97.4 cents a gallon. The average price a year earlier was \$1.14 a gallon.

Why the secrecy over the Kyoto Protocol? A/C

Your May 14 story "White House not letting public see warming papers" focuses anew on the Clinton administration's perplexing refusal to explain its assertion that the American economy will be impacted only modestly if the Kyoto Protocol on global warming is adopted.

Why would President Clinton's chief economics adviser, Janet Yellen, keep secret the economic analysis justifying her assertion that the tough targets and timetables agreed to in Kyoto would not significantly raise the prices of food, fuel and other commodities for American consumers?

The answer, we suspect, is that administration economists — including Mrs. Yellen — know full well that the agreement requiring drastic cuts in greenhouse emissions, and hence energy use, over the next decade comes with an enormous price tag that cannot be glossed over with unrealistic assumptions.

Eminent economists such as William Nordhaus at Yale University — who held Mrs. Yellen's job in the Carter administration — have debunked the notion that the Kyoto

agreement can be carried out on the cheap. Mr. Nordhaus has estimated 20 percent to 50 percent increases in the cost of gasoline, heating oil and other basic commodities for an average rise in household expenses of \$2,000 a year.

Other qualified economists have forecast an increase of 65 cents a gallon in the price of gasoline and a loss of 2.4 million jobs nationwide by 2010. Very few families can afford to absorb that kind of cost-of-living increase, let alone the loss of income.

Mrs. Yellen's argument that international trading permits for greenhouse gases would limit consumer cost increases is wishful thinking taken to an extreme. Implicit in her argument is the assumption that all nations would participate in what would be an extremely complex system for transferring wealth among nations and that this system would be as efficient as the New York Stock Exchange.

It's hard to reconcile a truly global trading system when developing countries are exempt from the Kyoto Protocol and have made it clear that they will not accept bind-

ing obligations.

Even more indefensible is Mrs. Yellen's assertion that the administration is withholding documents for fear of offending foreign governments such as China, Mexico and India that have refused to make even voluntary commitments to reduce emissions under the Kyoto Protocol.

What about the sensitivities of average American families and local businesses that would pay the price for a treaty that would make only a slight dent in the growth of greenhouse gases? Don't they have a right to know what's coming and how much it will cost?

Congress and those who are skeptical about the Kyoto Protocol are willing to debate the climate issue openly and publicly on its merits, a discussion that surely would benefit society. Unfortunately, that cannot happen if the administration keeps secret the analytical basis for its optimism.

WILLIAM F. O'KEEFE
Executive vice president
American Petroleum Institute
Washington

In responsible hands, nuclear weapons are effective deterrents A/C

The current demonization of the nuclear bomb in the wake of India's tests cries out for corrective comment.

Nuclear weapons, like tanks and muskets, are morally and politically neutral, as indeed is the full range of technology. It all depends on who possesses nuclear weapons and how they are used.

The hard facts are that American nuclear bombs have made two great

humanitarian contributions since the dawn of the atomic era. At Hiroshima and Nagasaki, they quickly and decisively ended World War II, saving perhaps 1 million lives, mostly Japanese.

Also, America's nuclear deterrent held an expansionist Soviet Union at bay during the Cold War and contributed mightily to the evil empire's collapse.

Nuclear warheads and missiles in

the hands of predatory tyrants can be used to subdue or conquer. In the hands of responsible powers such as the United States, they can deter conquest and maintain stability.

For both humanitarian and strategic reasons, America should maintain a large and ready nuclear deterrent.

ERNEST W. LEFEVER
Chevy Chase

EU nations sign treaty on global warming *AK*

NEW YORK (AP) — The European Union's 15 members signed the global-warming treaty here yesterday one day after Japan inked the document, putting pressure on the United States to do the same.

"There were a few other countries which we would have liked to sign with us here today, especially a big one," EU environment chief Ritt Bjerregaard said. "And I hope to see the United States signing as early as possible."

Britain's deputy prime minister, John Prescott, said the Europeans would not have signed the treaty without assurances from President Clinton that he will do the same. The president has delayed signing because of stiff opposition to the treaty in Congress.

"You can be assured we are talking to the Americans," Mr. Prescott said. "We are satisfied they will be signing the protocol. All

this is about a global solution to a global problem."

Mr. Prescott said the Europeans were confident that Mr. Clinton would sign the treaty drafted in Kyoto, Japan, last December, but they understood that it may not be sent to the Senate for ratification for some time.

Leading senators have called on President Clinton not to sign, saying that the sharp emissions cuts called for in the treaty could do serious damage to the U.S. economy. Congress also is insisting that developing countries like China and Mexico, which currently are excluded from the treaty, also be required to cut emissions.

Mr. Prescott said Europe's decision to sign the treaty early — Mr. Clinton has another year to act — "clearly signals our continuing commitment to the objectives we agreed under the resulting environmental benefits."

Japan signed the treaty here Tuesday, becoming the first major industrial nation to do so.

The treaty, approved last December in Kyoto, Japan, would require 38 industrialized nations to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions from 1990 levels between 2008 and 2012.

EU nations would reduce them by 8 percent, the United States by 7 percent and Japan by 6 percent. Some would face smaller reductions, and a few would not face any now.

Reassessing Kyoto Agreement, Scientists See

By Joby Warrick

Washington Post Staff Writer

Little Environmental Advantage

In the afterglow of December's global warming treaty, euphoric diplomats sometimes likened their achievement to scaling a mountain: 159 nations had overcome treacherous politics and a steep economic divide to clinch a historic accord on reducing greenhouse gases.

Eight weeks later, the metaphor still applies, but it is becoming increasingly clear that the climbers were squarely at the bottom, not at the summit.

While the meeting in Kyoto, Japan, may have been a diplomatic success, scientists are cautioning that its environmental accomplishments may be even more modest than many participants believed at the time. Meanwhile, congressional opponents this week issued new warnings that they intend to kill the Kyoto treaty, and may also block new Clinton administration proposals aimed at increasing energy efficiency.

But even if the accord is ratified and fully implemented, it would barely dent the world's output of greenhouse gases, which are projected to continue soaring through the 21st century and beyond, according to top climate experts who reassessed the agreement in a series of recent articles and interviews. Near the century's end, the amount of heat-trapping carbon dioxide in the atmosphere would be twice pre-industrial levels, raising global temperatures and possibly causing serious disruptions to agriculture and other ecosystems, the scientists say.

"The best Kyoto can do is to produce a small decrease in the rate of increase," said Jerry Mahlman, director of the Geophysical Fluid Dynamics Laboratory at Princeton University. The treaty "tacitly accepts" that global carbon dioxide levels will more than double, a condition that computer models show will cause "pretty significant climate change" that could last for centuries, he said.

"It's the proverbial hippopotamus in your living room," Mahlman said. "Nobody wants to notice the hippopotamus, but pretty soon it's moving around and wrecking your living room."

The scientific reassessments came as congressional opponents gear up efforts to block ratification of the Kyoto treaty in the Senate. House Science Committee Chairman F. James Sensenbrenner Jr. (R-Wis.) yesterday declared the accord "seriously flawed—so flawed, in fact, that it cannot be salvaged." A day earlier, Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.) told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the treaty was "unfair to the United States."

At the same hearing, Stuart E.izenstat, the U.S. lead negotiator in Kyoto, defended the accord. "The Kyoto agreement does not solve the problem of global warming, but it represents an important step in dealing with a problem that we cannot wish away," he said in his prepared remarks.

The Kyoto summit produced the world's first legally binding commitments to reduce the global output of carbon dioxide and five other greenhouse gases. The United States and 7 other industrialized countries agreed to reduce emissions by 2012 to an average of 5.2 percent below what they were in 1990. The U.S. target requires a 7 percent reduction below 1990 levels, which essentially would mean cutting emissions by up to 40 percent compared to what they otherwise would have been 14 years from now. The agreement includes an emissions-trading scheme and other market-based mechanisms to make it easier to comply, but would not force developing countries to accept binding limits on their emissions in the near future.

The targets are far lower than what some environmentalists had hoped for, and what some countries, most notably the European Union, had been pushing. It was clear to the Kyoto negotia-

tors that the treaty would only slow, but not stop, the buildup of carbon dioxide (CO₂) and other greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. But subsequent evaluations by leading scientists indicate that the environmental effects may be so small as to be almost unnoticeable in the near term.

"The Kyoto conference did not achieve much with regard to limiting the buildup of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere," Bert Bolin, a Swedish meteorologist and the outgoing chairman of the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, wrote in a recent essay. "If no further steps are taken during the next 10 years, CO₂ will increase in the atmosphere during the first decade of the next century essentially as it has done during the past few decades."

In an analysis published last month in the journal *Science*, Bolin predicted that CO₂ levels in the atmosphere will climb to 382 parts per million by 2100 if countries strictly obeyed their Kyoto commitments. That's a jump of 8 percent from 1990 levels of CO₂, but it's only 0.4 percent lower than it would have been if no actions were taken. Other scientists have estimated that the Kyoto agreement would slow the projected rise in global temperatures by one-tenth to two-tenths of a degree centigrade by 2050.

Such a reduction would be "an important first step" but would be "far from what is required to reach the goal of stabilizing the concentration of CO₂ in the atmosphere," wrote Bolin. (Carbon dioxide, which is given off by fossil fuel combustion, is by far the most important of the man-made greenhouse gases that form an insulating blanket around Earth.)

Other climate experts agree with the essence of Bolin's conclusions, if not with all the specifics. But some fear that governments will cite the modest environmental benefits as an excuse for doing nothing. The struggle to prevent global warming is much like the fight to control population growth, says economist Robert Repetto of the World Resource Institute. "Small steps now to curb growth rates can pay big dividends down the road."

"Nobody thought in their wildest dreams that Kyoto would solve the climate problem," Repetto said. "If implemented, the achievement at Kyoto will be to get nations off a business-as-usual trajectory and onto a path that peaks and then starts going down."

More substantial reductions in emissions will depend on commitments from developing countries, which in the future will become the planet's biggest producers of greenhouse gases. But in Kyoto, China and India—already among the world's top polluters—objected even to vague wording that would put developing countries on a course for binding limits in the future.

"The countries that really need to be involved said 'hell, no' at Kyoto," said David Montgomery, an economist for the consulting firm Charles Rivers Associates. "Everything that matters for an effective agreement was left unresolved."

Negotiators will take another crack at those issues at the next round of talks in November in Buenos Aires, Argentina. And in the meantime, the Clinton administration is hoping to secure a series of bilateral agreements in which key developing countries agree voluntarily to hold down emissions.

Kyoto's most significant achievement may simply have been to create new markets and competition for energy-efficient products—including fuel cells, solar panels and low-energy light bulbs—that could make future cuts in emissions easier and cheaper. Indeed, in the weeks since Kyoto there have been a string of announcements by the automotive industry and others of new private initiatives to improve energy efficiency.

"We're in a long, dark tunnel on the climate change problem, but I think we're beginning to see a bit of light at the end," said Adam Markham, a scientist and director of the climate program at the World Wildlife Fund. "It might even be an energy-efficient light."

The sobering reassessment of the

treaty comes as the Clinton administration rolls out its first detailed proposals for meeting U.S. obligations under the Kyoto agreement. But while the administration's five-year, \$6.3 billion package of tax breaks and research spending is described as only a first step, a broad variety of experts say the measures are far too modest to reshape the country's \$500 billion fossil fuel economy.

"It's a good start, but it's an awfully small tail trying to wag an awfully large dog," said John Holdren, a Harvard University professor of environmental policy who has advised the White House on climate matters.

The package would offer tax breaks to consumers and businesses that buy fuel-efficient cars, install solar panels on their roofs or invest money to increase the efficiency of houses and offices. In addition, the White House is seeking to increase research on alternative and renewable energy by about a third over last year's levels.

The administration is simultaneously moving on other fronts to squeeze energy savings from businesses and from government itself, offering, for example, incentives for government contractors who find ways to improve the efficiency of federal office buildings.

"This is put up or shut up," said Joseph Romm, the Department of Energy's deputy assistant secretary for

energy efficiency. "We believe we can go a long way toward the goal through this voluntary approach."

By relying on incentives and voluntary approaches instead of new taxes or regulations, the package is winning support from many industries, but still meeting with resistance from other quarters.

"It's a waste of money ... and it's implementation without ratification," said Jonathan Adler of the Washington-based Competitive Enterprise Institute.

Even supporters of the president's policy acknowledge that the measures are only a first step—and probably not a very big one. But on the other hand, said Harvard's Holdren, "you have to walk before you can run."

"If you want the energy system to look different in the next century you have to start now," he said. "We have not yet put in place a package of measures that will do the job. But what we have here is a whole lot more than nothing—and nothing is what we had until now."

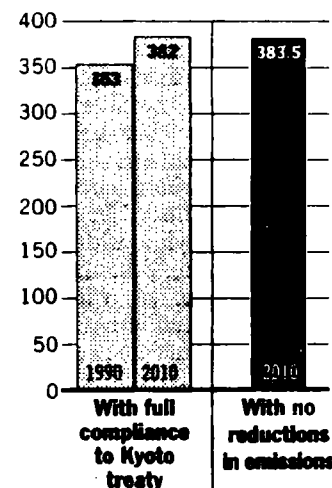
FOR MORE INFORMATION

To review the Kyoto agreement, click on the above symbol on the front page of The Post's Web site at www.washingtonpost.com

A MODEST BEGINNING

Even if all industrialized countries honor their commitments to reduce pollution, levels of heat-trapping greenhouse gases in the atmosphere will continue to grow.

Concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere (parts per million)



SOURCE: Bert Bolin, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

President Clinton has proposed spending \$6.3 billion over five years to fight global warming. Here are some highlights of the administration's plan:

- \$3.6 billion in tax credits for energy efficiency, including:
 - Up to \$4,000 per individual for purchasing highly fuel efficient cars.
 - Up to \$2,000 per individual for rooftop solar electricity and hot water systems.
 - Up to \$2,000 per individual for home improvements that save energy.
- \$2.7 billion in new research and development spending, including:
 - A \$277 million increase in funding to develop "new generation" vehicles that are as much as three times more fuel-efficient than today's cars and trucks.
 - A \$100 million boost for research on renewable forms of energy, including wind, solar and biomass.



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White House near to finishing climate treaty study

By Vicki Allen WASHINGTON (Reuters) - The Clinton administration is putting finishing touches on a study showing that the international treaty to fight global warming would have "reasonable" costs and many benefits to the U.S. economy, Under Secretary of State Stuart Eizenstat said Wednesday. Eizenstat, testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, also said he expected it would take more than a year to persuade developing countries to agree to join the global warming treaty, and said the administration would not ask the Senate to ratify the treaty until after that. Eizenstat, who was top U.S. negotiator at the talks in Kyoto, Japan, to reach a deal to cut heat-trapping emissions from fossil fuels, said White House economic adviser Janet Yellen soon would release an economic model on potential effects of the deal. "I think you will find from her findings that the costs to the economy are reasonable and there are indeed many benefits to doing this ... but delaying action will only increase the costs," Eizenstat said. He said other studies that predicted losses of more than 1 million jobs and big cuts to energy-intensive industries did not take into account offsetting benefits from trading emissions credits, projects to reduce emissions in other countries and factoring in forests that absorb the heat-trapping carbon gases. The administration was supposed to release its economic model last summer, but at that time Yellen said efforts to produce the complex model had foundered. Under questioning from the Senate panel, Eizenstat acknowledged the administration faced a difficult task in getting developing countries to sign on to the treaty that so far would just obligate industrialized countries to reduce their emissions. President Clinton has until March 1999 to sign the treaty, and Eizenstat indicated it could take considerably longer than that to persuade

developing countries to participate in the deal. He said the treaty would not be sent to the Senate for ratification until after that. Asked when the Senate would get the treaty, Eizenstat said: "I can't give you a definitive answer because we don't know where we'll be at the end of the signature period, but I think quite frankly it's a real stretch to think we will get the kind of participation that we desire and the Senate requires." He promised "a full court diplomatic press to bring developing nations into a meaningful role in helping solve the global climate challenge. We will accept nothing less, nor would we expect the United States Senate to do so." But Committee Chairman Jesse Helms in a statement continued his call for the White House to immediately submit the treaty to the Senate, where he said it almost certainly would be rejected. "The president ought to slow down and take the time to read the tea leaves -- scrap this defective Kyoto protocol and reject the whole Kyoto negotiating process," the North Carolina Republican said. "Clearly, the developing world has no interest in the process except as a foreign aid cash cow," he said. REUTERS Reut14:25 02-11-98

Clinton, Albright assure Congress on Korean nuclear project

By DAVID BRISCOE Associated Press Writer WASHINGTON (AP) - The Clinton administration says both North Korea and South Korea are complying with the agreement aimed at ridding the Korean peninsula of the capability of building nuclear weapons. In separate assurances Tuesday, President Clinton said North Korea would have all its weapons-grade nuclear fuel safely stored by April 1, and Albright told Congress the Asian financial crisis would not hinder South Korean financing of a \$5 billion nuclear power project that is part of the agreement. Clinton, in a memo to Albright for relay to Congress, said North Korea has been canning and safely storing all spent fuel from its existing graphite-moderated nuclear reactors. Unlike the planned light-water reactors, the existing reactors can produce significant quantities of weapons-grade plutonium. The North Koreans insist they never intended to build nuclear

Four U.S. Senators Lobbying in Kyoto

Viewpoints Vary on Climate Treaty

By Kevin Sullivan

Washington Post Foreign Service

KYOTO, Japan, Dec. 2—Four U.S. senators blitzed the global climate conference here today, meeting delegates, giving interviews and leaving no doubt why the United States took so long to come up with a position on global warming.

"We are taking national sovereignty away from every nation that signs this treaty," said Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.), a staunch opponent of any agreement that would require nations to meet legally binding targets for emissions of their greenhouse gases. "Would [a binding treaty] mean a United Nations multinational bureaucracy could come in and close down an industry in the United States?"

In another room, Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman (D-Conn.) said a binding agreement was needed and that he was hopeful U.S. negotiators would be able to lead the 150 nations attending the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change into such an agreement this week.

"This [Clinton] administration has shown courage in recognizing the scientific reality of global warming and presenting a real and significant plan for reducing greenhouse-gas emissions," he said. "It deserves a medal."

The senators working the conference hall 8,000 miles from Washington underscore the differences of opinion that divide the United States and the rest of the world on the question of how man-made emissions of carbon dioxide and other gases are affecting the global environment and what to do about it.

Environmentalists echo Lieberman's assertion that science has demonstrated that a variety of gases produced by the burning of fossil fuels that power the world's economies are having a potentially devastating effect on the Earth. They hope that the diverse countries of the world can find enough common ground to agree on a plan to safeguard the environment without destroying economies.

Industrial concerns, and nations

that depend on coal, oil and other fossil fuels for their economic survival, think the environmentalists sound like Chicken Little and that they are recklessly seeking to cripple economies from Washington to Prague to Sydney to Beijing. This is the view of Hagel, who said today: "If we are going to risk economic growth and economic development in the United States, then this is one senator who will not vote for that risk."

After opening remarks yesterday that staked out the disparate positions of the European Union, Japan, the United States and the world's developing nations, delegates settled down today to discuss nitty-gritty details behind closed doors. In briefings this evening, several said they were more optimistic after a day of private talking and little public posturing, although no one reported any breakthroughs.

With huge differences on the table—including whether developing nations should be held to the same standards as industrialized countries and whether different countries should be held to different targets for emissions cuts—even those who disagree on global warming agreed on the immensity of the task ahead.

"It's mind-boggling," Hagel said. "What we are asking countries to do in the next eight days is just unbelievable." Said Lieberman: "It's easy to become a pessimist here."

The United States, the world's largest emitter of greenhouse gases, has been essentially isolated at the conference. Environmentalists and the European Union, which has proposed the most extensive emissions cuts, say the United States is too weak on the issue and has a responsibility to propose far deeper cuts. The United States has proposed cutting emissions to 1990 levels between 2008 and 2012; the EU has proposed a 15 percent further cut by 2010.

Representatives of industry and countries such as Australia, which wants to increase its greenhouse-gas emissions significantly, say the U.S. position is, in fact, too restrictive.

See KYOTO, A42, Col. 1

Four U.S. Senators Lobbying at Global Warming Talks

KYOTO, From A35

Hoping to boost the chances of an agreement, President Clinton is sending Vice President Gore here next Monday.

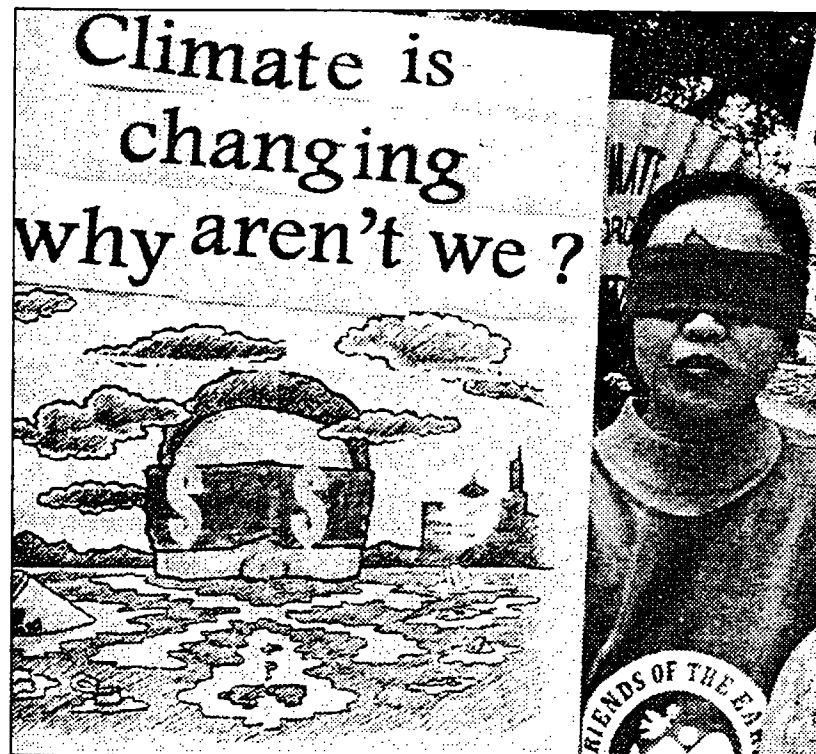
Hagel and Lieberman were joined in Kyoto today by Sen. John H. Chafee (R-R.I.) and Sen. Mike Enzi (R-Wyo.). Sen. John F. Kerry (D-Mass.) and Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont.) are to arrive later this week as part of a bipartisan observers' group chosen by Senate leaders. Any treaty the United States signs would have to be approved by the Senate.

Although not here to represent the U.S. position, the senators discussed the sticking points with delegates from China, Russia, Israel and Japan. In a meeting with Chinese delegates this morning, Lieberman was confronted with what many here say is the issue that most threatens to keep the conference from reaching any agreement—whether developing countries, such as China, will be included in any accord.

"The question might break the whole process," said Jorgen Henningsen, an EU official.

Lieberman said he told the head of the Chinese delegation that China, the world's second-largest emitter of greenhouse gases, needs to be "part of the solution" agreed to in Kyoto.

"There was a tense moment," Lie-



A Friends of the Earth member protests at the U.S. consulate in Hong Kong. The group wants the United States to commit to a global warming treaty.

BY LARRY CHAN—REUTERS

berman said. "Then he said, 'Perhaps you want our people to remain poor, but we cannot accept that.'"

China and other developing countries, including South Korea, Mexico

and others with relatively large economies, say the industrialized nations must take the first steps to reduce global warming. They say the industrial nations are responsible for most

of the greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, and they argue that developing nations deserve the same chance to build their economies, without being forced into economy-cramping emissions cuts.

The United States has argued that any plan to fight global warming that does not include emissions cuts by developing nations is wasted effort; within a generation, projections show that China will be the largest emitter of greenhouse gases.

Here in Kyoto, the United States has shown some flexibility on the issue, suggesting for the first time that developing nations might not have to be held to the same standards as industrial countries.

The United States has proposed a system under which developing countries could obtain new energy-efficient technologies cheaply. Assistant Secretary of State Melinda Kimble, who is leading the U.S. delegation this week, said a developing nation that needed a new power plant would be given financial incentives to build an energy-efficient one.

Through a U.S.-backed system of emissions-credit trading, that nation would then be able to sell credits for the amount of emissions it reduced by using the cleaner technology.

Rift remains as global-warming

U.S. attacked from all sides for treaty pitch

By Willis Witter
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

KYOTO, Japan — Couch potatoes in the United States can't escape prime-time television ads claiming that a global-warming treaty, to be drafted beginning today, will close U.S. factories and export jobs to the developing world.

The Global Climate Information Project, funded by industry lobbyists, argues that the treaty will penalize countries such as the United States while allowing nations such as China to continue polluting their way to prosperity.

Developing nations counter that it is unfair to impose limits that would deny them the chance of ever achieving the standard of living enjoyed in the West.

Japan's ancient capital of Kyoto, with its temples blanketed in brilliant autumn foliage, serves as the backdrop for the U.N. Convention on Climate Change.

For the next 10 days, delegates from nearly 170 nations will write a treaty limiting gases such as carbon dioxide that are thought to warm the Earth by trapping the sun's heat.

As the convention begins, many, if not most, participants view the United States as something akin to a global Scrooge.

In the months leading up to the conference, delegates from Europe and the developing world vilified it for being the world's biggest polluter and one of the stingiest in its offer to clean up.

In a pointed reference to Washington, conference leader Raul Estrada of Argentina said yesterday it was unfair to ask developing countries to cut emissions when industrial nations have failed to meet past commitments



Yorikane Masumoto (front), mayor of Kyoto, Japan, leads a bicycle rally yesterday on the eve of the global-warming conference.

to do the same.

As delegates begin drafting a treaty, proposals tabled by participants remain so far apart that many fear the conference will collapse in disarray.

The United States is offering to cut its emissions by the year 2012 back to 1990 levels. On the surface, the plan looks modest compared with proposed reductions by Europe and Japan of 15 percent and 5 percent from 1990 levels, respectively. A group of 77 developing nations, nearly half the conference participants, is demanding even steeper cuts of 35 percent by the year 2020.

The more extreme plans could entail major lifestyle changes in the United States, analysts say. In some scenarios, driving would be sharply curtailed, and people would huddle under blankets as homes become prohibitively expensive to heat.

U.S. officials bristle at charges that their plan looks stingy, especially when compared with Europe's seemingly generous 15 percent.

"What are the real numbers and what are the hoped-for num-

bers?" asked one senior administration official.

Australia and New Zealand, which have threatened to walk away without signing anything, are among the few nations sympathetic to the United States.

Both want credit for their forests — known in environmental jargon as sinks — arguing that trees help absorb the carbon dioxide produced by cars and factories.

"We want a fully comprehensive approach that includes all gases, all sources, all sectors and all sinks," said Meg McDonald, Australia's ambassador for the environment.

Another source of contention lies in which gases to include. The United States wants limits on six types of emissions, not just the three common greenhouse gases targeted by Japan and Europe — carbon dioxide, methane and nitrous oxide.

Were all six gases included in a treaty, Washington's plan would look a whole lot more generous by knocking up to 5 percent off the Japanese and European targets, U.S. officials say.

WASH
Times
12/1

summit opens in Kyoto

Energy secretary: Cabinet officials unlikely to attend

By Patrice Hill
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Leaders from 166 nations will gather in Kyoto, Japan, today to forge the most ambitious environmental treaty ever attempted in its potential to affect people's lives and pocketbooks.

Everything from flicking on a light switch to driving to the grocery store will become more expensive if the environmental ministers succeed in imposing strict limits on fuel-burning emissions to prevent what they fear could be a dangerous warming of the atmosphere that would wreak havoc on the Earth's climate.

While scientists are uncertain how serious a problem global warming is, all of the nations at the Kyoto summit are negotiating under the belief that it must be curbed and then stopped in the next century through higher energy taxes and strict emissions controls imposed by governments.

Wide differences still separate the United States and other countries on how to address the problem and how quickly, and heated rhetorical exchanges are likely to punctuate the next 10 days of closed-door talks.

U.S. Energy Secretary Federico Pena said he does not know if Vice President Al Gore will be attending the conference. On "Fox News Sunday" Mr. Pena said that he would not be there himself.

"It may be that no Cabinet members attend. Right now, the highest-ranking official is Stu Eizenstat from the State Department," he said.

"We would like to have an agreement reached in Kyoto, but we're not going to do anything that wrecks the economy."

He said the Clinton administration "wants developing countries to be involved. . . . We want flexible and market-based approaches,



Energy Secretary Federico Pena won't attend the Kyoto summit.

and we also want a realistic and achievable goal."

Proposals range from the Clinton administration's gradual emissions reductions to 1990 levels by 2012 to a tougher 15 percent cut below that, being pushed by the European Union and 134 developing countries. Third World nations, initially exempt from mandatory cuts, are demanding that richer countries help them pay the cost of curbing emissions.

Every plan on the table would force Americans to slash their energy use by up to 50 percent in the next decade, with the potential to cut economic growth in half and cause millions of job losses in energy-intensive industries like coal mining, aluminum and steel.

"It could cost roughly the same as all previous environmental programs put together," said Richard Schmalensee, a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a former global-warming adviser to President Bush.

European countries want to cut emissions partly through higher energy taxes. But President Clinton is taking a different approach, proposing \$5 billion of incentives for businesses adopting more fuel-

efficient technologies.

If the incentives don't work, the Clinton plan by 2008 would impose an extensive regulatory regime capping emissions by power plants and factories.

The measures, by driving up prices for energy and other goods, eventually would shave about 2 percent from the U.S. economy's growth rate, economists say. The cost of imposing such controls worldwide are even more stunning — ranging up to \$4 trillion.

As drafted, the treaty, which was negotiated in Berlin in 1995, would curb emissions in the United States and other developed countries, while allowing Third World countries like China and India to increase emissions.

The provision of the treaty exempting developing countries from mandatory curbs has become the most controversial issue in the United States and threatens to blow up the final round of negotiations in Kyoto.

While the United States is the largest producer of man-made carbon emissions, projections show that China will become the largest emitter within 15 years.

In view of the competitive disadvantage that the treaty would impose on the United States, the Senate unanimously rejected the developing-country exemption in a resolution this summer and advised Mr. Clinton to negotiate a treaty that wouldn't harm the economy.

That led the president in October to shift course and demand "meaningful participation" in the treaty by such major developing countries as China, Mexico, India and Brazil. But so far, none has stepped forward, and China said last week it will insist that the United States "go first."

With the prospects getting bleaker for Third World participation, administration officials say the White House is considering walking away from the talks — a move that could expose the United States to international condemnation and ridicule but avoid a confrontation with the Senate.

• Joyce Howard Price contributed to this report.

WASH
Times
12/1

To: Barbara Semedo@LPA, Ernest Gibble@LPA, Jessamyn Sarmiento@LPA, Jim Palmer@LPA, Lavern Queen@LPA, Martha Wofford@LPA
From: Joshua Block@lpa
Cc:
Bcc:
Subject: WS- AID and Kyoto
Attachment:
Date: 12/1/97 11:16 AM

Dec 01 02:12

U.S. May Feel Heat As It Completes Global-Warming Treaty In Japan

By John J. Fialka
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON -- It will be a big delegation of U.S. negotiators -- 45 strong, assembled from half a dozen agencies -- who roll up their sleeves this week in Kyoto, Japan, in an international effort to complete a treaty curbing global warming.

If the delegation is big, though, the task they face is equally large.

"Success in Kyoto will be an extremely difficult challenge," declares Stuart Eizenstat, a top State Department aide and the newly appointed head of the U.S. delegation. "We are not going for an agreement at any cost."

In fact, he suggests, it might take further meetings beyond Kyoto to achieve a treaty that matches U.S. needs. When asked whether Vice President Al Gore, the government's most visible proponent of a war against global warming, would attend the final days of the session, Mr. Eizenstat demurred, saying no decision had been made yet.

One team member even muses privately that getting a global-warming treaty wrapped up may make the complex arms-control negotiations of years gone by seem simple by comparison.

Unlike the situation in arms-control talks, the U.S. team finds itself without much help from domestic or international allies to support its position: To get both industrial and major developing nations to agree to binding targets on emissions of so-called greenhouse gases that would reduce them to 1990 levels during a period between 2008 and 2012. It would amount to a cut of roughly 30% in U.S. emission levels.

European nations and Japan want to cut more. Meanwhile, despite heavy diplomatic courtship over the past four months, China and other developing nations haven't been won over by U.S. efforts to get them to make early emissions reductions. Their position, supported by the European Union, is that because industrial nations caused the current levels of atmospheric pollution, they must make the first reductions.

But the U.S. Senate has insisted in a 95-0 resolution that no treaty can be ratified without the involvement of developing nations. And national polls show the average American remains largely uninterested in the issue, despite near-apocalyptic predictions from President Clinton and Mr. Gore that global warming -- which many scientists believe is caused by carbon dioxide and other man-made emissions accumulating in the atmosphere -- poses the worst environmental threat the civilized world has faced.

"The science is far from clear here, regardless of what Professor Gore says, or anyone else," asserts Republican Sen. Chuck Hagel of Nebraska, one of the leaders of a 40-member congressional delegation going to Kyoto to monitor the talks. Unless China, India and other major developing nations accept binding commitments to curb emissions at the same time that the industrial nations do, he says, the best the Clinton administration could hope for is 20 votes in the Senate, where organized labor, auto, oil and coal interests are lobbying to reject the treaty. "But," he notes, "you need 67 to ratify."

"To me, this has the potential of being a show-stopper in Kyoto," worries Dr. Robert T. Watson, the World Bank's top environmental expert and a chemist who recently headed an international scientific panel that found that man-made emissions are beginning to have an effect on climate. He doesn't see Europe or Japan agreeing to binding targets on future carbon dioxide levels without U.S. participation, because of the competitive trade advantage such a move would give to U.S. industry.

He finds the difference between Americans and Europeans, who are much more concerned about global warming, puzzling. "In Germany, when the legislature and the government determines there's a problem, the public and industry will follow that decision," says Dr. Watson, who previously served as a White House adviser to President Clinton on the global-warming issue. "The opposite seems true in the U.S. Unless you have industry and the public behind you, you find the government, especially the Congress, is unwilling to lead."

To be sure, some U.S. corporations, particularly major electrical utilities, have been helping the Clinton administration in its campaign to sell some concepts of the treaty to developing nations. Backed by funding from the U.S. Agency For International Development, they've formed 37 partnerships with utilities in developing countries.

Brian Atwood, AID's administrator, says the point of the program is to use U.S. expertise to help countries such as India develop cleaner, more efficient power systems and to undercut persistent criticism that the U.S. and other industrial nations will use global-warming controls to stifle developing nations' economic growth.

"We want to show them that it is in our interest that they continue the progress they're making," says Mr. Atwood, because it improves trade and helps ensure world economic stability. At Kyoto, he says, AID will unveil agreements with Kazakhstan, Brazil and Indonesia to explore how U.S. technology can help clean up pollution-shrouded areas.

He and other U.S. diplomats have also warned that the impact of rising sea levels, more violent storms and higher average temperatures will hit the more agriculturally based economies of developing countries the hardest. The message, he admits, has not yet caused any major converts to the U.S. treaty position, "but I do think you will see more understanding of our position."

Aside from the issue of developing nations, the emission levels are likely to be the most contentious issue in Kyoto. The European Union wants to cut emissions 15% below 1990 levels by 2010. Japan is pushing for a 5% cut, with some exceptions for countries that already stress energy efficiency, such as itself.

But other issues with major economic impacts are likely to take up much negotiating time. They include whether nations could soften the impact of controls by trading emission rights, or certificates that might be earned and sold by industries that make the investments to clean their emissions or those in other nations.

They also include an effort by the U.S. and New Zealand to allow nations that encourage forest growth to subtract from their target emission levels the amount of carbon dioxide their trees will remove from the air. Brazil and some developing countries want a so-called penalty fund that would require industrial nations that exceed their authorized emission levels to contribute to cleaner energy projects in developing nations. In a rare show of unity, most industrial nations oppose it.

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White House backs off 'gag' at climate summit

But only delegation can speak for U.S. position

By Patrice Hill
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Clinton's lead negotiator in global-warming talks has backed off his request that members of Congress not criticize the administration during a key meeting in Japan next month.

Congressional observers at the Kyoto talks "of course are free to express their views and opinions to the press, so long as they make clear that they are not speaking on behalf of the U.S. delegation" that is negotiating the treaty, Undersecretary of State Tim Wirth said in a statement submitted to the House International Relations Committee on Thursday.

Mr. Wirth said only administration officials will be asked to toe the Clinton line, which calls for a 34 percent reduction in U.S. fuel-burning emissions by 2012 but exempts developing countries from such cuts. Many members of Congress say that position is extreme and would harm the economy.

"The role of congressional observers will not include speaking on behalf of the United States delegation, in negotiating sessions or with foreign delegations," Mr. Wirth said.

Mr. Wirth conveyed his about-face diplomatically but without apology after provoking a congressional uproar over a "gag order" he supposedly issued at a private briefing for House delegates. The outrage over the incident prompted Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright to intervene personally, GOP aides said.

Mrs. Albright briefly discussed the blow-up in conversations with House Speaker Newt Gingrich, Georgia Republican, and House Science Committee Chairman James F. Sensenbrenner Jr., Wisconsin Republican and chairman of the House delegation, the aides said.

Mr. Gingrich and Mr. Sensenbrenner had demanded a retraction and were "pleased" with the response, aides said.

"It is reassuring that Mr. Wirth recognizes that members of Congress have not only the prerogative but the obligation to represent the interests of their constituents and the dictates of their conscience while attending these important talks," said Andrew Weinstein, the speaker's spokesman.

Mr. Wirth claimed the "misunderstanding" was inadvertent. What he thought was an "amicable discussion" with House delegates "blew into a major misunderstanding or a major confrontation" that required him to "lay out very clearly what the rules of the road were," he said, adding that he hopes his statement will "lance any remaining misunderstanding that may occur."

Several House members said they were particularly outraged over Mr. Wirth's request because he had freely criticized the Bush administration's environmental policies when he attended the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro as a former senator and congressional observer.

Rep. Ken Calvert, California Republican, said he, like many of the other congressional delegates, strongly disagrees with the administration's conclusion that the scientific evidence of global warming justifies the large cuts in carbon-dioxide emissions being advocated by most nations at the Kyoto conference.

Most members of Congress also strongly object to any treaty that doesn't require Third World countries such as China, India and Mexico to cut their emissions, he said.

"This is just a bad deal for America," he said. "The majority of House and Senate members are going to find it very difficult to enter into a treaty obligation that exempts China and other countries. We are not going to allow them to continue business as usual while our people bear the brunt of greenhouse gas cuts with higher taxes and higher energy prices," he said.

Mr. Calvert said he can understand why other nations might try to force the United States to curb its own economic growth in the name of preserving the environment, but Congress will never agree.

"I probably won't be as boisterous there as I am here," Mr. Calvert said, "but it's important to point out that Congress has deep doubts about this agreement, and the administration may agree to something that Congress will not."

Mr. Wirth noted that China, India and Saudi Arabia spurned an invitation to discuss signing onto the treaty at an intermediate negotiating session in Tokyo last week.

"It's clear we still have a long way to go with developing countries," he said.

MONDAY, AUGUST 2, 1999

ECONOMY

Flat CO2 Emissions Give Experts Hope

Compliance With Pollution Curbs Seen More Likely

By JOHN J. FIALKA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Despite a booming economy, emissions of man-made carbon dioxide remained almost flat in the U.S. last year, and global emissions appear to have dropped.

That has led some experts to believe the economic shock of complying with international pollution curbs aimed at stemming global warming may not be so jolting.

Until now, some government and private industry projections have assumed economic growth is linked to energy consumption, particularly the burning of oil, gas and other fossil fuels that release carbon dioxide. CO2 is the main "greenhouse gas" many scientists believe is overheating the planet by trapping more of the sun's rays in the atmosphere.

But in 1998, a year when the U.S. economy grew almost 4% and the price of gasoline dropped to records, CO2 emissions in the U.S. barely moved, rising only 0.04%, according to a Department of Energy report. "I think there's a decent chance that we're seeing a significant change," said Christopher Flavin, vice president of Worldwatch Institute, a Washington environmental think tank.

Mr. Flavin's group sees the same phenomenon happening globally. It believes the trend, if it continues, could make the political decisions required by the Kyoto Treaty to curb global warming less diffi-

Thinning Carbon Dioxide

Even while the U.S. economy roared, 1998 carbon-dioxide emissions were flat, easing compliance with international treaties

	EMISSION (millions of tons)	INTENSITY* (tons/\$illions of GDP)	CHANGE FROM 1997
U.S.	1,606	199.1	+0.4%
China	883	213.4	-3.7
E.U.	603	116.6	-0.9
Russia	440	717.2	-1.3
Japan	327	111.1	-2.5
India	304	178.2	+1.8
World	6,950	168.3	-0.5

*Relates how much carbon dioxide a country emits to the size of its economy, as measured by gross domestic product, or economic output

Source: Worldwatch Institute

cult. The treaty, which the U.S. Congress has yet to ratify, requires the U.S. to cut CO2 emissions, measured against 1990 levels, by 7% starting in 2008.

"Kyoto is still going to be a stretch for some countries," Mr. Flavin said, "but the amount of emissions trading needed and the degree of domestic effort may turn out to be significantly less than everyone expected."

Because many experts assumed economic growth and CO2 emissions move in lockstep, they had predicted the U.S. might

have to impose an economy-wrenching emissions cut of 30% to 40% by 2008, when the treaty's schedule of emissions curbs begins. One safety valve planned by the Clinton administration is emissions trading, which would let U.S. companies buy permits—from other companies or countries that have exceeded the treaty's targets—to emit additional CO2. This has provoked a fight with European nations that want emissions trading to be limited.

But flat or slumping emissions could
Please Turn to Page A6, Column 1

for a proposed yacht business (AP/Washington Times, Sept. 19).

Some residents of Craig County, VA, are "worried that genetically altered cows from Pharming Healthcare Inc.'s proposed 1,000 head transgenic cattle farm "will pollute their groundwater with mutant cow dung" (Rex Bowman, Richmond Times-Dispatch, Sept. 21).

WASH. POST: Washington Gov. Gary Locke (D) wants the Clinton administration to station a rescue tug near the entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca this winter because the state's "invaluable coastal resources" are vulnerable to major oil spills and marine accidents (Joel Connelly, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Sept. 17).

WEST VIRGINIA: The U.S. EPA has warned the West Virginia Bureau of Public Health that the state agency's lack of qualified employees could result in revocation of its authority to enforce federal safe drinking standards (Fanny Seiler, Charleston [WV] Gazette, Sept. 21). -- MB

===== WORLDVIEW =====

***18 CLIMATE CHANGE: U.N. Official Urges Cooperation On Kyoto Protocol**

Sept. 21: For implementation of the Kyoto protocol on climate change to be "incorporated" unless the world's politicians work harder to curb greenhouse gas emissions, a senior United Nations official said yesterday.

Michael Mummitt Cutajar, executive secretary of the U.N. Convention on Climate Change: "We need to instill a sense of urgency in the process. A lot of details need to be sorted out."

Developed countries agreed in Kyoto, Japan, in 1997 to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, mainly CO2, five percent below 1990 levels. But conflicts between the United States and Europe and unresolved solutions to problems in developing countries have slowed progress on implementing the standards.

Argentinian environment minister Maria Julia Alsogaray has said opposition from oil producing nations has also slowed progress. Alsogaray: "The problem for getting the negotiations going is you need to avoid the loopholes that the rules of procedure generate" (Sean Maguire, Reuters/PlanetArk, Sept. 21). -- RP

***19 CLIMATE CHANGE II: Charity Says West Owes More Than Third World Debt**

Aid for Charity says that the industrialized nations owe far more to developing countries than the other way around, because the developed countries are primarily responsible for global warming.

Christian Aid, which has campaigned for the cancellation of Third World debts, says the "debt" owed by industrial countries for their environmental damage is immense. Carbon emissions of developed countries are 12 times higher than those of the least developed countries, and dollar for dollar, the poorest countries are much more efficient in their use of fossil fuels to generate income, the group said.

Audrey Meyer of the Global Commons Institute: "If we carry on only improving the efficiency of our fossil fuel use at current rates, within 100 years we will have taken greenhouse gas concentrations the first step toward turning this planet into Venus." Christian Aid said that wealthy countries should

cancel the Third World's debts and transfer technology to help it deal with climate change. "Our climate is owned by no one and yet needed by everyone, rich and poor. Our survival depends on equity," it said (Alex Kirby, BBC Online, Sept. 19).

***20 GENETIC ENGINEERING: Vienna Talks Appear To Resolve Little**

Informal negotiations aimed at developing a U.N. treaty on genetically modified organisms "have ended without resolution, but both industry and environmentalists said progress had been made."

At the talks in Vienna, which ended on Sept. 19, representatives of many nations agreed that another round of talks would take place in Montreal in January, with a goal of ironing out disagreements and concluding a "biosafety" protocol by May 2001. The last round of official negotiations -- in Cartagena, Colombia, last February -- broke down amid strong disagreements between backers and opponents of genetically modified food.

The Global Industry Coalition, representing 2,200 companies worldwide, "said the Vienna talks were encouraging as they were held in a greater openness and showed a stronger commitment to clinching a successful protocol." But according to Greenpeace, the leading development "was the firm resolve of the so-called Like-Minded Group [of developing countries] to insist on their right to reject imports of genetically modified commodities" (Julia Ferguson, Reuters/Journal of Commerce, Sept. 21).

***21 NUCLEAR WASTE: Documents Raise Concerns Over Shipment; More**

Two ships carrying weapons-usable plutonium MOX fuel from Europe to Japan may be forced to return because safety related documents were faked by British Nuclear Fuels Ltd.

BNFL informed Kansai Electric Power Co. that safety checks were bypassed and data was falsified to save time. But the company claims the false data covers recently manufactured fuel awaiting shipment to Japan in November, not the fuel in transit.

Concerns in Japan have prompted demands that checks on the fuel be made. The fuel recently passed through the Tasman Sea and the South Pacific (PanAfrican News Agency/African News Online). BNFL also has acknowledged serious "irregularities" in the manufacture of nuclear rods destined for export.

Japan plans to use the fuel to supply its nuclear "fast-breeder" reactors as a way to meet growing energy demand. "The shipments mark a new and dangerous phase of Japan's nuclear industry with the start of a pilot program" to use MOX in conventional nuclear reactors. And the nation's 11 utilities face "massive public protests" as well as conflict with governments on the ships' sea route (Inter Press Service/Torreviva, Sept. 20).

DUTCH COURT FREEZES GREENPEACE FUNDS

A Dutch court has frozen Greenpeace's bank account because of the group's protests against the fuel shipments. BNFL argued that court injunctions ordering Greenpeace not to interfere had been breached (BBC online, Sept. 21). -- DB

***22 BIO DIVERSITY: Plant Extinctions Threaten Humans' Future -- Report**

"Thousands of plant species are nearing extinction, and the world's farmers are losing valuable crop alternatives as a

U.S. urged to find global partners

Britain's Heath hits American move toward going it alone

By Gus Constantine
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Former British Prime Minister Edward Heath urged the United States yesterday to share responsibility with the world's other major power centers in addressing global problems instead of continuing its present inclination to go it alone.

"The United States is finding it difficult to adjust to a world without two superpowers, in which everything was a little more predictable," Mr. Heath told a conference of scholars examining the global challenges of the 21st century.

He said that while the world is often described as one in which the United States is dominant as the sole superpower, there are, in reality, five power centers, including the United States. He defined the others as a Europe growing gradually closer together, a resurgent China, a weakened but still powerful Russia and an economically dynamic Japan.

The four-day conference in Washington, whose theme is "A World Vision for the 21st Century," was one of a number of activities this week organized by the Federation for World Peace. The federation was co-founded in 1991 by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon and his wife, Hak Ja Han Moon.

Throughout the day yesterday, former government leaders and

leaders from other walks of life discussed environmental degradation, the impact on world cultures of new technologies and the search for economic justice.

A separate conference, sponsored by the Women Federation for World Peace, focused on the need for women to create more meaningful partnerships, win greater financial support through "micro-credit" loans and become more adept at using the new information technologies.

An underlying theme of all the sessions is the need to strengthen the family as the nucleus of society in the 21st century.

Mr. Heath stressed that the United States should increasingly share responsibility with the other major powers or groups of powers.

He chastised the United States for lack of realism in its approach to Iraq's Saddam Hussein.

"It does no good to say 'Let's get rid of Saddam Hussein.'"

"There's no feasible means of doing so," said Mr. Heath, who was prime minister from 1970 to 1974.

He recalled that Britain in 1956 joined France and Israel in "an attack on [Egypt's President Gamal Abdel] Nasser," only to be stopped in their tracks by the American president at that time, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

"We later learned we could work with Nasser," he said.

Mr. Heath also issued an im-

plied criticism of America's repeated laying down the law to China.

"There's no point in our setting down a rule that another country must follow just because we say so," he said.

The former British leader also criticized his own country for being too slow to fall into step with European integration.

"Europe has been moving step by step toward unity. It moved from a coal-and-steel community to a common market and is now moving toward a single currency," he said.

He said that the movement began "not out of economic, but out of political motivation."

"We were determined not to let the terrible disasters that ravaged us in two world wars be repeated."

Mr. Heath said Britain stayed away from this process from 1950 to 1972.

"For 22 years Britain had absolutely no influence on the affairs of Europe because of this," he said.

In a morning session on the environment, panel chairman Steingrímur Hermannsson, a former prime minister of Iceland, said the consensus of the meeting was that "man has done a lot of harm to the environment."

There was no agreement, however, on how much, how to go about repairing the damage or who should pay for it, he said.

WASH
Times
11/29



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EU calls for "big picture" environment protection

EU: December 15, 1999

BRUSSELS - European Union ministers approved new laws calling for a "big picture" approach to protecting the environment.

They will require member governments and state agencies to carry out detailed studies of environmental impact before launching major infrastructure programmes, EU officials said.

The new legislation extends the scope of existing rules in line with promises that the 15-member bloc would give green issues more weight in policy-making.

Individual projects such as motorways and out-of-town shopping centres must already be judged in part by their effect on the environment.

From now on, governments will be obliged to carry out a detailed assessment and public consultation on wider, long-term development plans in areas such as agriculture, forestry, transport, energy, industry and tourism.

Environment ministers voted unanimously for a compromise put together by Finland, which holds the EU's rotating presidency, overruling opposition from the European Commission which was unhappy with the changes made to its plans, officials said.

In 1997, EU governments rejected the Commission's first attempt at introducing a so-called "strategic environmental impact assessment" into EU law, fearing excessive bureaucracy.

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